

Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic
Faculty of English
University of Cambridge

Interpretatio Hiberniana:
Classical Influences in Medieval Irish Depictions
of Otherworldly Characters

Brigid Kathleen Ehrmantraut
Wolfson College

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
31 October 2022

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. The thesis does not exceed the regulation length, including footnotes, references and appendices but excluding the bibliography, as specified by the English Degree Committee. I have followed the MHRA Style Guide 3rd edition throughout.

ABSTRACT

Interpretatio Hiberniana:

Classical Influences in Medieval Irish Depictions of Otherworldly Characters

Brigid Kathleen Ehrmantraut

This thesis examines the reception of Classical mythology in Ireland, primarily between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, and analyzes the influence of Classical literature upon medieval Irish depictions of Otherworldly beings and pre-Christian settings. The core texts I discuss are a corpus of vernacular Irish adaptations and loose translations of Latin epic and Classical mythological narratives produced in Ireland during this period. I situate these Classical adaptation texts within a broader intellectual milieu and argue for points of contact between them and other medieval Irish vernacular narratives. Roman attempts to translate the gods and mythological narratives of other cultures into their own familiar equivalents are known as *interpretatio Romana*. This thesis questions whether a sort of literary *interpretatio Hiberniana* took place in medieval Ireland, whereby Classical mythological figures were equated with or inspired Irish Otherworldly beings.

The first half of this thesis investigates instances of *interpretatio* and intertextuality, while the second half turns to larger questions of world history writing and typology in medieval Ireland. Chapter 1 delineates the Irish and European intellectual milieux in which Classical reception and *interpretatio* occurred. Chapter 2 examines the names of the Classical gods in early Irish glosses and later glossaries as a learned background for subsequent Classical reception. It then addresses the development of a system of divine epithets for the Olympian gods across the Classical adaptations and particularly within *Togail na Tebe*. Chapter 3 reviews the extant scholarship on battle spirits, which represents the area of medieval Irish Classical reception which has been best studied to date. I frame my own contributions to the discussion by providing a lexical analysis of the word *ammait*, a term applied to both the necromancer Erichtho in *In Cath Catharda* (the Irish version of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*) and the Furies in *Togail na Tebe* (the Irish version of Statius's *Thebaid*), as well as a host of Otherworldly female characters in other works of Irish literature. Chapter 4 surveys the appearances of gods and supernatural figures in the Classical

adaptation texts. It identifies similarities and differences in portrayals of these characters with reference to source texts, and elucidates attitudes towards paganism within each vernacular adaptation text. Chapter 5 is a case study of a single text: *In Cath Catharda*. I argue for a nuanced reading of *In Cath Catharda* grounded in medieval ideas of salvation history and eschatological thought. Chapter 6 explores Classical parallels to and influences on Irish vernacular texts that are not adaptations of Latin epic or Greco-Roman mythological narratives. I focus on the motif of magical thirst inflicted in battle scenes in Statius, *Togail na Tebe*, and medieval Irish literature. Chapter 7 analyzes Classical influence on medieval Irish depictions of druids. The first section catalogues claims about druids from works of Classical ethnography which were potentially available to the medieval Irish, concluding that there is minimal evidence for direct influence from Classical ethnographic texts on medieval Irish portrayals of druids. The second half of the chapter looks at the single exception to this: the adaptation and amelioration of Lucan's druids in *In Cath Catharda*. I conclude that in medieval Ireland, literary *interpretatio* cannot be separated from *translatio studii* (the transfer of knowledge from the Classical world to medieval cultures), or from medieval uses of biblical typology to interpret Christian salvation history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	2
Abstract	3
Table of Contents	5
Acknowledgments	6
Introduction	7
Chapter 1: The Texts and Their Contexts	17
Chapter 2: Gods and Glosses	31
Chapter 3: <i>Ammaiti</i> in Medieval Irish Texts	48
Chapter 4: Gods in the Classical Adaptations	100
Chapter 5: God(s), Fate, and Eschatology in <i>In Cath Catharda</i>	144
Chapter 6: Otherworldly Characters Beyond the Classical Adaptations	172
Chapter 7: <i>Magi, Druíd, Druidae</i>	200
Conclusion	222
Abbreviations	227
Bibliography	228

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people without whom this thesis would not exist. First and foremost among them are David and Frances Miller, who generously sheltered me during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021, and I dedicate this thesis to them in gratitude.

I wish to acknowledge the patience and support of my supervisor, Professor Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, as well as that of my advisor Professor Judy Quinn, and of Professor Paul Russell. I also extend my heartfelt gratitude to the Harding Distinguished Scholars Programme and to Sir David and Lady Claudia Harding for funding this research.

Professor Isabelle Torrance, the Classical Influences in Irish Culture Project at Aarhus University, and Professor Michael Clarke have provided me with many opportunities to present and develop my research, including at the Classical Antiquity and Medieval Ireland conference in August, 2022. Thanks additionally to the participants of the Medieval Irish Lucan: Text and Context workshop held at Cambridge in March, 2022. Thanks to the members of the Cambridge Medieval Classical Reception reading group (Pau Blanco-Ríos, Maio Nagashima, Davide Salmoiraghi, Beatrice Bedogni, Elisa Chiariotti, and Jenyth Evans), and to the participants of Cake Class, the Medieval Irish reading group, and the hagiography reading group (held virtually in 2020).

I also wish to thank Professor Yelena Baraz, Dr Kathleen Cruz, Oscar Loría, and Maio Nagashima for their Lucan-related enthusiasm. Thanks to Dr Jesse Harrington for historical comparanda, to Cameron Wachowich for answering my *Scéla Alaxandair* and Orosius queries, and to Dr Marie-Luise Theuerkauf for help accessing resources. Thanks to Alisa Valpola-Walker for co-running CCASNC and co-editing *Quaestio Insularis* with me, and for PhD formatting and submission guidance. Thanks to Anna Chacko, Lee Colwill, Caitlin Ellis, Brittany Hanlon, Victoria Krivoshchekova, Paddy McAlary, Adrián Rodríguez Avila, Eleanor Smith, and to Alexandra Zhirnova for camaraderie and advice. Thanks to Professor Sarah M. Anderson, Stephanie Forrest, James Drysdale Miller, and Roan M. Runge for proof-reading; all errors remain my own.

Especial thanks to my parents for their belief in me and to my grandparents for lighting the way. Thanks to Roan for being the best housemate I could imagine. Finally, thanks to James for love, assurance, and many helpful editorial suggestions.

INTRODUCTION

In Recension I of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') (TBC-I), the Classical Fury Allecto stirs the bull Donn Cúailnge to violence. Notably, it is Allecto who appears in the main narrative text, and is glossed parenthetically by the medieval Irish battle goddess, the Morrígan.¹ This is a striking example both of a Classical allusion in the main body of a vernacular narrative, and of the interpretation of a Classical mythological figure (Allecto) as a supernatural being in medieval Irish tradition (the Morrígan), who must have been perceived as a similar entity. The methodology at work is not merely translation, but *interpretatio*—that is, the recognition of equivalencies between mythological figures and explanation of one tradition's mythology as a manifestation of another's, albeit in this case on a literary level. Ancient Greek and Roman attempts to translate the gods and mythological narratives of other cultures into their own familiar equivalents are known as *interpretatio Graeca* and *interpretatio Romana*. Tacitus famously coined the latter phrase in *Germania*, where he states that the Nahanarvali may worship according to different rites, 'sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant'.² Late antique and medieval writers added another level of *interpretatio Christiana* to this explanatory methodology, by which they could understand and receive pagan mythology within a Christian worldview.³ In medieval Ireland, both Christian and Classical *interpretatio* were expanded to incorporate Irish traditions, characters, and historical narratives, producing a comparable comparative phenomenon, which I term *interpretatio Hiberniana*.

The appearance of Allecto in TBC-I is one of the most frequently-cited examples of Classical influence in medieval Irish literature, but it is hardly the only such instance. Instead, it represents one of many instances and varieties of

¹ O'Rahilly, TBC-I, ll. 954–62. See Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 147–50 for a summary of critical treatments of this episode and Clarke, 'Demonology', pp. 101–6 for more recent analysis.

² 'but they speak of the gods who are, by *interpretatio Romana*, Castor and Pollux'. (Tacitus, *Germania*, §43). All Latin translations are my own unless otherwise specified. All Irish translations are from the published edition and translation of the text cited unless otherwise specified. 'Translation adapted' indicates that I have primarily followed the published translation but modernized the wording, left certain Irish terms in italics, or otherwise modified small details.

³ See Eberlein for a concise summary of the scholarship on *interpretatio Christiana* in a wider European context.

interpretatio employed by medieval Irish authors to engage with Classical mythology. Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, many Classical texts or narratives were adapted into Irish, including *Togail Troí* (TTr; ‘The Destruction of Troy’; an expanded version of Dares Phrygius’s *De Excidio Troiae*), *Imtheachta Aeniasa* (IA; ‘The Wanderings of Aeneas’; based on Vergil’s *Aeneid*), *Togail na Tebe* (TTe; ‘The Destruction of Thebes’; adapted from Statius’s *Thebaid*) and *In Cath Catharda* (CC; ‘The Civil War’; the Middle Irish version of Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*). Rather than constituting word-for-word translations, these works, henceforth termed ‘Classical adaptations’, represent a range of texts that retell Classical stories and myths based on, and expanded from Classical Latin epics, commentaries and scholia traditions, mythographies, and late antique histories such as Eusebius/Jerome’s *Chronicon* and Orosius’s *Historia contra paganos*. Because these adaptations were produced primarily between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, this will serve as the chronological range for this study. This thesis examines depictions of mythological characters—defined as divine or supernatural beings and including the Olympian gods and medieval Irish Otherworldly figures alike—in these Classical adaptations and in other contemporaneous works of medieval Irish literature.

SCOPE AND AIMS OF THIS THESIS

This thesis is a study of different aspects of the Hibernicization of Classical mythological learning in the period up to and including the thirteenth century. I ask how and why *interpretatio* functioned in medieval Ireland, and how theological and historiographical contexts informed modes of Classical reception. Reoccurring themes of this investigation include syncretism between Classical and Irish supernatural characters, intertextuality and directions of influence between texts and traditions, medieval Christian views of universal history tied to synchronistic models of historiography, and the use of biblical typological exegesis to interpret Classical and Irish literature. These themes will be elucidated with reference to several different categories of evidence: the lexicon of divine and otherworldly beings, the corpus of Classical adaptations, and Classical influences and reflexes in vernacular works of literature that do not reflect direct adaptation of Classical sources.

This study begins with an introductory Chapter 1, which presents the intellectual contexts of learning and Classical reception in Ireland and Europe during

the tenth through thirteenth centuries, and the thematic concerns of the subsequent case studies. The remainder of the thesis is then divided into three subsections dedicated to terminology (Chapters 2 and 3), Classical adaptations (Chapters 4 and 5), and Classical influences in other Irish literature (Chapters 6 and 7), respectively. While the first half of the thesis presents specific instances of *interpretatio* and teases out intertextual borrowings between texts, the second half turns more broadly to the importance of a Christian model of salvation-oriented history and the role of typology in medieval Irish Classical reception.

The first section of the thesis is concerned with terminological choices. Chapter 2 approaches mythological reception from a lexical starting point, setting out the framework for medieval Irish *interpretatio* from the earliest Irish appearances of the Olympian gods in glosses and glossaries. It also identifies an evolving system of epithets and associations for Classical divinities in the Middle Irish Classical adaptations, especially TTe. Chapter 3 builds on the substantive scholarship to date on battle spirits and Furies, and addresses *interpretatio* involving Otherworldly beings termed *amhait* in both the Classical adaptations and in other works of medieval Irish literature.

The second section turns to depictions of the Olympian gods in the Classical adaptations. Chapter 4 surveys portrayals of the behaviour of gods and supernatural beings in the Classical adaptations themselves, linking the intertextual concerns and linguistic *interpretatio* of the first half of the thesis with the main concerns of its second half: the incorporation of Classical narratives into salvation history and typological readings of Classical material. Chapter 5 provides a case study of CC, the medieval Irish version of Lucan. As Lucan's original epic notably minimizes the agency and importance of the Olympian gods in the work's central conflict, its Irish adaptation proves an excellent basis for investigating the workings of biblical historiography and typology within a Classical setting before turning to their implications for portrayals of the medieval Irish supernatural.

The third section explores the impact of Classical reception on medieval Irish literature dealing with the Otherworld more generally. Chapter 6 refocuses the discussion on vernacular Irish literature beyond the Classical adaptations, identifying points of contact and potential Classical influences on non-Classical Irish texts, including *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (TBDD; 'The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel') and *Tochmarc Étaíne* (TE; 'The Wooing of Étaín'). I argue that these narrative and

thematic similarities between Irish and Classical traditions resonated precisely because of the historiographical methodology embodied by *interpretatio* and typological interpretation of history. Finally, Chapter 7 questions the role of *interpretatio* in medieval Irish literary portrayals of druids, the extent to which they were influenced by Classical ethnographic accounts, and how they contributed to understanding the place of the Irish in world history. An examination of druids allows us to delineate *translatio studii*, the transfer of knowledge from the Classical world to successive locations and rulers, within the wider methodology of *interpretatio* and typology presented in the thesis.

Eleanor Hull notes a medieval Irish attempt to ‘minimise or altogether eliminate’ the supernatural elements in most medieval Irish adaptations of Classical texts.⁴ Individual texts and authors pursue independent and sometimes conflicting strategies towards representing Classical polytheism and Irish Otherworldly traditions, and influences between texts are often best understood as part of a wider multifaceted milieu rather than as a series of direct borrowings. However, I argue that instead of eliminating supernatural elements, most examples of Classical mythological reception in medieval Ireland incorporate supernatural and Otherworldly elements into a typological understanding of salvation history by means of *interpretatio* and related strategies.

METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Several methodological concerns must be set out before we can proceed further. These include the degree to which medieval Irish portrayals of the pre-Christian past were considered to be historical, how we should conceptualize the influence of Classical literature on medieval Irish narrative in light of the potential for shared inheritance or parallel evolution, and the state of our sources and manuscripts. Each problem and the scholarly approaches to it to date are discussed below, before I delineate my own methodology.

⁴ Hull, *A Text Book*, II, p. 79.

Historia and Fabula

Having introduced the biblically-driven historiography of Jerome and Orosius as integral aspects of Classical reception and literary production in medieval Ireland, methodological quandaries follow.⁵ Did medieval Irish authors and audiences consider mythological and supernatural narratives to be the creative renderings of historical fact, or the embellished tales of pagans, containing little or no truth? This *vexata quaestio* of medieval Irish studies is embodied by the double Irish and Latin colophon of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* found in the Book of Leinster (TBC-LL):

Bendacht ar cech óen mebraigfes go hindraic Táin amlaid seo 7 ná
tuillfe cruth aile furri.⁶

Sed ego qui scripsi hanc historiam aut uerius fabulam quibusdam
fidem in hac historia aut fabula non accommodo. Quaedam enim ibi
sunt praestrigia demonum, quaedam autem figmenta poetica, quaedam
similia uero, quaedam non, quaedam ad delectationem stultorum.⁷

Much ink has been spilt over whether works of medieval Irish literature constitute *historia* or *fabula*, but the same has rarely been asked of the medieval Irish Classical adaptations, and especially of the mythological details that they contain.⁸

In many cases, for both the Classical adaptations and other works of medieval Irish narrative literature, *historia* vs *fabula* presents a false distinction. Drawing on the work of John Kelleher, Erich Poppe has suggested with regards to IA that, '[a] strict dichotomy between history and fiction, and between the related narrative genres [...] is perhaps not helpful for an understanding of the medieval perception of the representational functions of the texts'.⁹ As this thesis will illustrate, Poppe's assessment of IA is also the case for Classical reception as a whole in medieval

⁵ See discussions of historiography in Chapter 1, pp. 22–26.

⁶ 'A blessing on every one who will study/learn the Táin faithfully in this way and who will not add any other form to it'. (O'Rahilly, TBC-LL, ll. 4919–20; trans. Miles, *Heroic Saga*, p. 1).

⁷ 'But I who wrote this *historia*, or rather *fabula*, do not give credence to certain things in this *historia* or *fabula*. For certain things in it are the deceptions of demons; certain things, however, are *figmenta poetica*; certain things resemble the truth, certain things do not, certain things are for the delectation of fools'. (O'Rahilly, TBC-LL, ll. 4921–25; trans. Miles, *Heroic Saga*, p. 1).

⁸ For critical discussion of the TBC-LL colophon, see Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 1–5; Ó Néill, 'The Latin Colophon'; Poppe, 'Grammatica'. For wider discussions of *historia* and *fabula* with regards to medieval Irish literature, see Toner, 'The Ulster Cycle' and his 'Authority'; Poppe 'Reconstructing Medieval Irish Literary Theory'.

⁹ Poppe, *A New Introduction*, p. 16; Kelleher, 'Early Irish'.

Ireland. Different texts represent different approaches to historiography, and both *historia* and *fabula* could be valuable tools for thinking about the methodology of writing history. As I will conclude, a medieval text does not have to be *historia* in order to be *historiographical*.

Influence

The role of Classical learning on the development of medieval Irish literature has been a question similarly vexed. While scholars of Old English have debated whether the *Aeneid* was necessary for the composition of *Beowulf*, criticism of medieval Irish literature has historically asked the same question of TBC.¹⁰ Bound up in these debates is also the question of whether similarities between Classical Greco-Roman and Irish narratives are due to direct literary influence during the Middle Ages, shared Indo-European heritage, or parallel evolution, representative of more basic correspondences found in all heroic literatures and human societies.¹¹ Because we know very little about the details of Proto-Indo-European narrative convention and mythological beliefs, and because attributing commonalities between divergent cultures to such a distant and unknowable past inevitably denies agency to the historical authors, compilers, and copyists of our surviving sources, this thesis will explore connections between Classical, Irish, and in many cases biblical traditions on the level of literary interactions during the medieval period.

James Carney and Hildegard Tristram prominently challenged ‘nativist’ assertions of literary origins in the mid-twentieth century, and argued that the influence of Latin epic was necessary for the composition of lengthy written saga narratives with complicated stylistic and thematic elements.¹² Miles and O’Connor have dealt most recently and extensively with the residual nativist vs. non-nativist debates of previous generations over the extent of Classical influence on the growth of narrative writing in medieval Ireland.¹³ Miles broadly concludes that stylistically, Classical influence can be found in TBC-I, TBC-LL, while O’Connor suggests that in many cases Classical examples were not necessary to Irish literary development. Both acknowledge that the level of influence varied by text and over time. Importantly,

¹⁰ See North for Vergilian debates in Old English studies.

¹¹ Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 146, 161 (n. 47), 223.

¹² Carney, *Studies*; Tristram, ‘Aspects’.

¹³ Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 12–14, 145–93; O’Connor, ‘Was Classical Imitation’.

both Miles and O'Connor also stress that it is more productive to think about the medieval Irish intellectual milieu in which literary production occurred rather than focus on direct examples of influence.

While Classical influences are often difficult to identify in the earliest Old Irish vernacular texts, by the time of the Middle Irish Classical adaptations, Classical literature was clearly influencing Irish narrative in stylistic, thematic, and historiographical dimensions. It is this period between the tenth and twelfth or thirteenth centuries that the current thesis will primarily address. In these Middle Irish cases too, however, considering the wider intellectual milieu in which texts were produced and redacted will prove to be far more productive in most instances than trying to identify a series of linear influences. There are a few cases where Classical borrowing is evident and specific Classical sources can be identified as the likely origins of motifs or phrases in vernacular Irish literature.¹⁴ However, for the most part, we should look for webs of textual and scholarly connections instead of chains of influence or borrowing. This is wise both because the tides of manuscript survival have washed a very limited selection of texts ashore in the present day, furnishing us with a necessarily incomplete picture of medieval Irish literary endeavour, and because it is by reference to the concerns of this larger milieu and its historiographical interests that the reasons for Classical reception and adaptation can be best understood.

Authors, Dates, and Manuscripts

Further methodological caution should be exercised with regards to the nature of our sources, their authorship, and preservation. With very few exceptions, vernacular prose texts of the Old and Middle Irish period are anonymous compositions and rarely indicate specific and definite locations of composition. While we might attribute many texts (including many of the Classical adaptations addressed in this thesis) to single authors or to small groups of authors working together, other texts exist in recensions, modified and expanded over time, in which the difference between redactor and scribe is not always clear-cut. For this reason, this thesis uniformly refers

¹⁴ See discussion of Statius, TTe, FDG, and CMT in Chapter 3, *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* in Chapter 4, and magical thirst in Chapter 6 for more concrete instances of direct Classical borrowings. Even these examples should be understood against a cultural backdrop in which medieval Irish intellectual pursuit encompassed Classical, biblical, and Irish material alike.

to anonymous authors as ‘they’, because we do not know either their gender or number. This thesis also rarely speculates about authorial identity or the place of composition of specific texts, although some trends suggestive of shared origins will emerge for a number of the Classical adaptations.

While this thesis primarily addresses texts produced in the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, it must also be stressed that most of the medieval Irish Classical adaptation texts discussed here survive in manuscripts produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and interest in Classical material evidently continued to develop during this later period. The historical interests displayed by twelfth-century manuscripts such as the Book of Leinster were also reflected in the material collected in manuscripts produced in subsequent centuries, such as the fifteenth-century RIA MS D.iv.2, which contains copies of all the prose Classical adaptation texts mentioned above (with the exceptions of *Scéla Alaxandair*, TTe, and *Don Tres Troí*). Finally, Classically-inspired material in other European vernaculars began to be adapted into Irish in the fifteenth century. Such is the case of William Caxton’s *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, which was adapted as *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* (‘The History of Hercules and His Death’) in the late fifteenth century. A partial verse narration of Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides also survives, drawn from *Stair Ercuil*.¹⁵ Although these final two texts will not be treated by this thesis given that they significantly postdate the other adaptations discussed here and are adaptations of vernacular rather than Latin originals, it is important to realize that they exist on the same historical and literary continuum as the tenth- through thirteenth-century adaptations.

Methods

This thesis primarily takes a philological approach to source criticism, linguistic dating, and identification of intertextual borrowings between texts. This is grounded in a concern for the era and cultural milieu in which the texts in question were produced. Historiographical trends in Ireland and Europe more generally, and theological debates from late antiquity through the Middle Ages shaped the adaptations I discuss in the thesis, and thus an understanding of these sources and their transmission within their historical and theological contexts also informs my

¹⁵ Quin; Ross, *Bildunsidol* and her ‘The Transformation’; Poppe, ‘*Stair Ercuil*’; Mac Eoin, ‘The Greek Background’.

analysis. My predominantly traditional philological approach is supplemented by advances in New Philology as articulated by scholars since Bernard Cerquiglini and Stephen Nichols, which seeks to prioritize variance between texts and the materiality of manuscript sources.¹⁶ It is exactly in these variances, between different recensions of narratives, different manuscript versions of texts, and most importantly, Classical source material and medieval Irish adaptations that we can identify authorial creativity and cultural *interpretatio*.

The state of our editions and translations of medieval Irish texts is often problematic. While early scholars such as Whitley Stokes and George Calder, whose editions are frequently cited throughout this thesis, made significant contributions to the field, most of the texts examined here have not been re-edited in light of subsequent scholarship and developments in our understanding of Irish lexicography, linguistic dating, and medieval textual transmission. There is much groundwork to do in understanding what our texts literally mean and lexical studies will accordingly occupy the first third of this thesis. There is also much still to do in order to situate the Irish Classical adaptations in their historiographical background and to identify the Classical, Patristic, and medieval sources with which they were in dialogue. Before this basic editorial, lexicographical, and contextual work is accomplished through rigorous philological study, we must wait to apply the majority of the theoretical frameworks of cognate disciplines such as Classical reception studies as applied to Early Modern or Modern texts or postcolonial analysis, lest we misread or misunderstand our core sources. However, we can look forward to a time when such interdisciplinary theory can be profitably harnessed, and there are already ways in which existing theoretical observations can yield helpful frameworks for understanding the mechanics of Classical learning in medieval Ireland.

Writing as a scholar of more recent Classical reception, James I. Porter argues that, ‘traditions of reception are dynamic processes’ and in this regard medieval Ireland is no different.¹⁷ Appreciation for the ‘dynamic processes’ of reception and adaptation will allow us to address the foregoing methodological quandaries over historiography, influence, and the survival of texts in manuscripts written centuries after their composition. By understanding reception as a series of mutable and continuous processes, we can identify not only specific correspondences and sources,

¹⁶ Cerquiglini; Nichols.

¹⁷ Porter, p. 493.

but also evaluate the multifaceted intellectual milieu in which texts were produced. Ultimately, this thesis argues that in medieval Ireland, these ‘dynamic processes’ by which *interpretatio* was accomplished took the form of a typological exegetical understanding of Classical mythology and Irish Otherworldly traditions, linking them to Christian salvation history. It is with the historiographical and theological background that contributed to such a typological approach that we must begin, in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 1

THE TEXTS AND THEIR CONTEXTS

This opening chapter will serve as an introduction to the main texts upon which my argument is based, and the intellectual worlds in which medieval Classical reception occurred. I will introduce the medieval Irish literary works which I class as Classical adaptations, their dates of composition, and the scholarship on Classical reception in medieval Ireland to date. These texts can only be understood as part of the intellectual milieu which produced them, and I will turn accordingly to intellectual trends and historiographical advances in Ireland during the tenth through thirteenth centuries. This will be complemented by a discussion of trends in Classical mythological reception in Europe during the same time period, in order to contextualize medieval Irish scholarship within international approaches to constructing and interpreting the Classical past, while illuminating the creativity of Irish authors.

THE MEDIEVAL IRISH CLASSICAL ADAPTATIONS

Over roughly the same period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries that the first and second recensions of TBC were produced, vernacular Irish prose and verse adaptations of Classical literary works also took shape. Some, such as TTe and CC represent relatively close adaptations, ultimately based on a single, identifiable work of Latin epic.¹⁸ Others such as *Merugud Uilixis* (MU; ‘The Wandering of Ulysses’) and *Fingal Chlainne Tantai* (FCT; ‘The Kinslaying of the Family of Tantalus’) have no single Classical source text and compile their renditions of Classical myths

¹⁸ Note that *Togail na Tebe* is an editorial title not reflected in the manuscript tradition. See Briggs, ‘The Middle Irish Translation’, pp. 17–36 for a discussion of this title. I will refer to the work as *Togail na Tebe* (TTe) throughout this thesis for the sake of convenience and scholarly continuity. The use of scholia and commentaries has been discussed in most detail in relation to TTe and CC, for which see Briggs, ‘The Middle Irish Translation’, pp. 93–5, 111–148; Kershner, ‘Statius’ Dynamic Absence’; O’Hogan, ‘Reading Lucan’; Poppe, ‘Scholia’.

(Odysseus's return from Troy and the trials of the House of Atreus, respectively) from references in longer Classical works, commentaries, and mythographies.¹⁹

While this thesis will discuss examples of medieval Irish Classical reception from as early as the seventh century, the impetus towards adapting and translating Classical narratives appears to have begun in the tenth century and reached its zenith in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and I will accordingly examine works primarily from this tenth- through thirteenth-century period here. In the tenth century, (now lost) versions of TTr and possibly *Scéla Alaxandair* (a collection of material about Alexander the Great) were produced.²⁰ Both survive in eleventh-century redactions. The twelfth century saw an explosion in Classical adaptation. The second recension of TTr (TTr-2), IA, CC, and TTe all date to roughly the twelfth century.²¹ In a few cases, we can suggest more precise dating, or at least a dating which is more precise relative to other texts. CC has a potential *terminus post quem* of 1056, the death of Flann Mainistrech, who is quoted in the prologue, although Erich Poppe has identified the late twelfth-century Arnulf of Orléans as a source for some of the scholia on Lucan incorporated into CC, requiring a later *terminus post quem*.²² Of course, these dates may only apply to the inclusion of Flann Mainistrech material and/or the Arnulf of Orléans scholia, rather than the composition of the rest of the work. George Calder argued that TTe dates from the early Middle Irish period, though he did not suggest a more specific date of composition or redaction;²³ most

¹⁹ I follow Hillers's usual title *Merugud Uilixis*, although the text is also referred to as *Meregud Uilix* in other scholarship. See Hillers, 'The Medieval Irish *Wandering*', p. 86 for further discussion of the Irish form of the character's name.

²⁰ In addition to my summary here, see O'Connor, 'Irish Narrative', pp. 13–16 for a list of most of the Classical adaptations and their dates. For dating of TTr see Mac Eoin, 'Das Verbsystem', pp. 200–02 and Mac Gearailt, 'Change and Innovation', 460–70. For *Scéla Alaxandair* see Peters, pp. 94–95 who argues for a tenth-century original, Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Classical Compositions', p. 1, n. 3 who argues that linguistic features could also support an eleventh-century date, Mac Gearailt, 'An Domhan Mór', and most recently his '*In Cath Catharda*', p. 56 which suggests that deliberate archaism may mask a post-tenth-century date. I would concur that an eleventh-century dating seems more feasible, from a linguistic point of view.

²¹ See Poli, and Poppe, 'A Virgilian Model', p. 176 for discussion of the dating of IA.

²² O'Hogan, 'Reading Lucan', p. 24; cf. Stokes, CC, pp. 3–8; Poppe, 'Scholia', pp. 431–40. Sommerfelt had assigned CC to the early twelfth century based on the verbal system. Mac Gearailt, '*In Cath Catharda*' has recently affirmed a late twelfth- or thirteenth-century date on linguistic grounds

²³ Calder, TTe, p. xi.

subsequent scholars place its composition somewhere in the twelfth century.²⁴ Brent Miles has demonstrated that TTe was drawn on by the third recension of TTr (TTr-3),²⁵ which itself is twelfth- or thirteenth-century in date.²⁶ Miles also argues that *Riss in Mundtuirc* ('The Tale of the Necklace'; a version of the myth of Harmonia's necklace) provides the material for the *Scél in Mundtuirc* episode in TTe, meaning that at least a version of TTe must postdate a version of the *Riss*, to which Miles accords a twelfth-century date.²⁷

Two poetic adaptations of Classical material were also composed in the twelfth century, beginning *Luid Iasón ina luíng lóir* ('Jason went in his spacious ship', a verse account of the Trojan War) and *Robo maith Aichil mac Péil* ('Good was Achilles son of Peleus'; a short poem drawing from Statius's *Achilleid*), respectively.²⁸ A number of the shorter adaptations are more difficult to date linguistically and may have been produced or redacted in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. These include TTr-3, which contains a prose version of Achilles's childhood modelled on Statius, and is often accompanied in manuscripts by *Don Tres Troí* ('On the Third Troy', concerning the rebuilding of Troy by Hector's son Astyanax), as well as MU, FCT, *Riss in Mundtuirc*, *Sgél in Mínaduir* ('The Story of the Minotaur'), and the untitled text edited as *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* (a retelling of the myth of Hercules and Busiris).²⁹ The thirteenth century represents the end of the period of direct adaptation of Classical Latin sources into the vernacular, and thus represents the natural *terminus ante quem* the scope of this thesis.

²⁴ Bergin, 'Review', p. 321; Harris, *Adaptations*, pp. 11–12; Meyer, 'The Middle-Irish Version of the *Thebaid*', p. 696; O'Connor, 'Irish Narrative', p. 14.

²⁵ Miles, '*Riss in Mundtuirc*', pp. 78–9.

²⁶ Clarke, 'The Extended Prologue'.

²⁷ Miles, '*Riss in Mundtuirc*', pp. 76–7, 81.

²⁸ Mac Eoin, 'Dán'; Ó hAodha, 'Irish Version', pp. 127–34.

²⁹ See Clarke, 'The Extended Prologue' for TTr and Ó hAodha, 'Irish Version' for the prose *Achilleid* material. See the editions of other texts for dating: for *Don Tres Troí* see Miles, *Don Tres Troí* and his 'The Irish History'; for MU see R. T. Meyer, *MU* and Hillers, *Medieval Irish Odyssey*; for FCT see Byrne, 'The Parricides' and Crampton, 'FCT: Text and Context'; for *Sgél in Mínaduir* see Meyer, 'Mitteilungen', pp. 238–40 and Hillers, '*Sgél in Mínaduir*'; for *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* see Marstrander, 'How Samson Slew the Gesteda' and Ehrmantraut, 'A Wrong Turn' and her 'How Samson'.

Two seminal studies can be credited with renewed interest in Classical reception in medieval Ireland: Miles's *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* and O'Connor's collection, *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*. To these can soon be added the forthcoming volume, *Classical Antiquity in Medieval Ireland: The Antiquity Sagas and Related Literature*, edited by Michael Clarke, Erich Poppe, and Isabelle Torrance. Outside of these works, critical interest in Classical reception has been confined chiefly to monographs or articles on individual Classical adaptation texts. Text-specific scholarship includes Uáitéar Mac Gearailt and Leslie Diane Myrick's studies of TTr; Mariamne Briggs and Stephanie Kershner's assessments TTe; Hildegard Tristram and Cameron Wachowich's discussions of *Scéla Alaxandair*; Barbara Hillers and Michael Clarke's analyses of MU; Erich Poppe's work on IA and CC; Nagashima and Ó Háinle's stylistic explorations of CC; and Fiona Cox, Julie LeBlanc, and Hannah Zdansky's treatments of IA.³⁰ Older work on Classical reception in medieval Ireland includes that of William B. Stanford, Robert T. Meyer, John R. Harris, and Edward G. Cox, all of which are predicated upon assumptions about Irish literature which are now largely dated.³¹ Scholars such as Jacopo Bisagni, Michael Clarke, Patrizia De Bernardo Stempel, and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh have also discussed Classical influence on isolated

³⁰ Mac Gearailt, 'Togail Troí' and his 'Change and Innovation'; Myrick; Briggs, 'The Middle Irish Translation' and her 'Removing the Muses'; Kershner; Tristram, 'Der insulare Alexander' and her 'More Talk of Alexander'; Wachowich; Hillers, 'The Medieval Irish *Wandering of Ulysses*', '*In fer fíamach fírglic*', 'Ulysses and the Judge of Truth', and her 'The Odyssey'; Clarke, 'A Latin Source'; Poppe, 'The Epic Styles of *In Cath Catharda*', 'Lucan's *Bellum Civile* in Ireland', '*Imtheachta Aeniasa* and Its Place', '*Imtheachta Aeniasa: Virgil's Aeneid*' and his *A New Introduction*; Nagashima; Ó Háinle; Cox, 'Virgilian Transformations'; LeBlanc; Zdansky.

³¹ Stanford, *Ireland*, 'Towards a History' and his 'Monsters'; Meyer, 'The Middle-Irish Version of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan' and 'The Middle-Irish Version of the Thebaid'; Harris, *Adaptations*; Cox, 'Classical Traditions'. Phillip Freeman, 'The Earliest Greek Sources', 'Elements of the Ulster Cycle', 'Greek and Roman Views', *Ireland*, 'A Middle Irish Version', and his 'Visions' also examine parallels between Classical and Irish sources, but largely from the perspective of shared inheritance rather than influence.

Irish literary motifs or on narratives that do not otherwise explicitly feature Classical characters and settings.³²

While this pre-existing scholarship forms a solid foundation for further work on Classical reception in medieval Ireland, little of it addresses Classical reception systematically within the entire corpus of Classical adaptations or across medieval Irish literature more generally. Nor has criticism to date typically examined mythological reception, with the exception of the relationships between battle spirits and Classical Furies.³³ Miles, O'Connor, Jacqueline Borsje, Poppe, and particularly Clarke have recently discussed Furies in Classical adaptations and non-Classical Irish literature,³⁴ as have Máire Herbert and Johan Corthals in earlier scholarship.³⁵ Matthias Egeler has analysed parallels between the Classical Furies, Irish battle spirits, and Norse Valkyries and offers general discussion of the Furies and *badb* in Classical adaptations, although he rarely addresses Classical literature as a potential influence on medieval depictions of Irish characters, preferring to look for distant common origins for these supernatural beings.³⁶ Miles probed questions of Classical influence on depictions of heroism in TBC, and O'Connor has likewise provided case studies of potential Classical influence on specific Irish narratives, but any ensuing discussion of literary influence must be situated within a larger framework of medieval historiography and intellectual culture.³⁷ It is the role of Classical reception within this historiographical and theological context and intellectual world that my thesis will illuminate.

³² Bisagni; Clarke, 'Reconstructing'; De Bernardo Stempel, 'A Reassessment' and her 'Phaedra und Hippolytos'; Ní Mhaonaigh, 'The Hector of Ireland and the Western World' and her 'The Metaphorical Hector'.

³³ Exceptions include Egeler, *Islands*; Herren, 'Literary and Glossarial Evidence'; Miles, 'Irish Evidence'; Clarke, 'The Choice' and his 'An Irish Achilles'; Bernhardt-House; and Stanciu, although none of these offer a comprehensive look at Classical mythological reception within and beyond the medieval Irish Classical adaptation texts.

³⁴ Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 147–50, 192, 218; O'Connor, 'Irish Narrative', p. 13; Borsje, 'Demonising the Enemy', pp. 21–38; 'Omens', pp. 244–7; 'The "Terror of the Night"', pp. 71–98; Poppe, '*Imtheachta Aeniasa* and Its Place', pp. 33–4, Clarke, 'Demonology', pp. 101–22. Sayers, '*Airdrech*', 'Netherworld, and his 'Supernatural Pseudonyms' also discuss battle spirits, but not those in Classical adaptations.

³⁵ Herbert, '*Fled Dúin na nGéd*', p. 80 and her 'Transmutations', p. 148–9; Corthals, 'Early Irish *Retoirics*', pp. 23–5.

³⁶ Egeler, 'Death, Wings and Divine Devouring', pp. 5–26; *Walküren*, especially Chapters 2 and 7, pp. 116–172, 323–350.

³⁷ Miles, *Heroic Saga*; O'Connor, *Classical Literature*.

IRISH AND EUROPEAN INTELLECTUAL CONTEXTS

Intellectual Currents during the Middle Irish Period

Clarke has argued the TBC ‘gr[e]w up together’ with TTr over the course of the Middle Irish period.³⁸ These Classical adaptations examined in this thesis belong to a larger intellectual movement, which saw developing interest in incorporating Ireland into larger narratives of world history, and in compiling diverse bodies of knowledge and learned scholarship into single texts and manuscripts during the same tenth-through thirteenth-century period during which the Classical adaptation texts were produced. This interest in world history did not begin in the tenth century, but historical writing expanded dramatically from the tenth century onwards, taking into account the role and identity of the Irish within a broader perspective of world history.³⁹ Historiographical interests during this period include historical synchronisms, the growth of pseudohistorical narratives explaining the origins of peoples, expansion of pre-existing material in line with developing scholarly interests, collation of historical information, and reworking of literary narrative into new forms. Ultimately, these modes of historiography and interpretation of the past were deeply informed by a Christian concept of universal history, chronicling the history of the entire world from the Creation to eventual salvation.

Synchronisms going back to Eusebius’s *Chronicon* and its Latin translation by Jerome provided a means of linking events and figures in different world cultures with one another. The eleventh-century Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* (SAM) responded to this historiographical trend by fitting Irish history into the synchronisms of Classical and biblical history, as well as into the framework of six world ages promulgated by Augustine of Hippo.⁴⁰ The synchronism tables drawn from the Irish World Chronicle preserved in the *Annals of Tigernach* fragment in twelfth-century manuscript Rawlinson B 502 similarly respond to this historiographical strand.⁴¹ Synchronisms

³⁸ Clarke, ‘An Irish Achilles’, p. 197.

³⁹ See Ní Mhaonaigh and Tyler for further discussion of history writing before the tenth century.

⁴⁰ For SAM see Ó Cróinín; Tristram, SAM; and Clarke and Ní Mhaonaigh.

⁴¹ For recent work on the synchronisms in Rawlinson B 502 see forthcoming discussion from Wadden, ‘Irish and World History’. For recent scholarship on the

can also be found in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (LGÉ; ‘The Book of the Taking of Ireland’), the first recension of which dates to the eleventh century.⁴² LGÉ is an account of the origins and migrations of the Irish, and shaped larger cultural interest in pseudohistory, as attested by its use by other authors in later texts. Thus, the ninth-century *Cath Maige Tuired* (CMT; ‘The Second Battle of Moytura’) acquired a new pseudohistorical prologue during the Middle Irish period based on the material found in LGÉ.⁴³ Origins are also one of the concerns of the tenth-century *Saltair na Rann*, a verse retelling of biblical narrative, which like the Classical adaptations adapts Latin narrative (in this case the Bible) into Irish vernacular literary modes and cultural terms.⁴⁴ In *Saltair na Rann*, as in SAM and other synchronism tables, the origins of humanity are set out for an Irish audience concerned with universal history.

Synchronic history and pseudohistorical origins are equally at work in the contemporaneous Classical adaptations. The authors of TTr and CC both added pseudohistorical prologues, like that found in CMT, incorporating pseudohistorical detail representative of strands in historiographical thought similar to those in LGÉ. These prologues situate the Classical narratives within world history using the same synchronistic and interpretive strategies found in other vernacular Irish texts and ultimately in late antique patristic thought. The prologue of TTr incorporates Classical gods into genealogies going back to Adam and Noah, while CC links Roman history to a system of world empires found in Jerome’s commentary on the Book of Daniel and in Orosius’s *Historiae adversus paganos*.

In addition to original historiographical compositions, the Middle Irish period saw a strong interest in expanding existing material and collating information. In this regard, the developments of the period from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries were anticipated by the addition of a new pseudohistorical prologue to the compendium of Old Irish legal material known as the *Senchas Már* in the ninth century.⁴⁵ Similarly, collections of knowledge including glossaries were expanded during the Middle Irish period, such as *Sanas Cormaic*, the core of which is probably

Irish World Chronicle more generally, see the 2019 Kelleher Lecture given by Ní Mhaonaigh, ‘Irish World Annals’.

⁴² Carey, ‘Lebor Gabála’.

⁴³ Carey, ‘Myth’, pp. 53–55.

⁴⁴ For recent scholarship on *Saltair na Rann* see Mac Eoin, ‘The Creation’, Mathis, and Murdoch. The most up-to-date edition and translation is by Greene, available online from DIAS.

⁴⁵ See edition and commentary in Carey, ‘An Edition’.

ninth-century and which offers etymological explanations for various words in Irish with reference to the sacred languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.⁴⁶ Interest in collecting the etymological and historical knowledge embedded in proper names resulted in the compilation of personal names *Cóir Anmann* and toponyms in the metrical and prose *Dindshenchas Éirenn* ('history of the places of Ireland').⁴⁷ While isolated *dindshenchas* can be found sprinkled throughout Irish literature, groupings of the material coalesced during the eleventh and twelfth centuries into the forms in which various collections of the material survive.⁴⁸

Predominantly vernacular manuscripts from the twelfth century similarly represent their own compilations of knowledge, and reflect diverse and wide-ranging historiographical interests. As Elizabeth Boyle and Ruairí Ó hUiginn have argued, manuscripts including *Lebor na hUidre*, the Book of Leinster, and Rawlinson B 502, include texts focused on biblical and Classical history as well as Irish narratives and learned treatises.⁴⁹ Indeed, *Lebor na hUidre* begins with SAM, framing the subsequent Irish tales against the backdrop of world history. The Book of Leinster opens with LGÉ and includes TTr among the many Irish saga narratives, scholarly tracts, and *dindshenchas* material that also appear in the manuscript. *Saltair na Rann*, SAM, and LGÉ appear alongside annalistic fragments, saga narratives, and genealogies in Rawlinson B 502. These early surviving manuscripts illustrate contemporaneous concern for situating Irish learned discourse within universal historiography, a trend which continued throughout the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods in later manuscript collections.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. xviii. See also Russell, 'The Sounds of a Silence', pp. 27–30 and 'Read It in a Glossary', pp. 16–19, for the dating and development of *Sanas Cormaic*. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of *Sanas Cormaic* and related glossaries.

⁴⁷ See Arbuthnot for *Cóir Anmann*. See Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas* for edition of metrical *dindshenchas*, and Stokes, 'The Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*', 'The Prose Tales in the Rennes *Dindshenchas*', and 'The Edinburgh *Dinnshenchas*', for prose and prosimetric *dindshechas*.

⁴⁸ For recent discussion on the *dindshechas*, see Mulligan, *Landscape*, and Toner, 'Landscape'.

⁴⁹ See Boyle, *History*, pp. 16–19 for summary of the contents and concerns of these manuscripts. See Ó hUiginn, *Codices Hibernenses Eximii I* for *Lebor na hUidre*; Ó Cuív, *Catalogue* for Rawlinson B502; and Carey, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* for recent bibliography on the Book of Leinster.

⁵⁰ See Introduction, pp. 13–14.

As Clarke's comments on the shared development of TBC and TTr attest, the Middle Irish period was equally a time of narrative retelling and reframing. New recensions of TBDD emerged during the later Middle Irish period and of *Cath Maige Rath* (CMR; 'The Battle of Mag Rath') in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.⁵¹ As I will discuss later in this thesis, both these texts display Classical influences.⁵² The thirteenth century also saw the composition of *Acallam na Senórach* (*Acallam*; 'The Colloquy of the Ancients'), the earliest surviving large-scale compilation of material about the hero Finn mac Cumail and his *fian*-band.⁵³ The work's scope, complexity, and thematic unity can be placed alongside contemporaneous efforts to compile pseudohistorical narratives and assemble comprehensive bodies of related knowledge discussed here. We might view the *Acallam* alongside TBC as analogues to the later recensions of TTr that compile numerous Classical sources into a multigenerational Trojan cycle, or as comparable in length and thematic development to CC. Many other works of Irish literature could be added to this list, but the emphasis on world historiography and compilation in the period during which the Classical adaptations were composed and redacted is evident.

The intellectual trends and literary movements of the Middle Irish period delineated here all concern themselves with the production and interpretation of history, be it the history of the Fall in *Saltair na Rann*, the history of the settlement of Ireland in LGÉ, or the history of pre-Christian Irish kings in TBC, TBDD, and CMR. Ultimately, these works, like the Classical adaptations, deal with aspects of universal history. In a Christian context, universal history is the history of salvation, which encompasses the chronology of the entire world from Creation to Judgment Day. As Ernst Breisach and Elizabeth Boyle define it, '[t]he whole spectrum of Christian history falls under the rubric of "salvation history", that is, past, present and future, culminating in the eschatological resolution of all human history at Judgment Day. This is a history with a beginning (Creation), a "central event" (the Incarnation) and an "ultimate goal" (the Eschaton)'.⁵⁴ For medieval Irish authors and audiences, alongside their learned counterparts throughout Europe, the writing of salvation

⁵¹ See Stokes, 'The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel' for the composite recension of TBDD. See Dillon, 'A Note', pp. 199–201 for dating of CMR.

⁵² See Chapter 3, pp. 83–86 and Chapter 6, pp. 169–81.

⁵³ Edited in Stokes, 'Acallamh'. For recent scholarship, see the volumes edited by Doyle and Murray, and by Arbuthnot and Parsons.

⁵⁴ Breisach, p. 78 *apud* Boyle, *History*, p. 17.

history served to link events and characters in world history. Irish history and literary traditions could be incorporated into the system of Classical and biblical synchronisms initiated by Eusebius/Jerome, the succession of earthly ages outlined by Augustine, and the sequence of world empires drawn from the Book of Daniel and popularized by Orosius.⁵⁵ As Boyle has recently argued, history and salvation were tightly interwoven concepts: the articulation of one upheld the importance of the other in understanding and contributing to God's plan for Creation.⁵⁶

From this perspective, 'Classical' history was not viewed by medieval authors as distinct from the history of the rest of the Mediterranean or Near East, or indeed from the history of the larger pre-Christian world. Classical polytheism was on some level no different to a medieval Irish audience than polytheism as practised by various groups in the Bible. At the same time, however, the corpus of texts dealing with Classical mythology available to medieval Irish authors and audiences was far richer and more nuanced than passing references to idolatry in the Bible or the persecuting pagans of early hagiography and late antique literature. The Latin epics of Vergil, Statius, and Lucan, together with their commentary traditions and with mythographies meant to elucidate difficult Classical references constituted a stylistically different body of literature, replete with gods, heroes, and monsters as well as with historiographical value for a medieval audience. In this thesis, 'Classical' will refer to this literary and scholarly corpus, either produced in what modern scholars would call the Greco-Roman Classical world, or drawing on texts from said Classical world. It must be kept in mind that medieval authors and audiences might not have differentiated this 'Classical' corpus so clearly from any other part of the pre-Christian past, and, as I will argue in this thesis, it is precisely because the Classical material formed part of the same pre-Christian past as the events of the Old Testament or Irish pre-Christian traditions that *interpretatio Christiana* and *Hiberniana* could function.

⁵⁵ See Weiler for the wider European historiographical context. See Clarke and Ní Mhaonaigh, 'The Ages of the World' for further articulation of Augustinian and Orosian models of history in medieval Ireland.

⁵⁶ Boyle, *History*, especially pp. 1–19, 184–89, 'Biblical History', and her 'Eschatological Themes' for further definition of salvation history and situation of the concept within medieval Irish intellectual culture.

European Contexts for Classical Reception

These Irish developments cannot be separated from their European context. Irish vernacular translation and adaptation of Classical texts and mythological narratives constituted some of the earliest examples of such innovations in the Latin west, but they also overlapped significantly with growing interest in the Classical past and in vernacular translation during the twelfth century on the continent and in Britain.⁵⁷ As in Ireland, Classical reception in medieval Europe more broadly was integrally tied to the production of new literature in both Latin and emerging vernaculars.⁵⁸ As Justin Haynes has recently argued, twelfth-century compositions of Latin epic had their roots in the Vergilian commentary tradition, much as many of the adaptations of Classical narrative produced in medieval Ireland drew details and explanations from commentaries and scholia.⁵⁹ Peter Dronke famously discussed the evolution of medieval love-lyric from Classical and post-Classical Latin models, and Marjorie Woods has recently taken this analysis further to approach the role played by Latin education in creative literary reworking through the Middle Ages.⁶⁰ Gabrielle Spiegel and Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas have comparably examined the role of reception in medieval French vernacular historiography and romance, as have Marilyn Desmond and Rita Copeland in Middle English.⁶¹ Again, while medieval Irish adaptation and translation of Classical literature began and often predated these Latin, French, and Middle English examples, it must be stressed that Classical reception in both Ireland and Europe more generally responded to similar concerns and intellectual climates.

Medieval Irish authors shared interests and often sources with an international and multicultural European milieu. The earliest versions of TTr predate Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* and often exemplify different strategies towards narrative adaptation, but, as Clarke has argued, there are later additions to TTr-1 that seem to be in dialogue with Benoît.⁶² Similarly, while the authors and redactors of CC worked to different creative ends than Arnulf of Orléans did in the production of his *Glosule super Lucanum*, both twelfth-century texts were equally devoted to engaging

⁵⁷ We may also compare the tenth-century Old English Orosius and Alexander material.

⁵⁸ See Melve for overview of twelfth-century literary trends in Europe.

⁵⁹ Haynes.

⁶⁰ Dronke; Woods.

⁶¹ Spiegel; Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas; Desmond; Copeland.

⁶² Clarke, 'International Influences'.

with Lucan and his scholarly legacy.⁶³ Classical scholarship and vernacular production in both medieval Ireland and Europe should be viewed as part of the same cultural continuum, which encouraged numerous, varied expressions of literary and historiographical creativity.

At the same time, medieval Irish authors also pursued unique strategies to Classical reception distinct from their European counterparts, especially regarding the presentation of supernatural and mythological characters. Two of the major ways in which continental European works received Classical mythology were allegory and *translatio*. As we shall see, neither strategy was applied in the same ways in medieval Ireland. *Allegoria* as defined by Donatus in *Ars maior* consisted of ‘tropus, quo aliud significatur quam dicitur’.⁶⁴ In a way, allegory thus represents its own type of *interpretatio*. However, where mythological *interpretatio* specifically connects certain deities or narratives across cultures, mythological allegory constructs a more abstract relationship between mythological figures and their semiotic referents. Allegory was usually applied to Classical mythology from Hellenistic scholia on Homer through Christian late antiquity and into the Middle Ages in order to explain supernatural or divine elements as representative of abstract philosophical concerns, natural elements, or mental states.⁶⁵ Thus, when the late antique North African mythographer Fulgentius interprets Hercules’s victory over Antaeus as the triumph of the higher virtue of the mind (represented by Hercules) over lust born from the flesh (Antaeus born from the earth), we have an example of true mythological allegory.⁶⁶

By contrast, allegorical understanding of mythology such as the example above was very rarely the tack taken by medieval Irish authors.⁶⁷ There are allegorical resonances in some medieval Irish interpretive strategies such as etymological analysis modelled on Isidore of Seville, whereby the deeper meaning of words is elucidated from the definitions or associations of their constituent parts, and broad

⁶³ As noted above, see Poppe, ‘Scholia’ for further discussion of the relationship between CC and Arnulf.

⁶⁴ ‘a trope by which something different is meant than what is said’ (Donatus, *Ars maior*, III.6, ed. in Keil and Mommsen).

⁶⁵ See Cullhed, pp. 240–62, 303–470 and Hawes for a recent work on late antique and medieval allegory and Classical reception.

⁶⁶ Fulgentius, *Mitologiae*, II.4, ed. in Helm. See Wolff and Dain for a modern reprint of Helm and a French translation.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 4, p. 100 for a counterexample, as well as broader discussion in Boyle, ‘Allegory’.

similarities in figurative thinking between allegory and biblical typology, in which Old Testament characters and episodes are linked to the New Testament counterparts. But the fact remains that when it came to the figures of pre-Christian mythology, whether it involved Classical gods or Otherworldly characters from Irish tradition, pure allegory was not popular in medieval Ireland. Medieval Irish authors were far more likely to employ *interpretatio*, as I have defined it based on Tacitus above, linking Classical deities to one another or to Irish supernatural beings.⁶⁸ Biblical typology also provided a valuable way of connecting Classical and Irish figures and narratives with established theological paradigms, and with a salvation-oriented understanding of history.

The second major strategy employed in European reception of Classical mythology was to situate mythological figures and events within *translatio imperii et studii*, which saw a transfer of power or knowledge from the ancient Mediterranean (especially Rome) to new late antique and medieval polities across Europe. This too had its roots in Jerome and Orosius's sequence of world empires, as well as Vergil's *Aeneid*, in which the titular Trojan hero travelled from Ilium to Italy, setting in motion the events that would lead to the founding of Rome. Many medieval peoples in Britain, Francia, Scandinavia, and elsewhere also traced their heritage to Troy, and saw themselves as the rightful inheritors of Roman *imperium*.⁶⁹ This view of Classical mythological figures as the progenitors of peoples required a certain amount of euhemerism for medieval Christians. Vergil's Augustus could claim descent from the Olympian gods, but for later Christian dynasts, ancestral figures had to be the mortal descendants of Adam. Euhemerism, the justification of divine or supernatural characters or events of the past with mundane explanations, has a Classical pedigree as old and distinguished as allegory and, like allegory, it emerged as a popular tactic for explaining Classical mythology within a Christian context.⁷⁰ From this perspective, the Olympians were not actual gods; they were merely particularly virtuous or influential figures of the distant past whom latter pagans had mistaken for divine.

⁶⁸ Introduction, p. 7

⁶⁹ See Brady and Wadden for recent discussions of origins and *translatio* in medieval Western Europe.

⁷⁰ See Pugh for an overview of the development and uses of euhemerism from Callimachus to the modern day.

The Irish were among very few other peoples in medieval Europe who did not trace their lineage back to Trojan or Roman origins and they were accordingly far more concerned with *translatio studii* than with the *translatio imperii* evident in other European traditions.⁷¹ The relationship of Irish authors and audiences to Classical literature and history was not one of ancestral inheritance, but of scholarly aptitude and erudition. The Classical past was of interest because it contributed pivotal events to universal history to which the Irish, as denizens of the world and as Christians anticipating their own salvation, belonged. Euhemerism still played an important role in medieval Irish *interpretatio* of Classical mythology, but it was only one of many strategies, and never the most prominent, perhaps because it was not required in order to explain Irish ancestry.⁷² It was more commonly applied to figures for the Irish pre-Christian past in texts such as LGÉ and CMT, but even then, it was only one of many approaches to the Otherworldly beings who appeared in texts set in the pagan past.⁷³ The subsequent chapter will turn in more detail to these types of *interpretatio* employed in medieval Ireland and their lexical grounding.

⁷¹ See Chapter 7, p. 216.

⁷² See Chapter 4, pp. 132–33.

⁷³ See Carey, *A Single Ray*, and Williams, *Ireland's Immortals* for discussions of euhemerism and varied attitudes towards Otherworldly characters in medieval Irish literature. See also my Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 2

GODS AND GLOSSES

This chapter will continue the work of Chapter 1 in setting the intellectual stage for the ensuing dissertation. Where Chapter 1 outlined the state of historiography and textual production in medieval Ireland, and of Classical reception in medieval Europe, this chapter will establish the lexicon used for the Classical gods in medieval Ireland and set out forms of *interpretatio* pursued by medieval Irish scholars in reference to the Classical gods. The medieval Irish engage in their own processes of *interpretatio*. As we will see again in Chapter 3, this can take the form of mapping specific Irish characters onto Classical beings and vice versa (the best-known example of which is Allecto and the Morrígan in TBC-I, as noted above), but it can also expand to syncretizing Classical deities with one other, and to etymological speculation about the names of gods. I will start my discussion with these lexical levels of *interpretatio*, drawing examples from the earliest appearances of the Classical gods in medieval Ireland in glosses and glossaries dating from the seventh through ninth centuries, as well as from the Classical adaptations. While these glosses and glossaries predate the Classical adaptations that will form the greater part of the corpus addressed in this dissertation, they are vital to understanding the state of Classical studies in Ireland in the centuries leading up to the production of the adaptations. Having delineated the types of *interpretatio* undertaken in medieval Ireland and their grounding in the early glossographical tradition, I will then turn to an analysis of the way in which these names function and are often paired with short descriptive epithets in the Classical adaptations (especially TTe). I argue that we can see the beginnings of a system of divine epithets for the Olympian gods shared between works of medieval Irish literature, and point to examples of potential intertextuality between texts.

CLASSICAL INTERPRETATIO

In both the Classical adaptations and the early glossaries, we find examples of Classical *interpretatio*: the expression of one Classical mythological character by reference to another. This can occur for purposes of clarification, or to enhance thematic elements of a work. This thematic enhancement appears in the treatment of

Gaulish gods in CC. Lucan's *Bellum Civile* names three gods to whom the Gauls resume sacrificing human victims after the Roman armies under Caesar leave:

Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.⁷⁴

Green argues that Lucan intentionally parallels the Gaulish Taranis with the Greco-Roman Diana (who most notably demands the sacrifice of Iphigenia as well as other victims whom Iphigenia later sacrifices as priestess) in order to undermine distinctions between Roman civilization and foreign barbarians and point to how civil war makes the poem's Romans equally, if not more barbarous themselves.⁷⁵ After all, as Green points out, the poem's Cato subsequently names the Roman gods *immites* as well.⁷⁶

CC changes several important elements of this passage:

Tancadar ann popul na Teotonecdha. *is acu sen nó idpraitis fola daini i
tempol Ioib & Mercurir & Mairt.*⁷⁷

Firstly, the Gauls who worship these deities are named 'popul na Teotonecdha' and are listed among the many peoples of the earth who join Caesar's army in the 'tócestul slóigh Césair as cech crich 7 as cech cennadhach isin doman' (rather than, as they appear in Lucan, constituting those peoples who rejoice when Caesar's withdrawal leaves them to their own devices).⁷⁸ Secondly, the copy of CC in RIA MS D.iv.2 has introduced its own *interpretatio Romana*, turning Teutates, Hesus and Taranis into Jove, Mercury, and Mars. It has been suggested that this passage is based on a scholium from the *Commenta Bernensia*, which links the Gaulish deities with

⁷⁴ 'And those who with dreadful blood placate merciless Teutates, and Hesus whose wild altars make one's hair stand on end, and Taranis whose altars are no milder than those of Scythian Diana'. (Lucan, I.444–46). See Green, 'Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1.444–46' for a discussion of proposed textual emendations and interpretation of these lines. In accordance with Green's argument and my own reading, I take the wording and editorial punctuation as it stands in Shackleton Bailey's Teubner edition and Duff's Loeb (cited throughout).

⁷⁵ Green, 'Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1.444–46', pp. 66–69.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 68. Cf. Lucan, II.304–05.

⁷⁷ 'The people of the Teutones came there: by them men's bloods used to be offered in the temple of Jove and Mercury and Mars'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 718–19; italicized text is from RIA MS D.iv.2 only).

⁷⁸ 'the mustering of Caesar's army out of every country and every province in the world'. (ibid., ll. 684–85).

Roman equivalents.⁷⁹ Poppe proposes that *Teotonecdha*, ‘may have been triggered by a misunderstanding of Lucan’s Teutates’.⁸⁰ It seems likely that the Irish ethnonym is based on the Latin *Teutates*, but whether it is a misunderstanding or a deliberate choice is less clear.

As Lucan gives no tribal name for those who worship the Gaulish gods, even though they appear after a series of named ethnic groups in his list of peoples, the author(s) of CC seem to have been attempting to create their own ethnonym for the group mentioned in the passage. *Teotonecdha* should thus be read as an ethnonymic adjective. However, it may also parallel the model of naming formulae found in Irish texts. ‘Popul na Teotonecdha’ or ‘people of [a god]’ mirrors familiar designations such as Túatha Dé Danann ‘peoples of the goddess Danu’ (TDD), the supernatural, godly beings of vernacular literature, and Túatha Dé ‘peoples of God’/‘God’s peoples’ used to refer to both the TDD and the Israelites as God’s chosen people.⁸¹ The fact that the version of CC found in D.iv.2 replaces the Gaulish gods with Roman ones implies that at least the copier or redactor of that manuscript knew that the Gaulish names represented gods and even had a loose idea of what sort of gods they were, possibly thanks to a scholium. It therefore seems likely that the copier or redactor of D.iv.2 did not misunderstand their source material, but consciously changed it, possibly in line with familiar naming practices, to stylistically match the ethnonyms given in the rest of the passage and reflect the learned tradition of Classical scholiasts.

By making ‘the people of Teutates’ worship Roman gods the Irish redactor of the version of CC in D.iv.2 enhances the sense of pagan Roman barbarity, in a manner akin to Green’s argument discussed above. The medieval Irish could have plausibly known the associations of ‘Scythian Diana’, to whom Lucan compares Taranis, and decided to further link the Roman and Gaulish gods along with Roman and Gaulish brutality. Orosius, a well-known and influential source for world history in medieval

⁷⁹ Borsje, ‘Human Sacrifice’, p. 43; Webster, ‘A Dirty Window’, p. 135; Poppe, ‘Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* in Ireland’, p. 105.

⁸⁰ Poppe, ‘Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* in Ireland’, p. 105.

⁸¹ For the possibly Classical origins of Danu/Ana, see Clarke, ‘Linguistic Education’, p. 52. For the use of Túatha Dé for Israelites, see eDIL, ‘s.v. 1 túath’, <dil.ie/42241>.

Ireland, decries the ‘sacra crudelia’ of ‘Dianae Tauricae’.⁸² Likewise, rites involving kinslaying and human sacrifice appear in FCT when Orestes kills his sister, a priestess of Diana in Taurica, in order to free himself from madness after killing his mother.⁸³ The fact that in CC, ‘the people of Teutates’ not only worship Roman gods who require human sacrifice, but also fight in Caesar’s army further subsumes barbaric pagan practices into Roman identity, to an even greater degree than in Lucan’s text. Thus, we see *interpretatio* employed within a Classical (rather than Irish) mythological context to advance thematic goals.

The same passages of Lucan and CC present another type of *interpretatio*, which takes the form of etymological explanation, syncretizing Classical and Irish elements. CC inserts parenthetical comments identifying Latin *Bardi* as Irish *baird*. Thus, Lucan’s,

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis aevum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.⁸⁴

becomes,

Tancadar ann popul dianadh ainm Bardi, popul íat sén lángnáthaighitis
filidhecht & duana molta do dénam. Is assin iderar baird & bairdne isin
Scotic, & a m-bi do míledaib Césair ic forbhais docum in catha.⁸⁵

Likewise, the redactor of CC links Lucan’s *druidae* with Irish *druí*d via etymological and pseudohistorical connections.⁸⁶ The idea that both Irish words, *bard* and *druí*, come from these Classical peoples and indeed from, or at least via Latin may be philologically incorrect but fits well within Irish and more general late antique and medieval etymologizing practices.⁸⁷ The addition of this comment also creates a direct

⁸² ‘merciless rites’. (Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos*, V.i.16). For the influence of Orosius in Ireland, see Boyle, *History*, pp. 16–19 for biblical history, and Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 55–57, 61–62 for Classical influences.

⁸³ Byrne, ‘Parricides’, §10, p. 31.

⁸⁴ ‘You Bards also, who as prophets recount to distant ages the strong spirits cut off in war with praise, poured forth your many songs securely’. (Lucan, I.447–49).

⁸⁵ ‘The people named Bardi came there [to the battle]—those that used completely to make poetry and songs of praise—hence is said *baird* “bards” and *bairdne* “bardism” in Irish—and all the soldiers of Caesar who were besieging (them) [came] to the battle’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 720–23; trans. adapted.).

⁸⁶ Ibid., ll. 724–31, pp. 56–9. See further discussion of this passage in Chapter 7.

⁸⁷ See Russell, ‘*Read It in a Glossary*’ and ‘*Graeca... Latine*’ for development and details of Irish glossarial etymological methods.

link between medieval Ireland and Lucan's text, tying the peoples and events of Roman history to Irish linguistic identity.

Classical Gods in Early Irish Glossaries

The linkage of Irish words with figures in Classical texts, as exemplified by the *bardi* and *druidae* in Lucan and CC, is ultimately grounded in Isidorean etymological speculation and the medieval glossary tradition. The seventh- or early eighth-century *O'Mulconry's Glossary* provides the following examples:

Éc .i. eclipsis grece, mors interpretatur, uel ab [H]ecata regina
i[n]ferni; uel exit[i]um .i. periculum; uel *éc* .i. nostio grece
infermitas.⁸⁸

Feb a Foebó .i. febus et Febe .i. sol et luna .i. Apaill et Deana apud
gentiles.⁸⁹

In these instances, Classical gods are presented as underlying everyday Irish words. These examples have been cited as evidence of Irish Classical learning by Herren⁹⁰ and in keeping with Isidorian methods of etymology, especially given how much attention Isidore pays to pagan gods in his *Etymologies* (although he predominantly treats them as euhemerized humans or pagan inventions).⁹¹ The methodological importance of Isidorean etymology and etymological wordplay in Ireland is reflected in the likely eighth-century core of *Auraicept na nÉces*, which famously attributes the construction of the Irish language to what was best of every language after the Tower of Babel.⁹² The idea that pagan deities contributed to the Irish language (and thus must have constituted some of the 'best' aspects of their respective languages) is striking, but fits within a scholarly milieu grounded in Isidore and etymological wordplay.

⁸⁸ '*Éc* "death", i.e. *eclipsis* [ἐκλειψις] in Greek, it means 'death'. Or from Hecate, queen of the underworld. Or Lat. *excitium* 'ruin', i.e. danger. Or *éc*, i.e., *nostio* [νόσος?] in Greek, weakness.' (Moran, *De origine Scoticae linguae*, §353, p. 394).

⁸⁹ '*Feb* "excellence, prosperity", from Phoebus, i.e. Phoebus and Phoebe, i.e., the sun and the moon, i.e. Apollo and Diana for the heathens'. (ibid., §497, p. 197).

⁹⁰ Herren, 'Literary and Glossarial Evidence', p. 66.

⁹¹ Isidore, *Etymologies*, VIII.ix. Cf. MacFarlane, 'Isidore', pp. 9–10.

⁹² Ahlqvist, §1.13, p. 48. For dating, see also Engesland.

Another Classical god noted in *O'Mulconry's Glossary* is worth further attention: Bacchus, who appears three times in the glossary. The first two instances are fairly straightforward:

Bacc a baculo; baculus a Bacho (.i. ó Liber Pater) repertore uitis.⁹³

Bag a Bacho .i. ón dásacht.⁹⁴

The first entry comes from *Etymologies*, XX.xiii.1, where Isidore adds that Bacchus invented the stick to support those who had over-indulged in wine.⁹⁵ This rationale is left out of the Irish, where the interest is simply on the sequence of words resulting in Irish *bacc*. The second entry more directly relates Bacchus to an Irish term, but this meaning of *bag* appears to be unattested outside of glossaries.⁹⁶ In this instance attributes of a Classical deity (in this case the frenzy associated with Bacchus and wine consumption) create what appears to be an entirely new word in Irish rather than providing the etymology for a pre-existing word (as with *bacc* above).

A later reference to Bacchus is more complicated and represents far greater syncretism of Classical sources and Irish tradition:

Cepóche .i. grece cae 7, bo .i. laus. Ba ed as-berthe, caebo caebo. Ro-drúailled íarom conid cepóche 7 molad iobbó .i. iobó do Ióib, ar ba omnipotens léo-sam a ngeintib int idol sin. Ó ro-cantae didiu in turem, fris-ngaired in chlas dicens caebo caebo iobó .i. molad do Ióib. Acht is gen Iepte ceta-toscóil ingena oc dúchann la Ebru ó dindgnu do dingna. Nó ceó-Bachi .i. día fína; ba hé sollaman Bachi leo-samh Sammon, an tan as abaigh an fín. Ceu-Bachi dursand a Bachi, nó amrae sin a Bachi.⁹⁷

⁹³ '*Bacc* "hook", from [Lat.] *baculus* "stick"; *baculus* is from Bacchus (i.e., from Liber Pater), the discoverer of the vine'. (Moran, *De origine Scoticae linguae*, §115, p. 142).

⁹⁴ '*Bach* "intoxication, fury", from Bacchus, i.e. from madness'. (ibid., §117, p. 142).

⁹⁵ Cf. ibid., p. 314. Moran notes that the designation Liber Pater for Bacchus could also have come from *Etymologies*, XV.i.6.

⁹⁶ See eDIL, 's.v. 2 *bach*', <dil.ie/5088>.

⁹⁷ '*Cepóche* "choral song", i.e. in Greek *cae* "and" [and] *bo*, i.e. praise [< καί "and" + βοή (?) "shout"]. That is what used to be said: *cae bo*, *cae bo*—it was afterwards corrupted to *cepóche*—when praising [and] *iobó*, i.e. *iobó* for Jove, because for them, the heathens, that idol was omnipotent. When the chant was sung, then, the choir used to answer it saying *cae bo*, *cae bo*, *iobó*, i.e. praise to Jove. But it is the daughter of Jephthah who first introduced girls chanting among the Hebrews from hill top to hill top. Or, *ceó-Bachi*, i.e. [Bacchus] god of wine; Samain (?) was the festival of Bacchus for them, when the wine is mature. *Ceu Bachi* means alas, O Bacchus [< *ceó*

Moran analyses the entry in detail and identifies Servius's explanation of *euhoē Bacchi* in *Aeneid*, VII.389 as a possible source for *ceú-Bachi*.⁹⁸ As an entry, it is interesting for combining two separate Classical deities (Jove and Bacchus), the biblical account of Jephthah's daughter (Judges 11.29–40), and an Irish festival (if we accept *Sammon* as Samain). Isidorian etymology never requires a single, correct answer and often presents multiple, mutually acceptable suggestions. The fact that an Irish writer tied praise of Jupiter, Bacchic revels, biblical inheritance, and an Irish tradition together and treated them as equally valid etymologies for an Irish word is surely its own type of *interpretatio*. The connection of Samain and mist with Bacchus (or a suitably supernatural/mythological figure) may have distant echoes in vernacular sagas that connect Samain and mist with the Otherworld.⁹⁹ If we take *céo* as the 'mist' or 'confusion' of drunkenness, as Moran speculates,¹⁰⁰ we might also compare its usage in the twelfth-century *Mesca Ulad* ('The Intoxication of the Ulsterman') in a passage of poetry spoken by one of the inebriated Ulstermen.¹⁰¹ Regardless of later vernacular parallels, the glossary entry itself is a masterful piece of *interpretatio* on linguistic and mythological grounds, and, as is often the case with Irish texts, it adds to the Classical and vernacular *interpretatio* by also incorporating a biblical reference. The coexistence of Classical and Irish *interpretatio* alongside biblical *interpretatio*, which stems from a model of universal history grounded in Christian historiography, will prove crucial to the central thematic strand of the second part of this thesis, and will re-emerge in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Another example of Classical *interpretatio* and the Irish language, this time from the closely-related glossaries *Sanas Cormaic* and *Dúil Dromma Cetta*, prominently highlights the interest early Irish glossaries have in Classical gods, even when the connection to Irish vocabulary is tenuous at best:

"cloud, gloom" + *Bacchus*], or that is wonderful, O Bacchus'. (Moran, *De origine Scoticae linguae*, §213, pp. 153–54).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ For example, see connections with Samain in Meyer, 'The Adventures of Nera' (*Echtra Nerai*), and with mist in Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, §19, pp. 48–49.

¹⁰⁰ Moran, *De origine Scoticae linguae*, p. 353.

¹⁰¹ Watson, *Mesca Ulaid*, l. 415, p. 18. While *céo* is not given in eDIL with definitions explicitly connected to 'inebriation', this does not mean it did not have such meanings or connotations.

Aod .i. tene. Is imaircide son cid tria delidin inn anma is aod .i. dea .i. bandéa, ipsa est Uesta .i. bandea tened, et quia Uestam illam deam esse ignis fabula fertur, Uesta ipsa ignis dicitur .i. aod.¹⁰²

The stages of reasoning to get from Vesta the goddess of fire to *áed* are several and convoluted: first we must invert the letters of *áed* to arrive at *dea* ‘goddess’, then we must assume that out of all the possible pagan gods and goddesses, this specific one should be connected with Vesta, the Roman goddess of fire. While *deilin* or *impód* ‘metathesis’ was an acceptable etymological tool for the medieval Irish, the link between *dea*, which could refer to any (usually pagan) goddess, and Vesta in particular, is weak compared with the more obvious links in many other glossary entries between similar sounding words and words with similar meanings.¹⁰³ The same methods of linguistic manipulation are also discussed in *Auraicept na n-Éces* and related texts and belong to a wider sphere of medieval Irish linguistic speculation based on and developing beyond Isidorean methodology.¹⁰⁴ That such an etymology was provided for *áed* in *Sanas Cormaic* and *Dúil Dromma Cetta* illustrates a high level of scholarly interest in Classical mythology in addition to language within this learned milieu.

We see conflicting approaches to the godhood of Classical deities in the early glossary texts. The *O’Mulconry* entry on *éc* simply tells us that Hecate is ‘queen of hell’, without specifying who believes her to be so or whether she actually is. The entry on *feb*, however, suggests that only the pagans believe the sun and the moon to be Apollo and Diana. The first two entries involving Bacchus/Liber Pater make no comment on his godhood, but the entry on *cepóche* is happy to call him ‘god of wine’ (notable using *día*, which Carey identifies as the usual term for the Christian God, rather than *dee/dea*, which are more commonly used for pagan deities), despite the

¹⁰² ‘*Áed*, i.e., fire. That is suitable because through inversion the name is *áed*, that is *dea*, that is a goddess, that one is Vesta, i.e. the goddess of fire, and because the story [*fabula*] is told that that Vesta is the goddess of fire, fire is named from that Vesta, i.e., *áed*. (*Sanas Cormaic*, Y.33, cf. *Dúil Dromma Cetta*, D1.34, at the *Early Irish Glossaries Database*; my trans.).

¹⁰³ Compare with such straightforward entries as *Sanas Cormaic*, Y.49, at the *Early Irish Glossaries Database*: ‘*Anam* ab anima dicitur .i. ona suailchib’ (‘*Anam* “soul” is named from *anima*, that is, from its virtues’), or Y.63: ‘*Athabae* quasi bath .i. bas’ (‘*Athabae* “hellebore” like death, that is, death’); my trans.

¹⁰⁴ See Calder, *Auraicept*, ll. 2086, 2133–34, 5308, pp. 158–61, 266 for *deilin* ‘metathesis’, which occurs in the *Trefhocul* poem that circulates with *Auraicept na n-Éces*, rather than the ‘canonical’ core of the text.

fact that the same entry has cast doubt upon the divinity of Jove the ‘idol’.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the *Dúil Dromma Cetta* and *Sanas Cormaic* entry on *áed* notes that Vesta is the goddess of fire according to *fabula*, implying she was not actually a goddess. This *fabula* could well be sourced from Isidore’s *Etymologies*, VIII.xi.59–68, which cites Ovid and lists a number of features of the deity known as Ceres, Ops, Vesta, Tellus, and/or Mater Magna according to various pagans. For Isidore, these Classical deities may have been the delusions of pagans, but their names were still etymologically valid contributions to the sacred languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew). Nor were Classical deities the only pagan gods to receive this treatment, as both *Sanas Cormaic*, Y.122, 153 and *Tochmarc Emere* trace the etymology of Beltaine to the Old Testament idol Bel from Daniel, 14.1–22.¹⁰⁶

In addition to offering a glimpse at early medieval Irish approaches to Classical scholarship, early glossaries raise interesting implications for the formulation of Irish gods in other types of literature. Many of these implications seem to mirror the questions addressed above as to whether Classical gods were in fact gods or merely the inventions of *fabula*. The question of whether Ana, the ‘mater deorum Hibernensium’ in *Sanas Cormaic*, represents the otherwise unattested goddess Danu (of TDD fame), and whether her description is actually sourced from Isidore’s entry on Cybele has been discussed recently by both Clarke and Williams.¹⁰⁷ Cybele and goddesses syncretized with her interested the compilers of *Sanas Cormaic* and other related glossaries and glosses elsewhere, as in the case of *áed* and Vesta mentioned above. In the roughly contemporaneous ninth-century St Gall Priscian, Ops (whom Isidore links with Cybele and Vesta) is also glossed in Latin as ‘mater deorum’.¹⁰⁸ In later Irish literature, the interest in defining both Irish and Classical characters as ‘mother of the gods’ re-emerges: in an eleventh-century version of LGÉ, Donand, Ana’s possible analogue, is called ‘matháir na ndea’,¹⁰⁹ while identical wording appears in the also eleventh-century IA to describe Berecynthia (an epithet of

¹⁰⁵ Carey, ‘Dee “Pagan Deity”’, pp. 35–36. It is possible that this distinction was not yet widespread given the early seventh- or eighth-century date of O’Mulconry’s Glossary, although Carey notes its use in the St Gall Priscian and thus it must have been in operation on some scale by at least the ninth century.

¹⁰⁶ van Hamel, §55, p. 43. Cf. Clarke, ‘Linguistic Education’, p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ Clarke, ‘Linguistic Education’, pp. 52–53; Williams, *Ireland’s Immortals*, pp. 186–90. Russell, ‘Graece... Latine’, p. 409 discusses the entry’s use of Greek.

¹⁰⁸ Bauer et al., St Gall Priscian, 70a8g.

¹⁰⁹ Macalister, LGÉ, IV, pp. 216–17.

Cybele),¹¹⁰ translating the Latin ‘deum... genetrix Berecynthia magnum’.¹¹¹ These may be discrete and unrelated instances of a fairly generic description ‘mother of the gods’, but they reflect the continuing interest in and engagement with both characters among Irish scholarly elites within a multilingual intellectual milieu.

DIVINE EPITHETS: FROM THE GLOSSES TO *TOGAIL NA TEBE*

A number of the descriptions applied to Classical gods in the early glosses and glossaries reflect those in later vernacular Classical adaptations and there is some evidence for postulating a nascent set of divine epithets travelling alongside Classical deities in the Middle Irish period. Miles identifies recurring descriptions of (mortal) characters in *Don Tres Troí* and FCT, which he argues ‘suggest established heroic epithets’.¹¹² One, ‘Eillinn Leghda’ (‘Ledaen Helen’) reflects Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII.363, while others seem to be Irish inventions, including the description of Pyrrhus in *Don Tres Troí* as ‘mac Aichil airdechtaigh’ (‘son of great death-dealing Achilles’), which has a parallel in FCT’s description of ‘Aichil echtach’ (‘death-dealing Achilles’).¹¹³ This epithet of Achilles is the only one which Miles identifies in multiple texts applied to the same Classical figure, but ‘heroic epithets’ appear across texts elsewhere in relation to the Classical gods, especially TTe, which seems to develop its own stylized epithets for the Olympians.¹¹⁴

The epithets in TTe are, as Miles states in relation to those in *Don Tres Troí*, ‘as much stylistic as academic’.¹¹⁵ They rarely if ever translate anything in Statius’s Latin original, nor do they represent commonplace epithets found in other Classical Latin works. The first few times Jove is referred to as ‘cenn na dei’, Apollo is called ‘dea na faistine’, Bacchus is ‘dei inn fhina’, or Mars is ‘dei in catha’, we might assume these epithets are glosses, meant to elucidate an unfamiliar Classical god’s

¹¹⁰ Calder, IA, ll. 2018–37.

¹¹¹ ‘Berecynthia, mother of the great gods’. (Vergil, *Aeneid*, IX.82).

¹¹² Miles, *Don Tres Troí*, p. 59.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 59–60.

¹¹⁴ Miles notes that Samson is described as *mongach* in both *Don Tres Troí*, l. 15 and TTr-2, LL ll. 32579–82, 32823–5. To this may be added the twelfth-century text *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*, ed. Marstrander, ll. 91, 120, 152, 163, 199; a short text in LB, fols 127a20–128a20; and LGÉ, ed. Macalister, v, pp. 196–97, 200–01.

¹¹⁵ Miles, *Don Tres Troí*, p. 59.

general remit. However, Jove is specified as ‘the head of the gods’ three times,¹¹⁶ Apollo is designated as ‘the god of prophecy’ on five separate occasions,¹¹⁷ Bacchus is named ‘the god of wine’ seven times,¹¹⁸ and Mars is called ‘god of battle’ an impressive nine times.¹¹⁹ TTe is a long text, running to 4924 lines in Calder’s edition, but surely by the time Mars was listed as the god of battle for the ninth time, both author and reader had already internalized this information. This repetitive explanation seems more likely to represent a conscious stylistic choice. Likewise, Cerberus is twice specified as ‘cú Oirc’,¹²⁰ Minerva is four times called ‘bandea in gaiscid’,¹²¹ and Neptune is thrice ‘dea in mara’.¹²² TTe also favors patronymics far more than Statius, stylistically reflecting other vernacular Irish texts concerned with characters’ parentage: Jove is ‘mac Sátuirnd’ eight times.¹²³ These epithets serve a stylistic rather than structural purpose, as the same gods are intermittently referred to with and without epithets, sometimes in the same passage. Moreover, the appearance of epithets rarely corresponds with any shifts in narrative or with reintroductions of the gods after a period of absence.¹²⁴

Setting aside these relatively straightforward epithets within TTe which convey basic explanatory information (sphere of patronage and familial relationships), there are also several epithets that appear across multiple texts and may indicate an emerging medieval Irish tradition of assigning epithets to Classical mythological figures, or at least potential intertextual relationships between earlier glosses and Classical adaptations and between different Classical adaptations themselves. FCT

¹¹⁶ Calder, TTe, ll. 28–30, 633, 3607–12.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., ll. 31, 122–3, 2179–80, 2895, 3715.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., ll. 616–18, 1609–17, 1716–17, 2601, 2613, 2723–25, 3164–65.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., ll. 760, 1874–78, 2601, 3053, 3247, 3343–46, 3386–87, 3642, 3801–06. In l. 1107, Mars is additionally specified as *cathchumachtach* ‘battle powerful’, translating *armipotens* in *Thebaid*, III.334.

¹²⁰ ‘The hound of Orcus’. (Calder, TTe, ll. 1356–57, 2926–27).

¹²¹ ‘The goddess of arms’. (ibid., ll. 3170–73, 3289, 3326–35, 4691–97). Note that Calder mistranslates *gaiscid* as ‘wisdom’ at l. 3289, presumably influenced by *gáes*, cf. eDIL, ‘s.v. gáes’, <dil.ie/25091>).

¹²² ‘The god of the sea’. (Calder, TTe, ll. 2281–82, 2405, 2666–68).

¹²³ ‘Son of Saturn’. Ibid., ll. 28–30, 334–35, 836–38, 1263–65, 3326–35, 3776–77, 3855, 4691–97.

¹²⁴ The two exceptions are Mars, who nearly always appears with an epithet, and Venus and Juno, whose shared epithet ‘bandea na toili’ occurs in passages involving sexual misconduct, as discussed below.

calls Ceres, ‘bande na cruthaighechta’ (‘the goddess of creation’).¹²⁵ If we recall Isidore’s lengthy entry on Ceres (and syncretized goddesses) this makes sense: ‘Cererem, id est terram, a creandis frugibus adserunt dictam’.¹²⁶ However, Ceres is traditionally more specifically a goddess of agriculture, rather than creation in general, and we find her connected to grain in the St Gall Priscian glosses, where she is ‘bandea cruithnechta’ and ‘bandea hetho’.¹²⁷ *Cruithnecht* ‘wheat’ and *cruthaighecht* ‘creation’ are similar forms, and likely the result of scribal error and an incorrectly expanded suspension mark. Thus, the author(s) of FCT may have been thinking of *cruithneacht* from an older glossing tradition like that represented by the St Gall Priscian, rather than *cruthaighecht*. At the same time, however, the *cruthaighecht* reading was plausible enough that both manuscripts of FCT preserve it and it alternatively could have resulted from or been reinforced by reading an explanation like Isidore’s ‘Cererem, id est terram, a creandis *frugibus* adserunt dictam’ that was missing *fruigibus*. In this case, Ceres’s description may be less an epithet per se, but may nonetheless reflect the influence of multiple sources.

Pluto’s epithets in the adaptations may also owe something to traditions found in glosses and glossaries. The Yellow Book of Lecan version of *Sanas Cormaic* gives the following entry for *plutad* ‘smashing, breaking’ (a word which does not seem to be attested outside of the glossary and later dictionaries, themselves often derived from earlier glossaries): ‘Plutad .i. brisiud, a plutone .i. Pluton gaba ifunin [*ifrinn*]’.¹²⁸ The description ‘gaba ifirn’ appears later in conjunction with Vulcan, a more obvious

¹²⁵ Byrne, ‘Parricides’, §1, pp. 16–17.

¹²⁶ ‘They say that Ceres, that is, earth, is so called from creating fruits’. (Isidore, *Etymologies*, VIII.xi.59).

¹²⁷ ‘The goddess of wheat’, ‘the goddess of grain’. (Bauer et al., St Gall Priscian, 60a32, 66b33).

¹²⁸ ‘Plutad, that is breaking, from Pluto, that is Pluto the smith of hell’. (*Sanas Cormaic*, YAdd 1074 (TCD MS 1318, col. 76), at the *Early Irish Glossaries Database*; my trans.). Cf. correct reading of *ifrinn* for *ifunin* in a related glossary, *Loman*, §129 (TCD MS 1337, p. 77c, at the *Early Irish Glossaries Database*. eDIL, ‘s.v. plutad’, <dil.ie/34422> seems to be attested only in *Sanas Cormaic* and Peter O’Connell’s eighteenth-century dictionary. The only Classical source I am aware of that explicitly links Pluto with smithing is the First Vatican Mythographer, where Pluto takes pity on Vulcan after he has been cast from Olympus by Juno and gives him to the Cyclopes to train; Pluto later advises him to make a gold chair to help him recognize his mother which succeeds when Juno sits on it and laughs. See Kulcsár, §173; Pepin, p. 76.

smith than Pluto, in TTr-1, TTr-2, and TTe.¹²⁹ Pluto or Orcus appears more conventionally as ‘rí iffirn’ in both TTe and CC.¹³⁰ TTe arguably translates what is already in Statius’s Latin. The corresponding passage is longer in Latin than in Irish so it is unclear exactly which description of Orcus was adapted. Options include *Thebaid*, VIII.2, which varies between manuscripts: ‘regisque... sepulti’ (P) or ‘orbisque... sepulti’ (ω).¹³¹ This might suggest that TTe draws from the P manuscript tradition. Alternatively, TTe actually translates *Thebaid*, VIII.22 ‘dux Erebi’, which appears further away, twenty lines later in the Latin text but seems closer to the Irish.¹³² Lucan’s text corresponding to CC’s use of ‘rí iffirn’ reads merely ‘Dis’, meaning that CC consciously introduces the epithet and changes the god’s name to Pluto, perhaps as clarification for Irish readers.¹³³ However it may also reflect other medieval Irish descriptions of the Classical god of the underworld as ‘rí iffirn’, such as that in TTe. Furthermore, CC on two occasions introduces the epithet ‘Pluto... ri na n-dorcha’,¹³⁴ possibly drawing on Lucan’s ‘moestum Regem noctis’, although this appears only once in Latin.¹³⁵

The descriptions of Pluto may not be enough to link TTe and CC as ‘king of hell’ as it is an obvious designation for the character. Common descriptions of Cerberus, however, may imply a closer connection, as we will see in the case of other infernal imagery and descriptions shared between TTe and CC in Chapter 3. Both texts call Cerberus ‘Cerber craesfoslaici’ or ‘Cerbir craesfoslaicte’.¹³⁶ The alliteration makes it a somewhat obvious choice, but the compound appears to be unattested outside of the Classical adaptations (CC also uses the word to describe the open-mouthed corpse that Erichtho reanimates).¹³⁷ Both TTe and CC also call Cerberus the *doirrseoir* ‘doorkeeper’ of hell (*ifern*) and darkness (*dorcha*), respectively, in the same passages as *craesfoslaici*.¹³⁸ This similarity of wording in the same passages, which is much closer between the Classical adaptations than between either and

¹²⁹ ‘Smith of hell’. (Stokes, TTr-1, l. 1009; TTr-2, LL l. 32828; Calder, TTe, l. 758).

¹³⁰ ‘King of hell’. (Calder, TTe, l. 2948; Stokes, CC, l. 3958).

¹³¹ ‘Buried king’ or ‘buried world’. Cf. Shackleton-Bailey, II, p. 2.

¹³² ‘Leader of Erebus’. (Statius, *Thebaid*, VIII.22).

¹³³ Lucan, VI.514.

¹³⁴ ‘Pluto... the king of the darkness’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4176, 4254).

¹³⁵ ‘Sorrowful king of night’. Lucan, VI.740–1.

¹³⁶ ‘Cerberus of the gaping maw’. (Calder, TTe, ll. 2926–7; Stokes, CC, l. 4177).

¹³⁷ eDIL, ‘s.v. cráes’, <dil.ie/12717>. Cf. Stokes, CC, l. 4191.

¹³⁸ Calder, TTe, ll. 2926–27; Stokes, CC, l. 4178.

Statius or Lucan, suggests that we have another example of infernal imagery being shared between the Irish texts.

Curiously, in once instance in TTe, both Jove and Mars are referred to together as ‘da dei in chatha’.¹³⁹ Briggs notes that this reference is obscure; however, it bears passing similarity to a confusion between the two gods found in TTr-2.¹⁴⁰ In TTr-2, Phrixus reaches Colchis on the back of the golden ram and dedicates its fleece in the temple of Jove.¹⁴¹ This contrasts with most Classical versions of the story, where the Golden Fleece is dedicated in the temple of Mars.¹⁴² If Jove and Mars were being thought of as similar or to some extent interchangeable deities in other texts, such as TTr-2, it might explain the confusion over ‘two gods of battle’ in TTe. This parallel is far from conclusive, but it offers a hint at the sorts of mythological equivalencies and comparisons that may have been made in minds of medieval Irish scholars and readers, and the range of literary works on the bookshelf of medieval Irish adaptors of Classical literature.

Epithets of Juno and Venus in and beyond TTe present more interesting examples still. Juno is called *cruthach* ‘shapely, beautiful’ or compounds thereof in three separate texts. This is not an uncommon description of (especially noble) women in Irish literature, so it should not surprise us as a generic description. Nevertheless, it does not appear in Classical adaptations as a standard description of any other Classical goddesses, such as Venus (which might have been the more obvious choice), and so its application to Juno in three different adaptations is worthy of note. In TTe, Juno is *ilchrothach* ‘very shapely’ on four occasions, which alliterates with her name, ‘Iunaind ilchrothach’.¹⁴³ However, she is *cruthach* (without alliteration) in IA (where Vergil’s adjective is *saeva* ‘vicious’ or *magna* ‘great’ rather than ‘beautiful’),¹⁴⁴ and in the medieval Irish prose version of the *Achilleid*.¹⁴⁵ None of these texts are verse and thus they do not require the word for metrical reasons, and two out of three of them do not alliterate the adjective in question, making it more

¹³⁹ ‘two gods of battle’. (Calder, TTe, l. 760).

¹⁴⁰ Briggs, ‘The Middle Irish Translation’, p. 141.

¹⁴¹ TTr, LL, ll. 30914–15.

¹⁴² In the Latin tradition, the dedication to Mars is attested in Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* I.504, II.228, Hyginus, *Fabulae*, §§3, 20, 22, and the Third Vatican Mythographer, §15, for which see Bode.

¹⁴³ Calder, TTe, ll. 3647, 4252, 4647, 4691.

¹⁴⁴ Calder, IA, l. 1611. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII.287, 308.

¹⁴⁵ Ó hAodha, ‘The Irish Version’, §32, p. 114.

than a purely homophonic choice. None of them directly translate a word already applied to Juno in the same section of their respective Latin texts. There is thus no reason why Juno's epithet must be the same across the three works and we might postulate that the Classical goddess travelled with this epithet within a medieval Irish literary context.

Juno and Venus share several epithets within TTe as well. Venus is called 'bandei na toili' in TTe.¹⁴⁶ A thousand lines later so is Juno, with the extra specification that she is 'bandei na toili collaidi', *colnaide* emphasizing the carnality of *tol*.¹⁴⁷ Both goddesses are also *cumachtach* 'powerful': Venus is thrice *banchumachtach*¹⁴⁸ and Juno is 'caem cumachtach' in the same passage quoted above where she is 'bandei na toili collaidi'.¹⁴⁹ Venus is likewise called 'caemchele Ulcan' in the same passage where she is similarly 'bandei na toili'.¹⁵⁰ The similarity of these two passages extends to more than nearly identical wording. The description of Venus appears alongside a discussion of her serial infidelity to Vulcan, while the passage involving Juno narrates the myth in which she strikes Tiresias blind after he sides with Jupiter in the divine couple's quarrel over whether men or women feel greater sexual pleasure. The topic of the couple's quarrel is 'ailgius sarthoili', literally, 'desire of excessive sexual intercourse'.¹⁵¹ The nominal form of the adjectival prefix *sár-* primarily means 'outrage, humiliation', an association which may additionally support the existing overtones of sexual deviancy in the passage as a whole and perhaps explains why the same descriptions used of Venus in the context of her adultery are brought forward and applied to Juno.¹⁵² This level of syncretism within one text also implies that the medieval author(s) or redactor(s) of TTe see Juno and Venus as generally comparable deities. This supposition seems to be supported in other texts by Juno's widespread epithet *cruthach*, which might seem a more natural

¹⁴⁶ 'The goddess of (sexual) desire'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 760, 1838–34).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., ll. 1626–27.

¹⁴⁸ 'Powerful (woman)'. (ibid., ll. 762, 1876–77, 4250). In this case *ban-* is not a noun but the first element in a compound adjective and simply indicates that the noun accompanying the adjective (Venus) is female.

¹⁴⁹ 'beautiful, powerful [Juno]'. (ibid., ll. 1627–28).

¹⁵⁰ 'the beautiful spouse of Vulcan'. (ibid., l. 761).

¹⁵¹ Calder, TTe, l. 1628; my trans. Given the context of the description, I have taken *sár-* as 'excessive' rather than 'excellent'; cf. eDIL, 's.v. 2 *sár-*', <dil.ie/36201>.

¹⁵² Cf. eDIL, 's.v. 1 *sár*', <dil.ie/36200>.

description of the goddess of love.¹⁵³ At the same time, the use of nearly identical wording in two separate passages of TTe describing Venus's and Juno's respective sexual indiscretions illustrates how the use of divine epithets can contribute to a text's thematic interpretation of its source material.

The epithets applied to Classical gods across a range of texts, but especially in TTe, may be seen as distinct from the types of epithet assigned to heroic or genealogically-significant characters in medieval Irish literature, which tend to become amalgamated with and treated as an element of the character's name, and rely on complicated etymological vignettes to explain (such as Conn Cétchathach, Eogan Taídlech, Fiachu Muillethan, or Conall Corc, as seen in Chapter 3). Instead, the epithets accompanying Classical gods tend to offer transparent description or clarification as to the deity's divine remit. In this regard, they are much closer to the Homeric epithets such as 'white-armed Hera' or 'Achilles, breaker of horses' than what we find attached to the names of Irish heroes across sagas.

CONCLUSION

We have encountered several different types of *interpretatio* thus far in this chapter: syncretization of different mythological figures from the Classical world (as exemplified by the translation of Gaulish gods as Classical deities in CC), etymological *interpretatio* of various mythological characters and concepts within learned medieval Irish literary works, and linkages between, if not full syncretisation of, various Classical gods in the adaptations. Glosses and glossaries are important evidence for early medieval Irish conceptions of and interest in Classical deities, as well as potential avenues via which information and descriptions might have spread into vernacular texts. However, many of these examples of *interpretatio* appear to have also been made on stylistic or interpretive grounds. The choice to translate Gaulish theonyms with Classical equivalents may be as much an attempt to magnify Roman barbarity within the text as to make the names in the passage more familiar to Irish readers. Nearly identical descriptions of Juno and Venus in TTe are probably the result of a conscious desire to draw similarities between the sexual and moral contexts of the two passages rather than an honest mistake conflating the two goddesses. The

¹⁵³ Stokes, TTr-1, l. 353.

emerging epithets found in multiple Classical adaptations indicate both stylistic innovation, especially on the part of TTe, and potential intertextuality, chiefly between TTe and CC. This chapter's analysis of the specific terms applied to Classical gods has elucidated the evolution of Irish Classical studies from the explanations and wordplay provided in the glosses to the epithets of the adaptations, while highlighting instances of individual creativity. These lexical examples of *interpretatio* function because of Isidorean etymological practices, and provide us with a mythological vocabulary which will underlie the more complicated typological syncretism discussed in subsequent chapters. The following chapter will a similar type of lexical analysis to a specific group of mythological beings prevalent in both Irish literature and Classical texts: battle spirits, Furies, and related supernatural women.

CHAPTER 3

AMMAITI IN MEDIEVAL IRISH TEXTS

The lexical *interpretatio* of Chapter 2 can be productively applied to one of the best-studied cases of Classical reception in medieval Irish literature: the influence of the Classical Furies on Irish battle spirits. Despite the significant body of scholarship on Irish battle spirits, the Classical Furies have rarely been examined for their connections to other Classical supernatural beings in medieval Irish Classical adaptations such as Lucan's Erichtho, and the specific terminology used to describe them merits further discussion.¹⁵⁴ This chapter will analyse instances of *interpretatio* between Classical and Irish supernatural characters through an examination of the term *ammait*, a word chosen due to its application to both Classical and non-Classical supernatural beings, including Lucan's Erichtho in *In Cath Catharda* (CC), the Furies in *Togail na Tebe* (TTe), and a variety of figures in other, non-Classical works of medieval Irish literature. *Ammait* has been traditionally translated as 'woman with supernatural powers, witch, hag; spectre', as well as having a secondary meaning, 'foolish woman'.¹⁵⁵ The former meaning will concern us here. eDIL's definition conveys the basic supernatural connotations of the word but as a definition, it is inexact. This chapter will thus also attempt to elucidate what criteria were required for a character to be classified as *ammait* in medieval Irish narrative between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries and how this definition evolved over time in relation to the Classical adaptations.

The ensuing analysis of *interpretatio* stemming from the use of the term *ammait* for Classical figures will also open a wider thematic discussion into directions of influence between Classical texts, medieval Irish vernacular literature, and the Classical adaptations. Just as existing definitions of *ammait* informed the application of the term to the Furies and Erichtho, so too did characteristics of these Classical characters contribute to later Irish portrayals of battle spirits, witchcraft, and supernatural women. This chapter will identify potential intertextual relationships and textual borrowings, and make a case for the instrumental role of the Classical adaptations in the evolution of medieval Irish battle narratives and battle spirit catalogues. The first section of the chapter will focus mainly on TTe and CC as they

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 1, pp. 20–21 for scholarship to date.

¹⁵⁵ eDIL, 's.v. ammaid', <dil.ie/3165>.

are the Classical adaptations that feature prominent *ammaiti* (the Furies in TTe, and Erichtho in CC). The next section on *ammaiti* in other vernacular medieval Irish texts will address a few specific scenes in more detail as examples of potential influence from the Classical adaptations on other Irish narratives.

AMMAITI IN CLASSICAL ADAPTATIONS

TTe and CC are both particularly close adaptations of their respective Latin epics.¹⁵⁶ The otherwise high level of fidelity in these two Classical adaptations makes the instances when these texts do diverge from Statius and Lucan particularly noteworthy, as the use of *interpretatio* to refer to their respective supernatural women as *ammaiti* will illustrate. This section will chart the lexical range of *ammait*, introducing its synonyms and the characters to which it is applied, before turning to depictions of *ammaiti* in battle scenes, and the relative agency of *ammaiti* in the Classical adaptations compared with their analogues in Lucan and Statius. Following from the discussion of shared epithets in Chapter 2, I will suggest that the depictions of *ammaiti* in TTe and CC indicate that the two texts are closely related and that the author(s) of one likely were familiar with the other text, as well as potentially IA.

Ammait and Synonyms

While the Furies in TTe and Erichtho in CC represent similar applications of *interpretatio* to Classical beings, they emerge as two slightly different types of *ammaiti*. The word *ammait* describes both characters, but many of the other words used to refer to these characters in the Irish adaptations differ; both texts refer to the Furies by terms indicating mythological, inherently supernatural beings, while the terminology for Erichtho in CC is usually more ambiguous. Tisiphone in TTe is notably *badb*¹⁵⁷ (a term which is also applied to Bellona in TTe¹⁵⁸ and CC,¹⁵⁹ as well as to an unnamed Erinys in CC,¹⁶⁰ but never to Erichtho), and *fúir*,¹⁶¹ also used of

¹⁵⁶ For TTe, see discussion in Miles, ‘*Riss in Mundtuirc*’, p. 76; Kershner, p. 103.

¹⁵⁷ Calder, TTe, ll. 193, 3452, 4313, 4336.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., ll. 1365–66; cf. Clarke, ‘Demonology’, p. 116.

¹⁵⁹ Stokes, CC, l. 5955.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., ll. 902–04.

¹⁶¹ Calder, TTe, l. 3447.

Tisiphone in *Fled Dúin na nGéd* (FDG; ‘The Feast of the Fort of the Geese’)¹⁶² and of Tisiphone, Allecto, and Megaera in the Middle Irish recension of CMR.¹⁶³ Erichtho, by contrast, is *bandrui*¹⁶⁴ and *caillech*.¹⁶⁵ While both characters have clear infernal connections—Tisiphone as a Stygian denizen, and Erichtho as a necromancer—they are not the same order of being. Tisiphone *is* a supernatural character, while Erichtho merely invokes the supernatural. Most of the words listed above occur where the Latin originals omit a subject noun entirely, or simply use the characters’ names or, in Erichtho’s case, ethnonym, ‘Thessalian’. The word choice in the Irish adaptations is thus not so much translation of pre-existing Latin terminology (although *fúir* ‘Fury’ is a Latin loanword), as interpretation of the characters themselves: *interpretatio*. The semantic range of *ammait* thus encompasses both infernal beings (Tisiphone) and practitioners of infernal magic (Erichtho).

Despite Erichtho’s close association with prophecy and designation as *vates* in Lucan, the meaning of *ammait* in TTe and CC does not seem to extend to ‘prophet’. In one of the few instances when Lucan gives a noun for Erichtho that is neither her name nor ethnonym alone, he calls her *Thessala vates* ‘Thessalian prophet’ or ‘soothsayer’.¹⁶⁶ This designation is entirely absent from the Irish, where the lines of Lucan in question are not translated. In CC, Erichtho effects *fáistine* ‘propheying’ but is not labeled *fáith* ‘prophet, soothsayer’.¹⁶⁷ *Fáithi* are the Fates;¹⁶⁸ *fáith* is the resurrected corpse and Pompey’s ghost.¹⁶⁹ Erichtho may raise the corpse, but she does not speak its prophecy.

¹⁶² Lehmann, *Fled Dúin*, ll. 289–94.

¹⁶³ O’Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 166–68; cf. Atkinson, *Yellow Book of Lecan*, ll. 5–8, p. 304(b).

¹⁶⁴ Stokes, CC, ll. 3900–01.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 4021, 4208. In IA, Circe is also *bandrui* and practises *druidecht*, although she is not *ammait* (Calder, IA, ll. 1458–61). See Chapter 7 for further discussion of druids.

¹⁶⁶ Lucan, VI.651.

¹⁶⁷ Stokes, CC, ll. 3876, 3967, 4074, 4306. eDIL, ‘s.v. fáitsine, fáithsine’, <dil.ie/21230>, gives *fáitsine* as ‘soothsayer’, but all the examples cited for this meaning are either sixteenth-century or later, including the poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn and William Bedell’s Old Testament translation, or can just as reasonably be translated as ‘prophecy’ instead, including CC, l. 820, a homily in the Leabhar Breac (LB), and the Annals of Connacht.

¹⁶⁸ Stokes, CC, l. 4067. The Latin *fata*, *dei*, and *fortuna* (Lucan, VI. 605–15) are replaced in Irish by *cinnset na faithi & na dei adartha & in toictiu* (ll. 4062–72, ‘the Fates and the worshipped gods and Fortune decided’).

¹⁶⁹ Stokes, CC, ll. 4067, 4213, 4283; ll. 4282–83.

Similarly, Tisiphone and Megaera are *ammaiti* in TTe, but never prophets, while Tiresias and his daughter Manto, who do prophesize, are not *ammaiti*. At ll. 1623, 1625 respectively, Tiresias is called *fisid* and *druí*, both words translating Latin *vates*.¹⁷⁰ Both Manto and the priestess of Bacchus in the material corresponding to *Thebaid*, Book VI are *bansacart*.¹⁷¹ None of these characters are *ammaiti*, although Tiresias and Manto also raise spirits from hell in order to determine the outcome of the impending conflict.¹⁷² They do so in traditional Classical fashion with sacrifices of sheep and wine, as opposed to Erichtho's unnatural necromancy in Lucan and CC.¹⁷³ *Ammait* may thus be a term related to prophecy or fate, but in these Classical adaptations, it need not signify one who prophesizes.

Ammaiti and Battles

The most obvious associations of *ammait* in CC and TTe are with battles and violent conflict. Tisiphone is an avenging Fury, invoked by Oedipus to wreak havoc on his ungrateful descendants and it is she and her sister Megaera who impel various heroes to violence. She is present before and during battles, spurring on Eteocles in the form of Halys, while Megaera appears to Polynices as Argia.¹⁷⁴ TTe's *ammaiti* are capable of shape-shifting, although in both instances the humans around them realize something is amiss. Although Tisiphone masquerades as Halys, 'rogob aduath na catha ceachtarda re hurgrain na hamaidi sin, cen co facadar hi'.¹⁷⁵ Polynices tests Megaera's disguise, asking her why she has come and, 'o na tug fregra air, dothuig cur-ba taibsi sin'.¹⁷⁶ In both the Latin original and the Irish adaptation, the fact that Polynices recognizes Megaera for a vision does not dull her efficacy. Statius's

¹⁷⁰ Statius, *Thebaid*, IV.407.

¹⁷¹ Calder, TTe, l. 1655; 'bansacart digair dasachtach do muntir Baich, do dei' (l. 1614, 'a zealous, mad priestess of the people of Bacchus, the god'), translates VI.379's 'silvestris regina chori'. *Dásachtach* is applied soon after to Tiresias (ll. 1652) and to Tisiphone in both TTe (ll. 182, 187) and CC (ll. 4174–82).

¹⁷² Calder, TTe, l. 1635.

¹⁷³ Stokes, CC, ll. 3876–4311, corresponding to Lucan's Book VI.

¹⁷⁴ Calder, TTe, ll. 3447–50, 4325–27.

¹⁷⁵ 'horror seized both the battalions at the loathsomeness of that *ammait*, though they did not see her'. (ibid., l. 3448, pp. 222–3).

¹⁷⁶ 'since she gave him no answer, he understood that that was a vision'. (ibid., l. 4334, pp. 278–79).

Polynices takes the Fury's presence as a portent of his own death, a conclusion not stated by the analogous Irish text.¹⁷⁷

In the Irish version, Megaera merely 'troubled' (*robuadir*) Polynices,¹⁷⁸ while the Latin original states,

cum vero Acherontis aperti
Dira ter admoto tetigit thoraca flagello,
ardet inops [...].¹⁷⁹

The Irish version has removed the fine details and Megaera's role is somewhat lessened to disturbing Polynices, rather than literally whipping him into a bloodlust. While the result is the same in both versions, the Irish Fury does not leave her victim *inops* 'helpless'. It seems that TTe's Polynices makes his own poor decisions, under some influence from the supernatural, rather than being utterly at the mercy of infernal beings and his father's curse.

At the same time, however, TTe omits Statius's statement in the final battle between brothers that,

nec iam opus est Furiis; tantum mirantur et adstant
laudantes, hominumque dolent plus posse furores.¹⁸⁰

Perhaps in the mind of the Irish redactors, the Furies are still necessary. Michael Clarke argues that (the admittedly later text) CMR draws on Fulgentius's scheme by which each Fury's name etymologically represents the mental or physical strife she inflicts.¹⁸¹ If read in this larger Fulgentian context in which the Furies are the causes or personifications of human anger and madness, the medieval Irish redactors of Statius may very well have seen the Furies as still integral to the conflict, either in actuality or metaphorically.

The degree to which these Furies can be resisted by mortals is ambiguous in the Irish version. During the final conflict itself, Statius tells us,

Iamque in pulvereum Furiis hortantibus aequor
prosiliunt, sua quemque comes stimulatque monetque.

¹⁷⁷ Statius, *Thebaid*, XI.149–50.

¹⁷⁸ Calder, TTe, ll. 4336–37.

¹⁷⁹ 'when the Fury of open Acheron touched his breast three times with her driving lash, he burned, helpless'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, XI.150–52).

¹⁸⁰ 'There is no longer need for Furies; they merely marvel and stand by cheering, pained that human madness can be greater than their own'. (ibid., XI.537–38).

¹⁸¹ Clarke, 'Demonology', p. 119.

frena tenent ipsae phalerasque et lucida comunt
arma manu mixtisque iubas serpentibus augent.¹⁸²

The Irish offers merely, ‘roeirgedar amaidi duaibsechdemnacha for a n-armuib 7 for a n-echaib .i. Tisipohne ag tindenus Eitiocleis 7 Megea ad trengresacht Poiliniceis’.¹⁸³ The *ammaiti* are present and urge their respective brothers on, but they do not ‘frena tenent’ specifically. In Statius, even the Olympian gods of war flee the brothers’ climactic single combat, as does Pietas shortly thereafter driven away by Tisiphone, leaving only ‘Stygiae [...] sorores’.¹⁸⁴ In the Irish version, Pax calms the opposing armies during the brothers’ final duel but makes no attempt to intervene in the duel itself, and thus the Furies have no need to drive her off.¹⁸⁵ On the one hand, this diminishes Tisiphone’s power to banish Pietas/Pax; on the other hand, Pietas/Pax has been more thoroughly exiled from TTe than from the *Thebaid*, where she is invoked a final time by Oedipus as he grieves over his sons’ corpses.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, TTe removes Statius’s statement that Tisiphone impels Tydeus to cannibalism.¹⁸⁷ This has the effect of minimizing Tisiphone’s influence in the most horrific scene in Statius’s narrative, but it also shifts the narrative focus away from Tydeus and his gruesome *aristeia*, instead emphasizing the climax of the work: the conflict between brothers itself, begun and sustained by the Furies, and brought to conclusion in their presence. Thus, while TTe arguably emphasizes its infernal actors at the expense of the Olympian gods, their agency and power is still ambiguous.¹⁸⁸

If Statius’s Furies precipitate conflict and loom over the battle itself, Lucan’s Erichtho lurks on the edges of battles, predicting the outcome of the struggle and waiting to carry off corpses for her magic. She ‘fixes’ the location of the battle of Pharsalia on the plain of Thessaly precisely so that she can profit from the carnage and acquire Caesar’s and Pompey’s corpses, although she is not involved in

¹⁸² ‘And now at the Furies’ urging they rushed onto the dusty plain, each with a companion to goad and guide. [The Furies] themselves hold the reins and arrange the ornaments and bright arms by hand, and augment manes with intermixed snakes’ (Statius, *Thebaid*, XI.403–15).

¹⁸³ ‘there rose up dark, devilish hags (*amaidi*) settling upon their arms and horses, to wit, Tisiphone hurrying on Eteocles, and Megaera strongly urging Polynices’ (Calder, TTe, l.4444; trans. adapted).

¹⁸⁴ ‘Stygian Sisters’. (Statius, *Thebaid*, XI.410, XI.415).

¹⁸⁵ Calder, TTe, ll. 4485–8.

¹⁸⁶ Statius, *Thebaid*, XI.580–604. Cf. Calder, TTe, ll. 4564–69.

¹⁸⁷ Statius, *Thebaid*, VIII.757–58.

¹⁸⁸ See below, pp. 61–62, and Chapter 4, pp. 119–24.

psychological manipulation of the conflict's major actors as are the Furies in TTe.¹⁸⁹ The Irish tells us that, 'si ic denam tairmisc annsin na ructais na dei adarta in cath mor'.¹⁹⁰ This renders a longer Latin original:

Illa magis magicisque deis incognita verba
Temptabat, carmenque novos fingebat in usus.
Namque, timens, ne Mars alium vagus iret in orbem,
Emathis et tellus tam multa caede careret,
Pollutos cantu dirisque venefica succis
Consersos vetuit transmittere bella Philippos.¹⁹¹

Tisiphone provokes battle because she is a Fury; Erichtho stands to gain from the conflict at hand and attempts to set its parameters.

Erichtho also commits physical acts of violence on and off the battlefield, of the sort only instigated by Tisiphone and Megaera in TTe:

Intan ba h-adhailc di fuil daine m-beo dochom na draidechta, teged-si isna cathaib & isna h-ergalaibh co m-bidh ic frithailimh na fola a crectaib na fer re síu no siled a cru for lar. No tairrnedh dano a naidhena becca beoa tre bronntaeba na m-ban torrach immach. Intan dano na fagbadh apaige urlamha fria less no mharbadh fein daine di. Ni h-immirthe for duine earnail bais na h-imred-si fortha. No spelad i fultu & i n-ulcu cona laim clí dib intan bitis na daine ic éc. Intan téighed cara di bas ticcedh-si docom a cuirp co m-bidh acc poccad a bhall. No foslaiccedh craes in mairb 'arsin, & no bidh ic coccnamh a thengadh, & no canadh a bricht druadh ina brágait, co n-dernadh tectuirecht ettarru & demna iffirn.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Lucan, VI.577–82.

¹⁹⁰ 'she [was] then prohibiting that the worshipped gods take the great battle [somewhere else]'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4010–11, pp. 300–01; my trans.).

¹⁹¹ 'She tried words unknown to *magi* and the gods of magic, and shaped a spell for a new use.

Fearing, lest Mars might go wandering to another world and the Emathian earth might lack such great slaughter, and thus the poisoner forbade Philippi, polluted by her incantation and sprinkled with her dreadful juices, to transplant the battle'. (Lucan, VI.577–82).

¹⁹² 'When she desired the blood of a living person for her magic, she used to enter battles and conflicts, so that she might be attending the blood out of the men's wounds before their gore would drop upon the ground. So she used to drag the little, living infants out through the womb-sides of the pregnant women. So when she found no

CC translates Lucan nearly word for word in this account, with the exceptions that the Irish text does not mention that Erichtho wants premature children specifically for her altars.¹⁹³ At the same time, CC intensifies the force of *carus* ‘dear one’¹⁹⁴ to *carae*, which means both ‘friend’ and ‘kinsman’, thus combining the sense of *carus* ‘dear one’ with *cognatus* ‘relative’.¹⁹⁵ CC also makes the passage more carnal and disturbing. CC translates Latin ‘incubuit membris’, which could be taken to refer to necrophilia in Latin,¹⁹⁶ with Irish *ball* ‘limb, member’, which can have the same genital connotations as Latin *membrum*.¹⁹⁷ *Incubo* ‘I lie upon’ is not innately sexual in Classical Latin, but for a medieval reader of Lucan it surely would have summoned the sexual and demonic associations of the post-Classical *incubus*, already evident in Augustine and Isidore.¹⁹⁸ The fact that it is now Erichtho’s own dying kinsman (*cara di*) whose members she kisses adds potential incest to the pre-existing possibility of necrophilia.

Supernatural Agency

The degree to which Classical characters termed *ammat* in medieval Irish adaptations are independent actors or follow the will of the Fates, Fortuna, or the Olympian gods is variable. A significant part of the terror Erichtho evokes comes from her ability to command infernal deities and spirits. In the Latin text, she and her fellow Thessalian magic-workers are a horrifying alternative to the Apollo’s priestess, Jupiter’s grove, and the farther-removed rites of Babylon and Egypt.¹⁹⁹ Lucan is explicit that Sextus does not seek conventional prophecy from *fas* ‘permissible’ sources.²⁰⁰ Instead,

entrails ready for her profit, she would even murder a human being. No kind of death was inflicted on man kind that she did not inflict upon them. She used to cut off with her left hand men’s hair and their beards when they were dying. When a kinsman of hers was going to death she would come to his body and be kissing his limbs. She would afterwards open the dead man’s gullet, and chew his tongue, and chant her magic spell in his throat, so that a message was sent between her and the demons of hell’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 3989–4000).

¹⁹³ Lucan, VI.559.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., VI.564.

¹⁹⁵ eDIL, ‘s.v. 1 cara’, < dil.ie/8205>. The word choice may have been motivated by the proximity of *caris*... *membris* in VI.564–65.

¹⁹⁶ ‘she lay on their limbs’. (Lucan, VI.565).

¹⁹⁷ eDIL, ‘s.v. ball’, < dil.ie/5299>.

¹⁹⁸ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XV.23; Isidore, *Etymologies*, VIII.xi.103.

¹⁹⁹ Lucan, VI.413–506.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., VI.430.

Ille supernis
 Detestanda deis saevorum arcana magorum
 Noverat, et tristes sacris feralibus aras,
 Umbrarum Ditisque fidem: miseroque liquebat,
 Scire parum superos.²⁰¹

In Irish, this becomes, ‘Ni do tempul Ioib no Apaill no dei aile no bandei ro cuaid Poimp Sext d’fiarfaigidh na scél sin. Ni do taisceltaib rend no retlann no reatha saighnen no gotha én ro iarfaigh iat, ar ro sail a fhis cinnte d’fogbail o bandruidib in tire i m-boi .i. o ammaib na Tesaili’.²⁰² To a Christian writer, this knowledge may already be by definition unacceptable to God, and thus there is no need to comment on it, but the text only implies that the *ammaiti* in question fall outside the purview of the regular Olympian pantheon, rather than actively clarifying, as in the Latin, that the gods ‘detest’ their practices. There is likewise no statement (in the regular narration or in Sextus’s mind) that the gods above know too little, although this may have seemed an attractive interpretation of pagan deities to a Christian writer. Instead, CC chooses to direct its focus towards the *ammaiti* rather than mention the Olympians. The subtle emphasis on infernal powers over Olympian gods reoccurs throughout CC, and will be further examined in the context of Christian salvation history in Chapter 5.

CC again redirects attention from the Olympians to Erichtho by omitting Lucan’s lengthy digression on the Pythia, who is initially too terrified to prophesy Appius’s fate and ultimately dies from the exertion.²⁰³ CC simply states that Appius received an answer from Apollo’s priestess, without qualifying how.²⁰⁴ Critics of Lucan have traditionally seen the Pythia’s prophecy and death in Book V as a counterpart to Erichtho’s resurrection of the dead to prophesy in Book VI.²⁰⁵ While

²⁰¹ ‘He had known the mysteries of cruel magic which the gods above detest, and sorrowful altars with funeral rites, the faith of Dis and the shades; and it was clear to the wretch that the gods above know too little’. (ibid., VI.430–4).

²⁰² ‘Not to a temple of Jove or of Apollo or any other god or goddess did Sextus Pompeius go to ask for those tidings. Not from observers of stars or constellations, or of the course of lightning, or the cries of birds did he ask them, for he thought he would obtain his certain knowledge from the female druids of the land wherein he was, that is, from the *ammaiti* of Thessaly’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 3897–901, pp. 292–93; trans. adapted).

²⁰³ Lucan, V.219–24.

²⁰⁴ Stokes, CC, ll. 3236–40.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Ahl, pp. 130–31; Makowski; O’Higgins; Hardie, pp. 108–09; Masters, pp. 91–205; Young; Day, pp. 93–105; Pyłacz, pp. 15–57; Cruz, pp. 291–93.

Apollo is incapable of, or disinterested in giving Appius useful insight (despite callously maiming and killing his priestess to do so), the infernal powers under Erichtho's command deliver more comprehensive, if equally unwelcome, information to Sextus.²⁰⁶ In CC, Apollo and the Pythia merit minimal attention, leaving Erichtho as the only agent of prophecy in the latter half of the text after the portents and abortive prophecies of Arruns and Figulus in the material corresponding to Lucan's Book I. The infernal powers and the *ammai* Erichtho are thus not merely raised to a higher status than Apollo's oracle, as in Lucan, but entirely supersede Apollo. Given the detail lavished upon Erichtho's prophecy later in CC, this should be read not as an attempt to eliminate pagan prophecy as represented by Apollo, but to emphasize Erichtho and the infernal elements of the narrative over their Olympian counterparts. If Sextus has no reason to consult Delphi, CC implies that neither does Appius. As Chapter 5 will argue at greater length, this triumph of infernal powers is presented alongside biblical cataclysms in order to transform the Battle of Pharsalus into a pivotal point dividing the world of the pagan past from the Christian era to come in the following generation.

One of the most notable departures made by CC from Lucan's text is an elaborate description of the hell that awaits victims of the coming battle. The resurrected corpse in the Latin text proclaims,

Aeternis chalybum nodis, et carcere Ditis
 Constrictae plausere manus, camposque piorum
 Poscit turba nocens. Regni possessor inertis
 Pallentes aperit sedes, abruptaque saxa
 Asperat, et durum vinclis adamanta, paratque
 Poenam victori.²⁰⁷

The Irish adaptation emphasizes the *poena*,

‘Attconnarc co subach somenmnach cach aen da fil laghad occus
 éttromugud pian do rochtain na cintach cucu. Atconnarc Pluton mac

²⁰⁶ Feeney, p. 290 conversely argues that Erichtho's prophecy gives Sextus little more certainty than the Pythia offers Appius.

²⁰⁷ ‘Their hands applauded, chained by eternal bonds of iron and by the prison of Dis, and the guilty crowd claim the fields of the pious. The possessor of that stagnant realm opens his pale dwelling, and he sharpens his broken rocks and the hard steel for chains, and prepares punishment for the victors’. (Lucan, VI.797–802).

Satuirn ri na n-dorca occus tire na m-marb ic tinol a riaghaired & a pianti & a drong n-dirmmand n-deamnach da saigid, & atbert friu im fiadnaisi-siu: “Daingnigter for slabraidh & for n-glais & bar n-geibenna lib, ol se. Géraigter bar m-beara & var g-corrána & bar faebair. Glinnigter bhar slegha & bar tuaga occus bar n-uird esoircne anmann. Arlaidhter bar teinte londa loiscctecha. Aithighter bar clocha & bar cairrci cendgarba. Oslaicter bar n-uamdoirsi pianta & riagta, & na h-inadha pianta na ro h-oslaicit riamoccoib oslaiccter don cur-sa, ar ni tancattar a h-aencath isin domun riam cuccuib, & ni targa a h-oencath isin domun doridisi, coimlin a targa in bar n-dail a h-immairecc in morcatha-sa Poimp & Cesair.” Atconnarcus muintir Plutoin co subach somenmnach de sin, & siat uile co h-urlamh i frestal esairgne & imlesta ina ria do cintachaiph cucu assan cath mor-su’.²⁰⁸

This expansion builds on the original description of the underworld as a place of punishment for the wicked, preserving Lucan’s original material while also adding to the means of punishment. The detailed descriptions of violent punishment and of the ‘drong dirmmand deamnach’ may seem like a more Christian version of the afterlife than their source material, chiefly due to the introduction of the adjective *deamnach* ‘demonic’, but they are certainly not out of keeping with the original. It may be more productive to view this expansion as a stylistic choice, informed by both Christian and Classical depictions of the afterlife, while also contributing to the overall tone of the narrative and its eschatological perspective.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ “‘I beheld happily and cheerfully everyone whose torments will be lessened and lightened by the coming of the guilty ones. I beheld Pluto son of Saturn, the king of darkness and of the land of the dead, gathering unto him his executioners and his tormentors and his crowd of demoniac hosts; and he said to them in my presence: ‘Let your chains and your fetters and your bonds be strengthened. Let your spikes and sickles and sword-edges be whetted. Let your spears and axes and sledgehammers for smiting souls be made sure. Let your angry, burning fires be kindled. Let your stones and rough-headed rocks be sharpened. Let your cave-doors of torturing and execution, and the places of torture that have never before been opened by you, be now opened; for never from any one battle in the world have come to you, and never from any one battle in the world will come again, so many as will come to meet you out of the conflict of this great battle of Pompey and Caesar. I beheld Pluto’s household happy and high-spirited thereat, and all of them readily waiting to beat and flog the sinners who will come to them out of this great battle’”. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4252–69, trans. adapted).

²⁰⁹ See Chapter 5 for eschatology in CC.

Many of the punishments inflicted on souls in hell (fetters, sharp blades, fires, rough stones, caves) mirror Erichtho's own physical dismemberment and disposal of corpses and violence towards both the living and dying. The punishments are especially close to Erichtho's treatment of the corpse she reanimates (words in bold are found in both passages).

Erichtho's treatment of the soon-to-be reanimated corpse	Punishment of souls in Hades
Ro coirigh delan immo brághaitt & ráe imgairit as, & corran-bac cruaidhrigin for a cinn. Ro gab-sí an corrán sin ina laim ocus ro tarraing in n-apach ina diaidh le dar cairrcib cruaide cendgarba, & dar cnoefoitibh corraca, & dar bernadaib brisde belshalchu na sliged, no co rainic le é cusin inad i n-gnathaigedh a h-ammaitecht & a draidhecht do denamh .i. uaimscailp urgranna aduathmur inn accomul cairrci slébhe Eimh.²¹⁰	‘Atconnarc Pluton mac Satuirn ri na n-dorca occus tire na m-marb ic tinol a riaghaid & a piantori & a drong n-dirmmand n-deamnach da saigid, & atbert friu im fiadnaisi-siu: “Daingnigter for slabraidh & for n-glais & bar n-geibenna lib, ol se. Géraigter bar m-beara & var g-corrána & bar faebair. Glinnigter bhar slegha & bar tuaga occus bar n-uird esoircne anmann. Arlaidhter bar teinte londa loiscctecha. Aithighter bar clocha & bar cairrci cendgarba. Oslaicter bar n-uamdoirsi pianta & riagta, & na h-inadha pianta na ro h-oslaicit riamoccoib oslaiccter don cur-sa [...]”²¹¹

²¹⁰ ‘Round its neck she passed a withe, with a very short rake (?) out of it, and at its end a sickle-crook hard and stiff. She took that sickle in her hand and dragged the corpse after her over hard, roughheaded rocks, and over uneven hill-sods, and over the broken, foul-mouthed gaps of the road, till it came with her to the place in which she used to practise her witchcraft and her wizardry, namely a cavernous cleft, hideous and fearful, adjoining a crag of Mount Haemus’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4098–107).

²¹¹ “‘I beheld Pluto son of Saturn, the king of darkness and of the land of the dead, gathering unto him his executioners and his tormentors and his crowd of demoniac hosts; and he said to them in my presence: ‘Let your chains and your fetters and your bonds be strengthened. Let your spikes and sickles and sword-edges be whetted. Let your spears and axes and sledgehammers for smiting souls be made sure. Let your angry, burning fires be kindled. Let your stones and rough-headed rocks be sharpened. Let your cave-doors of torturing and execution, and the places of torture

Having observed the fate that awaits the bodily remains of those who die on the plain of Thessaly in Lucan, the Irish adaptor makes explicit that these sorts of torments will also afflict their souls.

The similarities between the two passages in the Irish version are closer than they are between the original Latin passages. Sharp rocks are present in the original Latin passages, but they are not described with the same wording in Latin (*scopuli, abruptaque saxa*), as they are in both Irish passages (*cairrici cendgarba*).²¹² Likewise, Erichtho has a hook in both Latin and Irish versions but it is only in the Irish text that such an implement is also listed among the items used to torment souls in Hades. The Irish version also conflates the underworld caves of Erichtho's lair with the vision of the underworld provided by the resurrected corpse, further solidifying the relationship between Erichtho and Hades. In Lucan, Erichtho's lair reaches down to the 'Ditis [...] cavernis', and she threatens to break the *cavernae* of the underworld if Hades does not do her bidding quickly enough, but there are no caves independently described by the resurrected corpse.²¹³ That the two passages in CC appear within 200 lines of each other further suggests a conscious stylistic effort rather than an accidental repetition of earlier vocabulary. The close textual correspondences (hard-headed rocks, hooks, and underworld caves) found in both passages in CC serve to make the Irish narrative's atmosphere more infernal as the text draws a stronger parallel between Erichtho's command of the dead on earth and Pluto's below than any found in Lucan. Erichtho is set up as almost an infernal power in her own right.

CC similarly increases Erichtho's remit by modifying the Latin passage,

Si tollere totas
Tentasset campis acies, et reddere bello,
Cessissent leges Erebis monstroque potenti
Extrartus Stygio populus pugnasset Averno.²¹⁴

that have never before been opened by you, be now opened [...]". (Stokes, CC, ll. 4252–69, trans. adapted).

²¹² I can find only two other attestations of *cendgarb* 'hard-headed' in eDIL, 's.v. 1 cenn' <dil.ie/8622>: one applied to a person in *Fled Bricrenn*, for which see Henderson, p. 50, and one also applied to *cairrici* from *Cath Maige Léna*, for which see O'Curry, p. 34.

²¹³ 'caves of Dis'. (Lucan, VI.642, VI.743).

²¹⁴ 'Had she tried to raise up
all the armies on the plains and return to battle,

In Irish, this becomes, ‘uair da tuccad si immonair anmanna in locta ro marbhait isind ármuigh uile do todusccadh tria tinctlaib druadh, ro soisedh le, & ni biadh frithtairisiumh fria imbi’.²¹⁵ Gone are the laws of Erebus and Stygian Avernus, replaced by an impersonal lack of opposition. This has the effect of extending Erichtho’s power—not only can infernal powers not stop her, but implicitly, neither can the Olympians. As the embodiment of infernal supremacy in the generation before Christ, Erichtho is unopposed by pagan powers.

In neither text does Erichtho control all destinies, however. In Lucan, she warns Sextus that,

At simul a prima descendit origine mundi
Causarum series, atque omnia fata laborant,
Si quidquam mutare velis, unoque sub ictu
Stat genus humanum tunc, Thessala turba fatemur,
Plus fortuna potest....²¹⁶

In Irish, this becomes,

In caingen lasa tancais immorro .i. etergleod in morchatha-sa Poimp &
Cesair, ro cinnset na faithi & na dei adartha & in toictiu sein cian mór
uadh, & as daingen dicumsgaighthe ata etergleod in morcatha-sa oca
arna ordughud co cobsaidh cinteach o tosach domuin ocus o
cruthughad denmae na n-dul. Uair do reir rechta na toicten ata
tinnremh in cinedha daenna uile ocus leiccmnitne fen forn co fiadnach
conadh treisi don toictiu inas duin.²¹⁷

the laws of Erebus would have yielded to her, and the host, dredged up from Stygian Avernus by her monstrous power, would have fought’. (Lucan, VI.633–36).

²¹⁵ ‘For if she had gone to work to arouse by her magical incantations the souls of all those that had been killed in the battlefield, she would have succeeded, and there would have been no opposition to her concerning it’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4094–97).

²¹⁶ ‘But at the same time the series of causes descends from the first creation of the world, and all fates suffer, if you wish to change anything, and then the human race stands under the same blow; we admit that Fortune has more power than the Thessalian crowd’. (Lucan, VI.611–15).

²¹⁷ “‘But the matter concerning which thou hast come, namely, the decision of this great battle of Pompey and Caesar, the Fates and the worshipped gods and Fortune have determined long ago; and with them the decision of this battle is firm and immovable, for it was ordained fixedly, decisively, from the beginning of the world and from the formation of the elements. For the course of the whole human race is

CC adds ‘na dei adartha’ and *toictiu* to the Latin’s *fata* and *fortuna* and accords the entirety of human *tinnram* to *toictiu*, where Lucan only ascribes certain momentous events to such binding fate. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the idea that the battle of Pharsalia along with the entire course of human events has been preordained reflects the text’s interest in a model of teleological Christian history, moving inexorably to Judgment Day and salvation. In her speech, Erichtho attributes this to the Classical gods and to fate and fortune, but a medieval audience would recognize this force of destiny as none other than God.

If Erichtho hovers somewhere between commanding and being an infernal being, Tisiphone is thoroughly infernal, although her relationship with the gods and fate is also somewhat ambiguous. The term *ammait* can evidentially be used for both humans with occult powers (Erichtho) and infernal spirits of vengeance and battle, although in both cases, the characters’ respective relationships with the pagan gods are lessened and their infernal agency is enhanced. Tisiphone and her sisters rarely explicitly serve the gods’ purpose (Oedipus invokes her directly to avenge him in Thebes,²¹⁸ while Jupiter sends Mercury to effect his purposes and raise Laius to speak to Eteocles),²¹⁹ although in Lucan, Megaera is said to have enacted Juno’s commands in the past.²²⁰ In Statius, Tisiphone and Megaera ultimately seem to answer to Pluto.²²¹ TTe, however, omits any mention of following the Stygian parent’s command, making the Furies into somewhat more free agents. TTe also omits Tisiphone’s explicit banishment of Piety/Pax from the battlefield, further severing her connection to other deities. *Ammaiti* may or may not have power over all the workings of fate, but characters so designated in Irish stand apart from the gods themselves to a greater extent than their Classical paradigms. Their infernal capabilities and supernatural agency are often enhanced in the Irish adaptations, representing both Irish and Christian *interpretatio*, as will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.²²²

according to the rule of Fortune, and we admit openly that the might of Fortune is greater than ours”’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4065–72).

²¹⁸ Statius, *Thebaid*, I.46–87; Calder, TTe, ll. 147–80.

²¹⁹ Statius, *Thebaid*, I.283–11; Calder, TTe, ll. 579–608.

²²⁰ Lucan, I.576–7. This is the *badb* in CC, ll. 902–04, although her name and prior connection with Juno are not mentioned.

²²¹ Statius, *Thebaid*, XI.76–77.

²²² Chapter 5, pp. 142–46, 150–56.

Physical Appearance

Tisiphone's and Erichtho's physical appearances in TTe and CC follow Statius and Lucan, although both adaptations embellish their descriptions, slightly in the case of TTe, and significantly in CC. Portrayals of both *ammaiti* as well as an unnamed Fury in Book I of Lucan highlight their snaky hair, which may be hair made from snakes, snake-like in appearance, or bound with snakes. Tisphone and Erichtho are also both depicted with sunken faces, dark eyes, and tight or fleshless skin. In Tisiphone's description, these details all originate in Statius, but in Erichtho's case they are primarily the work of the adaptor(s) and may represent intertextual borrowings between IA, TTe, and CC.

The Irish additions to Tisiphone's description are mostly in the form of quintessentially Middle Irish alliterative adjectives,

O'tchualaich immorro Tessifone ina briathra-sa Eidip, is andsin roeirig
in Fhuir demnach dasachtach cona trillsib do nathrachaib nemnecha
ima ceand, ac siangail 7 ic sibsanaig 7 ic feadgaire 7 ac foluaimnigud 7
ac sugud int shrotha tibreachtaichteindtigi dar-ua comainm Cosidon,
daig isinn immelbordaib int shrotha sin robid a hait 7 a hadba [...] Is
andsin roeirgedar cet nathrach neim-neach naimdidi com m[b]eandaib
7 birinib imacend. Rosuiged 7 rosluiged a rosc dathach dubglas in n-
imdomain a cind 7 a ceand mullaich. Is andsin roeirig 7 rochraith in
nathraig nemnig robai ina laim arna sluagaib, cu clos a fogar 7 a
breasmaidm ua cheathar airdib na Grecci.²²³

Statius's original lacks some of the adjectives describing the snakes but gives a longer description in all,

Talia dicenti crudelis diva severos
advertit vultus, inamoenum forte sedebat
Cocyton iuxta, resolutaque vertice crines

²²³ 'Now when Tisiphone had heard these words of Oedipus, then the fiendish mad Fury arose with her locks of venomous serpents about her head, puffing, croaking, whistling, fluttering, and sucking the welling fiery stream named Cocytus, because upon the borders of that stream her dwelling-place was [...] Then a hundred venomous and hostile serpents with crests and stings arose about her head. Her dark-grey coloured eyes were sucked and swallowed into the depths of her head and crown. Then she arose and shook the venomous serpent that was in her hand at the hosts, so that the sound and the crash thereof were heard throughout the four quarters of Greece'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 181–204, trans. adapted).

lambere sulphureas permiserat anguibus undas [...]
 centum illi stantes umbrabant ora cerastae,
 turba minax diri capitis; sedet intus abactis
 ferrea lux oculis, qualis per nubila Phoebes
 Atracia rubet arte labor; suffusa veneno
 tenditur ac sanie gliscit cutis; igneus atro
 ore vapor, quo longa sitis morbique famesque
 et populis mors una venit; riget horrida tergo
 palla, et caerulei redeunt in pectora nodi:
 Atropos hos atque ipsa novat Proserpina cultus,
 tunc geminas quatit ira manus: haec igne rogali
 fulgurat, haec vivo manus aera verberat hydro.
 Ut stetit, abrupta qua plurimus arce Cithaeron
 occurrit caelo, fera sibila crine virenti
 congeminat, signum terris.²²⁴

The Irish adaptation keeps many of the details from the Latin, although it does not include Tisiphone's venomous breath or her garment. It also differs subtly in the description of her eyes, which will be examined below.

TTe's fairly direct rendering of Tisiphone's appearance contrasts with CC's additional fifteen lines detailing Erichtho's physical portrayal,

²²⁴ 'When [Oedipus] said such things, the cruel goddess turned her severe glance. By chance she was sitting near unpleasant Cocytos and with hair loosened from her head she allowed the serpents to taste the sulphurous waves [...]
 One hundred bristling vipers shaded her face, the menacing crowd of her dreadful head. In her sunken eyes sits an iron light, as when, through Thessalian art, Phoebe's work blushes among the clouds; suffused with venom, her skin is stretched and swells with blood. There is a burning vapour, In her dark mouth, from which comes long drought and disease and famine and the one death for multitudes. On her back a horrid cloak stiffens and blue knots reappear upon her breast. Atropos and Proserpine herself renew her clothing, then anger shakes her twin hands: this one glows with the fire of a pyre, the other beats the air with a living serpent. Thus she stood, stopped where Cithaeron's highest peak touches the sky, and redoubles her wild hissing with green tresses, a sign to mortals'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, I.88–116).

In ammaid aingidh Ericto Tesalta, edón Caillech dhochraidh doidelbda dicoll, os i cael corr cruaidrengach. Aghaid glasban etlaide inalcaille le, co cuirri gruaide, co tuilli oile, co luimi leon. Glennshuili locliatha linnaca ina cinn. Sron cuasach, cicar, croimremur, tulgorm, tanaidhe, urchrom, urgranna aice. Blaescbheol duvglass duaibhsech firuathmar fodrecca le. Garbeccur grainemail do birfiacilaibh barrglassa bunodra i cechtar a da drant. Mong roliath roinnidi na scuaip aimreidh forscailte imma cend. Lama lacremra litarrda aice. Cruib garbae glaissfethacha leo. Meoir cromma ceindremra for a garbglacaip. Ingne aithgéra odurbhuidhi in seabaic fortha. Medon crapach cuisleannach aici. Sliasta accaelae ibraide, & da glun garba glicurda le. Da coiss colpthae fiarcamma finnfadacha fotha. Da lethansluasait delecha forméracha ica fulang. Grainniu delbaibh domuin a taidbred. Mesu isí fein inas a forcsi.²²⁵

This is a significant expansion upon the Latin text,

Tenet ora profanae
Foeda situ macies, coeloque ignota sereno
Terribilis Stygio facies pallore gravatur,
Impexis onerata comis.²²⁶

The Irish version, even more so than the same text's embellished picture of Hades, surpasses its source material in detail and horrific atmospherics. The Irish adaptor(s)

²²⁵ 'the wicked witch, the Thessalian Erichtho, to wit: A hag dark, misshapen, fleshless, and meagre, dwarfish (?), hard-loined. She had a face grey-white, sad, fit for a ghost: with angular cheeks, with hollow jowls, with bare brows. In her head were eyes deepset, grey-pitted, watery/bloodshot. She had a nose cavernous, greedy, curved and thick, grey-bridged, thinnish, crooked, loathsome. She had scaly lips, dark-green, gloomy, truly-fearful, undershaped (?). A rough, hateful row of spiky teeth, green-topped, dun-based, in each of her two gums. Very grey hair dishevelled, as a rough, scattered broom round her head. Hollow thick, hairy arms she had: with them rough, grey-sinewed hands: fingers curved, thick-ended, on her rough paws: the nails very sharp, dun-yellow, of a hawk were on them. Her waist was cramped and venous. Very narrow thighs she had, hard as yew, and two knees rough and staggering (?). Two leg-calves spreading, crooked, hairy, under her. Two broad, disjointed (?), long-toed feet supporting her. Most hideous of the world's shapes was her appearance. She herself was worse than the sight of her'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4020–35, trans. adapted).

²²⁶ 'She has a face of wickedness, foul and lean with neglect; and her awful countenance, unknown to serene heaven, is burdened with Stygian pallor and weighed down by uncombed hair'. (Lucan, VI.515–18).

offer more detailed descriptions of Lucan's pre-existing facial descriptions and moves on to the rest of her body, emphasizing her maleficence both through the revolting physical description itself and by cleverly juxtaposing this carefully constructed image with the assertion that her appearance is nothing compared to Erichtho herself. The additional imagery acts as rhetorical device, prefacing and enhancing Erichtho's unholy deeds in excess even of Lucan's original. At the same time, it reflects medieval Irish conventions of depicting monstrous women, and we might compare descriptions from *Sanas Cormaic*, *Echtra mac Echach Muigmedoin*, and TBDD, to name only a few texts. The author(s) of CC intensify the physical horror represented by Erichtho while drawing the character into a descriptive world already familiar to an Irish audience.²²⁷ The more monstrously Other the necromancer appears, the more recognisable she becomes to the work's readership.

Hair

The most striking description of Tisiphone and Erichtho is their snaky hair. The description of Tisiphone 'cona trillsib do nathrachaib nemnecha' given above closely parallels the unnamed Fury in the first book of Lucan,

Atcithea in badb catha gach n-aidhchi, & a h-aithinni giuis for
derglassad ina láimh & a trillsi natharda nemidi ic dresechtaigh immo
cend ic aslach in catha for na Romanchaibh.²²⁸

This corresponds to the Latin text,

ingens urbem cingebat Erinnyes,
Excutiens pronam flagranti vertice pinum,
Stridentesque comas: Thebanam qualis Agaven
Impulit, aut saevi contorsit tela Lycurgi

²²⁷ See *Sanas Cormaic*, B.576, M.571, Y.1059 at at the *Early Irish Glossaries Database* (the same narrative appears in *Cóir Anmann*, although without the lengthy physical description, for which see Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, 'Long Version', §285, pp. 74, 146 and 'Early Version', §173, pp. 117, 151); Stokes, 'Echtra mac Echach Muigmedoin', §11, pp. 196–97; Knott, TBDD, §§61–62, pp. 16–17. Recent commentary on the 'loathly lady' in medieval Irish literature can be found in Toner, *Manifestations*, and Mulligan, 'The Anatomy of Power'.

²²⁸ 'The *Badb* of battle was seen every night, with her torch of pine red-flaming in her hand, and her snaky, poisonous tresses rattling around her head, urging the Romans to battle'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 902–04). O'Hogan, 'Reading Lucan', pp. 31–32 identifies the *Supplementum Adnotationum super Lucanum* as the source for the snaky hair detail, although the 'poisonous' description must be the Irish adaptor's own contribution.

Eumenis; aut qualem iussu Iunonis iniquae
Horruit Alcides, viso iam Dite, Megaeram.²²⁹

The descriptions of both Furies' hair are nearly verbatim echoes of the descriptions of Allecto ('Trillsi do nathrachaib nemi is e folt bai imon cend')²³⁰ and Discordia ('& is e folt fuil imo cend .i. trillsi do nathrachaib nemi') from the late eleventh- or twelfth-century IA.²³¹

The snaky hair so iconic to the Furies is also similar to Erichtho's hair in CC,²³²

Tuc a da glaic immo moing n-glais n-garbleith, co ro scail a scuapfolt
roinnidi rogarb dara slinnenaibh siar sechtair. Ro coirigh craebcoroin
cummaide do nathrachaiph neimide do timorgain in fuil sin immo
cend, & da nathraigh derscaigtecha for leimnigh & for banganaigh a
forcipul a bairr.²³³

This expands on the Latin original,

vultusque aperitur, crine remoto,

²²⁹ 'a giant Fury circled the city,
shaking a pine bent over with a flaming top,
and her hissing hair. Such a Fury drove Agave
at Thebes or hurled the shafts of raging Lycurgus;
and such was Megaera, when, by order of Juno's hostility,
she terrified Hercules, although he had seen Hades already'. (Lucan, I.572–77).

²³⁰ 'Tresses of poison serpents, that was the hair about her head'. (Calder, IA, ll. 1683–89). This translates Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII.445–49. The tradition of representing Furies with snakes for hair goes back at least to Aeschylus, as indeed was noted by Pausanias's second-century CE *Description of Greece*, I.xxviii.6. Interestingly, this description does not extend to the Dira that presages Turnus's death at the end of *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, ll. 3160–63, despite the presence of snaky hair and the assertion that the Dirae are Megaera's sisters in Vergil, *Aeneid*, XII.843–68.

²³¹ 'and this is the hair round her head, to wit, locks of venomous serpents'. (Calder, IA, ll. 1302–03).

²³² It is remarked upon by Isidore of Seville in *Etymologies*, VIII.xi.95, among other authors. See MacFarlane, 'Isidore', pp. 33–34 for more commentary, although the Classical texts in question provide enough references for the Furies' hair that we need not assume the Irish redactors were consulting other texts in this instance.

²³³ 'Her hands she put to her blue rough-grey mane and shed her broomy dishevelled rugged hair backwards out over her shoulderblades. To confine that hair she arranged round her head a branchy, shaped wreath of poisonous snakes, with two principal snakes leaping and hanging out of the wrapping of her crown'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4117–22; trans. adapted).

Et coma vipereis substringitur horrida sertis.²³⁴

Erichtho may not have actual snakes for hair, but has moulded herself into a Fury by tying it back with vipers. The Irish adaptation echoes its own earlier description of Erichtho's mane from ll. 4020–35, qualifying the hair only lightly described by Lucan. In the Irish version, Erichtho's hair is already unruly, and the writhing snakes with which she adorns it only increase its wildness, while in the Latin, the snakes contain it rather than moving on their own. The Irish description thus makes Erichtho into an even more Fury-like character than she is in Latin, especially given that it emphasizes the similar 'natharda nemidi' in the hair of the in description of the earlier unnamed Fury, which is only obliquely described as *stridentes* in Lucan.

Common to the descriptions of snaky hair in TTe, CC, and IA is the assertion that it is *neimide* or *neimnach* 'poisonous'.²³⁵ Neither Lucan, Statius, nor Vergil specifically refer to 'venomous serpents' in the sections in question, although in Statius, Tisiphone's skin is subsequently called 'suffusa veneno',²³⁶ and Vergil describes Allecto as 'Gorgoneis [...] infecta venenis', or 'infected with Gorgon venom', about a hundred lines before the description of her serpentine locks embellished in IA.²³⁷ Nor is the unnamed Fury from Book I of Lucan described in either Latin or Irish as 'venomous'. The collocation 'neim nathrach' 'snake-poison' is commonly found in medieval Irish,²³⁸ and the alliteration makes it an obvious descriptive phrase, although 'nathair neimide' or 'nathair neimnech' 'a poisonous snake' tend to be found in Middle Irish texts, such as the adaptations discussed here and the eleventh-century bilingual homily *De ieiunio Domini in deserto*,²³⁹ or even in later texts, such as Ó Cléirigh's seventeenth-century recension of LGÉ.²⁴⁰ However, given that the venom details in TTe, CC, and IA are not in any of the original Latin passages, we must ask if the roughly contemporaneous Irish adaptors of Statius,

²³⁴ 'removing her hair, her face is uncovered, and her rough hair is tied back with garlands of vipers'. (Lucan, VI.655–56).

²³⁵ Tisiphone is not specifically called *ammait* until later in TTe, but it may be worth pointing out that the unnamed Fury in Lucan is never called *ammait* in CC and does not share the venomous snakes of the descriptions of Tisiphone and Erichtho.

²³⁶ 'suffused with venom'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, I.96).

²³⁷ Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII.341.

²³⁸ Cf. Borsje, 'A Spell', pp. 199, 204–05.

²³⁹ Atkinson, *The Passions and Homilies*, l. 4846. See McNamara, *The Psalms*, p. 455 for its source in the eleventh-century homiliarium.

²⁴⁰ Macalister and Mac Neill, *Leabhar Gabhála: The Recension of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*, p. 196.

Lucan, and Vergil influenced one another in their choice of words. It is also possible that one or more Irish adaptations draws directly from *Aeneid*, VII.341's description of Allecto, mentioned above.

Poppe observes that Allecto's Irish description, expanded from a shorter description in Vergil, reflects, 'the ideal of a heightened, and arguably of an epic, style pursued by the author of IA'.²⁴¹ This may also be the case in CC and TTe, although both tend to retain more of their sources' respective descriptions, passages speech, and overall detail than IA. If CC and TTe are pursuing an ideal epic style, they usually do so by remaining similar to the style of Lucan and Statius. The fact that they translate various different Latin phrases for snaky hair in nearly exactly the same way suggests the possibility of mutual influence, although it may also simply reflect a stock description of the Furies already in circulation in medieval Ireland, suggesting a common intellectual context in which the adaptations were produced.

Eyes

The 'ferrea lux'²⁴² of Tisiphone's eyes could be read either as a comment on their color (iron grey), or, perhaps more likely, their cruelty or immovability.²⁴³ The Irish adaptor(s) opt for the color reading, 'dathach dubglas', much like CC's description of Erichtho's eyes as 'Glennshuili locliatha linnaca',²⁴⁴ where Lucan gives only 'Terribilis [...] facies'.²⁴⁵ Erichtho's grey, watery (or possibly bloodshot)²⁴⁶ eyes also have a parallel in Oedipus's lost eyes in TTe when Oedipus tells Tisiphone, '7 is tre th'adandud-su robeanus mo rosc leathanglas lindfhuar as mo chind'.²⁴⁷ Like Erichtho's eyes in CC, this section of TTe also expands on the Latin original, which only mentions the gouged out *ocula*, not their colour. Both the descriptions of

²⁴¹ Poppe, 'IA and Its Place', p. 34. Allecto is not called *ammait* in IA (nor does the word appear).

²⁴² 'iron light'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, I.94).

²⁴³ Many of the poetic citations in Lewis and Short, 'ferreus' are given for the latter definition of *ferreus*.

²⁴⁴ 'deepset, grey-pitted, watery/bloodshot eyes'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4020–35, trans. adapted).

²⁴⁵ 'terrible face'. (Lucan, VI.517).

²⁴⁶ eDIL, 's.v. linnach', < dil.ie/30278>.

²⁴⁷ 'and through thine instigation I have plucked my wide grey liquid-cool eyes out of my head'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 173–74). Possibly this should be taken, 'eyes of pools of floods', reading *fíuar* as 'flood, sea; spring' instead of 'cold'. In this context, the floods could either be tears or blood, given both Oedipus's violently gouged out eyes and the possibility of taking the *linn* element of *linnach* above as 'blood'.

Erichtho in CC and Oedipus in TTe share alliteration on a compound beginning with *linn-*, and the colour grey is shared by the descriptions of Tisiphone and Oedipus in TTe and Erichtho in CC (in the last two of which it is a new detail). The similarities between the adapted texts are even closer. Statius refers to ‘Atracia [...] arte’, or ‘Thessalian art’ in his description of Tisiphone’s eyes:

sedet intus abactis
ferrea lux oculis, qualis per nubila Phoebes
Atracia rubet arte labor.²⁴⁸

The ‘Thessalian art’ is not mentioned in the Irish text. However, the fact that TTe’s description of Tisiphone’s (and indeed Oedipus’s) eyes is so close to CC’s description of the Thessalian Erichtho’s, makes it again at least possible that one adaptation may be informing descriptions in another, or even that the adaptor of Lucan has borrowed the ‘ferrea lux’ in its sense of colour from Statius.²⁴⁹

Clothing

Statius’s Tisiphone and both Lucan’s and CC’s Erichtho share similar cloaks as well. Before beginning her necromancy, and shortly before tying her hair back with snakes, Erichtho, ‘Discolor et vario furialis cultus amictu induitur’.²⁵⁰ Lucan’s Erichtho makes herself into a Fury through clothing and simulated snaky hair. In Irish this is rendered, ‘Ro gab a h-errad imtechtae & ammaitechta impi in uair sin .i. lend fuataige ilbreac co taitnem cacha datha treimpi’.²⁵¹ There are no Furies per se, but the text tells us that Erichtho’s clothing is ‘errad imtechtae & ammaitechta’, adapting ‘furialis cultus’ into Irish terminology. The actual enactment of *ammaitechta* becomes the focus, rather than the nature of the being (*furialis*) that is being compared. The unnamed Fury earlier in CC (Book I of Lucan) is not an *ammait*, but Erichtho is and she engages in *ammaitechta*. It is thus possible that the adaptors of CC and TTe may be

²⁴⁸ ‘In her sunken eyes sits an iron light, as when, through Thessalian art, Phoebe’s work blushes among the clouds’. (Statius, *Thebaid*, I.93–94).

²⁴⁹ In the description of Allecto in IA, discussed above, the Fury’s eyes are ‘feochra feighi fuilide forderga foluaimnecha na ruisc londa lasarda’ and not at all grey. (‘wild, sharp, bloody, deep red, unresting were the angry, flaming eyes’, Calder, *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, ll. 1683–89). Cf. ‘tum flammea torquens lumina’ (‘then turning flaming eyes [on Turnus]’, Vergil, *Aeneid*, ll. VII.445–49).

²⁵⁰ ‘She put on multi-coloured clothing, with the variegated cloak of a Fury’. (Lucan, VI.654–55).

²⁵¹ ‘She then donned her garb of feat and *ammaitechta*, to wit, a mantle hateful (?), many-speckled, with the sheen of every colour through it’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4115–17).

familiar with translation choices made by the other text, and that Erichtho in CC and the Furies in TTe are similar enough entities that it makes sense within a context of Irish *interpretatio* to apply the term *ammait* to both.

Tisiphone's cloak is described in Statius but not in TTe,

riget horrida tergo

palla, et caerulei redeunt in pectora nodi:

Atropos hos atque ipsa novat Proserpina cultus [...].²⁵²

The 'caerulei [...] nodi' may not feature in TTe, but seems strikingly similar to the description of Erichtho's snake-bound hair as 'mong glais n-garbleith' given in the sentence directly after the description of her cloak, as examined independently above.²⁵³ We see again how CC's Erichtho is described in Fury-like terms, through her hair colours, snaky adornment, and cloak, potentially drawn intertextually from other Classical texts and/or their Irish adaptations. Erichtho's and Tisiphone's physical appearance seems extrapolated from Lucan and Statius and perhaps syncretized between CC and TTe (and/or IA) in line with how the adaptors conceive of their respective *ammaiti* and the character's actions and functions within the narratives. This syncretism could be conscious borrowing between texts or merely the production of texts within a similar intellectual milieu where Classical descriptions were well known.

Summary

The *interpretatio* of the Furies and Erichtho in TTe and CC with Irish *ammaiti* helps to illustrate key features of *ammaiti* themselves. *Ammaiti* are chiefly involved in battles, and may be synonymous with terms for battle spirits like *badb*, or practitioners of magic or *druidecht*. Their relationship to fate and other divine powers is ambiguous, although the *ammaiti* discussed here are not interpreted as prophets, even if their Classical exemplars are. The Furies in TTe and Erichtho in CC also seem somewhat more distanced from the Classical gods than their Latin counterparts, acting independently or only with implied connections to the gods rather than explicitly

²⁵²

‘On her back a horrid cloak
stiffens and blue knots reappear upon her breast.

Atropos and Proserpine herself renew her clothing’. (Statius, *Thebaid*, I.109–11).

²⁵³ ‘blue rough-grey mane’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4118).

defined relationships. Finally, a focus on physical appearance involves snaky hair, grey eyes, and potentially a specific type of garment.

The *interpretatio* at work in the processes of translation and adaptation discussed here cannot be understood without examining other medieval vernacular Irish texts. Many of these drew to some degree on Classical adaptations, or were potentially drawn on by the Classical adaptations discussed above. I will now turn to this wider literary milieu in order to further delineate the definition of *ammait* and examine points of potential mutual influence between texts.

AMMAIT IN OTHER MEDIEVAL IRISH TEXTS

The word *ammait* appears in a number of medieval vernacular Irish texts beyond the corpus of Classical adaptations. Several of these texts predate the twelfth-century TTe and CC, and presumably these earlier texts, or at least the underlying cultural assumptions and connotations they reflect, influenced the later word-choice of *ammait* by the authors the Classical adaptations. However, the associations gained by the term *ammait* in the later Classical adaptations appear to have also influenced its development and use in contemporary and subsequent texts. This section will examine the thematic associations of *ammait* in texts other than TTe and CC and attempt to identify possible points of influence between texts. These thematic strands mirror those from the foregoing discussion of Tisiphone and Erichtho and include analyses of *ammaiti* in battle scenes, *ammaiti* who inflict injury, the supernatural agency of *ammaiti* and their ability to prophesy, and the physical appearance of *ammaiti*. More importantly than merely claiming specific textual correspondences, however, this section will end by instigating a wider discussion about treatments of supernatural characters and use of *interpretatio* and Classical allusion in tenth- through thirteenth-century literature.

Ammaiti and Battles

As in CC and TTe, *ammaiti* in other medieval vernacular Irish texts most prominently appear in battle scenes or presage battle. This is the case from the earliest appearances of the word in texts dating from the eighth-century onwards, although the majority of the word's martially-tinged appearances occur in battle spirit catalogues found in the

twelfth-century Classical adaptations or in texts composed or redacted at about the same time as, or later than the Classical adaptations. I will outline the associations of *ammaiti* with battle in the eighth-century *Breslech Mór Maige Murthemne* (BMMM; ‘The Great Rout of Mag Murthemne’) and *De Shíl Conairi Móir* (‘Concerning the Descent of Conaire Mór’), and the ninth-century SC before turning to the later battle spirit catalogues and battle scenes. Both CC and TTe show close textual similarities with contemporaneous Irish battle tales and, as I will demonstrate, these relationships have implications for the ways in which *interpretatio* and influence functioned within the larger intellectual milieu of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ireland.

The three women who force Cú Chulainn to break his *geis* in the eighth-century BMMM are explicitly named *ammaiti* several times in the text, both by the narrator and by Emer in her lament for Cú Chulainn.²⁵⁴ The *ammaiti* in BMMM do not themselves appear in battle, but they instigate Cú Chulainn’s subsequent death in combat, weakened after breaking his *geis*. We are told of the three women, ‘Ro-foghluinnsett na hingina fessa 7 dúile 7 amaidecht (i. glicus)’.²⁵⁵ The implication is that they possess learned knowledge of *ammaitecht* since they *Ro-foghluinnsett* or ‘studied’ it, rather than innate powers of sorcery.

eDIL primarily defines *gliccus* as ‘cleverness, practical wisdom, ingenuity, skill’, derived from *glicc*, ‘acute, shrewd, ingenious, skilled’.²⁵⁶ eDIL also offers a secondary definition of *gliccus* as ‘witchcraft, sorcery’, but the only attestations provided are this text and the *Book of Common Order*, John Knox’s much later sixteenth-century liturgy translation. In BMMM, the term *gliccus* is clearly linked to supernatural skill or cleverness, but this may be more a result of the skill or cleverness itself rather than the supernatural aspect. *Gliccus* is written above the line, specifically glossing *ammaitecht* in the Trinity College Dublin MS 1337 (H.3.18) fragments of BMMM.²⁵⁷ The glossator clearly interprets *ammaitecht* as a practical skill rather than an inherent power.

²⁵⁴ Kimpton, *The Death of Cú Chulainn*, pp. 18, 31.

²⁵⁵ ‘The daughters studied knowledge and lore and *amaidecht* (i.e. *glicus*)’. (ibid., pp. 11, 35, trans. adapted).

²⁵⁶ eDIL, ‘s.v. *gliccus*’, <dil.ie/26089>.

²⁵⁷ Trinity College Dublin MS 1337 (H.3.18), vol. 19, p. 601. The text of BMMM in the Book of Leinster is acephalous and the H.3.18 fragments are the only attestation of this part of the narrative.

In *De Shíl Conairi Móir*, likewise dated to roughly the eighth century,²⁵⁸ Mess Búachalla's mother, Conaire Mór's grandmother, learns *ammaitecht* and *sithcharecht* in Síd Brí Léith.²⁵⁹ Earlier, Mess Búachalla is described, 'Ba mor a hette 7 a met, 7 forimtegeth side 7 mure 7 la aimitige'.²⁶⁰ In this text, *ammaitecht* is associated with the *síde* where it is learned, a connection not explicitly made in any of the other texts in which the word appears. Mess Búachalla also summons a host from Síd Brí Léith to support her son Conaire's claim to rule, although in the end, the opposing faction is too intimidated to give battle in return.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, the connection between *ammaitecht*, beings from the *síd*, and battle is evident. *Ammaitecht* is also something that can be studied alongside *fessa* in CMT, which uses the same verb (*fo-gleinn* 'to learn') as in BMMM and *De Shíl Chonairi Móir*.²⁶² CMT survives in an eleventh- or twelfth-century redaction of what Gerard Murphy believes to be a ninth-century original; the early paragraphs asserting that the TDD studied these arts are taken from an interpolated text of the first recension of LGÉ, written in later language than the rest of CMT.²⁶³ In the Yellow Book of Leccan version of the third recension of LGÉ, it is similarly said of the Túatha Dé Dannan (TDD), 'Tiagaid thra in lucht-sin i sidaib ocus tiagaid fo muirib ocus tiagaid i conrechtaib ocus tiagait co hamaide ocus tiagait co tuaithecingtha'.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁸ Bhreathnach, *Tara*, p. 89.

²⁵⁹ '*ammaitecht* and *sídhcharecht*'. Gwynn, 'De Shíl', ll. 70–71. *Sídhcharecht* must here mean something like '*síd* craft', although it is only attested elsewhere in the sense of 'a troop of supernatural beings', eDIL, 's.v. *sídhchairecht*', <dil.ie/37461>. See O'Connor, *Destruction*, pp. 60–67 for a discussion of variant traditions concerning the descent of Conaire Mór from *Tochmarc Étaíne* (TE, 'The Wooing of Étaíne'), the *dindshenchas* of Ráth Esa, and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (TBDD, 'The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel').

²⁶⁰ 'She was of great size and evil of aspect, and used to come and go in *síde* and seas, and that by *aimitige*'. (Gwynn, 'De Shíl', ll. 10–11, trans. adapted).

²⁶¹ Gwynn, 'De Shíl', ll. 47, 57.

²⁶² Gray, CMT, l. 2.

²⁶³ Carey, 'Myth', pp. 53–55. Cf. Murphy, 'Notes on CMT', p. 195. The eleventh- or twelfth-century date of this material makes it roughly contemporaneous with the Classical adaptations discussed in this chapter, especially CC, where *ammaitecht* is also a learned art for Erichtho. The exact wording in CMT differs from surviving texts of LGÉ, but Carey, 'Myth', p. 54 argues that it is nonetheless drawn from the first recension of the latter text.

²⁶⁴ 'That people, then, go into the *síde*; and they go beneath the seas, and they take the form of wolves, and they visit *ammaiti* and those who turn against the sun'. Carey, *A Single Ray*, pp. 18–19 offers his own edition and translation of fol. 277^r, ll. a 43–b 6; cf. Macallister, LGÉ, III, pp. 154–55.

Ammaiti also appear in the ninth-century *Sanas Cormaic*, a glossary already discussed in Chapter 2. *Sanas Cormaic* lists *ammait* among battle-related words, ‘Cethern .i. coire aimite, unde dicitur cethernach. Cethern didiu, cith cath 7 orn orgain’.²⁶⁵ eDIL cites this passage for both *cuire* ‘troop’ and *coire* ‘cauldron’, and, although the former meaning would seem to make more sense in context, the latter meaning would link the confusing entry to the *coire* in *Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde* (CCCL) and repeated in *Cóir Anmann* (‘The Fitness of Names’), discussed below. While I would prefer the ‘troop’ reading of *cuire*, the entry in *Sanas Cormaic* lacks enough context for a decisive reading to be produced at this stage. However, it is clear that the *ammait* in the passage is strongly associated with fighting bands, battles, and violence, as are *ammaiti* in other texts examined here.

Ammaiti appear prominently in battle spirit catalogues and battle contexts from the twelfth century onwards. In the early twelfth-century *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (‘The Contest of the Irish and the Foreigners’) (CGG), *ammaiti adgaill* ‘injuring *ammaiti*’ appear among a catalogue of battle spirits. As Sayers notes, CGG’s catalogue of spirits resembles those in texts including the *Breslech Mór Maige Murthemne* section of the *Táin*,²⁶⁶ as well as two later, Early Modern Irish texts, the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century *The Chase of Síd na mBan Finn and the Death of Finn*, and the fifteenth-century *Cath Finntrágha* (‘The Battle of Ventry’).²⁶⁷ However, Sayers does not notice that the list in CGG also closely resembles a list of spirits presaging the battle of Pharsalia from the end of CC. Specifically, the CGG catalogue includes *ammaiti* and *eóin* ‘birds’, which are otherwise absent from the other texts Sayers lists.

²⁶⁵ ‘Band [of fighting men] that is, the troop/cauldron of an *ammait*, whence it is said a fighter [member of a *cethern*]. A band then, *cith* “battle” and *orn* “slaughter”’. (Meyer, ‘*Sanas Cormaic*’, §259, p. 25, my trans.). The entry for *cethern*, including *ammait*, appears in both the short LB version and the longer Yellow Book of Lecan version.

²⁶⁶ O’Rahilly, TBC-I, ll. 2240–42. A nearly identical passage that Sayers does not discuss is found in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster recension as well, O’Rahilly, TBC-LL, ll. 2130–34. This episode in TBC is not to be confused with the text discussed above, also titled *Breslech Mór Maige Murthemne* (BMMM), which narrates Cú Chulainn’s death.

²⁶⁷ Sayers, ‘*Airdrech*’, p. 49. See Borsje, ‘The “Terror of the Night”’, for a further discussion of *geliti glinni*. Cf. K. Meyer, ‘The Chase of Síd na mBan’, l. 25, p. 94; O’Rahilly, *Cath Finntrágha*, l. 1062.

The catalogue of spirits and portents at the end of CC occurs at what corresponds to the start of Lucan's Book VII, although it does not directly translate anything in the Latin text.²⁶⁸ The wording of the CC and CGG passages is strikingly similar (words in bold appear in both texts in the same, or very close forms).

<i>In Cath Catharda</i>	<i>Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh</i>
Re gothgail graccallaigh na n-en ocus na n-etaide ocus na foluaimnech arcena. Ra garbhgortgholgrechaig na n-gelt ocus na n-gribh n-ingnech, na n-ammaite ocus na n-urtrach ocus na m-badb m-bélderg & na fantaisi foltscailte ocus na n-drong n-dirmann n-dennacdha ocus diabhaliascaigh inn aeoir arcena os a cinn, nir' leicced lochad no tatham no tinnabrad d'oenduine i cechtar na da mórloggport airt batar na h-ammaiti for an abairt sin ina timcell.²⁶⁹	Ro eirgetar am bananaig, ocus boccanaig, ocus geliti glinni ocus amati adgaill, ocus siabra, ocus seneoin, ocus demna admilti aeoir, ocus firmaminti, ocus siabarsluag debil dennac, co mbatar a comgresacht, ocus i commorad aig ocus irgaili leo.²⁷⁰

In addition to the words highlighted above, there are several terms and phrases that are worded differently in the two texts but that have close semantic ties and are not present in any form in the other battle spirit catalogues which Sayers discusses.²⁷¹ CC

²⁶⁸ Stokes, CC, ll. 4313–60. Book VII is one of the sections of Lucan most heavily emended by CC, and CC's subsequent description of the battle of Pharsalia also embellishes Lucan's text.

²⁶⁹ 'at the cawing voices of the birds and the fowls and the other flying things: at the rough-bitter-wail-screaming of the madmen, and the taloned griffins, and the *ammaiti*, and the spectres, and the red-mouthed *baidb*, and the phantoms with dishevelled hair, and the crowds of demonic multitudes and the other devil-fishes of the air above them, neither slumber nor nap nor sleep was allowed to a single soul in each of the two great camps so long as the *ammaiti* were at that game around them'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4353–60, trans. adapted).

²⁷⁰ 'And there arose also the satyrs, and the idiots, and the maniacs of the valleys, and the injuring *ammaiti*, and the phantoms, and the ancient birds, and the destroying demons of the air and the firmament, and the feeble demoniac phantom host; and they were screaming and comparing the valour and combat of both parties'. (Todd, CGG, p. 174–75, trans. adapted). See Borsje, 'The "Terror of the Night"', p. 75 for a discussion of *geliti glinni*.

²⁷¹ Sayers, 'Airdrech'.

lists *fantaisi* where CGG has *siabra*, both negatively-charged terms for ‘phantom’ or ‘apparition’. CC features the ‘garbhgortgholgrechaig [...] n-drong n-dirmann n-demnacdhá’ where CGG has a comparable host, or *siabarshuag*.

The *ammaiti* and *eóin* also appear a hundred lines after the catalogue of spirits in CC as the two members of the catalogue singled out for further description, right before Caesar’s pre-battle speech,

In fecht n-aill immorro ba lor d’uathbas & cridenbas a forccsi [...] oculus dano risna h-**ammaitip aerdaip** oculus risna h-eltadaib adhuathmuraib do **duibenoip** dorchaidhib batar ina n-urlenmain ic urnaidhe a fola oculus a n-apaige n-escoman d’fagbail gan uiresbaid in-ellach in morcatha oculus inn otharlígib na n-anradh isin armaig ’ar trioll.²⁷²

This passage does not directly translate Lucan, but it seems to respond to details in the original Latin. Lucan’s narrator poses a rhetorical question,

At tu, quos scelerum superos, quas rite vocasti
Eumenidas, Caesar? Stygii quae numina regni,
Infernumque nefas, et mersos nocte furores?
Impia tam saeve gesturus bella litasti [...]
Inque vicem voltus tenebris mirantur opertos
Et pallere diem galeisque incumbere noctem
Defunctosque patres et iuncti sanguinis umbras
Ante oculos volitare suos.²⁷³

Both accounts contain the sudden darkness and the gaping soldiers, but the family ghosts in Lucan have been replaced with *ammaiti* and carrion birds in CC. Given that

²⁷² ‘At another time, however, it was enough of amazement and terror to look at them [...] and also at the aerial *ammaiti* and the horrible flocks of black dark birds which were fast following them, expecting to get their blood and their foul entrails, without stint after a while, in the joining of the Great Battle and in the graves of the champions on the battlefield’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4994–5004, trans. adapted).

²⁷³ ‘But you, Caesar, what higher powers of evil, what Eumenides did you invoke by rite? what authorities of the Stygian realm, what infernal crime, and fury engulfed by gloom? You, soon to wage impious war with such cruelty, satisfied [the gods] [...] And men marvel at one another’s faces concealed with shadows, and at the paling day, and the night pressing upon the helmets, and at the deceased fathers and the shades of related blood which fluttered before their eyes’. (Lucan, VII.168–71, 177–80).

ammait is applied to the Furies in TTe, it is possible that the *ammaiti* in this passage of CC are in fact based on the Eumenides from several lines earlier. The Fury mentioned much earlier in CC is instead called *badb* rather than *ammait*.²⁷⁴ However, *badb* and *ammait* are interchangeable terms for the Furies in TTe.²⁷⁵ *Badb* is often translated ‘scald-crow’, and the association of *badb* with carrion birds brings to mind the dark birds that accompany the *ammaiti* in this passage of CC.

CGG dates from the early twelfth century and survives in a twelfth-century manuscript, while the language of CC is probably slightly later Middle Irish.²⁷⁶ It is thus possible that CC borrows its catalogue from CGG, or that they both add the *ammaiti* and *eóin* to their respective catalogues of battle spirits independently of one another and of any source text. Regardless of the degree of potential intertextual borrowing, CGG and CC betray a common twelfth-century interest in *ammaiti* and battles.

While the list of battle spirits is similar, the *ammaiti* at the end of CC seem to have a slightly greater role throughout CC than those mentioned in CGG. It is unclear if the *ammaiti* at the end of CC are the Thessalian magicians mentioned earlier or not, but the term has been applied to no other entities besides Erichtho and her fellow Thessalian magic-workers anywhere earlier in the text. Furthermore, their desire for blood and entrails is very similar to Erichtho’s desire to obtain Caesar’s and Pompey’s corpses for her rituals, perhaps indicating that for the Irish redactor(s), these figures form a continuum of related entities.

Rather than simply adding to the din of battle, the *ammaiti* that appear at the end of CC specifically prevent the armies from sleeping until morning, when Pompey has his prophetic dream. The morning clouds initially appear before Pompey’s dream, driving away the nocturnal spectres,

Intan immorro atractatar luathghoetha adhuarae imluatha ocus
glasneoill utmalla etarbhuasacha na maitne, ro ansat na h-urtracha da
n-aidhmilltib, ro tairinnset a trethan ocus ro coiscset a congair ar
uaman & ar ureccla solsi na maitne da t-tarractain.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Stokes, CC, ll. 902–04.

²⁷⁵ Calder, TTe, ll. 193, 3452, 4313, 4336.

²⁷⁶ For dating of CGG see Ní Mhaonaigh, ‘The Date’.

²⁷⁷ ‘Now when the swift, chilly winds and the grey, restless, hovering clouds of the morning arose, the spectres ceased from their destructions, they abated their storm and

This adapts Lucan's original idea that the sun does not wish to shine upon Thessaly: the *Lucificus Titan* strives against the *lex aeterna* 'eternal law' of nature, to avoid rising, emphasizing the degree to which the impending civil war is itself unnatural.²⁷⁸ CC also contains this sentiment, although it appears somewhat later in the text,

Ar nirbo lainn lasin grein a ruithne sirglana solusta do taitnem frisin tir
sin, ar aidbli in moruile ro ba cinnte do denamh innte .i. dith & dilgend
in cinedha doenna iter Poimp & Cesair.²⁷⁹

Reading this passage together with Book VI's description of Erichtho as shunning the clear heavens and being shunned in turn by the Olympian gods, it is not difficult to connect the sun's reticence to shine with nocturnal, supernatural characters. However, in this case the Irish redactor has amplified the already unnatural conflict—the sun, which can drive away the *ammaiti* themselves, cannot prevent the battle. Pharsalia is thus portrayed as even more un- or super-natural than Erichtho's necromantic prophecy or the ability of the battle spirits to interrupt the armies' sleep.

In Lucan, the sleeplessness comes *after* the battle. While the Irish version ascribes it to the *ammaiti* and associated host of spirits, in Lucan, it is the horror of war and the ghosts of the recently deceased that give the survivors of Pharsalia nightmares,

Quos agitat vesana quies, somnique furentes:
Thessalicam miseri versant in pectore pugnam.
Ingemuisse putem campos, terramque nocentem [...]
Inspirasse animas, infectumque aera totum
Manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem.
Exigit a meritis tristes victoria poenas,
Sibilaque et flammam infert sopor.²⁸⁰

checked their clamour, through fear and dread of being overtaken by the morning-light'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4361–65).

²⁷⁸ Lucan, VII.1–6.

²⁷⁹ 'For the sun liked not his ever-pure, radiant beams to shine upon that land, because of the enormity of the evil that was destined to be done therein, namely, the destruction and ruin of the human race between Pompey and Caesar'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4426–29).

²⁸⁰ 'But a wild dream agitates them, and frenzied sleep: the wretched turn the Thessalian battle over in their minds [...] I believe that the field groaned, and that the guilty earth exhaled breaths; the air was stained entirely by spirits, and the night of the upper world by Stygian horror.'

The ghosts that assault Caesar's dreams after the battle are even compared to the Eumenides that pursue Orestes.²⁸¹ Given that the *ammait* Erichtho takes on many features of a Fury (hair, garment) and that *ammait* refers to the Furies in TTe, it seems reasonable that these Eumenides, like those mentioned in the second *ammaiti* and *eóin* passage, underlines the fact that use of *ammait* is deliberate in the battle spirits catalogue.

But why has CC moved Lucan's sleepless shades to before the battle?²⁸² CC adds more supernatural beings to the ghosts in either passage of Lucan, but the conceit that the underworld has opened and its denizens are loosed upon the Thessalian plain is the same in both the post-battle Latin and pre-battle Irish texts: in CC, 'Ina m-battor d'uamdoirsib iffirn i tir na Tesailero h-osslaicit in adaigh sin iat',²⁸³ while in Lucan, the upper world is plagued, as we saw above, by 'Manibus et [...] Stygia formidine'.²⁸⁴ CC focuses much more on the action of the battle than does Lucan, who only reveals the true extent of the violence after the battle is over. Thus, in CC hell is unleashed upon the world in preparation for the battle in the form of the catalogue of battle spirits, while in Lucan, it is the civil conflict and familial bloodletting that has brought hell to earth, exemplified by the shades of the dead.

CC's reordering of passages presages the conflict to come. This allows the redactor to include the sorts of battle spirits otherwise seen directly before or during battle sequences in Irish narrative, like those in TBC, CGG. Since most of these spirits do not regularly appear after battles, like the ghosts do in Lucan, the reorganization makes sense within an Irish narrative context. Given that detailed accounts of the aftermath of battles are relatively rare in medieval Irish narrative, this reordering is not surprising. Because CC ends with the climactic battle of Pharsalia rather than including material from the next three books of Lucan, the further

Victory by rights exacts stern punishment,
sleep brings flames and hisses'. (Lucan, VII.764–772).

²⁸¹ Ibid., VII.778.

²⁸² I draw a distinction here between the 'Stygia formidine' and ghosts that disturb sleep seen after the battle in Lucan, and the 'Defunctosque patres et iunctas sanguinis umbras' ('dead fathers and joined ghosts of blood relations') in line VII.179 of Lucan, which are represented in Irish as *taidbsina*, *foiscite*, and 'fantaísi na carat batar marba' ('phantoms of friends who were dead', Stokes, CC, ll. 4801–02; my trans.) and do not include any supernatural beings.

²⁸³ 'All the cave-doors of hell that existed in the land of Thessaly were opened on that night'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4316–8).

²⁸⁴ Lucan, VII.770.

ramifications of Roman civil strife and the restless dead, waiting to be avenged in future battles, become unnecessary. The supernatural beings and sleepless night can be reordered and remodelled to suit the rising action and narrative climax.

Another possible reason for the reordering may be found in Isaiah 8:

3. et accessi ad prophetissam [...] 7. propter hoc ecce Dominus adducet super eos aquas Fluminis fortes et multas regem Assyriorum et omnem gloriam eius et ascendet super omnes rivos eius et fluet super universas ripas eius 8. et ibit per Iudam inundans et transiens usque ad collum veniet et erit extensio alarum eius implens latitudinem terrae tuae o Emmanuhel [...] 14. et erit vobis in sanctificationem in lapidem autem offensionis et in petram scandali duabus domibus Israhel in laqueum et in ruinam habitantibus Hierusalem 15. et offendent ex eis plurimi et cadent et conterentur et inretientur et capientur [...] 19. et cum dixerint ad vos quaerite a pythonibus et a divinis qui stridunt in incantationibus suis numquid non populus a Deo suo requirit pro vivis a mortuis 20. ad legem magis et ad testimonium quod si non dixerint iuxta verbum hoc non erit eis matutina lux 21. et transibit per eam corruet et esuriet et cum esurierit irascetur et maledicet regi suo et Deo suo et suspiciet sursum 22. et ad terram intuebitur et ecce tribulatio et tenebrae dissolutio angustia et caligo persequens et non poterit avolare de angustia sua.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ ‘3. And I went to a prophetess [...] 7. Therefore behold the Lord will bring upon them the strong and numerous waters of the river, the king of the Assyrians, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and shall overflow all his banks, 8. And shall pass through Juda, overflowing, and going over shall reach even to the neck. And the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of your land, O Emmanuel [...] And he shall be a sanctification to you. But for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel, for a snare and a ruin to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. 15. And many of them shall stumble and fall, and shall be broken in pieces, and shall be caught, and taken [...] 19. And when they shall say to you: seek from prophets and diviners who hiss in their incantations: should not people seek from their god, from the dead on behalf of the living? 20. To the law rather, and to the testimony. And if they speak not according to this word, they shall not have the morning light. 21. And they shall pass by it, they shall fall, and be hungry: and when they shall be hungry, they will be angry, and curse their king, and their God, and look upwards. 22. And they shall look to the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, weakness and distress, and a mist following them, and they cannot fly away from their distress. (all biblical quotations are from the *Vulgata Clemantina*; trans. adapted from the Douay-Rheims translation).

Isaiah's organization mirrors the reorganized passage before the battle of Pharsalia in CC. In Isaiah 8, a prophetess is approached, floods occur, stones hinder the two houses of Jerusalem, supernatural beings/diviners/the dead are discussed, and those who consult such beings are said to face no dawn and be followed by darkness. Before the battle in CC, Sextus consults Erichtho, the seas overflow, earthquakes throw up stones, the battle spirits and wild beasts appear, dawn is delayed as Pompey dreams a prophetic dream, and clouds of mist and darkness continue to hang over the conflict even when the armies awake.²⁸⁶ Erichtho, the floods,²⁸⁷ Pompey's dream,²⁸⁸ the implication that Caesar may have invoked his own infernal powers,²⁸⁹ and the clouds of dark mist²⁹⁰ are all present in Lucan, though the earthquakes and battle spirits are lacking. Furthermore, the entire sequence of portents occurs after Pompey's dream in Lucan, while in Irish the order bears a closer resemblance to Isaiah. Lucan is the main source and model for CC and it seems unlikely that he was himself influenced by the Old Testament prophet, but a medieval Irish redactor well-versed in the Bible easily could have noted the similarities to Isaiah 8 and potentially restructured events or drawn stylistic elements from it. Isaiah was a well-known source in medieval Ireland and is cited by the late Old Irish *Vita Tripartita* multiple times as more 'evangelist' than 'prophet'.²⁹¹ Kristin Mills has recently argued for the influence of Isaiah 13 and 34 on the development of Irish battle spirit catalogues, especially the inclusion of *lamia* and *pilosi*-like figures, so it seems a likely source for the Irish adaptors of CC as well as a more general influence on the structure and contents of medieval Irish battle narratives.²⁹² It is important to remember that Biblical frameworks also underlie the model of eschatological historiography into which the texts discussed here fit, as will be explored at greater length in the second half of this dissertation.

The *ammaiti* in CC also enchant Caesar's shield, as is related in CC's elaborate arming scene,

²⁸⁶ Stokes, CC, 4312–439.

²⁸⁷ Lucan, VII.134–35.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., VII.1–44.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., VII.168–70.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., VII.178–80.

²⁹¹ Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, I.2–3; cf. Boyle, *History*, pp. 179–80.

²⁹² Mills, 'Demna Aeóir', pp. 16–18.

Brichtscribhenna briste catha 'arna scribadhrinnadh ind do lamaibh
 druad & idhal & arracht & ammaiti & ancraitmech, cu m-ba lor
 d'uathbhas do bidbadhaib timcaisin fair i r-rae catha no imairicc.²⁹³

Neither the arming scene nor the description of the shield is present in Lucan's original, and the closest Lucan comes to mentioning such a shield is in the extended simile mentioning Minerva's *aegis*, and the implication that Caesar has been consulting the infernal powers himself, as mentioned above. The shield description is also reminiscent of the type of ekphrasis found in Book VIII of the *Aeneid*. If the Irish redactor(s) were influenced by Vergil and wanted to draw their reader's attention to the shield Vulcan makes for Aeneas, perhaps the decorations on Caesar's shield too are supposed to be taken as prophetic. Caesar does, after all, win the battle, to the extent that the battle has a victor. However, the narrative makes no explicit comment as to whether his *ammaiti*-spelled shield has anything to do with it.

The *ammaiti* who write spells on Caesar's shield are intriguing figures. At no point in either Lucan or CC does Erichtho or the other Thessalian *ammaiti* indicate any support for Caesar or desire to help him (if anything, Erichtho wants him dead so she can have his corpse for her magic). The *ammaiti* that prevent anyone from sleeping before the battle may be the same *ammaiti* that enchant the shield (or the other Thessalian magicians), or they may not; no clear connection is drawn in the narrative. This almost protective spell-writing seems reminiscent of the attempt by the *ammait* Fedelm to protect Conall in CCCL discussed below, but in CC, the work of the *ammaiti* is horror-inducing, aimed at debilitating Caesar's enemies rather than protecting Caesar himself.

In addition to the changes discussed above, CC also omits the following passage from Book VII,

...mortalia nulli
 Sunt curata deo. Cladis tamen huius habemus
 Vindictam, quantam terris dare numina fas est:
 Bella pares superis facient civilia divos;
 Fulminibus manes radiisque ornabit et astris

²⁹³ 'Spell-writings that win battles (were) written (and) painted upon it by hands of druids and idolaters and spectres and *ammaiti* and unbelievers, so that foemen had horror enough in looking at it on a field of battle or conflict'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 5329–32, trans. adapted). See Clarke, 'Translation and Creativity', for further analysis of Caesar's arming scene in CC, although he does not discuss the role of the *ammaiti*.

Inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.²⁹⁴

The need for *vindicata* and further death is unnecessary given that CC concludes after the battle and this may explain why the Irish redactors decided not to include this passage. At the same time, by omitting the passage from Lucan, CC seems to imply that the (pagan) gods and kindred spectres do have an active interest and role in the events of the narrative. This omission also brings to mind CC's omission of Lucan's suggestion that the gods above know too little at VI.434, discussed above.²⁹⁵ In the absence of Olympian gods, the infernal *ammaiti* take precedence in the pre-Christian setting of the text. Their presence serves to emphasize further the un- or in fact supernatural nature of civil war, as well as to fit the text into a medieval Irish worldview where a catalogue of recurring spirits scream before battle and demonic forces lead pagans to destruction, and mirror a biblical passage. Above all, however, they highlight the intensity of the conflict and the conflict's place in salvation history: as discussed at greater length in Chapter 5, the end of the Roman republic is portrayed in an eschatological light, presaging the Christian world to come.

CC is not the only Classical adaptation with similarities to battle scenes in other medieval Irish narratives. The conflict between Congal and Domnall in the later version of CMR, dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, bears close resemblance to the final battle scene between Eteocles and Polynices in TTe.²⁹⁶ CMR asserts,

re h-aslach na n-amaidead n-ifernaídi ag furáil a aimlesa air; uair nír
treicset na tri h-úire urbadaca, ifernaídi eisium o uair a túismid co trath
a tiug-bá, .i. Eleacto, oculus Megera, oculus Tesifone, coned h-e a siabrad
oculus a saeb-forcetul sin fadera do-sum duscad caca droc-bála [...].²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴

‘Human affairs are never watched over by a god. However for this calamity we have vengeance, so far as it is permissible for gods to give to mortals: civil wars will make deified ones equal to gods above; Rome will ornament ghosts with thunderbolts and rays and stars, and in the temples of the gods she will swear by shades’. (Lucan, VII.454–59).

²⁹⁵ See p. 83.

²⁹⁶ Dillon, ‘A Note’, pp. 199–201 supports a thirteenth- or early fourteen-century date.

²⁹⁷ ‘in consequence of the infernal *ammaiti* who were pressing [Congal's] destruction upon him; for the three destructive infernal furies Electo, Megaera, and Tesiphone, had not forsaken him from the time he was born until the period of his final dissolution, so that it was their influence and evil suggestions that induced him to stir up every evil design’. (O'Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 166–67).

Congal's destruction is the result of the *amaiti ifernaide* who are explicitly identified with Classical Furies in a moment of *interpretatio* as dramatic as Allecto's appearance in TBC-I. In the earlier, tenth-century version of CMR, it is Satan who governs Congal's hasty decision, although there is no indication that Satan has been hovering over Congal his entire life like the Furies in the later version.²⁹⁸ During the battle itself, in the later version, the druid Dubdiad states,

Fuil os a cind ag eigmig,
caillec lom, luat ag leimnig
ós eannaib a n-arm sa sciat
is i in Morrigu mong-liath.²⁹⁹

Clarke draws a parallel between the Morrígan over the head of the Christian, positively portrayed Domnall and Tisiphone over the pagan, negatively portrayed Congal.³⁰⁰ In Clarke's interpretation, the Morrígan has somehow become *more* Christian than the Classical *amaiti*.

It may be questioned whether a pagan vs Christian contrast between the Furies and the Morrígan is valid, however, for several reasons. The Furies and the Morrígan appear several pages apart: the Furies in the main narrative prose when they are described as influencing the course of Congal's life,³⁰¹ and the Morrígan in the verse Dubdiad speaks right before the titular battle.³⁰² We could still read the two scenes together, as Clarke does, but perhaps we should be more tentative in placing the Morrígan and the Furies in diametric opposition to each other, since the text itself does not draw an explicit contrast. Furthermore, the term *morrígan* appears in multiple other texts as a gloss on Classical mythological figures, rather than as a separate figure in opposition to them, including in the well-known gloss on Allecto in TBC, discussed above, and in TTe, where it is applied to Oedipus's mother/wife Jocasta.³⁰³

²⁹⁸ Marstrander, 'A New Version', p. 236. See Dillon, 'A Note', for dating.

²⁹⁹ 'There is over his head shrieking a lean, nimble hag, hovering over the points of their weapons and shields: She is the grey-haired Morrigu'. (O'Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 198–99).

³⁰⁰ Clarke, 'Demonology', pp. 117–18; cf. Borsje, 'Demonising the Enemy', p. 36. Clarke continues his analysis, finding Fulgentian parallels for the specific functions of the three Furies in Congal's criminal career.

³⁰¹ O'Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 166–69.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 198–99.

³⁰³ Calder, TTe, l. 88.

TTe may be the more important comparison, as it has close links to CMR and its prequel, the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century FDG.³⁰⁴ Borsje identifies TTe as a source for the description of Tisiphone in FDG, as ‘in fúir... demnach’.³⁰⁵ She suggests that FDG draws both on TTe’s wording and theme of family feud, as Congal insults and eventually acts violently towards his foster-father.³⁰⁶ The wording is undeniably similar in the Classical adaptation and FDG, as is the behaviour of the Furies, who are not just evil influences or ‘devilish’ forces, but also retain their Classical ties to avenging familial strife. Borsje argues that the choice of a Classical Fury emphasizes Congal’s ‘heroic fury’ in battle. This behaviour is divinely inspired in biblical characters, such as Samson, and contrasts with Satan’s influence over Congal in the earlier recension of CMR.³⁰⁷ She sees the link between Classical Fury and battle madness as further strengthened by the use of the word *dásacht* ‘madness, frenzy’, pointing out that the Furies are called *Dasactaide* in CC.³⁰⁸

Even if we wish to read the Morrígan and the Furies in CMR as deliberately-linked parts of the same extended scene, as do Clarke and Borsje, there is no reason to assume they are opposing one another or represent different degrees of Christianity and paganism. Neither Clarke nor Borsje note the similarities between the passages in the later version of CMR, where the Morrígan hovers over Domnall’s head and the Furies Allecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone influence Congal, and the battle scene in TTe and Statius, where the Furies hover over the heads of their respective heroes. Not only are the wording and themes similar across FDG, CMR, and TTe, as Borsje does observe, but the scene of Furies looming above the heads of the warriors in CMR looks very like the climax of TTe and Statius. Read as a borrowing of, or allusion to the final battle scene in TTe and Statius, the distinction between the Morrígan and the Furies is perhaps not so great as Clarke supposes. Tisiphone and Megaera are, after all, sisters and allies in destruction. Eteocles and Polynices are both at fault and, while Polynices may receive slightly more sympathetic treatment, he still neglects his

³⁰⁴ Borsje, ‘Demonising the Enemy’, p. 33. See Herbert, ‘*Fled Dúin na nGéd*’, p. 75 for dating.

³⁰⁵ ‘...the devilish Fury’. (Lehmann, *Fled Dúin*, l. 290; trans. Lehmann, ‘The Banquet’, p. 140). Note that the monstrous man and woman who curse the feast are the self-professed *muinntir ifrinn* ‘people of hell’ (Lehmann, *Fled Dúin*, l. 210; trans. Lehmann, ‘The Banquet’, p. 137).

³⁰⁶ Borsje, ‘Demonising the Enemy’, pp. 31–34.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 30–31.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 31; Stokes, CC, ll. 4179–80.

father, and, driven by the Furies and his father's curse, chooses war and fratricide over peace and reconciliation. CMR may present Domnall as preferable to Congal, but, if the battle scene echoes TTe and Statius, the Morrígan and the Furies are more partners in carnage than opposed Christian vs pagan or positive vs negative forces. Perhaps the appearance of Classical along Irish characters in CMR is closer to Allecto's presence in the *Táin*—glossed by the Morrígan, not presented as her opponent. Rather than standing in stark opposition to one another, the Classical and Irish characters both represent equally valid approaches to presenting supernatural beings associated with battles and violence and may not be clearly separated in the mind of the authors, redactors, and audiences. Instead, what we see are layers of Irish, Classical, and Christian *interpretatio* at work bringing the Morrígan, the Furies, and ultimately Satan from the first recension of CMT together as comparable forces within a larger schema of universal history, as will be delineated in the following two chapters.

For the most part, the *ammaiti* associated with battle examined here exercise more agency than merely forming a part of what may have been an ever-expanding catalogue of battle spirits. They can appear in battle as purely destructive forces, as in CGG, but in many of the other texts discussed above, they also in some way motivate or shape the outcomes of battles, as the Furies do in TTe. The Furies themselves, termed *ammaiti* in CMR, also appear in many of the vernacular texts, most of which are contemporaneous with, or postdate TTe and CC and seem to owe varying debts to the Classical adaptations. However, the role of *ammaiti* in medieval Irish literature also extends beyond battle scenes and we should take a wider definition of the term into account when identifying instances of *interpretatio* between Classical and Irish supernatural characters.

Ammaiti and Injury

In addition to instigating or taking part in large-scale battles, *ammaiti* can also do specific harm to individuals as presented in both Classical and non-Classical medieval Irish texts including the late seventh- or early eighth-century CCCL, the related Early and Long Versions of *Cóir Anmann*, the *Acallam*, and CC. CCCL is one of the earliest texts to include the word *ammait* and features *ammaiti* in a major role in a longer self-contained narrative than most of the other non-Classical vernacular texts discussed

here. Conall Corc's foster mother is Fedelm the *ammait*. It will be most expedient to quote the text below,

Intan andesses a mathair for Curc focheird a mmac for foesam
Fedelme na h-aimmiti & is hí nodnalt fair imtheigeth la h-ammite.
Dlighthir camrud in n-aidchi n-aili. Foluigi a mac fo an tellug fon
talam. Dotiagat na h-aimmite hi tech. Asbeir oenne: 'Ní cuilliu acht
fuile foa chaireu'. Bruinnith in tene forsin mac co n-loisc a hó. Is de ba
corc Corc mac Luigthig. Imaicci fer spirdo laim Chuir la muimne a
lla n-aill asbeir fris: 'Tofuasilcea cimmidi nach ait indaiccither &
inidchuimser. Día n-déne, bid amra do chenél & fortabiado h-ainm. Is
and ata do h-ordan cia dogné'.³⁰⁹

Ammait, which Hull persistently translates as 'witch', is applied to both Fedelm, who acts as a protective guardian, and to the other, more violent supernatural women with whom she associates. The late twelfth-century Early Version and early thirteenth-century Long Version of *Cóir Anmann* make it clear that the other *ammaiti* are owed some kind of offering or assurance from Fedelm (*fricell*, *forcell*, respectively).³¹⁰ The Long Version also elaborates on the sort of behavior expected from *ammaiti* and the reactions they induce,

Tangadur aimididhi Mumhan gusin tech an aidhchi cétna rucad Conall.
Banaimiti iatsidhe no bhíth ag aimitecht ag aidhmilled mac mbeg. Et

³⁰⁹ 'When his mother was delivered of Corc, she put her son under the protection of Fedelm the *ammait*, and on that account she it is who reared him and it is she who used to go about with *ammaiti*. On the next night shelter(?) is claimed. She concealed her boy under the hearth beneath the ground. The *ammaiti* came into the house. One of them said: "I do not destroy except what is under the cauldron." The fire darted at the child and burned his ear. As a result, Corc mac Luigthig was red. The next day a man of spirit/inspiration examined the hand of Corc who was with his foster mother. He said to him: "You are to set free captives wherever you may see them and wherever you may be able to do so. If you do, your race will be famous and your name will be on it. Your pre-eminence consists therein that you do so". (Meyer, 'Conall Corc', p. 57; trans. Hull, 'Conall Corc', pp. 892–93, with corrections from Hull, 'On Conall Corc', p. 65, adapted).

³¹⁰ Arbuthnot, 'Early Version', §61, p. 93, and 'Long Version', §57, pp. 16–17. I refer to the 'Early Version', 'Short Version', and 'Long Version' of *Cóir Anmann* for specificity. Arbuthnot has edited all three versions for the Irish Texts Society: vol. 59 contains the 'Early Version' and 'Short Version', while vol. 60 contains the 'Long Version'.

ba díbh sin Feidlim ingen Mothaire, in amait. Ro homnaigetar co mór a mbai astigh o'dchualadhar na hamaide aile isin dorus.³¹¹

These *ammaiti* seem to be mortal women rather than mythological figures and their propensity for injuring or even destroying (*aidmilled*) children is known and feared. Given the lack of conjunction between 'ag aimitecht' and 'ag aidhmilled mac mbeg', it is even possible to read 'ag aidhmilled mac mbeg' as glossing *ammaitecht*, explaining a fundamental part of the practice. This is loosely reminiscent of the 'amati adgaill' 'injuring *ammaiti*' in CGG, although those were confined to the battlefield and seemed much more mythological in form, grouped as they were with other battle spirits. Fedelm herself acts in a protective manner, but it is unclear whether she would equally partake of such injury and violence were the target not her own foster son.

The note that these *ammaiti* specifically injure children is only attested in the late Long Version of *Cóir Anmann*. In the earlier versions and in CCCL, it is not stated whether the other *ammaiti* injure Corc because Fedelm has denied them shelter or some offering, or because they habitually delight in hurting children. The other *ammait* we have encountered who relishes infanticide is, of course, Erichtho. Given that only the late Long Version of *Cóir Anmann* includes this specific detail and that no other text examined here associates injury to children with *ammaiti* except CC, it is possible that it has been drawn from CC. The redactor of *Cóir Anmann* may have been familiar with CC, or hurting children may have become part of the more general associations of *ammait*, potentially themselves stemming from Erichtho's portrayal in CC. Since the detail appears in Lucan, it cannot have been introduced to CC from the non-Classical vernacular texts. However, the wording is not identical: Erichtho drags 'naidhena becca' from their mothers' wombs³¹² while the *ammaiti* in the Long Version of *Cóir Anmann* are 'ag aidhmilled mac mbeg'.³¹³ Harming children could thus have been a pre-existing feature of *ammaiti* instead (albeit one poorly attested outside a single version of *Cóir Anmann*), and potentially have justified Erichtho's

³¹¹ 'The *ammaiti* of Mumu came to the house that same night that Conall was brought forth. They were female *ammaiti* who used to engage in witchcraft and injure little children. And Feidlim daughter of Móthaire, the *ammait*, was one of them. Those who were in the house were very afraid when they heard the other witches at the door'. (Arbuthnot, 'Long Version', §57, pp. 16–17). The specification that these are *banammaiti* is interesting, as the word is usually applied to female characters, and I am aware of no explicitly male *ammaiti* in medieval Irish literature.

³¹² 'little, living infants'. (Stokes, CC, l. 3992).

³¹³ 'destroying/injuring little children'. (Arbuthnot, 'Long Version', §57, pp. 16–17).

description as an *ammait*. Either way, physical injuring of individual people was as much a part of the medieval Irish definition of *ammait* as instigating or presiding over larger battles.

Murderous, destructive *ammaiti* also appear in the *Acallam*. Patrick banishes nine of them with water from a holy spring. Prior to this, these nine women have been,

ac ammaidecht, & ní léicdis ben na fer uaithib gan marbad, & ré ré
fichet bliadan doib ic falmugud ind orba & ind feraind amlaid-sin.
Ocus adubairt Conn Cumachtach re Pátraic: ‘Maith, a m’anam, a
naem-chleirig, dingaib dind na h-amaiti & na h-aincisi atá ac milliud in
tíri & in talman’.³¹⁴

The damage the *ammaiti* in the *Acallam* inflict on the land itself may also have parallels to Erichtho in CC, who blights the fields, ‘& in gort airthe for a saltradh-si intan sin, nó in t-achad can ar, ní ásadh a fer no a n-arbar fri re cian ina dhiaidh’.³¹⁵ CC’s focus is on Erichtho specifically blighting crops and fields (*arbar*, *fér*), not the land itself (*orba*, *ferann*, *tír*, *talam*), and the terminology is for the most part different, apart from *fér* and *ferann*. However this detail does not appear in the earlier texts mentioning *ammaiti* examined above and may owe its source to the *ammait* Erichtho.³¹⁶ A more compelling potential correspondence between the *Acallam* and CC will be examined below in the discussion of physical appearance of *ammaiti*. Ultimately, however, in the absence of a longer passage from CC quoted in the *Acallam*, a direct link between the two texts must remain hypothetical.³¹⁷

³¹⁴ ‘engaged in *ammaitecht* and they left no one, man or woman, alive. For the past twenty years they have been despoiling the territory and the land in that manner. And Conn Cumachtach said to Patrick, ‘Well, dear, holy cleric, free us from these *ammaiti* and the troubles that are destroying the land and the earth’. (Stokes, ‘Acallamh’, ll. 6763–68; trans. Dooley and Roe, *Tales*, pp. 188–89, adapted).

³¹⁵ ‘And the ploughed corn-field or the meadow untilled, on which she used then to tread, its grass or its corn would not grow for a long time afterwards’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 3964–6). This translates ‘Semina foecundae segetis calcata perussit’ (‘her step scorches the seeds of fruitful fields’) in Lucan, VI.521.

³¹⁶ Tisiphone’s breath is described by Statius as bringing famine and death to all (I.88–116), though he does not specifically mention fields or earth, and this detail is left out of the Irish TTe.

³¹⁷ Mac Gearailt, ‘*In Cath Catharda*’, pp. 63–67 suggests that the author(s) of CC may be familiar with the *Acallam* due the similarity between the scene where an African youth informs Curio about geographic and toponymic detail in CC (ll. 2882–92) and Patrick and Cáilte’s exchanges throughout the *Acallam*. However, if there is

The second verbal noun used in the *Acallam* to describe the depredations to the land carried out by the *ammaiti*, *milliud*, is related to the *aidmilliud* we saw above in the Long Version of *Cóir Anmann*, describing the injuries inflicted on children. The *Acallam* does not mention that the *ammaiti* murder children in particular, but it does state that they have killed everyone in that place. The general statement that the *ammaiti* in the *Acallam* ‘ro bóí ac ammaidecht’³¹⁸ employs similar phrasing to the Long Version of *Cóir Anmann*, where the *ammaiti* also ‘no bíth ag aimitecht’.³¹⁹ This is not phrasing found in CC, where *ammaitecht* usually appears as a regular noun in the genitive, rather than as a ‘quasi-verbal noun’ acting as the object of the substantive verb;³²⁰ it only once fills a similar grammatical role in CC, when it is used with *gnáthaigid*.³²¹ While both the Long Version of *Cóir Anmann* and the *Acallam* have parallels with the phrasing and characteristics of *ammaiti* found in CC, they also have independent parallels with one another. This suggests that if any borrowing occurred, it was as part of a wider intellectual milieu, where certain authors were as familiar with other vernacular texts as with the Classical adaptations, rather than merely on the level of specific direct quotation across two texts. As later chapters, especially in Chapters 6 and 7, will argue, a milieu of adaptation and intellectual exchange provides as a better way of thinking about relationships between texts and motifs rather than unidirectional influence.

Prophecy and Supernatural Agency

Erichtho in CC and the Furies in TTe are both, as discussed above, intricately involved in the workings of fate and prophecy and fulfil the commands of, or even challenge the gods.³²² The non-Classical Irish texts featuring *ammaiti* do not mention the direct involvement of *ammaiti* with anything as explicit as *fatum* or *fortuna*, but the *ammaiti* in BMMM and CMR have the power to shape the course of their victims’

influence between the texts, I would argue that it is instead CC that influences the *Acallam* due to the similarities between Erichtho’s appearance and behavior in Lucan and CC and those of the nine *ammaiti* in the *Acallam*.

³¹⁸ ‘were at *ammaitecht*’. (Stokes, ‘Acallamh’, ll. 6763–64).

³¹⁹ ‘were at *ammaitecht*’. (Arbuthnot, ‘Long Version’, §57, pp. 16–17).

³²⁰ eDIL, ‘s.v. ammaitecht’, <dil.ie/3167>.

³²¹ ‘inad i n-gnathaigedh a h-ammaitecht & a draidhecht do denamh’ (‘a place in which she used to practise her ammaitecht and her draidhecht’). (Stokes, CC, ll. 4105–6, trans. adapted).

³²² See pp. 54–62.

lives, as will now be explored at greater length. The three *ammaiti* compel Cú Chulainn to break his *geis* in BMMM, thus leading to his death. They have studied various kinds of knowledge and *ammaitecht* and provoke exactly the actions that violate Cú Chulainn's *geis*, leaving him weakened and thus hastening his end. The detail that the women are blind raises distant parallels with the Graeae or Phorcydes as does the fact that they are three in number, which is also applicable to the Graeae's and Phorcydes' sometime-sisters the Fates.³²³ For the medieval Irish, the *Parci* are clearly pagan beings associated with hell, as they are described as 'na *Parci* ifernaidhe' 'the infernal *Parci*' in CC and glossed, as mentioned above, as 'bándáe iffirnn' 'goddesses of hell' in the much earlier ninth-century St Gall Priscian glosses, which were discussed above in Chapter 2.³²⁴ The *Parci* are not, however, ever termed *ammaiti* and are even invoked by the *ammait* Erichtho in CC. Furthermore, if BMMM's *ammaiti* do consciously force Cú Chulainn to break his *geis* through their *ammaitecht*, it is *ammaitecht* learned specifically for the purpose of avenging their father and killing Cú Chulainn, not innate ability or behaviour. In this respect, the *ammaitecht* is perhaps more like Erichtho's powers than the Furies' (indeed, while Erichtho and Medea enact *ammaitecht* in CC, the word does not appear in TTe).³²⁵

In the later version of CMR, the Furies are portrayed as having led Congal astray all of his life. It is the Classical interlopers who pervasively manipulate mortal events, as the Furies do in Statius and TTe (or indeed, as the gods do in the *Aeneid*). As discussed above, both FDG and CMR seem to be significantly influenced by Statius and TTe. In CMR, however, the reader might assume this is merely because the Furies, filling Satan's role in the earlier version, influence Congal out of their own desire to do evil. There is no hereditary curse or invocation of the Furies as agents of vengeance as in Statius and TTe. CMR's *ammaiti* cause the stirring or awakening of Congal's evil decisions, and seem to leave him no choice but to fulfil their instructions,

...uair is ann ro athaigestar in úir indlech, esidan, aidgill Electó ar cert-
lár cleib ocus craide Congail, ic maidem cach mirúin ocus ic fiugrad
cacha fír-uile. Ocus didiu in mairch-miscnech, mírunach, mallachtnach

³²³ For the Graeae, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV.770, the Preface to Hyginus's *Fabulae*, and his *Astronomica*, II.12 (for which see Moltzer).

³²⁴ Stokes, CC, I. 4223; Bauer et al., St Gall Priscian, 53b.1

³²⁵ For *ammaitecht*: *ibid.*, II. 3911, 3955, 4105, 4111, 4116, 4132. Medea also practises *draidecht* in TTr-2, BL II. 31125, 31161, 31178, 31180.

Megéra do chosain a caladh-phort comnaidi ar cert-lár charbait
 Congail, ic tagra a taiblib a thengad, oculus ic buadnaisi a bunnsachaibh
 a briathar; oculus didiu in chenncleasach, cosaídech, conntreachta,
 thromda, thurrachtach, thuaithebrach Tesifóne táraid sein ard-chomus
 airechais ar cúig cefdadaib comlana corparda Congail, comdís
 comdicra sein re forbhad cacha fíir-uilc.³²⁶

These *ammaiti* not only stir evil thoughts, but seize Congal's tongue and senses. He himself seems to be as much the Furies' helpless victim, as Polynices is Megaera's in Statius (if not as concretely so in TTe). The narrative states that not even Congal's druids and clergy can offer successful counsel, so great is the power of the *ammaiti*.³²⁷ Later in CMR, Congal's plot to test the Ulaid and their foreign allies is called 'comairli dúuibsech, demnacda',³²⁸ which recalls the description of Tisiphone and Maegara as *duaibsechdemnacha* in TTe, discussed above.

CMR's *ammaiti* may influence Congal, but they are not presented unequivocally as agents of fate. They enact their evil counsel through *siabrad* 'enchantment', 'delusion', or 'madness' and *sáeb-forcetul* 'false instruction', much as the Classical Furies deceive both Eteocles and Polynices in Statius and TTe. *Siabra* 'phantoms' also appear directly after *ammaiti* in CGG's catalogue of battle spirits, and bring about Conaire's destruction in TBDD (a text which will provide a further case study of *interpretatio* and multi-directional borrowings in Chapter 6), suggesting the term may have similar negative supernatural connotations to *ammaiti*.³²⁹ The word is absent from both TTe and CC, however, although it seems suitable for the Furies'

³²⁶ '...for then did the slanderous, impure, and destructive Fury, Electo, visit the very centre of the breast and heart of Congal, suggesting every evil resolution and presaging every true evil. And also the woeful, evil planning, accursed Megera occupied her dwelling-harbour in the very middle of Congal's palate, vaunting from the battlements of his tongue, and threatening from the darts of his words. And the tricky, complaining, cursed, morose, calamitous, sinister Tesiphone assumed absolute sway over the five bodily senses of Congal, so that they were diligent to accomplish every true evil'. (O'Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 166–69; trans. Clarke, 'Demonology', p. 118, cf. n. 103).

³²⁷ O'Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 166–67.

³²⁸ 'a dark, demonic design'. (O'Donovan, *The Banquet*, pp. 198–9; trans. adapted).

³²⁹ Knott, TBDD, ll. 1064. See Charles-Edwards, 'Geis, Prophecy, Omen', p. 39 and O'Connor, *Destruction*, for further discussions of the Otherworld in TBDD and related texts, and p. 68 for mention of the spectres specifically. O'Connor, *Destruction*, pp. 228–43 also includes a discussion of possible Classical influences on the text, concluding that any obvious direct influence is difficult to pinpoint.

appearance as deceiving apparitions in TTe. None of the *ammaiti* in the texts above prophesy themselves, or invoke infernal prophecies as Erichtho does. The *ammaiti* in non-Classical texts may be involved in characters' fates, and steer the course of events, but in BMMM this occurs in a less explicit manner than in the Classical adaptations. In the later version of CMR, a text influenced by TTe, the Furies, perhaps unsurprisingly, come the closest to their Classical selves, even compelling the kind of irresistible action that seems closer to their role in Statius than in TTe.

Physical Appearance

Curiously, none of the *ammaiti* in non-Classical sources receive the elaborate physical descriptions of Tisiphone in TTe and Erichtho in CC, which often embellish the original Latin texts. There is some indication that non-Classical *ammaiti* can also render themselves invisible or take other physical forms, as Tisiphone impersonates Halys, and Maegara likewise takes the form of Argia in TTe. Presumably, the Furies that have been harrying Congal in CMR have not been visible for his entire life, though it is not stated either way. The fact that the threatening *ammaiti* in CCCL are beyond the door and thus invisible surely adds to the terror of those inside the house. The *Triads of Ireland* list, 'Trí hamaite bíte i ndrochthig óiged .i. sentrichem sen-chailleige, roschaullach ingine móile, sirite gillai'.³³⁰ *Sirite* is defined by eDIL as, 'orig. some sort of supernatural being who had the power of changing shape', and secondarily, 'imp, stripling, sprig, whipper-snapper'.³³¹ The latter meaning is almost exclusively used of Cú Chulainn and his *ríastrad*. The fact that a shape-changer (*sirite*) is classified as one of three types of *ammait* suggests this may be an inherent association of the word. The *Triads* probably originally dates to the eighth or early ninth century, but in the form we have it, it is likely a composite text that was

³³⁰ 'Three *ammaiti* which are in a bad guesthouse, that is, a long-standing cough of an old hag, a horse-stallion of a bald girl, a *sirite* of a gillie'. (Meyer, *Triads*, §114, p. 14; my trans.). The passage as a whole is obscure in many respects. *Roschaullach* appears nowhere else, and Meyer suggests the first element may be a borrowing of Old English *hros* or Old Norse *hross* 'horse'. See also Mac Cana's inconclusive article, 'The *ingen moel*', pp. 217–27. If the *sen* of *sentrichem* is *sén* 'incantation', 'charm', this would tie into the potentially supernatural associations of the other two entries. eDIL lists several compounds beginning with *sén*, although none of them are this compound. See eDIL, 's.v. 1 sén', <dil.ie/37092>.

³³¹ eDIL, 's.v. 1 sirite', <dil.ie/37680>.

expanded and altered over time.³³² It is thus ambiguous whether these associations with *sirite* and thus some kind of shape-changing predate the Classical adaptations. The sort of gnomic wisdom in the *Triads* is similar to the caution expressed in the *Acallam*, ‘ná ra[b]tarraic imale ar am[m]aid ná ar drochdhuine’, although no further description or reasoning is provided beyond the association with *drochdhuine*.³³³

The most extensive physical description of any *ammaiti* outside the Classical adaptations also comes from the *Acallam*, where Patrick and his retinue encounter the nine women,

Ocus ní cian ro badur ann co facadur na náe n-amaiti duba duaibsecha
sin da n-indsaighi, & *fuilt do cennaib daíne marb a talmain anís umpu*
do cech táib & damad gnáth marb a talmain do eirge do-berdais na h-
eigmi do-nithi umpu do cach thaib díb.³³⁴

The hair detail appears only in the sixteenth-century Franciscan MS A IV, Kiliney 74a–b. As noted above, Erichtho steals the hair (*folt*) of dying people (*daíne*) in both Lucan and CC.³³⁵ Erichtho is also described as *dúaibsech* ‘dark’ or ‘gloomy’.³³⁶ The dead rising from the earth to scream are also reminiscent of the corpse Erichtho raises, which lets out a *caí* ‘wail’, ‘lament’ when Erichtho gives it voice.³³⁷ Again, as with the blighted crops, the *Acallam* and CC use different terminology for scream. If these two features of the *ammaiti* are borrowed from CC’s Erichtho, we cannot prove it through identical word-choice. The closer wordings are the use of *dúaibsech* for both the *ammaiti* in the *Acallam* and Erichtho, and detail concerning the hair of the dead in the sixteenth-century Franciscan MS A IV version of the *Acallam*. *Dúaibsech* is not an uncommon word, especially in Middle Irish alliterating descriptions, as seen in the examples already discussed from TTe and CMR. We can also find *dúaibsech* among a string of alliterating adjectives describing *badb* in the same catalogue of battle spirits

³³² Meyer, *Triads*, p. xi.

³³³ ‘Keep well away from these together, the *ammait* and the evil person’. (Stokes, ‘Acallamh’, l. 585; trans. Dooley and Roe, p. 19, adapted).

³³⁴ ‘They had not been there long when they saw nine black and gloom-filled *ammaiti* coming towards them, *with hair from the heads of people long dead in the earth about them on every side*. If the dead were accustomed to rise from the earth, they would make such screams as these did around them on every side’. (Stokes, ‘Acallamh’, ll. 180–83; trans. Dooley and Roe, p. 190, adapted). The italicized text is from Franciscan MS A IV, Kiliney 74a–b.

³³⁵ Stokes, CC, ll. 3995–96; Lucan, VI.562–3.

³³⁶ Stokes, CC, l. 404.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 4218.

in CGG in which *ammaiti* appear.³³⁸ As discussed above, this particular catalogue is strikingly similar to that found in CC, particularly because both catalogues mention *ammaiti* and *eóin*. However, this may also simply attest to the terms' prevalence in Middle Irish descriptions. Likewise, *fol* is a standard word for 'hair' and *daine* for 'people', so the similar wording need not mean that the *Acallam* draws the phrasing specifically from CC. It is possible to reasonably suggest that the *Acallam* borrows details from CC's depiction of Erichtho (or even from Lucan) based on the hair and screams of the dead and the crop-blighting, but if this is in fact the case, it does so more conceptually than linguistically. Once again, it may be more productive to view these potential links as part of a wider cultural milieu in which Classical and non-Classical texts circulated and were read together instead of as evidence for direct influence.

CONCLUSION

In summary, *interpretatio* proved a crucial method used by medieval Irish authors to depict Classical supernatural beings such as the Furies and Erichtho, depictions which drew on existing portrayals of medieval Irish *ammaiti* and in turn contributed to later portrayals of medieval Irish supernatural beings. While there are many resemblances and potential for intertextual borrowings between the texts discussed in this chapter, few borrowings can be concretely demonstrated beyond the use of TTe or Statius as a model for the Furies in FDG and the later version of CMR, at least on the level of exact linguistic correspondence. Given that a number of these texts are roughly contemporaneous, at least in some redactions (TTe and CC, the *Acallam*, possibly later additions to *Sanas Cormaic*, the various versions of *Cóir Anmann*, the late eleventh- or mid twelfth-century FDG, and, to extend the time frame a little later, the later thirteenth- or fourteenth-century version of CMR), it may be more productive to look at mutual influence in an eleventh- through thirteenth-century intellectual milieu. Scribes were clearly reading both the Latin Classics and producing and re-reading their own Classical adaptations. While many of the examples discussed above highlight the possibility that certain Classical details pertaining to *ammaiti* found their way into non-Classical medieval Irish texts during this period, the word surely

³³⁸ Todd, CGG, p. 174.

originally had enough of the same or similar connotations to justify its application to the Furies and Erichtho in the adaptations. The authors of TTe and CC employed *interpretatio* to describe several Classical mythological figures as *ammaiti*, and in turn, other contemporary and later Irish texts reinterpret their own *ammaiti* in light of these Classical usages, suggesting a well-read and intertextual intellectual climate.

In addition to elucidating the links between Classical and Irish depictions of supernatural women, the analysis undertaken in this chapter can help to clarify the definition and attributes of *ammait* more generally. Two loose types of *ammait* emerge from the sources discussed here. On the one hand, we are presented with more or less mortal *ammaiti* who injure individuals and practise a learned type of *ammaitecht*, such as Fedelm and the other *ammaiti* in CCCL and *Cóir Anmann*, the three *ammaiti* in BMMM, the nine *ammaiti* in the *Acallam*, possibly the enigmatic figure(s) mentioned in the *Triads*, and, of course, Erichtho. Erichtho may influence depictions of *ammaiti* such as those in the *Acallam*, but she also fits into a larger pre-existing paradigm as a human woman who has learned and practises harmful magic. In contrast, we have a second type of *ammait* that tends to appear in groups before or during armed conflicts and are included in longer lists of battle spirits. Examples of these *ammaiti* include those mentioned in the battle spirit catalogues in CGG and at the end of CC, as well as the Furies in TTe and CMR. This category of *ammait* seems to have more direct links with Classical texts and their medieval Irish adaptations. The wording is similar between CGG's and CC's catalogues of battle spirits and the same individual named Furies appear in TTe, CMR, and FDG.

These divisions partially mirror the dates of the texts discussed. In the earlier texts to mention *ammaiti* and *ammaitecht*, *ammaitecht* is a learned skill (BMMM, *De Shíl Chonairi Móir*), and *ammaiti* tend to congregate in small groups (BMMM, CCCL) and can command some sort of (supernatural) host (*De Shíl Chonairi Móir*, *Sanas Cormaic*). Curiously, *De Shíl Chonairi Móir* and, to a lesser extent, CMT are the only texts to make a clear connection between *ammaitecht* and the *síde*. This early strand of tradition where *ammaiti* operate in groups and inflict specific physical injury is also reflected in later texts, namely in the *Acallam* and in CC, where Erichtho additionally appears to learn her *ammaitecht* rather than having innate supernatural powers. In the other later texts, *ammaiti* are largely associated with Furies and catalogues of battle spirits (TTe, CMR, CGG). By taking on aspects of a Fury herself,

even to a greater extent than she does in Lucan, CC's Erichtho blurs these lines somewhat.

The depictions of *ammaiti*, taken together from multiple texts, also tell us something about how the medieval Christian Irish viewed Classical paganism, although individual stylistic choices made for narrative cohesion seem to matter as much as, if not more than any unifying, cross-textual desire to emphasize or downplay pagan elements. Classical *ammaiti* (especially the Furies) and chthonic beings are called infernal or demonic more often than non-Classical *ammaiti*, but many of the non-Classical *ammaiti* fall into the category of mortal character practicing magic, rather than non-human battle spirit or Fury, and are thus less likely to be demons or agents of hell.

The agency of various *ammaiti* and their ability to compel characters, fate, and even the gods also vary between texts. Thus, the Furies in TTe seem to have slightly less power to compel Polynices than in Statius, but their counterparts in FDG and CMR have more control over Congal than even Statius's Dirae. CC sharpens the parallels between Erichtho and the Furies as well as between Erichtho and Pluto, making her into more of an infernal power than she is in Lucan. CC also attributes the creation of Caesar's shield to the influence of *ammaiti* and adds *ammaiti* to its catalogue of battle spirits, which otherwise draws largely on other Irish battle spirit lists in both content and positioning before rather than after the battle, and may reflect the structure of Isaiah 8.

Regardless of the overt level of borrowing between texts, or the degree to which *ammaiti* can be divided into clear categories, *ammaiti* fit into a larger Middle Irish interest in depicting the supernatural. The Classical characters termed *ammaiti* both fit into existing definitions and patterns for medieval Irish supernatural women and themselves influence the development of these definitions and patterns. They also represent specific, individual choices towards depicting particular characters and scenes, rather than being overtly Christianized, or consistently wielding greater or lesser powers than their Classical progenitors. If Christianization occurs, as potentially is the case with the similarities to Isaiah in CC, it complements the pre-existing Latin narrative, rather than replacing it and offers an added dimension of Christian *interpretatio* to the Irish adaptation. The use of biblical chronology as a framework for Classical reception and of typology as a type of *interpretatio* will be explored in greater detail from the following chapter onwards. We will now turn from

lexical *interpretatio* of mythological and supernatural figures to the portrayal of the Olympian gods in the Classical adaptations and ultimately to the historiographical context in which they are situated.

CHAPTER 4

GODS IN THE CLASSICAL ADAPTATIONS

Whereas previous chapters examined *interpretatio* evident in lexical choices and the expression of theonyms, this chapter will turn to specific portrayals of the Classical gods and related mythological characters in each of the medieval Irish Classical adaptations. I will analyse the depictions of the Olympian gods and their behaviour in individual texts, before drawing general conclusions about shared interpretive strategies and similarities across texts. Each text pursues *interpretatio* in unique ways reflecting independent authorial agency, but some commonalities emerge, including tendencies towards ellipsis (the omission of mythological information), euhemerization (the elucidation of mythological characters and narratives with mundane explanations), equivalency (the expression of Classical gods and myths with reference to Irish traditions), and typology (the exegetical technique linking aspects of the Old and New Testaments, applied to a wider literary sphere). Ultimately, I link the forgoing lexical and interpretive analyses to larger thematic concerns about the production of historiography and the role of the Classical adaptations in a medieval understanding of salvation history.

The texts discussed in the chapter are organized by relative date of composition and type of adaptation (i.e., Trojan material, adaptations of Latin epic, and shorter creative adaptations that draw from multiple sources). *Scéla Alaxandair* and *Togail Troí* are the earliest adaptations, potentially dating from the tenth century, although extant versions survive only from the eleventh century or later. I treat *Scéla Alaxandair* first, and then turn to the recensions of *Togail Troí* and related Trojan material, including the poem *Luid Iasón ina luíng lóir*, the prose and verse adaptations of Statius's *Achilleid*, and the late tale *Don Tres Troí*. I next address the eleventh- and twelfth-century longer adaptation texts that are based on single works of Classical epic: *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, *Togail na Tebe* (and its related text, *Riss in Mundtuirc*), and *In Cath Catharda*. Finally, I discuss three shorter, later twelfth- or thirteenth-century adaptations, all of which are found in RIA MS D.iv.2. These are creatively assembled out of references in longer works, commentaries, and scholia, rather than based on single, larger works of Classical literature: *Sgél in Minaduir*, *Merugud Uilixis*, *Fingal Chlainne Tantai*, and *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*.

Scéla Alaxandair

Linguistically, *Scéla Alaxandair* is probably an eleventh-century text, possibly reworked from a tenth-century original.³³⁹ Unlike the other Classical adaptations addressed in this chapter, it does not fit neatly into categories of Trojan material, adaptation of Latin epic, or short, creative reworking of mythological narrative. Instead, the text is compiled from sources including, but not limited to, Orosius, the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, and the *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo rege Bragmanorum*. As a result, the portrayals of paganism and approaches to *interpretatio* in *Scéla Alaxandair* are sometimes inconsistent across sections based on different sources, and between different manuscript versions of the Irish text. As it appears in the Book of Ballymote, *Scéla Alaxandair* introduces few new or expanded mythological elements beyond those found in its Latin exemplars. I shall chiefly discuss the Book of Ballymote text here, as it contains more frequent mention of Classical deities and a greater degree of mythological detail than the other two manuscript versions: that found in the Leabhar Breac (LB) and the version of the *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo rege Bragmanorum* (*Collatio*) section in Rawlinson B 512. The acephalous version in LB has a tendency to abbreviate and condense material, especially in the sections drawn from the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* and the *Collatio*; the version of the latter preserved in Rawlinson B 512 closely parallels the text in LB.³⁴⁰ For example, in the section drawn from the *Epistola* in the Book of Ballymote, Alexander's men vanish into a cave dedicated to Liber Pater and return mortally ill, as in the Latin version.³⁴¹ Subsequently, the Trees of the Sun and

³³⁹ Mac Gearailt, 'Issues in the Transmission', pp. 104, 125–30 notes a mixture of early and late linguistic features and suggests that *Scéla Alaxandair* was modernized significantly over time, and his 'In Cath Catharda', p. 56 suggests that deliberate archaism may mask a post-tenth-century date. Peters, pp. 94–95 argues for a tenth-century original, and Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Classical Compositions', p. 1, n. 3 notes that linguistic features could also support an eleventh-century date. I would concur that an eleventh-century dating seems more feasible, from a linguistic point of view. I would favour the eleventh century as the date of the surviving version of the text on linguistic grounds. As with many of the Classical adaptations discussed in this thesis, a comprehensive study of the text's style and language across its manuscript attestations remains to be done.

³⁴⁰ See Peters, pp. 71–74; Wachowich, pp. 217–19 for further discussion of sources.

³⁴¹ Peters, p. 136; Kübler, pp. 208–09.

the Moon mention the Fates: Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos.³⁴² Both episodes closely follow the Latin text, but neither appears in LB, which breaks off at this point before resuming again at the beginning of the *Collatio*. This difference in focus on supernatural beings may simply be due to the incomplete state and condensed style of the text in LB. However, it may also indicate different interests and priorities on behalf of the scribes and redactors of the Book of Ballymote and LB texts (or their exemplars).

The Irish versions of the *Collatio* make more original adaptation choices than the other sections of the work. The text presents a fictional correspondence between Alexander and Dindamus the king of the Brahmans, who rules over an allegorical Christian kingdom and attempts to convince Alexander to live in a moral fashion and desert his pagan gods. The Irish version maintains the basic themes of the Latin and most of the details, but diverges with respect to several mythological characters. In the Latin, Dindamus equates a long list of infernal Classical beings with various human sins: the Furies, Eumenides (listed separately from the Furies), Tisiphone (given by name), the *umbrae* of Hades, ‘poenae Inferni’ ‘infernal punishments’, Tantalus, Cerberus, *Hydrae*, *Viperina*, Pluto and the Pallentes.³⁴³ *Scéla Alaxandair* largely rejects the allegorical approach of the Latin *Collatio*: of the infernal beings mentioned in the allegorical passage of the *Collatio*, the Book of Ballymote version of *Scéla Alaxandair* mentions only *Viperina*, Pluto, and the Pallentes.³⁴⁴ The other manuscript versions of the Irish text do not mention any infernal beings by name. This could be the result of an attempt at concision or indicative of a Latin exemplar missing several lines (although earlier sections in the text follow the Latin fairly closely, so the exemplar is unlikely to have looked significantly different from the Latin version we have). The omission of these mythological references represents a departure from the interest in infernal beings (especially the Furies) displayed by many other medieval Irish sources, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The allegorical explanation of Classical supernatural beings in the Latin *Collatio* is consonant with wider European approaches to Classical mythological reception.³⁴⁵ However, allegory is rarely an interpretive strategy found for Classical

³⁴² Peters, p. 138; Kübler, p. 215.

³⁴³ Kübler, pp. 180–81.

³⁴⁴ Peters, pp. 146–47.

³⁴⁵ See Chapter 1, pp. 27–28.

mythology in medieval Irish contexts, and in this respect *Scéla Alaxandair* is no different from the other Classical adaptations. Michael Clarke connects the Furies in FDG to Fulgentius's claims that each Fury allegorically represents mental imbalance and moral failing, a parallel that matches the framework of the original Latin *Collatio* well.³⁴⁶ Clarke makes a compelling case for allegorical readings in this instance and illustrates that individual Irish authors were capable of exercising allegorical *interpretatio* when it accorded with their creative and thematic goals. However, historiographical and typological understandings of mythological and Otherworldly beings are far more widespread in medieval Irish literature than allegorical approaches. The importance of universal historiography and typology will be explored in greater detail at the end of this chapter, and throughout the rest of the dissertation.

Compression and omission of materials also occurs in a list of the Olympians and the traditional sacrifices that decorate their altars, which appears in both the Book of Ballymote and LB adaptations of the *Collatio* (although it is missing from Rawlinson B 512). Both the Book of Ballymote and LB compress the Latin descriptions of the gods' altars slightly, but there is a curious switch to Latin from Irish for most of the list (although the Ballymote version incorporates some curious Irish spelling of Latin words), quoting directly from the Latin. In one instance, there is room for misreading: the Irish version transforms the Latin 'aras Herculeas populea corona circumdat'³⁴⁷ into the terse 'doberar leib-si... Ercoili populus'.³⁴⁸ *Populus* should presumably be taken as the second-declension feminine noun meaning 'poplar tree', rendering 'populea corona', but the context that these poplars surround the altar is gone in both Irish versions, allowing the potential for the word to be mistaken as *populus* 'people', and thus introducing the possibility of human sacrifice into the passage. The text already condemns pagan rituals, so the potential leap from animal to human sacrifice is not great, even if it was only on the part of the audience rather than necessarily intended by the author or redactor. We find examples of human sacrifice in later texts such as FCT and *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*, which will be examined

³⁴⁶ Clarke, 'Demonology', p. 119.

³⁴⁷ 'a circle of poplars surround the altars of Hercules'. (Kübler, p. 181–82).

³⁴⁸ 'to Hercules, poplar/people are given by you'. (Peters, p. 146). LB gives *populus... Hercoli*. *Populus* is an attested medieval spelling of Classical Latin *populus* 'people'.

subsequently; however, as I argue below, human sacrifice is rarely associated with the Classical gods in medieval Irish literature.³⁴⁹

The use of Latin for the passage of *Scéla Alaxandair* merits further discussion. That this material is given primarily in Latin instead of Irish in both manuscripts may suggest a desire to distance the Irish text from elements of Classical paganism. However, given that this approach is not taken by any other adaptation or translation text and given that the Classical deities in *Scéla Alaxandair* are mentioned only to disparage their worship, it is unlikely that the *Scéla Alaxandair* redactor(s) would seek to detach themselves by leaving the text in Latin. Instead, it seems far more plausible that the text's occasional multilingualism represents its multilingual milieu as a learned production synthesizing multiple Alexandrian sources. The use of mixed Latin and Irish recalls the multilingual nature of the glossary sources discussed in Chapter 2, as well as contemporaneous texts such as the Middle Irish prefaces to the hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*, preserved in two manuscripts dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Middle Irish passions and homilies in LB, or the multilingual hagiographies *Bethu Brigte* and the *Vita Tripartita* (*Bethu Phátraic*). While we would not be surprised by some degree of multilingualism in any learned work from medieval Ireland, *Scéla Alaxandair* is different in two respects from the aforementioned religious texts: 1) multilingualism is not to norm in medieval Irish Classical adaptations and thus it is striking to see it at all in *Scéla Alaxandair*, and 2) while *Scéla Alaxandair* is notable for its use of Latin when compared to the corpus of other medieval Irish Classical adaptations, Latin is still nowhere near as pervasive in *Scéla Alaxandair* as it is in any of the above mentioned religious texts. Most instances of Latin in *Scéla Alaxandair* as printed by Peters are in actuality expanded abbreviations, single words, or very common expressions (such as *ut dixit*, or *finit*). Only a few instances, grouped towards the end of the text, include lengthier passages of Latin, including that addressed above, a quotation from Psalm 78 (77),³⁵⁰ and a few phrases in Latin describing the aftermath of Alexander's death and succession taken from or closely paralleling the corresponding Latin text.³⁵¹ It seems possible that the brief uses of Latin thus represent the work of a single redactor of the material towards the end of the narrative and point to a text composed by multiple authors, lacking a

³⁴⁹ See also Chapter 7, pp. 206–07, 209–12.

³⁵⁰ Peters, p. 154.

³⁵¹ Ibid., p. 156.

cohesive sense of stylistic unity. Nonetheless, the fact that one of the very few longer passages in Latin is the one discussed above involving the altars of the pagan gods surely draws attention to the section and its implications.

The sections of *Scéla Alaxandair* (chiefly from the Book of Ballymote) examined here change relatively little of their source text's mythological references. The Book of Ballymote version tends to compress material slightly, though not as much as the versions found in other manuscripts, which might explain why some sections downplay elements of the Latin, such as the descriptions of altars and mention of infernal beings. At the same time, the omission of infernal beings such as the Furies, who are popular in other medieval Irish texts, sets all three manuscript versions of *Scéla Alaxandair* apart from many of the other Classical adaptations and roughly contemporaneous vernacular compositions and may be seen as representative of individual authorial interests.

Trojan Material

The destruction of Troy constituted one of the central events in pre-Christian world history and provided a popular point in universal synchronisms with which late antique and medieval authors could align historical figures and events. It is thus unsurprising that a core body material about the Trojan War circulated and evolved during the Middle Irish period. While several texts share Trojan topics, each presents new authorial innovations and independent approaches to *interpretatio* of mythological beings. Despite ranging in date from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries (in the versions that survive), this group of Trojan texts deserves to be treated together as elements in a developing tradition of Irish Classical studies.

Togail Troí, Recensions 1 and 2

TTr was likely adapted originally in the tenth century and exists in versions dating from the eleventh century until the late twelfth or thirteenth. During this period, the underlying narrative based on Dares Phrygius's *De excidio Troiae* was extended significantly and adapted to meet changing stylistic standards, interest in background explanation, and evolving historiographical norms. Especially prominent are expansions of the presence and roles of divine characters from Dares to TTr-1 and TTr-2 (from the Book of Leinster), in line with Miles's observation that each successive version of TTr employs *amplificatio* to expand the prose of both Dares and

previous recensions.³⁵² Dares almost entirely removes the Olympians from his versions of the Trojan War; mortal characters in the text may believe in the Olympians as gods but the Olympians make no concrete appearance in the physical world of the narrative themselves. TTr-1's general approach is to introduce the gods via human speech or propitiation rather than as independent characters acting on their own, although they are still represented as real entities as opposed to figments of mortals' imaginations. TTr-2 expands on TTr-1's portrayal of the gods, sometimes removing narrative conceits found in TTr-1 so that the gods feature more prominently. Three examples will suffice to illustrate these expansionist tendencies: the introduction of the gods in the three respective texts, the Judgment of Paris, and the consultation of Apollo's oracle by Achilles and Calchas.

The first mention of any gods by name in TTr-1 comes, as it does in Dares, when Priam rebuilds Troy and consecrates an altar to Jove.³⁵³ TTr-2, by contrast, begins with an elaborate genealogical prologue, tracing the Olympians' lineage back to Noah and giving an account of the birth of Jove and the division of the world between Jove, Neptune, and Orcus.³⁵⁴ This prologue differs from most of the rest of the text's treatment of the Olympians as gods (rather than humans) in that it provides *interpretatio* for the Olympians by means of euhemerism. This euhemerism expands the role of the Olympians from their depiction in Dares, presenting them as historical characters, rather than imaginary beings worshipped by mortals. By virtue of the prologue's position at the beginning of TTr-2, it orients the story to come and frames the settings and causes for the Trojan War, giving clear pride of place to the Olympians. In this respect it resembles Gilla Choimded úa Chormaic's eleventh-century poem *A rí richid, réidig dam*, where the Apple of Discord is explicitly listed as the main cause of the Trojan War, underscoring the role of the gods in the subsequent events,

Cetfochund togla na Troe.
de ra ás ní immargóe

³⁵² Miles, *Heroic Saga*, p. 104.

³⁵³ Stokes, 'The Destruction of Troy', ll. 207–08; cf. Frazer, *Trojan War*, §4.

³⁵⁴ Best and O'Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 30820–36. Throughout, I use Best and O'Brien's edition of TTr-2 from the Book of Leinster; all translations from Best and O'Brien's edition of the Book of Leinster are my own. Note: line numbers for this text refer to Book of Leinster line numbers reproduced in Best and O'Brien's edition. See also Stokes, *Togail Troí* for an alternate edition and translation of TTr-2.

dond ubull óir slicht rasia.
ra inscríb dóib Discordia.³⁵⁵

We should not see the prologue of TTr-2 as an attempt to downplay the significance of the Classical gods by portraying them as humans of the distant past, but rather to fit them into a pseudohistorical framework reminiscent of LGÉ or the Irish SAM, as will be discussed at further length in both this chapter and the following chapter.

For all its pseudohistorical presentation of the gods within biblical and world genealogies, the prologue of TTr-2 is ultimately relatively minimalistic in its euhemerizing efforts. While it names Saturn and his descendants as kings (*ríg*) rather than gods (*dé*), it states that,

O thánic im senórdacht fri Satuirnd ra roind a fêrand eter a thrí maccu.
Dorat rígi iffrin dia sósar .i. do Oirc. 7 dorat rígi in mara do Neptúin.
Dorat *imorro* rígi nime 7 talman do Ioib.³⁵⁶

The assertions that Orcus ruled hell, Neptune the sea, and Jove heaven and earth is only one step removed from explicitly stating they were the gods associated with these regions, as the epithets in TTe, discussed in Chapter 2 often do. No mortal human from biblical or universal history, however impressive or well-respected a ruler they might be, could be said to rule hell or heaven. Nor is this section of the text couched in any reported speech or attributions to pagan fables; it is presented as matter-of-fact historiography, as undeniable as the idea that all mortal lineages must trace their origins to Noah.³⁵⁷ While Myrick has argued that the inclusion of Cham in the genealogy of Saturn implicitly puts a monstrous or at least negative spin on the Olympian characters, as it does on their distant cousins the TDD, Fomorians, and Fir Bolg in LGÉ, this remains tacit in the prologue of TTr-2.³⁵⁸ We must conclude that the euhemerism at work in the prologue 1) does not significantly decrease the agency of the Olympian gods (in fact, it increases their narrative prominence and thus their role in the events of the following narrative); 2) does not offer an explicitly negative

³⁵⁵ ‘The primary cause of the destruction of Troy from which it grew—not a lie—from the golden apple, a version which will succeed, which Discordia inscribed for them’. (Best and O’Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, III, ll. 17827–30 (§26)).

³⁵⁶ ‘When old age came to Saturn, he divided his domain between his three sons. The kingship of hell was given to his youngest, that is, to Orcus, and the rule of the sea to Neptune. The rule of heaven and earth moreover was given to Jove’. (Best and O’Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 30834–37).

³⁵⁷ Ibid., l. 30822.

³⁵⁸ Myrick, *From the De Excidio*, pp. 162–85.

portrayal of the Olympians; and 3) is at times only one step away from according Olympians such as Jove, Neptune, and Orcus the powers and spheres of patronage they have in Classical myth and literature.

The Judgment of Paris provides a similar example of the expansion of the role and agency of the Olympians across texts. The scene is presented as Paris's dream in Dares.³⁵⁹ In TTr-1 the Judgment scene is brought closer to reality as it takes the form of Paris's narration to his family without the frame device of the dream. It contains details not found in Dares including the wedding of Peleus, the Apple of Discord, physical descriptions of Juno, Minerva, and Venus, the goddesses' individual justifications for why they deserve the apple, and the rewards they offer to Paris.³⁶⁰ The three goddesses are explicitly termed *bandea*.³⁶¹ TTr-2 provides less detail concerning the goddess's appearances and attributes but it also does away with the initial frame narrative (only towards the end of the episode does it switch from third-person into Paris's first-person narration).³⁶² In contrast to Dares and TTr-1, this gives the impression that the events took place in actuality, rather than in a dream vision. TTr-2 also gives the reason why Discordia was not invited to Peleus's and Thetis's wedding, adding background information and mythographical depth.³⁶³

We again see stages of expansion in the portrayal of the Olympians in the scene where Achilles and Calchas consult Apollo's oracle at Delphi in order to discover the outcome of their expedition to Troy. In Dares, Apollo's oracle answers from the sanctuary (*ex adytis*), without any appearance made by the god himself.³⁶⁴ In TTr-1, Achilles and Patroclus, then Calchas address the image (*arrecht*) of Apollo, however it is Apollo himself who answers, not the image.³⁶⁵ In TTr-2, they inquire from the god directly, 'don dea', and Apollo answers.³⁶⁶ The episode has progressed from featuring the shrine of Apollo's oracle to an image of Apollo to Apollo himself.

³⁵⁹ Frazer, *Trojan War*, §7. See also Stanciu, pp. 90–92 for treatment of this episode, and Ehrhart for discussion of wider medieval attitudes towards the Judgment of Paris.

³⁶⁰ Stokes, 'The Destruction of Troy', ll. 343–84.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, l. 347.

³⁶² Best and O'Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 31678–711.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, ll. 31684–8. Stanciu, p. 91, argues that the authors and redactors of TTr likely drew upon Servius and the First Vatican Mythographer for this sequence. Cf. Servius on *Aeneid*, I.27; Kulcsár, p. 82; Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 84–86.

³⁶⁴ Frazer, *Trojan War*, §15.

³⁶⁵ Stokes, 'The Destruction of Troy', ll. 691, 699.

³⁶⁶ Best and O'Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 32028–34.

The god who is only represented by human intermediaries in Dares is a flesh and blood deity in TTr-2.

TTr-2 consistently amplifies the role of the Olympian gods in the story of Troy, both in the examples given above, and elsewhere in the narrative. While the gods are not so influential in the course of events as in Homer or Vergil, their presence provides context and impetus for the narrative's action. Apollo and Neptune build the walls of Troy. Helen is abducted from the temple of Venus. Juno sends snakes to kill Hercules as a child. Gods are repeatedly propitiated, invoked, and questioned about the future. The version of the tale of Jason and Golden Fleece related in TTr-2 is framed by two divine mothers who drive and conclude the action, respectively: Nephele (*Nimpha*) sends the ram to save her children, and the otherwise unattested Torpellandra avenges her son Jason on Medea and Aeëtes. The mother of Phrixus and Helle who sends them away on the back of the golden ram is traditionally known as Nephele or Nebula but named *Nimpha* in Irish.³⁶⁷ She is explicitly called *bandea* in the text and her name seems to indicate a synthesis of *Nephele* with *nymph*. Phrixus dedicates the Fleece to Jove in TTr-2, instead of the usual Mars. It may be worth noting that TTe also occasionally conflates Jove and Mars, as examined above, and this may represent a larger Irish tradition.³⁶⁸

TTr-2 has an ambiguous relationship with Classical paganism and varies in the degree to which it applies Christian *interpretatio* to depict Classical gods as demonic powers. For all their expanded presence, the Olympian gods are still often the objectionable objects of pagan worship. Neptune is referred to in one instance as ‘a ndee nemsuthain nemdíadai Neptúin’.³⁶⁹ Similarly, before setting sail, Jason and his crew thank a variety of beings, ‘Ra hacallait a ndei diabolacdaí and sain 7 a n-ana 7 a n-arrachta. a n-aithescluic 7 a n-ídaltigi’.³⁷⁰ Despite Apollo's direct involvement when Achilles and Calchas come to him for prophecy in TTr-2, his image is still called *ídul*

³⁶⁷ Ibid., ll. 30895–32.

³⁶⁸ See Chapter 2, pp. 43–44.

³⁶⁹ ‘their mortal and ungodly god Neptune’. (Best and O’Brien, *Togail Troí*, l. 31351; cf. Mac Gearailt, ‘Change and Innovation’, p. 462). Mac Gearailt takes this as evidence of a ‘Christian viewpoint’ on behalf of the author or scribe of this section, which may well be the case but which I do not believe is reflected in TTr-2's overall approach to including the Classical gods in prominent positions in the story.

³⁷⁰ ‘Then their diabolical gods and their non-gods and their images and their oracles [lit., ‘responses’] and their idol-houses were addressed’. (Best and O’Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 30994–5). Cf. Carey, ‘A Túatha Dé Miscellany’, pp. 28–38, and Rankin for discussions of *andee* ‘non-god’ in other texts.

‘an idol’ when Achilles subsequently sacrifices to him.³⁷¹ Sacrificing to the gods is specifically signalled as a pagan practice, ‘amal ra baí i mbéssaib na ngeinte’.³⁷² In both TTr-1 and TTr-2, *tempul* ‘tempul’ and *ídaltech* ‘idol-house’ are used interchangeably to translate Dares’s *fanum* or in reference to religious structures not present in Dares.³⁷³

Demons similarly feature in the destruction of Troy, as it is described at the end of TTr-1,

Roloisced an chathir coraibe tría chorthair tenedh & fo smúit dethcha.
Robúrestar & robécestar Badb úasu. R[o]gáirset demna aéoir
úasu chind, ar rop aitt léo martad mar sin do thabhairt for shíl n-
Ádhaim, fobíth rop fórmach muinntire dóib sin.³⁷⁴

That the demons should rejoice at the deaths of pagans, who will presumably join their ranks in hell, seems a reasonable conclusion for medieval Christian redactor(s). That the Irish battle spirit *badb* is linked to Christian demons is also not unusual. However, this ending turns away from the text’s earlier portrayals of the Olympians as instrumental in events, choosing instead to focus on screaming demons, perhaps indicating that the Olympians themselves are demonic forces or emphasizing the power of infernal entities over pagan divinities, as is the case in CC, discussed in Chapter 3.³⁷⁵ It also ties the narrative to the tradition of spirits that shriek during battles, as discussed in Chapter 3, adding another intertextual layer to the interrelation between *badb*, demons, and the Furies examined in other texts. If Allecto can meddle in the *Táin*, then *badb* can certainly howl above the smoke of Troy. TTr-2 as we have it breaks off before the narrative reaches the fall of Troy. Given that TTr-2 generally expands the presence of the Olympians, giving them more agency than is the case in TTr-1, it would have been interesting to see whether they were replaced with demons at the end of the tale as well.

³⁷¹ Best and O’Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 32035.

³⁷² ‘as was among the customs of the gentiles’. (Best and O’Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 31840–43).

³⁷³ Cf. Stokes, ‘The Destruction of Troy’, ll. 459–62, 503–08, 697, 1596, 1600; Best and O’Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 30915, 30985, 30995, 31841, 32029, et al.

³⁷⁴ ‘The city was burnt, so that it was in a fringe of fire and under vapour of smoke. *Badb* bellowed and roared above them. Demons of the air shouted above it for pleasant it was to them that slaughter should befall Adam’s seed, because that was an increase to their retinue’. (Stokes, ‘The Destruction of Troy’, ll. 1896–1900; trans. adapted).

³⁷⁵ Chapter 3, pp. 54–62.

Luid Iasón ina luing lóir

The twelfth-century poem *Luid Iasón ina luing lóir* offers a verse retelling of TTr. Mac Eoin argues that it aligns most closely with the version of events in TTr-1. However, its only named Olympians occur in a passage analogous to one in TTr-2, where the deeds that Jason must perform in order to win the Golden Fleece are enumerated: he must fetch Mercury's winged suit and Vulcan's sword or oxen.³⁷⁶ As in TTr-2, Medea casts an enchanted ball of string at Jason's ship to prevent him from leaving her; it sticks to one of the crewman's hands and Jason must cut off the man's hand in order to escape.³⁷⁷ However, in *Luid Iasón*, Medea creates her magical ball of thread by means of specifically demonic aid ('ar seilbh dheamhain is diabhail'), which is not explicit in TTr-2.³⁷⁸ As stated, no gods appear as independent actors in the tale, although their worship is mentioned in passing (for instance, Achilles is killed when he goes to meet Polyxena, 'co teagh adarta idhail').³⁷⁹ Between Medea's devilry and the reference to idols, *Luid Iasón* appears to take a subtly more negative view of Classical polytheism than TTr-2, but the poet likewise may simply not have been as interested in the mythological characters or in providing the background necessary to explain mythological references. Here, we may wish to consider personal stylistic choice over larger trends in mythological interest and *interpretatio*.

The Achilleid Material

The two late twelfth-century texts that draw from Statius's *Achilleid* similarly display different authorial stylistic and thematic approaches to the gods.³⁸⁰ The prose account of Achilles's *macgnímrada* ('boyhood deeds'), found within TTr-3, is narratively closer to Statius on the whole but introduces several new elements, including a version of the Apple of Discord and the Judgment of Paris not found in Statius. The episode is recounted by an omniscient third-person narrator and there is

³⁷⁶ Mac Eoin, 'Dán', §14, p. 32; Best and O'Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 31078–81, 31132–42.

³⁷⁷ Mac Eoin, 'Dán', §21–26, pp. 32–3.

³⁷⁸ 'in the name of demon and devil'. (ibid., §21, p. 32).

³⁷⁹ 'to the house of adoring an idol'. (ibid., §99, p. 42).

³⁸⁰ I refer to both the prose and verse collectively as the 'Irish *Achilleid* material' for simplicity and because both are substantially based on Statius, however it should be noted that the prose material forms part of the otherwise mostly unedited TTr-3, and the verse material circulates separately.

no indication that it is Paris's dream or embellished tale, as in Dares and TTr-1. It also emphasizes that Peleus and Thetis's wedding was attended by the best of the gods and goddesses of the world, among whom a conflict arose as a result of the wedding.³⁸¹ This is a new stage in the development of Irish versions of the cause of the Trojan War: while TTr-1 and TTr-2 mention the argument over the apple between Juno, Venus, and Minerva, neither implies that the conflict over the apple is between the larger assembly of deities. The Irish prose text distinguishes the *conblicht* between the gods from the *immarbág* between the three goddesses over the apple. Presumably, the former looks forward to the events of the Trojan War itself, wherein various Olympian gods will intervene on both sides, picking heroic favourites to support and succour. The prose *Achilleid* material thus gives the Olympians a slightly larger role in the action of the story. We might again compare Gilla in Choimded úa Chormaic's poem *A rí richid, réidig dam*, quoted above, in which the Apple of Discord is explicitly listed as the main cause of the Trojan War.³⁸²

The Irish prose *Achilleid* material additionally takes several mythological details from Statius and builds on them, mirroring the expansion already seen in the Trojan material between Dares, TTr-1, and TTr-2. The prose *Achilleid* material devotes considerably more attention to the monster that Neptune sends to kill the infant Achilles than does Statius. Likewise, while Statius compares the appearances of mortals to the gods, the Irish adaptation goes further and states that Achilles at his most awful is more attractive than Apollo, and that Deidameia is more beautiful than Juno.³⁸³ When Thetis tries to convince Achilles to dress as a woman in order to avoid being called upon to fight at Troy, she gives brief examples of Bacchus, Jove, Hercules, and Caeneus similarly assuming women's clothing and domestic duties. The Irish prose version not only fills in the details of several of these myths, it also gives Thetis a brief original verse recitation of the divine examples, emphasizing the mythological precursors of Achilles's cross-dressing to a greater degree than the Latin original.³⁸⁴ The priest Proteus also speaks a brief poetic passage near the end of the tale which anticipates Achilles's exploits at Troy.³⁸⁵ Proteus mentions *badb* in an

³⁸¹ Ó hAodha, 'Irish Version', §2, pp. 92–93.

³⁸² See p. 105.

³⁸³ Ibid., §§27, 32, pp. 110–11, 114–15.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., §33, pp. 115–18.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., §42, pp. 124–25.

instance of *interpretatio* like those in TTr-1 and TTr-2, and the examples discussed in the previous chapter.

At the same time, the prose *Achilleid* material includes a few peculiarities, curtailing the narrative's mythological aspects for an Irish Christian audience. Neptune learns of Achilles's existence when Thetis goes to meet the pagan priest Proteus to have her son baptized. This 'baptism' does not seem to be the same event as Achilles's famous bathing in the River Styx, however, as Thetis accomplishes the latter at a later point.³⁸⁶ In Statius, Thetis claims to have a vision of bathing her son in the Styx a second time, which she relates to Chiron at the same point in the narrative at which the Irish version mentions the Styx episode.³⁸⁷ The Irish prose version translates this as, ““7 is ail dam-sa”, ar si, “a breith lium da fotracadh a sruth Stix cona caemsat randa naid faebuir bass dó na éccomlánn d’imirt fair gé ro-fetar a crechnugad co mór, 7 rom-fotraicthed-sa fe(e)cht aili isin sruth cetna””.³⁸⁸ *Rom-fotraicthed-sa* makes little sense in the context of the myth and the Latin original since it is Achilles who was once dipped in the Styx, not Thetis, and we might better take it as an error for a 3rd singular form, *ra-fotraicthed-som*. Alternatively, it could be an unusual use of the infixed pronoun for the indirect object: ‘he was bathed by me’. In either case, the earlier bathing in the Styx may be intended to be Achilles's ‘baptism’ mentioned earlier in the Irish version, although Proteus is not involved in the Styx episode in other versions. The conceit that a Classic hero of the pagan past could be baptized adds a level of *interpretatio*: Achilles's dip in the Styx, or a similar event, is mapped onto Christian baptism as an analogous process.

This matter is further complicated by the Irish text's subsequent explanation of the Styx: ‘Ni he dano sruth Stix fuil a n-ifern iar fir in sruth-sin, acht in bancumachtach 7 in bandrai .i. Ticis ingen Ner do imred bricht druagh for sruth isin Tesail co n-apairthe sruth Stix fris arin aicnedh cetna do beith and. Ocus ro fotraig a

³⁸⁶ Ibid., §25, pp. 108–09. It is perhaps worth noting that the *Achilleid* appears to be the first Classical source to relate Thetis bathing Achilles in the Styx, as discussed by Harrauer, p. 167–75.

³⁸⁷ Statius, *Achilleid*, I.134.

³⁸⁸ ““I desire”, said she, ‘to take him with me in order to bathe him in the Styx so that neither spear-points nor sharp blades may be able [to inflict] death on him or to take unfair advantage of him although I know that he will be heavily wounded—and I was bathed on another occasion in that same river’”. (Ó hAodha, ‘Irish Version’, §25, pp. 108–09; trans. adapted).

mac ann arnaro édtai a marbad'.³⁸⁹ This strange assertion may be in part because the Irish redactor(s) recognized that Thetis lies to Chiron in the original Latin passage, although she does so about the contents of her dream rather than about the fact that she has bathed Achilles in the Styx at an earlier date. Perhaps the Irish redactor(s) confused her deceit over the dream with deceit over the nature of the river Styx. However, the reference to Thetis as *bandruí* and the treatment of the river as a terrestrial waterway are also somewhat surprising, given that the text otherwise treats the Olympians as gods and does not attempt to euhemerize other characters or locations. More puzzling still, *bancumachtach*, applied to Thetis along with *bandruí*, is also an epithet of Venus in TTe, as discussed in Chapter 2, making it an acceptable designation for a divine and not merely druidical figure.³⁹⁰ Likewise, the Irish text does not deny that the River Styx exists and that bathing in it makes one invulnerable, as the river in Thessaly is said to possess the same nature. It is unclear what the point would be of euhemerizing one river while in the same breath affirming that its mythological equivalent also exists. I suspect that this passage is thus not so much an attempt to euhemerize Thetis or the Styx, as a mistaken interpretation of the contents of Thetis's lie to Chiron, or an attempt to reconcile the 'baptism' of Achilles with the Styx episode in Statius.

In contrast, the corresponding Irish poem recounting Achilles's 'boyhood deeds' includes no Classical gods. The text is preserved in a separate manuscript from the prose version and is not embedded in TTr-3. The poem's 'boyhood deeds' are largely original creations or parallel original episodes in the prose adaptation rather than based on Statius.³⁹¹ The monster that Achilles slays as an infant is included in the poem, but the verse version does not mention that it was sent by Neptune.³⁹² At one point, the poem refers to the centaurs as *gentlige* 'pagan'.³⁹³ The text's disinterest in divine characters mirrors *Luid Iasón*'s similarly minimal portrayal of the Classical gods, although *Luid Iasón* seems to betray a slightly more negative response to paganism. This omission may again be due to the difficulty involved in providing

³⁸⁹ 'That river however is not really the Styx which is in Hades, but the powerful woman and druidess Thetis daughter of Nereus used to cast a magic spell upon a river in Thessaly and it used to be called the river Styx because it possessed the same virtue. And she bathed her son therein in order that he could not be slain'. (ibid.).

³⁹⁰ Chapter 2, p. 38. See Chapter 7, pp. 204–5 for discussion of the term *bandruí*.

³⁹¹ Cf. Ó hAodha, 'Irish Version', pp. 86–87.

³⁹² Ibid., §2, pp. 128–29.

³⁹³ Ibid., §11, pp. 130–31.

contextual background explanation within the structure of a poem, but it could just as well be a matter of authorial interest.

The Irish *Achilleid* material thus represents very different stylistic and interpretive approaches to the mythological elements of Statius's *Achilleid*. As part of TTr-3, the prose version reflects the expansion of mythological motifs and role of the gods, seen in the development between TTr-1 and TTr-2 and continued by the redactors of TTr-3. It pursues *interpretatio*, linking baptism to Achilles's bath in the Styx, interpreting the Styx as a euhemerized mundane river, and mentioning *badb* in the context of the Trojan War. Conversely, the verse version of the *Achilleid* material strips out the mythological references in Statius, presenting a streamlined version of events similar to that in *Luid Iasón*. Poetic adaptations may on the whole be less interested in mythological expansion and interpretation, but we also see room for different authorial interests and strategies within a body of texts united by their Trojan theme.

Don Tres Troí

The late twelfth-century or thirteenth-century Irish version of the refounding of Troy by Hector's son Astyanax features no gods as active characters. As in IA and FCT, explored in more detail below, Orestes kills his romantic rival Pyrrhus in the temple of Apollo; sacrifices are performed to Apollo and his temple is called *tempul* rather than *idaltech*, but he is never referred to as a god per se.³⁹⁴ At the same time, Astyanax rebuilds Troy with idols, among other architectural and horticultural features.³⁹⁵ Miles identifies Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, III.7 as source for Fimbria's destruction of the third Troy at the end of *Don Tres Troí*.³⁹⁶ Augustine's purpose in this passage is to illustrate that the pagan gods did not protect Troy from destruction, either by the Greeks or by Fimbria, and that they are *daemones*, inferior to the Christian god.³⁹⁷ With this in mind, perhaps it is Augustine's Christian *interpretatio* that caused the Irish author Flannacán to specify that the city contained idols. As *Don Tres Troí* is concerned with world history to a far greater extent than Classical mythology, it is perhaps not surprising that the Classical gods receive little interest.

³⁹⁴ Miles, *Don Tres Troí*, ll. 193–201.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 214.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁹⁷ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, III.7.

An interest in world history may also explain the text's use of Augustine as a source. While *Don Tres Troí* is a successor tale to TTr, each successive recension of which devotes more attention to the Olympians, stylistically, it bears little resemblance to later recensions of TTr, with their florid descriptions, lengthy speeches, and mythological interludes. Miles suggests that *Don Tres Troí* represents 'the tail end of a tradition of classical studies in Ireland', making use of fewer sources than texts such as TTr-3.³⁹⁸ This may be the case, although the period during the mid twelfth through thirteenth centuries supported a flowering of Classical adaptations, including TTr-3, the *Achilleid* material, CC, and TTe, and shorter compilation texts like MU and FCT, so we may alternatively see *Don Tres Troí* as a reflection of the range of individual stylistic and creative choices made by redactors of Classical narratives—and the Troy story in particular—in medieval Ireland.

Adaptations of Latin Epic

Alongside the Trojan material, we also find lengthy adaptations of Classical Latin epics produced during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While the Trojan material gradually expands and stylistically amplifies Dares's bare-bones account of Troy, the adaptations of Vergil, Statius, and Lucan remain relatively close to their Latin exemplars. As with the Irish versions of Trojan material, each text expresses variation in portrayals of mythological beings and the types of *interpretatio* employed, but all three adaptations retain the majority of the mythological elements and many of the thematic concerns found in the Latin epics. As discussed already in Chapters 2 and 3, they also share similar details and phrasing and, while their exact locations of composition and author(s) are likely to remain unknowable, I do not think it is unreasonable to posit a common scriptorium for all the three. Even if IA, TTe, and CC originated in independent locations as the work of separate scholars, it is at the very least probable that several of the author(s) of the three were familiar with the other texts.

Imtheachta Aeniasa

IA, dated roughly to the eleventh century, is not as literal an adaptation of Vergil as either TTe or CC are of Statius and Lucan, respectively, but it still

³⁹⁸ Miles, *Don Tres Troí*, p. 74.

introduces relatively few new elements. Most of the text's changes to Vergil's presentation of mythological characters and gods take the form of omission or abbreviation rather than outright demonization or replacement with Irish or biblical equivalents. IA tends to downplay mythological elements throughout, though this could be for concision as much as because of anti-pagan Christian outlook, especially given that the text rarely comments on the paganism of the narrative's characters. Thus, IA refers to the temple of Apollo as *tempul* not *idaltecht* as it is in TTr, as noted above;³⁹⁹ similarly, the Oracle at Delphi is not referred to as an idol.⁴⁰⁰ Minerva's temple at Troy is also a *tempul*.⁴⁰¹ Two notable exceptions to the text's general lack of explicit Christian sentiment include the incorporation of genealogy for Latinus going back to Noah.⁴⁰² However, this contrasts with the genealogy depicted on Latinus's walls (which notably does not include biblical figures) mentioned shortly thereafter,⁴⁰³ as well as purely Classical genealogies given elsewhere for Evander and Ascanius.⁴⁰⁴ The pseudohistorical genealogical material associated with Latinus is not positioned in the form of an orientating prologue, as in TTr-2 or CC, nor is it applied to one of the work's major protagonists, suggesting that it is not as important an indication for how to read the text's relationship to Christian history as those found in other adaptations. One of the very few instances when IA explicitly acknowledges its characters' paganism occurs when Venus disguises Cupid as Ascanius in order to fool Dido, because of the extent of his love 'o gentib'.⁴⁰⁵

IA primarily downplays its mythological characters by simply omitting them. Sometimes this process occurs on a minute level, as when Turnus addresses only Jove after the ships have disappeared after being turned into sea goddesses, while in Vergil he also calls upon Venus and the Fates.⁴⁰⁶ Often, however, the gods are removed from larger events. When Dido and Aeneas sleep together in a cave during the hunt, Juno and her retinue of torch-bearing nymphs are absent, as is any description of a marriage ceremony. Instead, IA states, '& dogniad a n-æntaidh andsin a ndis uair doral a ndesid doib', betraying a lack of human agency over fate (perhaps even more

³⁹⁹ See pp. 107–08, cf. p. 113.

⁴⁰⁰ Calder, IA, ll. 123–24, 89–94.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., ll. 551–52.

⁴⁰² Ibid., ll. 1477–80.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., ll. 1560–61.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., ll. 1853–55, 2368–69.

⁴⁰⁵ 'by heathens'. (ibid., ll. 382–86; trans. adapted).

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., ll. 2018–37.

so than in Vergil), but without ascribing such fate to the intervention of specific gods.⁴⁰⁷ Further episodes featuring gods omitted by IA include the speech of Apollo to Iulus in *Aeneid*, IX.638–7 and the conference of the gods at the beginning of *Aeneid*, X.1–117. In IA, Apollo does not help Arruns kill Camilla, nor does Opis/Diana take revenge for Camilla’s death, as in *Aeneid*, XI.725–915.

The Olympians are typically mentioned by name in IA rather than designated specifically as *dee* ‘god’. Specific reference to them as ‘gods’ appears almost exclusively in quoted human speech. In this respect, IA is not significantly different from Vergil’s original, and this tendency may thus reflect stylistic *imitatio* rather than a desire to imply that the Classical gods are not in fact divine. Several exceptions to this tendency include the application of *bandea* ‘goddess’ to Fama, Iris, and Juturna,⁴⁰⁸ as well as a single reference to Tiberus in the nominative singular as *dia* (rather than *dee*, as Carey suggests is the norm for pagan gods in medieval Irish after the seventh century).⁴⁰⁹

Vergil’s *Penates*, or household gods, are consistently translated *laimdea*, literally, ‘hand gods’.⁴¹⁰ Carey suggests that the singular compound *laimdía* originated as a reference to ‘dii qui manibus fiunt’ in Acts 19.26 where idols are made by hand for the temple of Artemis, although he does not mention the word’s appearances in the plural in IA.⁴¹¹ The word also appears in the tenth-century poem *Saltair na Rann*, where it translates the *idola patris* that Rachel steals from her father in Genesis 31.⁴¹² Given that both IA and *Saltair na Rann* emphasize the portability of the *laimdea*, which Aeneas carries from burning Troy and Rachel smuggles out of her father’s tent, it seems possible that, *contra* Carey, the compound is meant to be taken as ‘god moveable by hand’ rather than ‘god made by hand’. Even if the compound was originally modelled on Acts or a similar sense of idolatry, the authors and readers of IA and *Saltair na Rann* may have taken it as punning on the gods’ ability to be held and transported by hand. This seems especially the case in IA since the text assiduously avoids referring to gods and their places of worship as idols.

⁴⁰⁷ ‘and the two consummated their union there, since what had been appointed befell them’. (ibid., ll. 732–33).

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., ll. 734–42, 1969, 3061.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., ll. 1797–99. Cf. Carey, ‘Dee “Pagan Deity”’.

⁴¹⁰ Calder, IA, ll. 578, 613.

⁴¹¹ ‘gods which are made by hand’. (Carey, ‘Dee “Pagan Deity”’, p. 39, n. 41; my trans.).

⁴¹² Greene, ‘*Saltair na Rann*’, ll. 3016, 3026, 3037.

IA displays some inconsistency in its portrayal of infernal beings. Compared to Vergil, infernal gods and beings are minimized, with the exception of the Furies, whose role and presence is expanded in a few instances, possibly as a reflection of the contemporaneous popularity they attained in wider medieval Irish literary culture, as examined in Chapter 3. The popularity of the Furies appears to have continued to increase after the eleventh-century IA, so we may view the text as an early expression of interest in infernal beings, but one not yet as invested in the topic as TTe, CC, or the later recension of CMR. When Dido appeals to the gods of heaven and earth, asking them to curse Aeneas, she does not mention Hecate or the Dirae, who are present in the corresponding section of Vergil.⁴¹³ The infernal pedigree of the Dira that flies around Turnus's head shortly before his death is similarly abbreviated.⁴¹⁴ Likewise, in the description of Hades from *Aeneid*, VI, Discordia is the only infernal being or personification present in Vergil to be listed by her Latin name in IA among the powers and monsters of the underworld (among which Vergil included the Gorgons, Harpies, and Scylla, and others).⁴¹⁵ This choice is likely an attempt to make the material more concise and approachable to an Irish audience without the need for mythographic digression.

The transmigration of souls in *Aeneid*, VI is absent from IA as well, perhaps because it did not fit with a Christian worldview or because the Irish redactor(s) was simply less interested in the sense of continuity between Roman characters and historical eras that such transmigration creates in Vergil. Neither of these suppositions accords particularly well with scholarly approaches towards transmigration or world history in other medieval Irish texts, however. CC retains a comparable passage of Lucan that claims the druids promulgate a doctrine of reincarnation, and similar concepts can be found in Irish narratives such as TE and *De Chopur in Dá Muccida*, discussed at greater length in Chapter 7.⁴¹⁶ Irish interest in the pasts of other cultures as a facet of salvation history is well attested in other texts such as SAM, LGÉ, numerous poems on world kingship, and the other Classical adaptation themselves, especially CC, as the subsequent chapter will argue. We may see the omission of this

⁴¹³ 'Gods of heaven and earth'. (Calder, IA, l. 895); cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV.609–10.

⁴¹⁴ Calder, IA, ll. 3160–68.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, ll. 1300–16.

⁴¹⁶ Daniel Watson, 'Philosophy', pp. 301–71 discusses patristic and Neoplatonic views of metempsychosis that may have informed Irish views on the subject, although he mentions TE only in passing. See further discussion in Chapter 7.

section of Vergil in IA as an authorial stylistic choice, symptomatic of a larger attempt at narrative cohesion rather than Christian commentary or historical interest.

Instead, IA introduces two elements to the description of Hades that may be seen as placing the text in line with other Irish Classical scholarly interests. As Aeneas enters the underworld, IA adds a statement not found in Vergil that the infernal gods do not wish any but the dead to reach Hades; this may serve merely as clarification but it also echoes similar Classical and late antique traditions from other sources, such as that found in the *Thebaid* when Amphiaraus is swallowed by the earth and Hades complains about his untimely arrival.⁴¹⁷ IA also identifies Vergil's *Furiarum maxima* 'eldest of the Furies' explicitly as Tisiphone and adds a description of her clothing: '& Tessifoine robai and, oculus brat derg uimpe, & si for mullach in tuir sin, & si gan chollud dogres ic fairi in dunaid sin', similar to those descriptions of Furies discussed in Chapter 3.⁴¹⁸

Another Fury's role is subtly expanded in IA as well. In Vergil, after Juno sends Allecto to stir up Turnus, the Fury offers to retrieve her sisters from Hades and incite further trouble, at which point Juno restrains her, stating,

Te super aetherias errare licentius auras
haud pater ille velit, summi regnator Olympi:
cede locis....⁴¹⁹

In Irish, Juno does not respond to Allecto's offer and the text merely states, 'Teid dono Alecto dochum ifferaind baile a fargaib a seathracha .i. Tesifone 7 Megera'.⁴²⁰ This gives Allecto more agency, allowing her the opportunity to stir up additional strife and names her sisters, who are not mentioned at all in the relevant passage of Vergil. The Furies were evidentially favourite Classical mythological characters in medieval Irish literature, as is evident from the discussion in Chapter 3. Their expanded presence and autonomy in IA—a text which otherwise tends to downplay

⁴¹⁷ Calder, IA, ll. 1290–91; cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, VIII.1–83.

⁴¹⁸ 'and there was Tisiphone with a red mantle around her, and on the top of that tower was she—ever sleepless she—watching the enclosure'. (ibid., ll. 1398–1400); cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI.605–07, where the Fury holds a flaming torch, but her robe is not described.

⁴¹⁹ "'The father, the ruler of tall Olympus, would not wish you to wander more boldly above the upper breezes: leave this place'". (Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII.556–58).

⁴²⁰ 'Alecto, then, went to Hades where she had found her sisters, that is, Tisiphone and Megaera'. (Calder, IA, ll. 1734–5).

both Olympian gods and infernal characters—fits within this larger intellectual and literary milieu.

Togail na Tebe

TTe is, like CC and to a lesser extent IA, relatively close in narrative and phrasing to its Latin exemplar, especially with regard to mythological elements. Here, I will briefly outline the ellipses and insertions that TTe makes to Statius's mythological material, comment on the work's rare instances of overt anti-paganism, and analyse the portrayals of the gods and Fate in the work's version of the tale of Harmonia's necklace and related scenes. I will conclude that while TTe contains very little overt criticism of polytheism, it often presents a subtly more negative view of the Olympians than that found in Statius. However, like CC, the work's conceptions of divine agency and Fate are not always internally consistent.

As is the case with IA, we must be careful of reading the consolidation of material for purposes of stylistic concision as a conscious effort to minimize or expand mythological elements. Thus, when dryads and fauns are omitted from the description of the Sphinx's home where Eteocles's men wait to ambush Tydeus, this is probably due to an attempt at succinctness rather than any desire to remove supernatural characters for their own sake.⁴²¹ The same can likely also be said of the omission of Madness, Anger, and Panic when Mars and Fama stir up trouble.⁴²² At the same time, TTe incorporates new mythological information in places, chiefly where background narrative is required for a medieval Irish audience. A few instances include a digression on the origins of the Calydonian boar, sent by Diana when the people of Calydon forget to sacrifice;⁴²³ a reference to the Parcae, which is expanded to include their individual names and roles;⁴²⁴ and a summary of the Gigantomachy, which is added to Statius's statement that Eneldaus is buried under Etna.⁴²⁵

Nonetheless, some of the work's consolidation or expansion of passages doubtlessly had larger thematic rather than simply stylistic goals. Near the beginning of TTe, the council of the gods that sends Mercury to fetch Laius from Hades is relocated to after Polynices has arrived at Adrastus's court instead of occurring after

⁴²¹ Calder, TTe, l. 908; cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, II.521–22.

⁴²² Calder, TTe, ll. 1180–82; cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, III.424–25.

⁴²³ Calder, TTe, ll. 866–69.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., ll. 1317–23.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., ll. 1288–301.

Tisiphone's initial appearance.⁴²⁶ This consolidates *Thebaid*, I.197–311 and II.1–133, but it also has the effect of making Tisiphone appear to be the main instigator of the fraternal conflict, since Polynices has already met Adrastus and is on course to marry Argia, thus bringing Argos into the Theban civil war, before Jupiter and Juno debate the matter. This continues the trend observed in Chapter 3 where TTe, like CC and IA, often gives the Furies and other infernal beings more agency (especially over the Olympians) and attention than the original Latin.

TTe is altogether more subtle about its anti-pagan sentiments than texts such as TTr in any of its recensions or *Don Tres Troí*. While TTe features no idol-houses, the occasional anti-pagan aside appears. When weapons fall from the temple walls at the marriage of Polynices and Argia as a portent of impending disaster, TTe renders the Latin but elaborates that the omens are *demnach* 'diabolic':

...cunctos tamen omina rerum
dira movent.⁴²⁷
Ua derbairdeada demnacha sin, 7 figrad firuile.⁴²⁸

Similarly, TTe recounts that in the case of Semele's death, 'Et is tre bithin in muntoirc sin rolot loscend in n-ingen sin, amar fhorglit na faibli guacha gendtligi sin'.⁴²⁹ The attribution of material to *gentlige* appears also when a tradition about Phoebe is accorded to *sithsenchasa gentlige* 'long heathen histories'.⁴³⁰ Besides the clear commentary given here, the work's other attitudes towards Classical paganism remain implicit.

Some of these implicit attitudes can be found in TTe's presentation of individual Olympians. On the whole, the gods in TTe are not presented in a particularly flattering light, although this is largely symptomatic of Statius's own

⁴²⁶ Ibid., ll. 575–608.

⁴²⁷ 'The dire omens of things [to come] however moved all'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, II.263–64).

⁴²⁸ 'Those were diabolic portents and an omen of veritable evil'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 749–50).

⁴²⁹ 'And it was because of that necklace that a fire(?) destroyed that maiden, as those lying heathen fables testify'. (ibid., ll. 784–86, pp. 50–51; trans. adapted). My translation reads *loscend* as derived from a word meaning burning or fire (cf. Irish *loiscid* 'burns', or Welsh *llosgfaen* 'brimstone') instead of Calder's *loscann* 'toad', as it makes better sense. Thanks to Paul Russell for suggesting the Welsh example. (It is unlikely that the medieval Irish authors intended to reference to the plot of Aristophanes's play *The Frogs*, which parodies the myth of Dionysus rescuing Semele from Hades and I can see no other reason to include toads in the narrative.)

⁴³⁰ Calder, TTe, ll. 3968–71.

portrayals of the Olympians. Statius's gods are fickle and vengeful deities manipulating human affairs, who are occasionally outpaced by particularly horrific human actions, such as Tydeus's cannibalism. However, there are a few instances when TTe adds specifically negative characteristics. An example occurs when Mars is described as 'an dea croda cathchumachtach'.⁴³¹ The Latin has only *armipotens* 'powerful in battle' while the Irish has added *cródae* 'cruel, bloody' to the description.⁴³² The addition is probably for alliterative effect, but it also colours the reader's interpretation of Mars in a way not found in Statius. *Cródae* eventually comes to mean 'brave, valiant', but given the context of the passage, in which Mars goes to stir up trouble among the Argives, a more negative reading seems justified.⁴³³

A subtler if still negative approach to the gods is discernable in TTe's portrayal of Apollo. In the added material summarizing Oedipus's backstory, Oedipus asks Apollo's oracle about his homeland; the god tells him to make his name known to no man and to fight the first man that met him there.⁴³⁴ This specification is not drawn from any known commentaries or Latin sources, although Briggs suggests a parallel with *Aided Óenfir Aífe* where Cú Chulainn instructs Aífe to tell their son not to make his name known to anyone and not to refuse any combat.⁴³⁵ The moral questionability of Apollo's advice is similar to that seen in FCT when the god tells Thyestes to sleep with his own daughter.⁴³⁶ Apollo's temple also features as the location where Orestes murders Pyrrhus after colluding with a priest in TTr, *Don Tres Troí*, IA, and FCT. An oracle's message to Thyestes and the murder in the temple are found in Classical and late antique sources, but the popularity of the latter episode in medieval Irish literature and the dubious advice of Apollo given in TTe may hint at a more widespread negative view of Apollo and pagan prophecy current in medieval Ireland. TTe also makes Apollo a slightly more negative figure in the scene immediately preceding Amphiaraus's fall into Hades. In Statius, Hypseus attempts to kill Amphiaraus by throwing his spear at him, aided by his father the river Asopos; Apollo deflects the spear so that it hits Amphiaraus's charioteer instead.⁴³⁷ In TTe,

⁴³¹ 'the cruel battle-potent god'. (ibid., ll. 1105–08; trans. adapted).

⁴³² Statius, *Thebaid*, III.334.

⁴³³ eDIL, 's.v. *cródae*', <dil.ie/13060>.

⁴³⁴ Calder, TTe, ll. 122–23.

⁴³⁵ Briggs, 'The Middle Irish translation', pp. 100–03.

⁴³⁶ Byrne, 'The Parricides', §3, pp. 20–21.

⁴³⁷ Statius, *Thebaid*, VII.723–70.

Apollo himself casts the spear that kills the charioteer so that he can take control of Amphiaraus's chariot.⁴³⁸ Once again, Apollo is portrayed in a subtly more sinister light in the Irish version.

The tale of Harmonia's necklace, and the following discussions of which powers are ultimately to blame for the cause of the Theban war, makes a good case study with which to explore the treatment of the Olympians in TTe. TTe's version of the story contrasts notably with the fragmentary narrative edited by Miles as *Riss in Mundtuirc*, where the Olympians barely appear, are not called gods as such, and Vulcan seems to believe Harmonia is his own daughter.⁴³⁹ In TTe, Vulcan, 'gaba imneadach ifirn', knows perfectly well that Harmonia is the product of his wife's adultery with Mars and creates the necklace specifically to inflict vengeance upon her.⁴⁴⁰ The necklace's evils are slightly magnified in TTe, where as a result of Vulcan's curse, Harmonia and her husband Cadmus are turned into serpents, 'combitis aroen ac sirfhethgaire isna moigib cuan[d]a caithmecda', instead of being transformed back into humans by the gods after a period of seven years.⁴⁴¹ *Sirfhethgaire* 'hissing for a long time' or 'hissing continually' is not found in Statius and conflicts with TTe's earlier statement that the couple were serpents for only seven years, but is consonant with the text's depiction of the gods as increasingly unmerciful as the narrative progresses.⁴⁴²

Indeed, later in the narrative, Venus explicitly blames Vulcan for the cause of the eventual conflict between brothers, stating to Mars,

'Et is nair duitsi', ar si, 'corob treisi Ulcan re milliud na Tiabanda ina duitsi 'ca n-anacul. Uair is é Ulcan tre ét umaitsiu tuc forru cach col da ndernatis .i. in muintorc tuc doibh'.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁸ Calder, TTe, ll. 2896–900.

⁴³⁹ Miles, '*Riss in Mundtuirc*', §1, p. 84. As the beginning of the text is fragmentary, it is possibly that it originally contained more divine figures, but the size of the gaps in the manuscript make it unlikely that it contained much more than Miles prints.

⁴⁴⁰ 'Hell's woeful smith'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 755–71).

⁴⁴¹ 'so that they were hissing together for a long time in the fine wasted plains'. (ibid., ll. 773–74,; trans. adapted).

⁴⁴² Ibid., l. 79.

⁴⁴³ "'And it is a shame upon thee", said she, "that Vulcan is stronger to destroy the Thebans than thou to protect them. For it is Vulcan, through jealousy of thee, that brought upon them every sin they committed, to wit, by the necklace which he gave them"'. (ibid., ll. 1062–65).

Venus's assertion that Vulcan has caused the sins of the Thebans is not present in Statius. In TTe, Mars replies, 'Uair docindastar Ioib 7 na dee ar chena o thosach an domain an cath-sa do chur'.⁴⁴⁴ This would seem to echo the idea that Vulcan played an active role in the downfall of Thebes, but extends agency to the other gods in a way not seen in Statius's original, in which Mars blames the Fates and Jove alone for the predicament. In TTe, all the gods thus take on slightly more responsibility and indeed culpability for the crimes of the Thebans and the resulting war.

There is some disagreement, however, in both the Irish and Latin texts as to who has destined or caused the war between Eteocles and Polynices. In Statius, it is usually the Fates, as in Book III when Jupiter laments,

sic Fata mihi nigraeque Sororum
iuravere colus: manet haec ab origine mundi
fixa dies bello, populi in proelia nati.⁴⁴⁵

This idea recurs in Book VII, when Jupiter explains to Bacchus that he cannot prevent the war and destruction of Thebes, 'immoto deducimur orbe fatorum; veteres seraeque in proelia causae'.⁴⁴⁶ By contrast, the comparable section of TTe has Jupiter state, 'Acht [is ed] ro-chindsead faidi 7 fisid o thus domuin co cuirfithea in cath croda-sa na Tebi', where worldly seerers are added to the mix.⁴⁴⁷ The erasure or minimization of the Fates in favour of attributing events to the gods themselves or their worldly prophets occurs again in TTe when Hypsipyle recounts the vision of Bacchus that tells her to save her father from the bloodthirsty women of Lemnos. In Irish, Bacchus states, '7 is lor a fhat risna deib ata inis Lemin acut', while the Latin specifically mentions the Fates instead of the gods.⁴⁴⁸ A final example of TTe preferring the gods over Fate or Fortune occurs when Argia and Antigone are searching for wood upon

⁴⁴⁴ "'For Jove and all the gods have decreed from the beginning of the world that this war should be waged'" (ibid., ll. 1076–77).

⁴⁴⁵ "'Thus the Fates and the black threads of the Sisters have sworn to me: from the origin of the world, abides this day, fixed for war, and these peoples born for battle'" (Statius, *Thebaid*, III.241–42).

⁴⁴⁶ "'We are led by the immovable rotation of the Fates; the causes are ancient and slow in this conflict'" (ibid., VII.197–98).

⁴⁴⁷ "'But prophets/fates and seers from the beginning of the world have fixed it so that this cruel war of Thebes would be waged'" (Calder, TTe, ll. 2625–27; trans. adapted). Here, *faidi* could be taken as 'prophets' or as *fáithi* 'fates'; either way, however, *fisid* have been added to the alliterative collocation where they are absent in Statius.

⁴⁴⁸ "'the gods deem that you have possessed the isle long enough'" (ibid., ll. 1915–16, pp. 122–3; trans. adapted). Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, V.271.

which to burn the bodies of Eteocles and Polynices. In TTe, it is starkly stated that the pyre they find was left ‘tre chumachtaib na ndee’, while the Latin suggests the gods, Fortuna, or the Eumenides as sources for the wood.⁴⁴⁹

TTe does not make the effort that CC does to bring multiple, conflicting ideas of fate in line with one another (as discussed in the next chapter), but on the whole, it seems more willing to blame the gods and their representatives for the course of events rather than a nebulous sense of destiny. This contributes to a subtly more negative portrayal of the Olympians.⁴⁵⁰ Further examples of this attitude can be found in the use of identical epithets for Venus and Juno in the context of sexual impropriety, outlined above, and in the magical thirst that Bacchus inflicts upon the Argive armies, discussed in Chapter 6.⁴⁵¹

In Cath Catharda

While TTe reflects the capricious gods of Statius, CC must contend with the relative absence of the Olympians from Lucan’s epic. CC responds to this absence by emphasizing the infernal characters, as outlined in Chapter 3 and by bringing biblical parallels and patristic theology to bear on Lucan’s text, as will concern us at greater length in Chapter 5. Throughout CC, the Olympian gods are largely invoked in mortal characters’ speeches or prayers rather than appearing as actors in events themselves. Indeed, the gods are first mentioned in a simile comparing Pompey to an oak, ‘eóchrann darach dermhaire forsa n-gnáthaighidís faidhbh aesa madhma do tobhairt la gentibh dia n-idhbairt dona déibh i lógh coscair’, rather than in Lucan’s opening

⁴⁴⁹ ‘through the power of the gods’. (Calder, TTe, ll. 4735–6). Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, XII.420

⁴⁵⁰ My view contrasts with Briggs’s assertion that since TTe paraphrases much of Bacchus’s and Jove’s exchange in *Thebaid*, Book VII, ‘in the Irish vernacular Jupiter appears to be the executor of an ambiguous vengeance and powerless to be swayed from the destruction of Thebes’ (Briggs, ‘Middle Irish Translation’, p. 161). However, given that Statius relatively consistently attributes events to the Fates, I do not think Jupiter is significantly more empowered to determine the outcome of events in the *Thebaid*.

⁴⁵¹ See Chapter 2, pp. 43–45, and Chapter 7, pp. 169–81.

praise of Nero (which is absent from CC).⁴⁵² *Genti* translates *populi* ‘people, nation’ in Lucan, introducing paganism, although providing minimal commentary thereon.⁴⁵³

For all that the gods may be introduced as worshiped by pagans, CC never calls them false gods or idols. Thus, altars and statues are called ‘dealba & imaigni na n-déi adhartha’⁴⁵⁴ but are not idols, nor are temples *ídol-tige*, as in TTr. *Ídol* appears only in reference to idolaters—twice referring to graveyards of idolaters in Thessaly and twice to entities that enchant Caesar’s shield and banners, respectively.⁴⁵⁵ Given the context of these uses in sections describing other infernal beings (Erichtho, battle spirits, general portents of doom) and the lack of any comparable word in Lucan, it may well be the case that the use of *ídol* is meant to underscore the unnatural nature of events and characters even when compared to the Olympian gods rather than comment on their inherent paganism.

The expression ‘Dia fris’ (‘God help it!’) occurs several times as an interjection to translate the vocative plural *superi* ‘(gods) above’ or the nominative plural *di* ‘gods’ with a hortatory subjunctive.⁴⁵⁶ As this seems to be a set phrase in medieval Irish, it is unlikely that the use of *día* rather than *dée* is a particularly notable distinction.⁴⁵⁷ CC also features several non-Roman deities, including the gods of the Teutones, discussed in Chapter 2, and those of the sacred grove in Massilia (although the latter perhaps blur into the Roman pantheon for the Irish adaptor(s) who call them ‘na déi adhartha’ where Lucan explicitly contrasts their worship with that of Hellenistic woodland gods).⁴⁵⁸

Non-infernal gods are very rarely introduced by the narrative voice of the CC, rather than being invoked by mortals in the text. Exceptions include when Roma personified appears to Caesar as he prepares to cross the Rubicon⁴⁵⁹ and when ‘na déi adhartha’ later relieve a flood afflicting him.⁴⁶⁰ Lucan himself rarely presents the Olympian gods as active characters who appear and directly influence events,

⁴⁵² ‘the stem of a huge oak whereon the spoils of the vanquished were usually hung by pagans to offer them to the gods in reward of triumph’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 335–41; trans. adapted).

⁴⁵³ Lucan, I.137.

⁴⁵⁴ ‘forms and images of the worshipped gods’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 873–79).

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., ll. 4008, 4932, 5330, 5647.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., ll. 3183, 5591; Lucan, IV.791, VII.470–73.

⁴⁵⁷ eDIL, ‘s.v. fri’, <dil.ie/24329>; see definition III, f.

⁴⁵⁸ Stokes, CC, ll. 718–19, 1765–74. Cf. Lucan, III.402–5.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., ll. 405–06.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., ll. 2365–69.

although he muses on fate and divine influence regularly, and devotes considerable amounts of Book VI to descriptions of infernal beings.⁴⁶¹ CC builds on these tendencies, focusing on human rather than divine action and infernal rather than Olympian influence, but remains largely consonant with Lucan. CC's specific approach to fate and incorporation of Classical mythology within a synchronic model of salvation history will be examined in Chapter 5.

Shorter, Creative Adaptations in RIA MS D.iv.2

The final category of Classical adaptation examined in this chapter are the short, creative retellings of Classical myths found together sequentially in RIA MS D.iv.2 in the following order: FCT, MU, *Sgél in Minaduir*, *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*, and *Riss in Mundtuirc*.⁴⁶² While FCT and MU also circulate outside of D.iv.2, all five texts form a clear thematic and stylistic cluster in the manuscript itself, and all represent innovative approaches to syncretizing Classical myths and medieval Irish narrative devices. They do not adapt single works of Classical literature or pursue epic stylistic *amplificatio* as the Trojan material and the adaptations of Latin epics do; instead their genius lies in assembling new versions of Classical narratives from information in commentaries, mythographies, and references in longer works such as Vergil and Statius. The range of *interpretatio* at work in these shorter adaptations is extensive and often subtle: sometimes motivations and backgrounds are explained by syncretizing Classical myths within one text, sometimes gods and heroes are replaced by biblical or folkloric equivalents. All of the shorter adaptations share an interest in reframing existing plotlines as *exempla* for historiographical and literary speculation, but the roles played by divine and supernatural characters vary significantly between texts.

Fingal Chlainne Tantai

FCT retells a collection of myths surrounding the House of Atreus. Of all the short creative adaptations, it includes the most Classical divinities, although not always as they feature in Classical versions of the cluster of myths or the other Classical adaptations. The author(s) cleverly insert a Phaedra-like stepmother into the story of Tantalus and Pelops in order to explain Tantalus's motivation for feeding his

⁴⁶¹ See Chapter 5 for further discussion.

⁴⁶² See pp. 122–23 for *Riss in Mundtuirc*.

son Pelops to the gods. The step-mother convinces Tantalus to kill his son and feed him to the gods both because she claims Pelops has raped her and because she wishes to test the divinity of the gods since they have not given her any children, ““Aderim”, ar si, “a choscairt ocus aighidha beca do denum de ocus a bruith ocus a tabairt done déibh gan fis doib dia chaithemh co fesam indat dei iat fir ar nir lecsset cloinn doib””.⁴⁶³ The presence of the step-mother and the fact that she, rather than Tantalus, wishes to test whether the gods are ‘dei... fir’ are new additions to the Classical versions of the story. As in Classical sources, the gods bring Pelops back to life and replace his shoulder with ivory after Ceres eats it. The Irish form of *Ceres*, *Cirir* is taken from the oblique stem, *Cerer-*, but may also be an attempt to etymologically echo Irish *cír* ‘tooth’ or *curaid* ‘chews’, given her role in the story. Tantalus and his wife are killed by a lightening bolt after the gods discern their crime and no mention is made of Tantalus’s punishment in Hades.

As in TTe, Apollo receives a subtly negative portrayal. The god appears as a font of dubious wisdom, telling Thyestes to sleep with his daughter in order to avenge the murder of his sons. Apollo is not called a god outright but he does have a temple, where Orestes conspires with a priest to kill his romantic rival Pyrrus. FCT does not shy away from calling the Olympians gods in the Tantalus episode at the beginning, so there is no reason it would not equally present Apollo as a deity. These two scenes potentially portray Apollo in a less than positive light, facilitating incest, deceit, and continued cycles of familial violence.⁴⁶⁴

The text also features ‘guth [...] isin oidhchi aislingi’, which tells Orestes to kill his sister, a priestess of Diana, in order to recover from the madness induced by killing his mother.⁴⁶⁵ The Furies are not mentioned per se, and the mysterious voice remains anonymous. It could be a god or demon (as suggested by Crampton) or simply Orestes’s frenzied imagination, but given that the text had no qualms about including named gods (even as sources of questionable advice), and given how widespread the Furies are in Middle Irish literature, the fact that the origins of the

⁴⁶³ ““I say”, spoke she, “that he should be hacked into little pieces and cooked and served up to the gods to eat unknown to them that we may know if they are in truth gods and they had not left children to them””. (Byrne, ‘The Parricides’, pp. 16–17).

⁴⁶⁴ In Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, epitome II.14; Hyginus, *Fabula*, §88; Lactantius Placidus, IV.306–8; the First Vatican Mythographer, I.22; and the Second Vatican Mythographer, §170 an oracle tells Thyestes to conceive a son by his daughter but it is not specifically Apollo’s oracle anywhere but FCT.

⁴⁶⁵ ‘a voice [...] in a vision in the night’. (ibid., pp. 30–31).

voice are left unknown seems to be an intentional stylistic choice rather than an attempt to downplay the story's paganism.⁴⁶⁶ At the same time, the lack of interest in the Furies contrasts with the approaches taken to Classical and Irish *interpretatio* and battle spirits in the longer adaptations of epic and in TTr-2.

As in TTr (the third recension of which precedes FCT in both manuscripts in which FCT appears) and TTe, it largely goes unsaid how much agency the human characters have in the face of divine and infernal influence. This may give the impression that, when compared with Classical versions of the myth found in Homer, Statius, Vergil, and indeed Seneca, where the influence of gods and Furies is often put in a more straightforward manner, the Irish texts accord mortals more control over their decisions and actions. However, the Irish adaptations rarely if ever specify that their subjects are free actors, preferring a sense of tacit ambiguity.⁴⁶⁷

Merugud Ulíxis

Ambiguity is also a feature of MU, which features no named Olympians but several shadowy supernatural entities. While the Judge of Truth (*Brethem na Fírinne*) character who gives Uilixes instructions on how to get home functions in an Aeolus-like role offering help and advice to be followed, nowhere is the connection made explicit.⁴⁶⁸ Hillers argues that his portrayal draws on folkloric elements but that he is more akin to the Christian God.⁴⁶⁹ Ulysses and Penelope swear by and thank unnamed gods throughout.⁴⁷⁰ At the end, despite having recognized her husband, Penelope waits a week to acknowledge him formally,

‘Is immda lucht na cumachta,’ ol sí ‘ocus taiscfet-sa m’áentuma, co tí do delb duit-si’. Sechtmain dó and in tan tucc sí aichni for a deilb. Ocus ro áentaigset iar sin.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. discussion in Crampton, ‘FCT: Text and Context’, p. 121.

⁴⁶⁷ See Chapter 3, pp. 54–62, 83–86, 90–92, and Chapter 6, pp. 186–95 for mortal-immortal interactions.

⁴⁶⁸ Although Crampton, ‘Uses of Exaggeration’, p. 79 suggests that his dispensing of *eolus* ‘knowledge’ may be a pun on *Aeolus*, the keeper of the winds who gives Odysseus a bag containing wind in *Odyssey*, X.25–30.

⁴⁶⁹ Hillers, ‘Ulysses and the Judge of Truth’, pp. 194–223.

⁴⁷⁰ Meyer, MU, ll. 235, 40, 64.

⁴⁷¹ “‘The people of power are many,” said she, “and I will keep my celibacy until your shape may come to you.” He was a week there before she recognized his shape; and then they united’. (ibid., ll. 297–300).

The implication that there are powerful beings who can deceptively change shape echoes Pasiphae's assumption in *Sgél in Mínaduir* that the bull is Jove because of his former abduction of Europa in the form of a bull, discussed immediately below, as well as a host of other Classical gods who change shape throughout the adaptations.⁴⁷² The phrase 'lucht cummachtai' 'people of power' also appears in CMT alongside druids in a list of the TDD's retainers.⁴⁷³ Multiple Classical gods are termed *cumachtach* 'powerful' (or some compound thereof) throughout the adaptations as well.⁴⁷⁴ Similarly in TBC-I, Cú Chulainn blesses the Morrígan, saying, "'Bennacht dé & andé fort! [...] Déi leó-som in t-áes cumachta, andéi immorro in t-áes trebtha'".⁴⁷⁵ 'Áes' or 'lucht cumachta' evidentially referred to the pagan gods, or god-like beings. That MU's 'lucht na cumachta' are intended to be gods or at least god-like is evident, but exactly what type of being is left unsaid. Perhaps this is not surprising given the text's reticence to name any characters except Ulysses and Penelope and its minimization of explicit mythological references.

Sgél in Mínaduir

Sgél in Mínaduir retells the story of Theseus and the Minotaur as well as Daedalus's escape from Minos. It appears to be based largely on the versions of these myths in Vergil and Servius, with several peculiarities.⁴⁷⁶ A few of the Olympian gods are mentioned, but none appear as active characters in the text. Neptune does not

⁴⁷² Among the numerous examples of gods taking on human form to deceive mortals in the adaptations are, in IA, Venus's disguise as a huntress (Calder, IA, ll. 291–311), Iris's impersonation of Beroe to convince the Trojan women to burn their ships (ll. 1154–75), Somnus's disguise as a member of Aeneas's crew to put Palinurus to sleep (ll. 1219–39), Juno's disguise as Camers (ll. 2970–79) and in TTe, Laius's impersonation of Tiresias (Calder, TTe, ll. 618–23), Tisiphone's masquerade as Halys and Megaera's as Argia (ll. 3447–50, 4325–27), and Diana's assumption of Dorceus's form to help Parthenopaeus (l. 3790). See Chapter 6 for further discussion of divine shape-shifting.

⁴⁷³ Gray, CMT, l. 266.

⁴⁷⁴ Including, in TTe, Juno (Calder, TTe, ll. 1625–36), Mars (3801–06), and Venus (ll. 762, 1874–78, 4249–53,) and, in CC, Jove (Stokes, CC, ll. 421–27).

⁴⁷⁵ "'The blessing of gods and of non-gods be on you!'" [...] The people of power (*áes cumachta*) were their gods but the people of cultivation were their non-gods. (O'Rahilly, TBC-I, pp. 63, 181; trans. adapted). Cf. Carey, 'A Túatha Dé Miscellany', pp. 28–39. Carey's comparable examples of this phrase differentiate *áes dána* 'people of skill' from *áes trebtha*.

⁴⁷⁶ Hillers, 'Sgél in Mínaduir', pp. 140–43. I note that a more complete version of the Minotaur story can be gleaned from an anonymous Carolingian commentary on Statius's *Achilleid*, l. 192, for which see Sweeney, pp. 678–79.

send the bull as punishment and it is instead already owned by Minos. In an original development not present in the Vergilian source material, Pasiphae is said to be in love with Jove and believes he is the bull since he once assumed the form of a bull in order to abduct Europa.⁴⁷⁷ The text neither corroborates nor denies that the bull is Jove, but the extrapolation is clever and shows the rationalization of an author who is familiar enough with multiple Classical myths to attempt to justify the events of one with details from another, much like the insertion of the Phaedra-like stepmother in FCT. Neptune, Jove, and Saturn are mentioned in Theseus's genealogy, like the genealogies in TTr-2 and IA, but there is no indication that they are divine.⁴⁷⁸ At the end of the tale, Daedalus builds a temple to Apollo when he reaches Mag Campain (probably Cumae, as in *Aeneid*, VI.14–33) after Icarus's death.⁴⁷⁹ Ariadne goes unnamed and is not abandoned by Theseus nor courted by Bacchus.

How Samson Slew the Gesteda

The most dramatic of the shorter creative adaptations is a late-twelfth or thirteenth-century text, which appears between *Sgél in Minaduir* and *Riss in Mundtuirc* in RIA MS D.iv.2 and was edited under the title *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*.⁴⁸⁰ As I have argued elsewhere, *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* inserts Samson into the myth of Hercules and Busiris.⁴⁸¹ The plot of *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* is as follows: the land of the Gesteda experiences a terrible drought because of the anger of the gods. The king listens to the counsel of a foreign seer, who tells him to begin sacrificing foreigners to the gods. Samson, meanwhile, sends messengers to Troy, in order to ascertain whether the Trojans worship the same god as the Israelites; if so, he plans to fight on their behalf against the Greeks. Samson's messengers are shipwrecked in the land of the Gesteda, where the king begins sacrificing them. One escapes to carry the tale to Samson, who sails off to avenge his men. Samson kills all of the Gesteda, the drought ends, and the biblical hero sings the praises of the Lord. Both the Irish text and the Hercules and Busiris narrative take

⁴⁷⁷ Meyer, 'Mitteilungen', ll. 2–7, p. 238.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., ll. 20–22, p. 239.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., ll. 23–25, p. 240.

⁴⁸⁰ Irish Scripts On Screen catalogues the text as fols 69^{vb}–71^{ra}; the numbering in Marstrander, 'How Samson Slew the Gesteda' and Meyer, 'Mitteilungen', pp. 467–8 is fols 61^{vb}–2^{vb}.

⁴⁸¹ See Ehrmantraut, 'A Wrong Turn' for source analysis and 'How Samson' for the tale's thematic relationships to the other short adaptations in RIA MS D.iv.2.

place in what appears to be Egypt, feature a drought caused by angry gods, a king who sacrifices guests on the advice of a foreign seer (the names of the seers are similar in both stories), and a legendarily-strong hero who finally arrives and kills the king, ending the drought. *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* likely draws on Ovid's version of the myth of Philomela as well and is grounded in established synchronic traditions linking Samson, Hercules, and Troy together in time (including those found in TTr-2 itself).⁴⁸²

The pagan gods of the *Gesteda* go unnamed throughout the narrative, although it is one of the most striking episodes of human sacrifice and pagan brutality in medieval Irish literature.⁴⁸³ This mirrors the cagey attitude towards human sacrifice in FCT, where Orestes's sister is a priestess of Diana and it is Diana's statue that he is instructed to retrieve, but it is nowhere made explicit that Diana is the source of the mysterious voice or would countenance the death of her own priestess. The Irish authors and redactors of these texts were clearly uncomfortable with the concept of human sacrifice and hesitated in attributing it outright to the Classical gods and their worshippers.⁴⁸⁴ This may be because human sacrifice was virtually never attributed to Irish pre-Christian gods or pagans in early medieval texts, and thus not considered a regular element of pagan worship.⁴⁸⁵ This attitude can also be compared with CC, ll. 718–19, where the Gaulish gods to whom the Teutones sacrifice are replaced with their Roman equivalents, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 7 of this dissertation.⁴⁸⁶

STRATEGIES ACROSS TEXTS

Having set out the main attitudes towards Classical gods in the medieval Irish Classical adaptations in rough chronological order of composition and by length and type of text, I will now discuss their thematic similarities and intertextual borrowings and parallels. I divide strategies of mythological adaptation into four main categories: euhemerism (representing divine characters and mythic stories as ancient

⁴⁸² Ehrmantraut, 'A Wrong Turn'; cf. Best and O'Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 32579–82, 32823–25.

⁴⁸³ Cf. Borsje, 'Human Sacrifice', p. 45; the only scholar to my knowledge to have mentioned the text at all since its publication by Marstrander.

⁴⁸⁴ Potentially compare *Scéla Alaxandair*, as discussed above, although it seems unlikely that *Scéla Alaxandair* intended to introduce human sacrifice.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. J. Borsje, 'Human Sacrifice', pp. 31–54.

⁴⁸⁶ Chapter 2, pp. 32–35, and Chapter 7, p. 211.

interpretations of mundane figures and events), ellipsis (omitting divine characters), equivalency (incorporating aspects of Irish literary style or narrative tradition into the portrayal of divine characters and events), and typology (the interpretation of Classical characters and events through biblical analogues). I conclude that, broadly speaking, different types of Classical adaptations approach their source material in different ways, with the main distinctions being between the longer adaptations of specific verse epics (IA, TTe, and CC), shorter composite works (*Sgél in Mínaduir*, MU, and FCT), and the recensions of TTr and *Scéla Alaxandair*. As noted throughout, the Middle Irish adaptations are more inclined to emphasize and give detailed attention to infernal beings than to the Olympians, although this inclination takes multiple forms and varies by text.

Euhemerism

Euhemerism was the typical approach taken by Christian writers to Classical and non-Classical mythologies alike across early medieval Europe and beyond.⁴⁸⁷ We have only to look to Dares Phrygius's euhemerization of the Trojan horse as a horse-shaped carving over one of the gates of Troy for a well-known example.⁴⁸⁸ Strikingly, this strategy was never the unilaterally favoured approach towards divine figures (be they Classical or Irish) in medieval Irish literature. Instead, euhemerism appears, as Carey observes, alongside demonization as a relatively late and inconsistently adopted interpretation of Otherworldly characters and divinities.⁴⁸⁹ The inconsistency with which euhemerism was applied to Irish Otherworldly characters is mirrored in its application to Classical gods in medieval Irish texts. Of the Classical adaptations, TTr-2 is by far the most interested in euhemerism, as the prologue illustrates. Even then, as discussed above, the text's euhemerizing tendencies are relatively minimal and do not seem to extend to the portrayal of the Olympians in the rest of the narrative, where they are often called *dé*. TTr-2 does not otherwise incorporate many euhemeristic elements; for example, it opts to recount a mythological version of the

⁴⁸⁷ For fundamental scholarship on the topic, see Cooke. Myrick has discussed this phenomenon in the context of Irish Classical adaptations to the greatest extent, and Stanciu compares Irish and Norse treatments of the mythological elements of the Troy story.

⁴⁸⁸ Frazer, *Trojan War*, §40.

⁴⁸⁹ Carey, *A Single Ray*, pp. 14–15, 20–23. Cf. Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, pp. 79, 182–83, 251–52.

story of the Golden Fleece instead of taking advantage of Isidore's claim that the ram from which the Fleece came was actually a ship bearing some kind of ram-related marking.⁴⁹⁰ TTr-1 is more inclined to treat the Olympians as demonic or idolatrous influences than is TTr-2, but it is far from explicit about their divine status.

Other instances of euhemerism throughout the corpus of Classical adaptations are few and far between. As quoted above, the Irish prose *Achilleid* material includes the detail that the River Styx, while believed by the ancients to have been a river in the underworld, was in fact a river in Thessaly that Thetis enchanted in order to bathe Achilles in it. This seems largely out of place with the text's other attitudes towards explaining mythological elements, and is probably an attempt to make sense of the somewhat confusing passage of Statius at hand, possibly coupled with information from a commentary source. TTe also makes one attempt at euhemerism. When recounting the Enceladus myth, which Statius mentions with little clarifying background, TTe adds, '7 ríu seig aderthái mic an talman ara truma 7 ara talmaigeacht'.⁴⁹¹ Shortly beforehand, the Titans are called *chorada* 'heroes' and 'daíne mera míleata' 'wild, war-like people'.⁴⁹² This euhemerism concerning the Titans' parentage is odd, given that only a thousand lines beforehand, TTe explicitly states that the goddess Fama is the daughter of Terra.⁴⁹³ Likewise, the gods (specifically called *dé*) defeat the Titans in the same passage where the euhemerizing attempt is made.⁴⁹⁴ The explanation of their epithet may thus come from a commentary or aside in another text (although none I have hitherto identified), but does not represent TTe's overall attitude towards characterizing Otherworldly and divine figures.

Ellipsis

It is always difficult to make arguments based on absence, but ellipsis, or omission of divine figures, functions as an interpretive and stylistic strategy in a number of Classical adaptations, especially the shorter, composite narratives. Thus, in MU, Penelope refers only to the enigmatic 'lucht na cumachta', as a rationale for waiting to

⁴⁹⁰ Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIII.xvi.8.

⁴⁹¹ 'and concerning them they were called the sons of the earth because of their heaviness and earthiness'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 1292–93; trans. adapted).

⁴⁹² Ibid., ll. 1286–89.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., ll. 1180–81.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., ll. 1291–92.

sleep with her husband. None of the Classical deities associated with the version of Odysseus's story known from the *Odyssey* appear in the text, although it would not have been difficult to import Olympians from Vergil or any of the vernacular adaptations of Classical material, had the author(s) wished. FCT maintains the presence of the Olympians at Tantalus's grisly feast, but when Orestes experiences madness and is told to kill his sister, the text mentions merely 'guth isin oidhchi aislingi'.⁴⁹⁵ This voice presumably fills the roles of both the Furies hounding the scion of Atreus and Apollo's oracle in Classical versions of the tale. The fact that its source is left mysterious is a departure from the enthusiasm for and attention devoted to infernal imagery and characters in many of the other Classical adaptations, including CC, TTe, and TTr-1. At the same time, it may make narrative sense in the context of the story: the voice tells Orestes to kill his sister (who is a priestess of Diana), bathe in her blood, and carry the image of Diana from her temple back to Greece, presumably drawing on some tradition concerning Iphigenia. Given the evident disapproval of human sacrifice expressed by the Olympians at the beginning of the narrative, it would be contradictory to have the gods suddenly demand it of Orestes later in the story. Pelops's murder in FCT is framed more as a test of the gods' divinity than an outright sacrifice, but the lines are blurred, and may have led the author(s) to rethink the subsequent presentation of Orestes's madness.

Both the MU and FCT episodes seem to be stylistic choices, enhancing narrative features of the tales, both of which diverge extensively from any surviving Classical or late antique versions. The author(s) of FCT clearly do not wish to downplay the pagan gods, as the gods feature elsewhere in the text, but evidently make their own interpretive choices when deciding how to render infernal influences. MU thrives on scenes of recognition and characters with ambiguous identities, such as Uilixes himself and the Judge of Truth, who seems to be a thinly-veiled version of Christ. In its recasting of Odysseus's story as exemplary (Christian) parable, perhaps pagan characters are best left as shadowy references, vaguely delineated.

Several other short adaptations simply omit the Classical gods altogether. *Sgél in Mínaduir*, *Luid Iasón*, and the verse *Achilleid* material include no gods in active roles, or beings explicitly called gods within the narrative. Named Olympians appear in passing, but have no agency within the story and are not treated as divine beings by

⁴⁹⁵ 'a voice in the night vision'. (Byrne, 'The Parricides', pp. 30–31; trans. adapted).

either the narrative voice or the characters within the texts. *Riss in Mundtuirc* could potentially be added to this list, although since the beginning section involving Vulcan and Harmonia's necklace is fragmentary, it would be unwise to draw firm conclusions about its contents. The emerging trend seems to indicate that the shorter, composite adaptations are less inclined to feature Olympians, and far more reticent to name them as gods even if they do. The shortest of these, *Sgél in Mínaduir* and potentially the *Riss*, and the poetic adaptations are the most alike in this respect. The verse *Achilleid* material even removes references to the Olympians where they appear in the corresponding prose version. MU and FCT exercise their own complicated and unique stylistic conventions and narrative choices.

These omissions may be viewed as the product of the length and scope of the various narratives, as well as their composite nature. Unlike the longer adaptations, including TTr, IA, TTe, and CC, the gods in the source materials for these shorter, composite texts do not have the same driving, narrative roles or lengthy passages of direct speech. None of these texts excise paganism entirely from their settings, but neither do their succinct narratives necessitate divine characters on a dramatic level. Most of these texts seem to thus omit the gods on stylistic grounds rather than due to intrinsic anti-pagan sentiment.

Equivalency

Interpretatio provides one of the major interpretive strategies adopted in Irish Classical adaptations, mapping Classical mythological beings or events onto Irish and biblical equivalents. Nowhere is this process more evident than in the treatments of battle spirits and Furies discussed in Chapter 3. As we have seen, infernal characters and imagery appear to have captured the medieval Irish literary imagination to a far greater extent than their Olympian counterparts. Texts such as CC and TTe build on their respective exemplars, according more agency and description to infernal beings. In a similar vein, TTr-1 mentions that *badb* screams above burning Troy, as noted above, and TTe calls Jocasta *morrígan*, perhaps ironically given her later inability to sway her sons from the conflict to which the Furies have driven them.⁴⁹⁶ At the same time, *Scéla Alaxandair* downplays the infernal beings mentioned in the Latin *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo rege Bragmanorum* and IA omits some of the imagery of

⁴⁹⁶ Calder, TTe, l. 88.

Hades, preferring to focus on the Furies. We might see a burgeoning interest in Furies and their Irish equivalents emerging primarily in the twelfth century, which would explain why the eleventh-century *Scéla Alaxandair*, and to some extent the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century IA, downplay their infernal elements relative to CC and TTe. However, the twelfth- or thirteenth-century FCT omits the Furies that hound Orestes altogether, mentioning only an enigmatic voice in the night, so we should be wary of identifying larger literary trends at the expense of appreciating independent authorial choices. We could just as well argue that *Scéla Alaxandair* is in fact the outlier, as it is a very different sort of Classical adaptation, adapting material that did not originally feature mythological characters to the same extent as Vergil, Statius, or even the later recensions of TTr.

Other types of learned equivalencies were also drawn between Irish and Classical elements. While IA does not include anything as obvious as *badb* shrieking over the ruins of Troy, it still engages with medieval learned culture and early Irish tradition. When Anchises appears to Aeneas in a dream and tells him to consult the Sibyl and visit the underworld, IA states, ‘& o roraidh Anachis na briathra-sa roling isin ær iarsin’.⁴⁹⁷ The detail that Anchises ‘leaped into the air’ may seem a strange translation of Latin ‘tenuis fugit, ceu fumus, in auras’ at first glance.⁴⁹⁸ However, this is likely to be clever etymological play, supported by an entry from *Sanas Cormaic*: ‘Aislinge .i. lingid as, vel absque lingæ .i. cen labrad inte’.⁴⁹⁹ Anchises’s nocturnal visit to Aeneas is not called an *aislinge* ‘vision, dream’ explicitly, but Anchises’s leap is surely meant to connect the episode with *aislinge* in the minds of the audience. This learned reference in what is otherwise a fairly literal rendering of the Latin illustrates that IA works on multiple levels. On the one hand, the text is interested in intellectual wordplay. At the same time, it may gesture towards a wider range of Irish tales employing the common literary phenomenon of the dream vision, such as *Aislinge Óenguso*, the *echtra* tales, Christian *visio* narratives, or even the roughly contemporaneous parodic text *Aislinge Meic Con*

⁴⁹⁷ ‘When Anchises had uttered these words, he then leaped into the air’. (Calder, IA, ll. 1202–03).

⁴⁹⁸ ‘he fled as smoke into thin air’. (Vergil, *Aeneid*, V.740).

⁴⁹⁹ ‘*Aislinge* (vision), that is, leaps out of it, or without the tongue, that is without speaking in it’. (*Sanas Cormaic*, YAdd.82, at the *Early Irish Glossaries Database*). As Paul Russell and Michael Clarke suggest, this would parallel ἐκστασις, from ἐξίστημι, etymologized as ἐκ ‘out’ and ἵστημι ‘I stand’.

Glinne, in which a divine or otherworldly vision prompts the protagonist to action, often involving a journey to an otherworldly location and/or divine revelation. In this regard, Aeneas's vision of Anchises, prompting him to seek out the Sibyl and descend to Hades where he encounters figures from his past and learns the future history of Rome, fits within a broader literary tradition. IA does not include the sorts of genre subheadings that the Franciscan manuscript of CC does, but in this instance it nods to genre and literary convention in passing, setting up an artful segue from the material corresponding to *Aeneid*, V to that from *Aeneid*, VI.

Biblical equivalencies arguably appear as frequently in the Classical adaptations as their Irish counterparts. Thus in TTr-1, as examined above, *badb* shrieks above ruined Troy alongside demons who rejoice at the destruction of the seed of Adam. In TTr-2, the Olympian gods are brought within the scheme of biblical genealogy, which, by extension, makes them the cousins of the TDD, Fomorians, and Fir Bolg in LGÉ, similarly otherworldly (and likely once divine) beings assigned to Cham's lineage. In CC, Noah's flood is syncretized with Deucalion's.⁵⁰⁰ In MU, the Christ-like Judge of Truth sends Uilixes home years ahead of his Classical counterpart. As I will argue below, some of these instances of biblical *interpretatio* are better classified as typology.

Typology

While typology conventionally refers to the interpretation of Old Testament characters and events as foreshadowing their New Testament counterparts, I argue that in medieval Ireland it also functioned to explain non-biblical characters and events by virtue of biblical analogues. Two further examples will serve to illustrate this point: Jupiter's escape from Saturn in TTr-2 and the assumption of Hercules's role by Samson in *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*.

TTr-2 gives the following account of Jupiter's infancy:

Ra tharngirset fádi do Šatuirn a mac do thictain ris. conid airesein no ithed cach mac rucad dó ria nÍoib. Ra foilged Ioib fair. 7 ra cured i curach oenseiched for sruth Níl. 7 gabur blicht ceŋgalta isin churuch conid edsain ras bethaig. Co fuaratar iascaireda srotha Níl hé cona thlacht ríġ immi. Co tucsat i cind .uii. mbliadan he don ríġ. Is í bréc

⁵⁰⁰ See Chapter 5, pp. 146–48.

thucad immisium don breithsin. cloch do thabairt i mmesc na fulíci co
ndúaid Satuirnd in cloichsin.⁵⁰¹

TTr-2 thus places Jupiter in the role of baby Moses, set adrift on the Nile and later found and taken to a king. That a Classical god could take on the role and story of a biblical prophet is striking, but well within the synchronic and syncretic intellectual milieu of early medieval Ireland. Jupiter is given a literal biblical pedigree in the prologue to TTr-2 by virtue of his descent from Noah and Cham, but also a figurative pedigree via his adoption into a Moses-like story. Eusebius's *Chronicon* (and Jerome's Latin translation thereof), states, 'nam Moses [...] omnibus tamen, quos Graeci antiquissimos putant, senior deprehenditur'.⁵⁰² TTr-2's syncretism of Jupiter and Moses is thus an unorthodox synchronism by Eusebian standards, illustrating the degree to which Irish authors could introduce creative elements and new synchronic models into literary works.

This creativity is also present in the late eleventh-century SAM, where Romulus and Remus are set afloat in a cradle upon the Tiber.⁵⁰³ This detail may have originally been sourced from Ovid's *Fasti*, 2.407, but was likely understood by medieval Christians in light of its typological similarities to the biblical story of Moses. SAM contains some of the same inconsistency as TTr-2, in representing gods against a biblical backdrop. In the passage describing the birth of Romulus and Remus, it specifies that Mars was a god of the Latins but that he was not in fact the twins' father, implying that the twins had no divine lineage.⁵⁰⁴ However, later in the text, Doridis is explicitly called *bandee* and Neptune *dé* with no attempt made to link them to the biblical chronology and genealogy otherwise represented in the text, or to specify that they are simply the objects of idolatry.⁵⁰⁵ In both TTr-2 and SAM, the

⁵⁰¹ 'Prophets prophesied to Saturn that his son would come against him, so that because of that he used to eat every son born to him before Jove. Jove was hidden from him and was put into a boat [made] of one hide upon the river Nile, and a goat for milk bound in the boat so that it would nourish him. Fishermen of the river Nile found him with his royal garment about him. At the end of seven years, they brought him to the king. This is the lie that was told concerning him about that birth: a stone was brought to him in a lump of swaddling clothes so that Saturn ate that stone'. (Best and O'Brien, *Togail Troí*, ll. 30827–34).

⁵⁰² 'For Moses is held to be older than all whom the Greeks consider to be the most ancient'. (Fotheringham, p. 7).

⁵⁰³ Ó Cróinín, SAM, §51, p. 87.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., §69, p. 97.

Olympians slip between biblical lineages, pagan worship, and independent godhood. Both texts are the products of writing and rewriting by multiple authors over time and it is not surprising that they contain contradictions. Nevertheless, the Olympian gods clearly occupied an uncertain position in medieval Irish literature and world history. Within the same text, Jupiter could be both a type for Moses (and thus perhaps even for Christ) and the king of the gods, an object of pagan worship and an apical ancestor.

While TTr-2 places a Classical god in a biblical story, *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* inverts this model and retells a Classical myth, starring a biblical character. *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* is inspired by historical synchronisms linking Hercules and Samson in history (much as Moses and Jove occupy similar ancestral roles in biblical and Classical genealogies), but the historiographical methods at work in the text go further.⁵⁰⁶ In *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*, Samson does not merely live at the same time as Hercules or as the Trojan War—he takes on the role of Hercules himself. Samson thus functions as a type for Hercules (or Hercules as a type for Samson). The story of one character can be used to understand the role of the other character in salvation history, regardless of the fact that one is an Old Testament Israelite and the other a hero of Classical myth. Samson and Jove may be extreme examples of the extension of biblical typological methods to Classical mythological characters, but they illustrate the degree to which both biblical and Classical materials were viewed as part of the same universal history. As the subsequent chapter will show, concern for universal history was instrumental to the production of the medieval Irish Classical adaptations, and, as Chapters 6 and 7 will explore, typological methods could be extended equally to figures from the Irish pre-Christian past.

CONCLUSION

The strategies outlined above are by no means the only approaches taken to Classical mythological figures in the Irish adaptations. Irish authors' and redactors' propensity for adding clarifying details and background information drawn from scholia, commentaries, and other sources extends to the descriptions of gods and, in the case

⁵⁰⁶ See Ehrmantraut, 'A Wrong Turn' for discussion of synchronisms in *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*.

of divine epithets in TTe, examined in the previous chapter, can become an entirely new stylistic technique. Some associations of particular gods appear across texts, including potentially negative qualities of Apollo. Many texts focus on infernal deities, sometimes to the point of occluding the roles and responsibilities of the Olympians, as discussed in Chapter 3 with reference to TTe and CC, and above in IA.

Several larger trends emerge in how various types of adaptations treat divine characters. The longer adaptations, based on works of Latin epic verse (IA, TTe, and CC) are generally textually close to their original Latin models or include subtle changes in framing and viewpoint (often with the effect of increasing the role of infernal characters and of a sense of looming fate). The shorter, composite texts (*Sgél in Minaduir*, MU, FCT, *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*) tend to be more creative and willing to improvise details or draw ideas from a wider range of sources. They typically feature the Classical gods to a lesser extent and do not give them as much concrete agency within the narratives as the longer texts. The recensions of TTr, along with related material such as *Luid Iasón*, the *Achilleid* material, and *Don Tres Troí* represent a class of their own. The portrayals of Classical gods in this body of material underwent development in successive recensions, interacting with the wider, intertextual web of vernacular adaptations as well as with a learned European scholarly setting. TTr-2 and *Don Tres Troí* are nearly polar opposites in their treatment of Classical gods, but they and the other Troy-based texts share an interest in dynamic rewriting and reinterpretation of the Troy story. *Scéla Alaxandair* largely falls outside of this paradigm. Individual sections of the text remain relatively close to their respective Latin sources, most of which did not focus heavily on the Olympians originally.

In conclusion, similarities and trends across texts can be elucidating. All the Classical adaptations examined here were products of a larger cultural milieu—one which reshaped and reinterpreted the Classical past to match Irish and biblical models and scholarly interests. However, we should still treat separate texts as standalone works of literature, responding to a series of evolving stylistic, historiographical, and authorial choices. Each author or redactor made their own conscious choices in producing these texts and their individual literary and creative agency shines through in a plethora of subtly different, independent, and often contradictory mythographical decisions. Typology and synchronism emerge as a major strand in the adaptation and interpretation of Classical material: Jove is type for Moses (and by extension Christ)

in TTr-2, just as Romulus and Remus are in SAM, and Samson is for Hercules in *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*. These alignments function both because of a rich background of historical synchronisms stretching back to Eusebius, and because of an abiding Irish interest in salvation history: the understanding of history as an arc beginning in Eden and bending towards Judgment Day and eventual salvation. It is this model of historiography and typological interpretation of universal history that will concern us in the following chapter, and underlie the second half of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

GOD(S), FATE, AND ESCHATOLOGY IN *IN CATH CATHARDA*

The previous chapter provided an overview of the appearances and roles of the Olympian gods in the Classical adaptations and the modes of *interpretatio* employed by medieval Irish authors to represent them. This chapter will present a case study of one Classical adaptation that features very few Classical gods: CC, in order to elucidate the historiographical underpinnings to medieval Irish mythography and adaptation of Classical literature. To say that the absence of the Olympians in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* has excited considerable scholarly debate is an understatement.⁵⁰⁷ Unlike the gods in the epics of Homer, Vergil, or indeed Lucan's successor Statius, Lucan's Olympians never appear as direct actors in or instigators of the events of his poem. There are no councils of the gods or divine visitations, and what prophecies mortals do solicit are mediated through human intermediaries.⁵⁰⁸ Lucan's narrator periodically (and often contradictorily) comments on the role of Fate (*fatum*), Fortuna, and the gods, but ultimately such questions are left deliberately ambiguous and impenetrable both to the text's characters and to the work's audience. Given such a startling absence in Lucan compared to other works of Classical Latin epic, this chapter will question how the translators and redactors of CC reimagined the role of Fate and the gods in the work, situating them within the framework of Christian salvation history.

CC emerges as far more interested in constructing a coherent picture of Fate and Fortuna than Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and positions its narrative in an eschatological light; that is, as a text concerned with endings and apocalypses, both Classical and biblical. Despite changing little of Lucan's text (especially in comparison to the other Middle Irish Classical adaptations), this reorientation serves to enhance internal consistency as well as to link CC to various models of Christian salvation history. *Contra* Harris, I will argue that rather than being 'neither aware of

⁵⁰⁷ For bibliography on the absent gods and problems of divine/human knowledge in Lucan see Haüssler, *Das historische Epos*; Henderson, 'Lucan/the World'; Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*; Masters, *Poetry and Civil War*; Bartsch, *Ideology in Cold Blood*; and Day, *Lucan and the Sublime*.

⁵⁰⁸ With the possible exception of personified Roma in I.183–227 (cf. Stokes, CC, ll. 402–16), who speaks even fewer words in Latin than in Irish and is neither an Olympian nor effectual in preventing Caesar from crossing the Rubicon.

the *Bellum Civile*'s philosophical underpinnings nor, of course, in need of them', CC is in fact a subtle and complex work of synthesis, magnifying the tale's central conflict and tying Lucan's ideas about the Classical gods and Fate to biblical historiography.⁵⁰⁹ This chapter will begin by analyzing the portrayals of Fate and eschatology in CC, turn to CC's use of natural history to portray the birth of the Roman empire and, by extension, the Christian era, and finally discuss the way in which CC situates itself within late antique and medieval historiographical discourses involving the Six Ages of the World and a sequence of world empires, producing a new and original perspective on Lucan's civil war. The resulting conclusions from this chapter will have ramifications on how we understand the impetus for, and theological and historiographical background to both Classical adaptation and Classical reception in medieval Ireland more broadly, as will inform the subsequent discussions of *interpretatio* in Chapters 6 and 7.

FATE, FORTUNA, AND THE GODS

Most of the otherwise limited changes that CC makes to Lucan take the form of new material added to the beginning of the text: a pseudohistorical prologue, situating the Roman senate as the sixth dominion (*flaithius*) of the world (after the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Chaldeans, and Greeks), an explanation of various Roman political and military offices, a description of the death of Crassus,⁵¹⁰ and a summary of Caesar's invasion of Britain.⁵¹¹ While both the prologues of CC and TTr-2 prefix biblical history and genealogy onto the beginning of a Classical text, CC's prologue contrasts with the roughly-contemporaneous or slightly earlier prologue of TTr-2, offering no euhemerism for the Olympian gods nor indeed any explicit genealogical connection between biblical figures and Rome. While CC's prologue may represent the same pseudohistoricizing impulse as that of TTr-2, discussed in Chapter 4, the two texts work towards different ends with different *foci*.

⁵⁰⁹ Harris, pp. 121–22.

⁵¹⁰ Probably drawn from Florus, I.46; cf. O'Hogan, 'Reading Lucan', p. 26.

⁵¹¹ Probably drawn from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I.2 (Stokes, CC, p. vi; O'Hogan, 'Reading Lucan', p. 27), or its Irish translation (see Ní Chatháin for a discussion of the Irish Bede).

The Causes and Inevitability of Civil War

TTr-2's introductory euhemerism of the gods may explain away their status as gods (though this attitude is inconsistently expressed throughout the text, as noted above) but it also puts them in a position of prominence as ancestors of the people depicted in the text and architects of the ensuing narrative.⁵¹² This fits with TTr-2's generally expanded and positive portrayal of the Olympians when compared with TTr-1. CC does not comment on the nature of its gods nor accord them such power in the prologue. In fact, CC does away with both Lucan's opening praise of Nero and his subsequent, seemingly self-contradictory assertion that,

In se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus
Crescendi posuere modum. Nec gentibus ullis
Commodat in populum, terrae pelagique potentem,
Invidiam Fortuna suam. Tu caussa malorum,
[...] Roma [...].⁵¹³

Does CC's omission of these passages of Lucan represent an effort to downplay the gods, or is it an attempt to make sense of a contradictory Latin source text? Lucan gives a further list of secondary, or hidden, causes of the war, including,

[...] superbant sed publica belli
Semina, quae populos semper mersere potentes.
Namque ut opes mundo nimias fortuna subacto
Intulit, et rebus mores cessere secundis,
Praedaque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinae [...].⁵¹⁴

CC tries to reconcile Lucan's conflicting assertions that 1) the gods limit human success—and thus presumably have caused the civil war to limit Rome's success,⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² See Chapter 4, pp. 103–05, 132–33.

⁵¹³ 'Great things fall to ruin by themselves: the gods set this limit to the increase of success. Fortune did not bestow its envy to any (foreign) races against a people, wielding power over land and sea. You, Rome, were the cause of your own evils' (Lucan, I.81–85).

⁵¹⁴ '[...] but among the public there were hidden seeds of war, which always overwhelm powerful peoples. For, when the world was conquered, Fortuna brought excessive wealth, and virtues yielded to prosperous things, and plundered enemy spoils invited luxury [...]' (ibid., I.158–62).

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., I.81.

2) Fortuna has not caused the civil war, only Rome itself,⁵¹⁶ and 3) Fortuna has caused Rome's prosperity and thus its downfall.⁵¹⁷ In CC the following is expressed,

Batar tra cuissi imdha & adhbair or'cennaighthi imordaigh in catha
cathordha d'érgi isin Roim & isin t-shenadh intan sin. In cétna adhbair
dibh .i. an t-adhbair ó tairnither & ó trascurthur cech popol nertmar
cumachtach isin chruinne .i. dimus & innócbáil & in mét menman dá
línadh ar mét a neirt & a fhlaithiusa & ar imad á innmusa [...].⁵¹⁸

This synthesizes Lucan's initial statements about the gods and Fortuna with his later reference to the hidden seeds of the conflict. The Irish version removes Lucan's conflicting sentiments that the gods limit human endeavours and that Fortuna was not responsible for the civil war, stating instead that the challenges of conflict were determined to arise at a certain time, although it does not say who or what determined it. Likewise, CC has changed the active infinitive *mersere* 'overwhelm', stating that these hidden seeds overwhelm powerful peoples, to two passive verbs *tairnither* 'is subdued' and *trascurthur* 'is cast down', implying that something or someone unnamed 'subdued' and 'casts down' all the peoples of the world because of certain predetermined causes. The use of the present passive in place of the active may simply reflect Irish idiom, so we should be cautious of reading too much subtlety into

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., I.82–85.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., I.158–62.

⁵¹⁸ 'Then there were many causes and reasons by which the challenges of civil war were determined to arise at that time in Rome and in the senate. The first of these causes, the cause by which every mighty, powerful people on the globe is subdued and cast down, that is, pride and arrogance and the magnitude of the self-confidence that filled them because of the extent of their strength and their dominion and the abundance of their treasure [...]' (Stokes, CC, ll. 235–40; my trans., loosely following Stokes). Stokes takes *or'cennaighthi* and variants *oercennchaidhi* and *ercennchaide* as a form of *cennaigim* or *cinnim* 'I determine'; see eDIL, 's.v. 1 cinnid', <dil.ie/9148>. Presumably the same verbal root is attested in the adjective *airchendchaide* 'fixed, determined', a word primarily attested in legal contexts, in *Sanas Cormaic*, Y.81 and in a law tract in H.3.18, f. 180a; see eDIL, 's.v. airchendchaide', <dil.ie/1701>. I believe the syntax of the passage supports taking *or'cennaighthi* as a passive pl. verbal form composed of the preposition *o* + the perfective particle *ro* + *cennaigid*, the subject of which is *imordaigh*. *Imordaigh* is also a somewhat difficult word, translated by Stokes as 'mishaps' (perhaps under the influence of *im fórdal* 'great error'). I prefer to take it as the nom. pl. of *immardad* 'challenge, reproach', for which see eDIL, 's.v. immardad', <dil.ie/27750>. Thus the entire phrase reads: 'Then there were many causes and reasons by which the challenges of civil war were determined to arise at that time in Rome and in the senate'.

the translation choices. Nonetheless, the passage as a whole presents a more internally consistent conception of fate than that found in Lucan.

Elsewhere, it seems that the anonymous force intended by CC is in fact the gods and Fortuna. Supporting the fact that there is a clear sense of destiny running through the work, Lucan's Book II digression on whether destiny is preordained by the creator of the universe or whether Chance (*Fors*) and Fate (*Fata*) randomly rule events is simplified in CC. The Irish version eschews the larger digression, rendering only one line of Lucan, 'Iamque irae patuere deum'⁵¹⁹ as, 'Ba follus dona Románchaib ferg & luindi na n-dea n-adartha do bith friu fein intan sin'.⁵²⁰ CC maintains that the gods are angry (if only in the minds of the Romans), without including Lucan's speculation as to whether any powers truly rule human destiny. This is consonant with CC's increased emphasis that the battle is preordained by divinities when the text has Erichtho add the Fates and gods to Lucan's Fortuna in the list of beings who have destined Pharsalia from the beginning of the world.⁵²¹ These changes are both to human (or near human) perceptions of the narrative's cosmology; however, the narrative voice itself also confirms that 'Ba h-adbor ugra oculus ba damna margliad sin, ar as annsin ro cinnset na faithi in cath mor do tabairt', closely following the relevant passage of Lucan.⁵²²

The inevitability of the battle is supported rhetorically as well by CC's repeated refrain interwoven throughout the material that corresponds to Book VI of Lucan that Pharsalia is an appropriate place for the battle. On five occasions, CC lists past evils that have occurred in Thessaly followed by the assertion that, 'Tír i... sin, ba cubaid in cath mor do gnimh indte'.⁵²³ The refrain, which is not present in the Latin, creates a mounting sense of dread and drives the narrative towards the climactic battle. The repetitive rhetoric of impending doom has its parallel in other vernacular

⁵¹⁹ 'Already the anger of the gods was made evident'. (Lucan, II.1; cf. II.1–15). Given how closely CC usually parallels the text of the Latin it seems unlikely that the exemplar from which the redactor(s) worked was missing the rest of the passage.

⁵²⁰ 'It was clear to the Romans that the wrath and rage of the worshipped gods were then against them'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 1065–66).

⁵²¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 60–61

⁵²² 'That was a cause of conflict and matter of a great fight, for there [i.e., Thessaly] the Fates had determined that the Great Battle should be delivered'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 3794–6). Cf. Lucan, VI.332.

⁵²³ 'A land in which that [event or detail occurred], it was fitting for the great battle to be fought in it'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 3815–16, 3826–27, 3834–35, 3850–51, 3872–73; trans. adapted).

Irish narrative, such as in TBDD when Ingcél's scout recounts the layout and occupants of the titular hostel with the refrain, 'Mairg úras in n-orguin'.⁵²⁴ CC's repeated phrase also mirrors that applied to Cú Chulainn in TBC, that it is no wonder that a youth who could do certain feats at the age of seven is capable of even more at seventeen.⁵²⁵ Each repetition serves to emphasize the inescapability and scale of the respective conflicts. Pharsalia is inevitable on multiple levels: cosmologically, in the minds of the narrative's characters, and, by means of the repetition, in the mind of the reader.

The Flood

When the seer Figulus attempts to determine the causes of the portents and disasters striking Rome, he asserts, 'nó masa tre imaltur na Faithi tic in morbrechthadh adcim-sea, is apaigh & is urlam ac na deibh dith & dilceann & delarugud in ciniudha daenna do denum i traiti'.⁵²⁶ Like earlier statements examined above, this is a more emphatic statement of the gods' involvement than that found in Latin: 'Aut, si fata movent, urbi generique paratur Humano matura lues'.⁵²⁷ It also magnifies the size of the calamity from a plague upon the city and humanity to the 'ruin and extermination and demolishing' of humanity. Figulus later asks what will bring about such a calamity, making a conscious reference to biblical events, 'nó inn í tromdlai derfadhach na dilinni ferfas for dreich in talman doridisi do uili-bádhudh claindi Adhaim'.⁵²⁸ This translates Deucalion's flood in Latin.⁵²⁹ The syncretism may seem obvious but most Latin Patristic writers, including Jerome (translating Eusebius of Caesarea), Augustine, and Isidore differentiated Deucalion's flood as a later, smaller flood than

⁵²⁴ 'Woe to him who shall wreak the destruction'. (Knott, TBDD, ll. 705, 763, 783, et al.).

⁵²⁵ O'Rahilly, TBC-I, pp. 19, 26; TBC-LL, pp. 23, 25.

⁵²⁶ 'Or if it be through the medium of the Fates comes the great shattering which I see, the gods are ripe and ready to cause quickly the ruin and extermination and demolishing of the human race'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 1011–13; trans. adapted. My translation of *morbrechthadh* is based on eDIL, 's.v. brecht', < dil.ie/6637>, which offers a potential definition for *brecht* in compounds as 'shattering').

⁵²⁷ 'Or if the Fates move [the stars], ripe pestilence is prepared for the city and the human race'. (Lucan, I.644–45).

⁵²⁸ 'Or whether it is the heavy-dense tear-shedding of the Flood, which will again pour upon the face of the earth to universally drown the children of Adam?'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 1017–19; trans. adapted).

⁵²⁹ Lucan, I.653.

Noah's.⁵³⁰ It seems likely that the medieval Irish redactor(s) of CC made the somewhat unorthodox (at least in the Latin West) connection on their own. The fact that this observation is first put into the mouth of a pagan seer and not the omniscient narrative voice is an extraordinary example of syncretism in a text that otherwise betrays relatively few overt Christian interjections.

The narrative voice reintroduces the flood parallel several times, in no instance rendering something present in the original Latin. The narrator tells us that, 'daig ní ro tairic oenla riem tareis na Dilenn don cinidh doennae samail in ro tairicc in la sin doib .i. an dith ocus a mudugud inn ellach in mórcathae eiter Poimp & Cesair for muigh na Tésali re h-ed an lae sin namma'.⁵³¹ And slightly later, it affirms, 'Cid fil ann tra acht as derb-deimin nar' delb in t-aicnedh riemh oenla ica mbeitis airrdena in lai-si. Deithbir on, ar ní tainic deis na Dilenn oenla no cutrumaighedh frisin laithi-si im dith & im dilghenn, im marbadh & im mudhughadh in cinedha doenna'.⁵³² The idea that Pharsalia is comparable only to the flood (be it Noah's or Deucalion's) and the repetition of the 'dith 7 dilceann... in ciniudha daenna', wrought by the gods in

⁵³⁰ See Collins for analysis and list of sources: Jerome's translation of Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* X.9.7; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVIII.8, 10, 11; Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIII.22. Sources that conflate the two exist primarily in Greek originals, including Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, §23; Justin Martyr, *Second Apology*, VII.2; Theophilus of Antioch, *For Autolycus*, §§2–3; the Clementine *Recognitions*, VIII.50 and *Homilies*, II.16; and the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, IV.23 (commentary in Robert, *Le martyre*, p. 61). Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.iii.1–9 uses same Greek word for Noah's ark as Apollodorus does for Deucalion's boat in *Bibliotheca*, 1.vii.2 but a Latin translation would not reflect this parallel (cf. Collins, p. 411). To my knowledge, no Latin translations of these texts reflecting this syncretism can be clearly demonstrated to have been in medieval Ireland, although Watson, 'Philosophy', p. 90 suggests that we should not rule out Rufinus's translation of the *Recognitions* as a potential source available to the medieval Irish. Several Old English sources also conflate Deucalion and Noah's floods, including *The Phoenix*, ll. 41–46 (cf. Appleton, 'The Insular Landscape', p. 592), and the Old English Orosius (cf. Batley, pp. 24–25), which may be more evidence for an insular continuum of mythographical innovation rather than the transmission of a specific Late Antique text.

⁵³¹ 'since the Flood, never did one day prepare for the human race the like of what that day prepared for them, to wit, their destruction and their ruin in the joining of the great battle between Pompey and Caesar upon the plain of Thessaly for the space of that day only'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4390–94; trans. adapted).

⁵³² 'Howbeit, it is quite certain that Nature never shaped a single day on which were the portents of this one. This was reasonable, for, after the Deluge, never came a single day that equaled this in the ruin and extermination, the killing and the defeating of the human race'. (ibid., ll. 4822–26; trans. adapted).

Figulus's prophecy and later by the battle/flood itself raises larger mythological parallels.⁵³³

In CC, the use of Pharsalia by the gods (or some larger power of destiny) to destroy humanity seems to echo both the floods in Genesis and Hellenistic mythology. Much more speculatively, it may parallel traditions going back at least to Hesiod that accords the origins of the Trojan War to the gods' (usually Zeus's) plan to control population, ridding the world of their demigod and heroic progeny.⁵³⁴ It is unclear how or if this Classical interpretation of Troy would have reached medieval Ireland and the similarities between the Flood and Troy as a divine method of population control may well be entirely coincidental. The Hesiodic idea seems to be found largely in Greek texts, rather than Latin, though we might tentatively postulate the existence of a no longer extant mythography or epitome of various Classical Greek texts that transmitted the information.⁵³⁵ This potential parallel may be further strengthened by the prologue to CC, where the domains of the world are achieved 'a l-los neirt & niachais isin aimsir anall'.⁵³⁶ The idea that strength and warriorship achieved world dominion until the end of the Roman senate with no statement as to their continued importance in the present of the audience implies that such powers may no longer guide the fate of nations.

Brutus and the End of the Republic

This divide between the prior world of warriors and heroes and the world which follows Pharsalia is also marked by a clear contrast made several times in both Lucan and, to a greater extent, in CC between Brutus the founder of the Roman republic and M. Junius Brutus, Pompey's ally at Pharsalia and eventual killer of Caesar. This also

⁵³³ While 'dith 7 díngen' is a relatively common collocation, the pairing with 'ciniud dóenda' is less so outside CC, to judge from attestations provided by eDIL.

⁵³⁴ Hesiod, Fragment 204,95ff. See González, 'The Catalogue' for analysis and edition, taking into account disputed readings. See Clarke, *Achilles beside Gilgamesh*, pp. 151–73 for recent scholarship on the plan of Zeus in a Classical context.

⁵³⁵ The same basic idea can also be found in Scholium on Homer A.5, Plato, *Republic*, II.379e, and Apollodorus, *Epitome*, §3.1, none of which, to my knowledge, were known in medieval Ireland, and, while the medieval Irish had access to a translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, it seems unlikely they had much other Platonic material (Watson, 'Philosophy', p. 103, n. 120). Vergil, *Aeneid*, III.1–3 implies that Troy was destroyed by the gods, but neither Vergil nor Servius's commentary thereon give a reason for the destruction.

⁵³⁶ 'by means of strength and warriorship in former times'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 2–3; trans. adapted).

serves to emphasize the prologue's assertion that the sixth dominion or *flaithius* of the world was the Roman *senate*, rather than the Roman empire, given that the republic was founded by one Brutus and sees its end in the eventual defeat of another by Augustus.⁵³⁷ *Contra* Brent Miles, who notes what he sees as the conflation of Junius Brutus with Brutus the republican founder in both *Don Tres Troí* and CC (l. 4467) and attributes CC's mistake to, 'clumsy working from memory rather than consultation of chronicle or commentary sources', I would argue that in fact CC draws a clear parallel between the two in order to advance its view of world history.⁵³⁸

CC is a deeply complex text that remains profoundly close to Lucan's original dense and often challenging Latin while introducing information from scholia and historiography (including Bede). It is anything but clumsy or reliant merely on memory. It also features three characters named Brutus: Brutus the founder of the republic, Decius Brutus, and Junius Brutus, and the only potential confusion occurs in the one instance that Miles mentions when Junius Brutus is called *primconsul* immediately before the battle of Pharsalia.⁵³⁹ Indeed, CC correctly distinguishes both the founder of the republic and Junius Brutus shortly before this point in the text when the spirit that Erichtho summons from Hades relates that the first Brutus is happy in hell because another Brutus (*Brutus aile*) will soon kill Caesar.⁵⁴⁰ While Lucan states merely that the former Brutus is the only pious shade who rejoices, leaving the reason for his joy implicit, CC explicitly clarifies that this is, 'ar as eisiumh fessin ro cuir Tarquin diumsach a flaithes na Roma, & as e a ua .i. Brutus aile, mairbfis Cesair isin Roim'.⁵⁴¹ Clearly, CC knows which Brutus is which and what roles they played, respectively, in the rise and fall of the Roman republic.

⁵³⁷ In the context of CC's emphasis on the Roman senate, it may also be worth noting that its date of composition roughly lines up with the brief, mid twelfth-century Commune of Rome, nominally founded in the model of the Roman republic; cf. Doran. Around the same time, in 1151–2 Cardinal Giovanni Paparoni was dispatched as papal legate to Ireland; he was originally consecrated a deacon of Sant' Adriano al Foro, a church built in the remains of the Cura Julia, the former meeting place of the Roman Senate; cf. Flanagan, pp. 55, 68. I am grateful to Jesse Harrington for suggesting these possible historical connections.

⁵³⁸ Miles, *Don Tres Troí*, p. 26.

⁵³⁹ Stokes, CC, l. 4467.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., ll. 4245–9.

⁵⁴¹ 'for it is he himself who expelled proud Tarquin from the kingship of Rome, and it is his descendant, another Brutus, who will kill Caesar in Rome'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4247–9; trans. adapted).

Earlier in CC, Junius Brutus is called ‘consul togaidi’.⁵⁴² I would propose that *primconsul* at l. 4467 may be intended to be read together with the earlier ‘consul togaidi’, taking *prim-* as ‘foremost’ or ‘best’ rather than ‘first’, and *togaide* as ‘elect’ as well as ‘elected’. Furthermore, I suspect *primconsul* consciously plays on the associations of *prim-* ‘first’ in order to stress the connection between the first Brutus, who founded the Roman republic and Junius Brutus whose actions, both in engaging in civil war and later in killing Caesar, contribute to its downfall and replacement with the Roman empire under Augustus. This Brutus is a very different sort of warrior than his predecessor and his deeds of strength and warriorship ultimately lead to destruction instead of foundation. He also serves as a clear pivot between republic and empire, much like the battle of Pharsalia itself.

NATURAL HISTORY AND THE MONSTROUS BIRTH OF EMPIRE

The descriptions of apocalyptic flood and Judgment Day are not the only aspects of Lucan’s imagery that CC develops in new directions, nor is Brutus’s eventual assassination of Caesar the only element of Caesar’s biography the CC builds upon to a greater degree than Lucan. As we shall see, CC also turns several of the animals that Erichtho uses in her necromancy into an intertextual meditation on natural history and commentary on Caesar’s birth, the birth of empire, and the advent of the Christian age.

At first glance, the list of the animals that Erichtho uses for her necromancy in CC, ll. 4142–48 appears to be a misunderstanding of *Bellum Civile*, VI.671–73.

Lucan’s original runs as follows:

Viscera non lyncis, non dirae nodus hyaenae
Defuit, et cervi pasti serpente medulla.⁵⁴³

CC, ll. 4142–48 read:

Ni testa fuirri innedha na linche, edhon ceneli nathrach sein, & intan
aipgiges a sotha ina bruinn tescaid a cuilena a bruinn da n-ingnip co
teccait fein & inde a mathar leo triana broinn imach. Ni teastatar fuirri
dano na h-ifne snadmacha, ceneli nathrach sin fasait a smeraiB na m-

⁵⁴² ‘chosen consul’ or ‘consul elect’. (ibid., l. 1087).

⁵⁴³ ‘She did not lack the viscera of a lynx, nor the knot [i.e., spine] of the dreadful hyena, nor the marrow of a stag which had consumed a snake’.

marb, & a n-aittreabh inn adhnaicibh na m-marb dogrés. Is e met a
neime co m-mudaighit na daine do tinfedh a n-anala.⁵⁴⁴

In addition to mistaking the lynx for a type of snake, it initially appears that CC has conflated the hyena and the marrow of the stag fed on snakes, while adding contextual explanation. However, taken together with scholia on Lucan, as well as with Isidore and potentially other Classical authors including Ovid and Pliny (perhaps themselves transmitted via non-extant scholia), a more complicated picture emerges. Rather than a garbled misreading, this passage represents the sophisticated incorporation of learned traditions in order to make sense of a confusing section of Lucan and to enhance its thematic relevance to the larger work. I will begin by analysing the sources and context for the description of the *ifne* and the lynx, and discuss the implications of these translation choices for the narrative as a whole.

The 'ifne'

The mysterious *ifne* is very likely to be a misreading of *hiene*, a variant form of *hyaenae* 'hyena', where a tall form of the first *e* was misread as an *f*.⁵⁴⁵ As Poppe observes, this passage of CC likely takes inspiration from Arnulf of Orléans's *Glossule super Lucanum*:

HIENE animal sepulcra frequentans quod habet tergum enode cuius
nodus si inueniatur monstro ascribe potest, uel ut dicunt serpens est qui
procreator ex nodo spine hominis et dicitur HIENE quasi sine nodo,
sed nodus ex quo nata fuit serpens non defuit.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ 'She lacked not the entrails of the lynx—that is a kind of snake, and when its offspring matures in its womb the younglings cut open the womb with their nails, and they themselves, together with their mother's entrails, come forth through her belly. She lacked not, also, the knotted *ifne*—those are a kind of snake that grow in the marrow of the dead, and their dwelling is always in the tombs of the dead. Such is their virulence that they destroy men who inhale their breath'. (Stokes, CC; trans. adapted).

⁵⁴⁵ eDIL, 's.v. ?ifne', <dil.ie/27235> suggests this may be a misreading for *huipri*, the pl. of *viper*, but I think that a misreading of *hiene/hyaenae* is much more likely given the text of Lucan and the scholia.

⁵⁴⁶ 'HIENE: an animal frequenting tombs, which has a knotless back, whose knot if it exists, can be ascribed to a monster, or, as is said, it is a serpent which is procreated from a knot of a man's spine, and HIENE is said "without knot", as it were, but the knot from which the serpent was brought forth, was not wanting'. (ed. Marti, p. 335; trans. Poppe, 'Scholia', pp. 436–37).

This identification seems sound. However, the matter becomes more complicated when we consider that Arnulf of Orléans also glosses the stag which feeds on snake marrow, a detail which CC replaces with the snakes that spawn from human marrow. Arnulf writes of the stag:

673. CERVI qui quando uetus est utitur serpentibus et fit iuuenis.⁵⁴⁷

The *Commenta Bernensia* scholia on Lucan, material from which Poppe and O'Hogan have demonstrated was used by the redactors of CC, also preserves and clarifies the details about the stag (probably drawing on Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIII.i.18):

673. *Et cervi pasti serpente.* quoniam ceruus cum serpentem comederit iuuenescit, sub tempus quo exuit *cornua*.⁵⁴⁸

As scholia and commentaries are notoriously fluid texts, it is very possible that the Irish redactors of CC were working from a collection of scholia that differed from what is now extant in Arnulf's *Glossule* or the *Commenta Bernensia*.⁵⁴⁹ At the same time, given that two separate surviving collections of scholia comment on this line, we should not uncritically assume that the stag was omitted from CC through ignorance on the part of the redactors instead of conscious authorial intervention. Stags feeding on snakes in order to recover their youth was well-represented in other medieval texts, including Rhygyfarch's *Vita Sancti David*, again leading us to believe that the changes made in CC were intentional.⁵⁵⁰

As noted in a passing footnote by Stokes, the detail that snakes procreate from human spines ultimately goes back to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, XV.389–90, where the sentiment is put in the mouth of Pythagoras:

Sunt qui, cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulcro,
mutari credant humanas angue medullas.⁵⁵¹

Isidore also quotes these lines of Ovid in *Etymologies*, XII.iv.48, so we need not assume that Arnulf or the redactors of CC drew it directly from Ovid. However, in

⁵⁴⁷ 'CERVI: which when it becomes old consumes serpents and becomes young'. (Marti, p. 345).

⁵⁴⁸ 'since a stage grows young again when it eats a snake, before the time in which it loses its horns'. (Usener, p. 213).

⁵⁴⁹ The textual transmission of the anonymous works of scholia contained in the *Commenta Bernensia* and the *Adnotationes super Lucanum* is especially cross-contaminated and obscure, for which see O'Hogan, 'Reading Lucan', p. 22. For Arnulf, see Marti, pp. lx–lxxii.

⁵⁵⁰ Sharpe and Davies, §2.

⁵⁵¹ 'There are those who believe that, in a closed sepulchre, when the spine putrefies, human marrow turns into a snake'.

Metamorphoses, XV.559 (but not in Isidore) Ovid also has Pythagoras mention his snake ‘baculum qui nexibus ambit’, perhaps suggesting another possibility for the ‘knotted *ifne*’ rather than simply a misunderstanding of *nodus*.⁵⁵²

Isidore has little to say about the hyena, but Pliny offers a bit more in *Natural History*, XI.67:

...sed quibus cervix, e multis vertebratisque orbiculatim ossibus
flexilis ad circumspectum articulorum nodis iungitur, leoni tantum et
lupo et hyaenae singulis rectisque ossibus rigens. cetero spinae
adnectitur, spina lumbis, ossea sed tereti structura, per media foramina
a cerebro medulla descendente.⁵⁵³

If Arnulf or the medieval Irish redactors of CC were thinking of Pliny here, or reading a different set of scholia which took Pliny’s information into account, it may explain the conflation of the *nodus* of the hyena with spines and marrow. The transmission of Pliny in early medieval Ireland is opaque, however *Natural History* was certainly known in early medieval England and it is not unreasonable to assume he was also read in Ireland.⁵⁵⁴ Pliny’s comments on the basilisk may also be the source (directly or indirectly) of CC’s claim (notably not present in Arnulf) that the *ifne*’s breath is toxic.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² ‘which winds in knots around my rod’.

⁵⁵³ ‘...but the nape in those, it is joined with many knots of joints and with vertebrae and bones bent circularly for the purpose of looking around. It is rigid with single, straight bones only in the lion and the wolf and the hyena. Furthermore it is connected to the spine, and the spine to the loins, but in a bony, rounded structure, through the hole in the middle of which marrow passes from the brain’. Presumably this is the section of Pliny that Stokes means when he cites ‘Pliny H. N. X.66’ in his footnote to CC, p. 311.

⁵⁵⁴ Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 309–16: Leiden, Uni., bib., Voss. Lat. F 4, containing Pliny’s *Natural History*, II–VI was produced in eighth-century Northumbria. Bede knew several books of Pliny, Alcuin mentions Pliny as among the authors included in the library at York, the Irish scholar Dungall cites Pliny in a letter written on the continent, and Dícuil drew from Pliny in his work *De mensura orbis terrae* of 825. By the twelfth century Pliny was again being read and copied in England.

⁵⁵⁵ Pliny, VIII.33. Classical images of snakes born from human corpses may or may not have contributed to, or found parallels in the death of Méche in the *dindshenchas* of Barrow, whom Dian Cécht or Mac Cécht kills to prevent the snake(s) in his heart from consuming all animals in Ireland. Cf. LL 159b 40; Book of Ballymote 358a, II. 17b; Rennes 95a.2; Rawl. B 506; Gwynn, *Metrical Dindsenchas*, II, p. 67. *Contra* Shaw’s argument for Indo-European inheritance in ‘Indo-European Dragon Slayers’.

The Lynx

The lynx is perhaps more straightforward than the *ifne*, although the central question remains, why did the redactors of CC think that a lynx was a type of snake? Isidore could have told them otherwise.⁵⁵⁶ Whatever the source of the lynx as snake confusion, it is not unique to this text as TTe turns Bacchus's chariot, accompanied by lynxes in *Thebaid*, IV.658–9 into a chariot pulled by poisonous snakes ('nathracha nemnecha').⁵⁵⁷ CC and TTe have close affinities, and it is possible that this detail travelled from one into the other, although it is equally possible it is based on some other scholium or bestiary information.

The description of the lynx in CC, which tears open its mother in order to be born, likely comes from Isidore's description of the viper (*vipera*), probably ultimately drawn from Pliny, X.82. *Etymologies*, XII.iv.10 states:

Vipera dicta, quod vi pariat. Nam et cum venter eius ad partum
ingemuerit, catuli non expectantes maturam naturae solutionem
conrosis eius lateribus vi erumpunt cum matris interitu. Lucanus:
Viperei coeunt, abrupto corpore, nodi.⁵⁵⁸

Nearly all of the quotations in Isidore's discussion of snakes in *Etymologies*, XII.iv come from Lucan, albeit mostly from the section on Lybia in Book IX. This example is from VI.490, which lists the reactions of various wild animals to Thessalian witchcraft.⁵⁵⁹ This brings us back to Erichtho and animals she uses in her necromancy in VI.671–3. The Irish redactors of CC may very well have been reading *Bellum Civile*, VI.671–3 alongside Isidore or scholia based on Isidore. This in turn may have led them right back to Lucan's original text at VI.490.

⁵⁵⁶ *Etymologicae*, XII.ii.20. Both Servius and Lactantius Placidus comment on the lynx in Vergil, *Aeneid*, I.323, *Georgics*, III.264 and Statius, *Thebaid*, IV.658, respectively, but neither commentator indicates that the animal is a snake.

⁵⁵⁷ Calder, TTe, ll. 1726–27.

⁵⁵⁸ 'The viper is so called because it is born by force. For when its womb groans to give birth, the whelps, not waiting for the ripe loosening of nature, by gnawing and force erupt through her sides, with the demise of their mother. Lucan says: "Knotted vipers amass from a broken body"'.
⁵⁵⁹ The *Adnotationes super Lucanum* clarify this line: 'id est incisa anguium membra in corpus iterum revertuntur', which seems to loosely accord with Isidore's image of the mother snake's body gnawed apart. ('That is, the members of snakes having been cut open, into the body again they return', Endt, p. 228). Arnulf says: 'Iterum iuncti per carmina' ('again joined by spells', Marti, p. 338). CC does not directly translate this line of Lucan.

Caesarean Births

The imagery of serpentine birth in CC has larger implications for how the medieval Irish read and interpreted Lucan and how we should read and interpret CC.

The image of snakes bursting through their mother's womb and the connection to Erichtho immediately draws to mind *Bellum Civile*, VI.558–9, which tells us that Erichtho rips unborn children from the womb. It also reminds us that in the prologue, CC inserts a brief digression on Caesar's own birth, cut out of his mother:

Ocus is aire atberthea in t-ainm sin is Césair fris, uair furbaidhe é, & ro tescad brú a máthar ic á tabhairt uaithe. Inunn Césair immorro isin bérla Romhánach & tesctha isin Gaedheilg.⁵⁶⁰

CC even uses the same verb *tescaid* (a simplex secondary formation from *do-esc*) for both Caesar's birth and the birth of the lynx in l. 4143, tying him both to Erichtho's necromancy and to the snakes she uses for her gory rites.⁵⁶¹

Caesar's birth is not mentioned in Lucan, but it is discussed by Pliny and Isidore.⁵⁶² Isidore writes:

Caesarum nomen a Iulio coepit, qui bello civili commoto primus Romanorum singularem optinuit principatum. Caesar autem dictus, quod caeso mortuae matris utero prolatus eductusque fuerit, vel quia cum caesarie natus sit.⁵⁶³

Pliny discusses the first Caesar (Julius Caesar's ancestor), but Isidore assuredly means the later Julius Caesar and links both Caesar and his violent birth to 'bello civili', which an Irish redactor of Lucan almost certainly would have associated with *De bello civili*.

By adding the circumstances of Caesar's birth, CC not only fills in the character's biographical details but also draws a subtle comparison between Caesar,

⁵⁶⁰ 'He was called by the name of Caesar, because he was *furbaide* "excised" and his mother's womb was severed when he was taken from her. Now Caesar in the Roman language is *tesctha* "severed" in Irish'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 108–11).

⁵⁶¹ The verb used when Erichtho cuts babies from the womb is *do-srenga*, but the connection to Erichtho and her unnatural behavior, be it violent ripping of children from the womb or the use of snakes to raise the dead remains. (ibid., l. 3992).

⁵⁶² See Pliny, *Natural History*, VII.9 and Isidore, *Etymologies*, IX.iii.12.

⁵⁶³ 'The name of the Caesars began from Julius, who, after civil war was provoked, first obtained sole rule of the Romans. And it is said Caesar because he was delivered from the womb of his dead mother which had been cut open (*caesus*), or because he was born with long hair (*caesaries*)'. (Isidore, *Etymologies*, IX.iii.12).

Erichtho, and the lynx/viper.⁵⁶⁴ Just as Erichtho rips babies from the womb and serpents gnaw their way out of their mother to be born, so too Caesar was cut out of his own mother, and so he continues to cut apart the Roman republic through violent civil war. As the product of that civil war, the Roman empire is thus born via both literal and figurative Caesarean sections. CC intensifies Lucan's anti-imperialism, implying that the Roman empire which will succeed Pharsalia is both a viper and an unholy offering upon blasphemous altars.

From another perspective, however, the Christian era is born out of the viscera of Pharsalia along with the Roman empire. Pliny claims that Caesarean birth in which the mother dies is auspicious for the child.⁵⁶⁵ For the Christian redactors of CC, concerned with salvation history, it is the Christian world that is gorily cut from the events of Pharsalia and their aftermath, and the pagan past is the dead mother left behind.

By creatively adapting *Bellum Civile*, VI.671–3, CC accomplishes several innovations and offers new readings of Lucan. The *ifne* may have been a simple misreading of *hiene/hyaenae* on the part of redactor and scholiast. However, we should not rule out an intentional reinterpretation since, by introducing the aside that snakes are generated from the spines of dead humans, CC retains the *medulla* of Lucan's snake-fed stag while building thematic cohesion with the lynx/viper. By mistaking the lynx for a type of snake (or again, perhaps consciously rewriting it), CC also draws a parallel between two types of snakes born from death: those that kill their mother to be born and those that spawn from the spines of corpses. More importantly, these changes allow CC to thematically develop Caesarean birth, at once magnifying Lucan's own anti-imperialist sentiment by connecting Caesar and the Roman empire with vipers and necromancy, and introducing a vision of the Christian era, born from bloodshed, and eternal life in heaven, born from earthly death.

IN CATH CATHARDA AND SALVATION HISTORY

The strands I have been developing in this section—a fated battle positioned between republic and empire, senate and destruction, imagery of apocalypse and monstrous birth, and mythological allusions that cross Classical and biblical boundaries—fit into

⁵⁶⁴ Caesar's other connections with Erichtho and *ammaiti* are discussed in Chapter 3.

⁵⁶⁵ Pliny, VII.9.

CC's eschatological presentation of history with reference to various cataclysms driving inexorably towards the apocalypse. CC's specific system of six world dominions is unique to the text, synthesizing elements of Augustine's series of six ages of the world (represented elsewhere in medieval Irish literature, such as in the Irish SAM), Eusebius's synchronistic view of history, and Orosius's succession of world empires, with the four empire scheme found in Jerome and ultimately rooted in Daniel 2.31–40, 7.17.⁵⁶⁶ That it is the Roman *senate*, rather than empire that is the last *flaithius* of 'former times', as noted above, alters Jerome's interpretation of the fourth empire in Daniel as the 'imperium Romanorum'.⁵⁶⁷ This gives CC a new eschatological spin: the civil war ultimately erodes the independent power of the Roman senate, ushering in the reign of emperors. At the same time, the rise of the Roman empire corresponds to the rise of Christianity, especially within the medieval historiographical structure of *translatio imperii*. Indeed, the Sibyl is said to have foretold the eventual 'discailiud in flaithiusa Románaig'.⁵⁶⁸ Lucan's dire 'Cumanae carmina vatis' become implicit prophecies of Christ for CC's Christian author(s) and audience.⁵⁶⁹ According to this reading, the elusive force determining the time and place of the battle and the fall of the Roman senate, which is interpreted by characters in the text as the gods or Fortune, must of course be God. Pharsalia is caught in the space between the destruction of the Roman senate and the kingdom of Christ. While maintaining most of Lucan's text and attitudes towards divine characters (sometimes rearranging or reformulating them to produce a more consistent vision of fate and divinity), and even playing up the infernal aspects of the work, CC manages to not only fit *Bellum Civile* into a Christian framework but to interpret the work as a profoundly Christian text.

⁵⁶⁶ See Ó Cróinín, SAM; Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 2.31–40, 7.2–18 in Glorie, pp. 787, 838–48. See Boyle, 'Biblical History', p. 54, and *History*, pp. 17–19, 125–29 for details of how these interconnected chronological models of history operated in medieval Ireland.

⁵⁶⁷ Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 2.40, 7.7, 18 in Glorie, pp. 787, 838–48.

⁵⁶⁸ 'dispersal of the Roman dominion'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 913–918; trans. adapted).

⁵⁶⁹ 'prophecies of the Cumanaen seer'. (Lucan, I.564). This is apparent especially when they are read through the many late antique and medieval interpretations of the Sibyl's prophecies and Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* as oracles of Christ, including those found in Lactantius's *Divinae Institutiones*, VII.24 (for which see Heck and Wlosok; not to be confused with Lactantius Placidus, the fourth-century author of a commentary on Statius cited elsewhere in this thesis) and Constantine's oration as preserved in some texts of Eusebius's *Life of Constantine* (for which see Winkelmann).

World Empires

The eschatological observations we have made so far may have further significance in the case of CC. We are told shortly before the climactic battle begins that,

Dia friss tra roba derscaightech na daine sin & ro bu ainmesarda a nert & a smacht & a cennacht & a cumachta. Ro bo fortren fata fairsing forlethan, a flaithius & a forlamhas, a nert & a recht & a rigi, intan ro linadh cruinne in talman fotha & an muir ina tmeicill & in nem & an t-aer uaistib do sighnibh & do derbairrdibh a cath & a cosccar, a n-olc & a n-aidedh, agus antan as urgairdiugud menman agus airpeitiud aiccnid la h-uile dainib in domain co coitcend beith icc innisin a scel agus a cosccur agus a n-aided in locta sin doib ina fiadnaisi o sin cusinniu agus as doig ni ba luga bus airpeitiud fos & bus urgairdiugud co bruinne m-bratha agus co forcend in betha.⁵⁷⁰

On some level the ‘urgairdiugud menman agus airpeitiud aiccnid’ is the ‘entertainment and satisfaction’ at a good story well-told, as well as at the implication that, following Pharsalia and the end of the sixth world *flaithius*, Christianity emerges. We might compare this sentiment, balanced between pagan past and Christian present, to an episode in the *Acallam*, where angels instruct Patrick have Caílte’s stories recorded, ‘ór budh gairdiugudh do dronguibh 7 do degdáinibh deridh aimsire éisdecht frisna scéluib sin’.⁵⁷¹ However, the passage in CC also looks forward to the end of the world itself: ‘co bruinne m-bratha agus co forcend in betha’.

The forward-looking eschatological framework in the section of CC quoted above is not out of place when we recall its prologue, where the same phrasing

⁵⁷⁰ ‘By God, those men were distinguished, and their strength and discipline, their headship and power were exceedingly great. Mighty, long, extensive and broad were their dominion and their supremacy, their strength and their right and their kingship, when the globe of the earth under them, and the sea around them, and the sky and the air above them were filled with signs and sure portents of their battles and their slaughters, their misfortunes and their tragic deaths, and since it is entertainment of spirit and satisfaction of nature to all the men of the world in general to be telling of the tales and the slaughters and the tragic deaths of those people in their presence from then until today. And it is likely that this satisfaction and entertainment will not be less till the brink of Doomsday and the end of the world’. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4830–41; trans. adapted).

⁵⁷¹ ‘for the hearing of those stories may be entertainment for crowds and for nobles of later time’. (Stokes, ‘Acallamh’, ll. 301–3).

flaithius 7 forlamhus is applied to the six successive world empires.⁵⁷² As noted above, Daniel's four world empires are usually read by Christian commentators such as Jerome as culminating in the Roman empire. Jerome writes on Daniel 2.40,

Regnum autem quartuni, quod perspicue pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum est quod comminuit et domat omnia. Sed pedes eius et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte sunt fictiles, quod hoc tempore manifestissime comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio.⁵⁷³

And, on Daniel 7.11–12,

Dei iudicium venit propter humiliandam superbiam. Idcirco Romanum delebitur imperium [...] In uno Romano imperio propter Antichristum blasphemantem, omnia simul regna delenda sunt, et nequaquam terrenum imperium erit, sed sanctorum conversatio, et adventus Filii Dei triumphantis, de quo dicitur.⁵⁷⁴

In CC, the Roman senate is positioned in the place of the Roman empire in Daniel and Jerome. The author(s) and copyist(s) of CC were almost certainly familiar with Jerome's commentary, or a commentary tradition based on it, and could not have failed to connect Lucan's 'bellum civile' with Jerome's 'bella civilia', nor missed the connection between Lucan's assertion that more nations than ever before were summoned together the fight at Pharsalia and Jerome's statement that in the Roman empire, all kingdoms will be destroyed together on Judgment Day.

⁵⁷² 'dominion and supremacy'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 1–3).

⁵⁷³ 'Indeed the fourth rule, which clearly pertains to the Romans, is iron, which crumbles and overcomes all. But its feet and toes are part iron and part clay, which is most manifestly demonstrated at this time. For just as there was in the beginning nothing stronger or harder than the Roman empire, accordingly in these last days there is nothing weaker, since we need the help of various barbarian tribes both in our civil wars and against foreign nations'. (Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 2.40 in Glorie, pp. 794–95).

⁵⁷⁴ 'The judgment of God comes through the humbling of pride. For this reason the Roman empire will be destroyed [...] In one Roman empire, all the kingdoms are to be destroyed together, because of the blasphemy of the Antichrist. And that empire shall by no means be an earthly empire at all, but the dwelling of the saints which is spoken of, and the coming of the triumphant Son of God'. (ibid., 7.11–12 in Glorie, p. 847).

Perhaps with Jerome in mind, CC expands upon Lucan's description of the various nations brought together to fight,

[...] unum
Tot reges habuere ducem, coiere nec umquam
Tam variae cultu gentes, tam dissona volgi
Ora [...].
Vincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem.⁵⁷⁵

CC's version includes,

[...] ní ro tinoilead in comlín sin do cinedhaibh in domain lé rígh ele díbh, & ní frith ic sen nó ic senchaid na ic columhain criadh ná a liubhur annálta in comhlín sin do cinedhaibh & do ríghaib do timorcon d'énríg ac frestal éncatha riam, & ní raibhi i n-énlongphort isin domhan ríam in brechtardeliugud ro bui isin longphort sin Poimp do shaine gloir & gotha & gnímha, do shaini gnáthaighi & bés & berla, do shaine ergna & aigenta & inntlechta, do shaine cuma & céme & comairci & do shaine airm & erraidh & écoisc, do shaine athurrdha & crich & cenél.⁵⁷⁶

CC also adds Xerxes to Lucan's list of past hosts that pale before the armies of Pharsalia, which includes Agamemnon and Cyrus.⁵⁷⁷ CC's redactor(s) obviously thought that this description was worth underscoring in typical Middle Irish overstatement and alliterative style.

As we have seen, Lucan's original Latin contains 'variae cultu gentes' and 'dissona volgi ora', however the Irish author(s) of CC may also have had Isidore in mind, who states that *gentes* differ in their 'variae armis, discolores habitu, linguis

⁵⁷⁵ '[Never before] had so many kingdoms had one ruler, did so many peoples united, diverse in culture, were so there many dissonant languages of the throng. Pharsalia presented the world together to be vanquished'. (Lucan, III.287–97).

⁵⁷⁶ '[...] never had there been collected that number of the peoples of the world by any other king from among them. And never was there found with a venerable one or an historian, or on a column of clay, or in a book of annals, that number of peoples and kings controlled by one king awaiting one battle. And never in one camp had there been the medley of distinctions that was in that camp of Pompey, with difference of speech and voice and deed, difference of usages and customs and languages, difference of knowledge and nature and intellect, difference of form and gait and battle-cry, difference of arms and dress and habit, difference of fatherland and country and race'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 1610–18).

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., ll. 1606–09; cf. Lucan, III.284–89.

dissonae'.⁵⁷⁸ Set attributes of various *gentes* were common in early medieval literature, including in such texts as the *Frankish Table of Nations* or *De proprietatibus gentium*, both which enjoyed popularity throughout western medieval Europe and influenced Middle Irish works of historiography.⁵⁷⁹ Most of the ethnographic information in CC derives from Lucan or scholia on Lucan, but its presentation also fits well with larger questions of identity circulating in Ireland and medieval Europe.

One of the key departures from Lucan in this passage is the shift in focus between the claim that so many peoples had never before been gathered together, where the emphasis is on the peoples and their physical presence, and the repeated assertion found in CC that there can be found no records of such, where the emphasis is on the means of memorialization and narrative recitation. According to CC, 'And never was there found with a venerable one or an historian, or on a column of clay, or in a book of annals, that number of peoples and kings controlled by one king awaiting one battle'. This fascination with the recording and retrieval of obscure information also has a wider literary context in medieval Ireland. The physicality of historical writing in CC is reminiscent of the *Acallam*, where Patrick's angels tell him to have Cáilte's stories written down 'i támlorguibh filed' 'on poet's tablets', in a Mosaic manner.⁵⁸⁰ The unknown and difficult nature of the historical material recounted also has parallels with a number of Middle Irish poems including Gilla in Chomded úa Chormaic's *A Rí ríchid, réidig dam*, Flann Mainistrech's and Dublittir úa hUathgaile's poems both entitled *Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim*, and *The Poem of the Forty* and *The Poem of the Fifty Questions*, which attempt to enumerate esoteric information concerning the origins and peoples of the world.

Medieval Irish World History

The prologue to CC quotes from Flann's *Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim*, an eleventh-century collection of seven poems each about one of the seven world empires. The poem opens with the sentiment that enumeration of world kings is notoriously difficult:

⁵⁷⁸ 'variety of arms, different colours of dress and dissonance of language'. (Isidore, *Etymologies*, IX.ii.97).

⁵⁷⁹ See Wadden, 'The Frankish Table of Nations' and his 'The Beauty and Lust of the Gaels'.

⁵⁸⁰ Stokes, 'Acallamh', l. 300.

Rēidig dam, a Dē do nim,
 co hēmīd^h a n-indisin
 uair nachco feilgnīm iar fuin
 senchus de[i]grīg in domuin.

De[i]grīg domuin do thuirim
 nī soraid, nī snēid-s[h]uilig
 do neoch ro thechta cen olc
 meni nearta Noebspirut.⁵⁸¹

CC explicitly aligns itself with Flann’s poem by virtue of the quotation in the prologue, but read beside the passage above, this poem, and other works of the same nature, are implicitly implied to be insufficient sources to describe the extent of the peoples gathered at Pharsalia.

The Poem of the Forty and *The Poem of the Fifty Questions* both pose obscure questions in verse about the people, places, and causes of events in world history, and contain non-metrical explanatory glosses answering these queries. One of the glosses in *The Poem of the Fifty Questions* merits brief discussion here (lines of verse are in normal type and interlinear glosses are in italics):

Cía lín rīg Tibir ria Romal ruidhit filid?
*(.i. fiche rí .i. Ianus Saturnus Punus Latinus Ascanius Silinus Aeneas
 Siluius Latinus Albinus Sil— Egiptus s. Carpentus s. Tiberius Agripa s.
 Arémus s. Anentinus s. Pchas s. Anrelius (sic) s. Munutor.)*
 cía rí dorochair tall tair ic inbir srotha Caphir?
(.i. Iulian Cesair romarbad lasin nAffer ic drochut Inuilb.)⁵⁸²

The tradition that Julius Caesar was killed by the Affer at the bridge of Inulb is largely opaque to me, but clearly the poem engages with the same underlying themes of

⁵⁸¹ ‘Reveal to me, O God from Heaven, their swift recounting, for the history of the goodly kings of the world is no decadent poetic feat (?). For one whom the Holy Spirit may well possess but fortify him not, the enumeration of the world’s kings is not easy, nor readily contrived’. (Mac Airt, I, ll. 1–8, pp. 257–58). Note that these stanzas are not those quoted in CC.

⁵⁸² ‘What is the number of kings of Tiber before Romal [Romulus] of whom the poets speak? (*That is twenty: Ianus, Saturnus, Punus, Latinus, Ascanius, Silinus, Aeneas, Siluius, Latinus, Albinus, Sil, Egiptus, Carpentus, Tiberius, Agripa, Arémus, Anentinus, Pchas [Proca?], Anrelius, Munutor*). Who was the king who fell yonder in the east at the mouth of the River Caphir? (*That is Julius Caesar was killed by the Affer at the bridge of Inulb*)’. (Meyer, ‘Mitteilungen’, §22, p. 237).

Roman rule and pseudohistory as CC.⁵⁸³ Lucan's account of Julius Caesar and CC's adaptation of it were by no means the only historiographical traditions current in medieval Ireland. CC's assertion that no earlier historian or text had described peoples and events like those of Pharsalia should be read not merely as hyperbole, but as engagement with a body of material interested not only in the enumeration of *gentes* and *imperia*, but also with the literary means of that enumeration.

The same passage of CC also focuses on the multitude of languages spoken by the armies of Pharsalia and brings to mind Babel. As seen above, CC expands significantly on Lucan's description of the peoples and languages represented at Pharsalia. It is unlikely that Lucan himself intended any allusion to Babel but medieval Irish readers of Lucan and the redactor(s) of CC likely identified such a resonance. Early medieval sources often conflated Babel with Babylon, including the eleventh-century Irish SAM and several versions of *Sanas Cormaic*.⁵⁸⁴ Babylon could also serve as a typological reflection of Rome for late antique and medieval exegetes, and its destruction by Cyrus was treated as the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy.⁵⁸⁵ CC is certainly interested in both Cyrus and Babylon elsewhere. In a later stanza of Flann's *Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim* (although not one quoted in CC), Daniel's prophecy is explicitly completed by Cyrus's destruction of Babylon:

Ro fírad co fedba fēig
fāithsine delbda Danēil
la Cir na comrath cen chlōd;
la[i]s ro toglad Babilōn.⁵⁸⁶

The prologue of CC also includes an elaborate description of Babylon, drawn from Orosius, II.6, where a nearly identical description appears in the context of Cyrus's conquest of the city.⁵⁸⁷ Given that Lucan mentions Cyrus shortly before the 'dissonant languages' spoken by the armies of Pharsalia, it would not be difficult for a medieval

⁵⁸³ An *Afer* who is the descendent of Abraham and namesake of Africa appears in a Middle Irish narrative in the Book of Ballymore, for which, see Boyle, *History*, pp. 170–71. *Inulb* may refer to the city or region of Idlib in modern-day Syria, although it is not near a river. كافر *kafīr* simply means 'village' in Arabic; compare Aramaic *kāpārā* and Hebrew כפר *kṗār*.

⁵⁸⁴ Boyle, *History*, p. 120; *Sanas Cormaic*, B.96, M.89, and Y.116.

⁵⁸⁵ Boyle, *History*, p. 119.

⁵⁸⁶ 'Daniel's prophecy from these forms was splendidly and acutely fulfilled by unconquered Cyrus of the many gifts: by him Babylon was destroyed'. (Mac Airt, II, ll. 309–12, pp. 26–27).

⁵⁸⁷ Stokes, CC, ll. 15–22, pp. 2–5.

Irish redactor to connect the language with Babel, and Cyrus with Babylon. A roughly contemporaneous twelfth-century poem from the Book of Uí Mhaine on the *dindshenchas* of Babylon accords the city's building to 'sluaig in talman imasech'.⁵⁸⁸ The idea that 'each host of the world' built Babylon mirrors CC's assertion that Pharsalia represented the greatest gathering of hosts from all corners of the world. The fall of Babylon as type for the eventual destruction of Rome and the ascendancy of the heavenly Jerusalem also fits well with Jerome's commentary on Daniel, discussed above.

Revelation

Accepting that the author(s) of CC knew Jerome's commentary on Daniel, or something like it, we have a comparison between Daniel/Jerome's fourth empire and the Roman empire. However, CC has *six* world dominions, not four. On the one hand, this is no doubt a reflection of the Augustinian six ages of the world. On the other, it may also have resonances with Revelation. Daniel's four empires are represented by four beasts. For Christian readers, the beasts in Daniel would be typological reflections of the beasts in Revelation. Revelation quotes widely from the Old Testament and the descriptions of the Dragon and the Beast in Revelation 12.3 and 13.1–8 specifically allude to the description of the four beasts in Daniel 7.2–8. These analogues for Daniel's beasts, the Dragon and the Beast in Revelation, have seven heads, just as the prologue of CC mentions six world dominions, plus implicitly a seventh age to follow the end of the Roman senate.⁵⁸⁹ This seventh age presumably represents the Kingdom of Heaven. Additional world ages beyond those outlined by Augustine are not uncommon in medieval Irish thought.⁵⁹⁰

In Revelation, the angel also tells John, 'Septem capita, septem montes sunt, super quos mulier sedet, et reges septem sunt. Quinque ceciderunt, unus est, et alius nondum venit: et cum venerit, oportet illum breve tempus manere [...] Et mulier,

⁵⁸⁸ 'each of the hosts of the earth'. (Boyle, *History*, pp. 141–42).

⁵⁸⁹ Revelation 12.3, 13.1.

⁵⁹⁰ Boyle, 'Biblical History', p. 55 notes that, 'In the Rawlinson B 502 version of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* there is material on the future ages: the seventh age between death and judgment, and the eighth age, the time beyond time, the eternity of heaven or hell'. See also Miller.

quam vidisti, est civitas magna, quæ habet regnum super reges terræ'.⁵⁹¹ Modern biblical scholars have taken these seven mountains to refer to the seven hills of Rome and the woman to be Rome herself, perhaps as a typological reflection of Babylon, and there is no reason medieval Irish exegetes could not have done the same.⁵⁹² This kind of numerological and typological thinking was not foreign to medieval thought, nor was it unfounded upon earlier exegetical models. The Revelation-based interpretations outlined here are highly speculative and I offer them merely in passing as a possible development of CC's synchronism of Augustinian ages with Orosian empires. At the very least, this kind of eschatological resonance likely occurred to an Irish reader already focused on the text's earlier allusions to biblical cataclysms, including the flood, Babylon/Babel, and judgment day itself.

It should be noted that there is some dispute as to how many world empires there are in various versions of the Irish SAM, Flann's *Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim*, and different manuscripts of CC itself. TCD MS 1298 lists six, RIA MS D.iv.2 also has six (although it specifies the Roman senate as *in ceathramadh* 'the fourth' despite it being listed sixth), and UCD Franciscan MS A17 has four. This discrepancy may undermine the speculative idea proposed above that CC's six world dominions parallel the heads of the Beast in Revelation, but it is still possible that the manuscripts with six instead of four represent a tradition that reflects this interpretation. Regardless of whether the number of dominions typologically parallel Revelation, however, either number (four or six) has strong ties to Jerome and Daniel and to various late antique and medieval approaches to syncretizing chronological models of world history.

Nero

There may also be eschatological implications to the fact that CC removes Lucan's opening praise of Nero and replaces it with a pseudohistorical prologue. Much ink has been spilt over the putative identities of the sixth and seventh kings mentioned in the passage of Revelation quoted above and Nero has been suggested for the sixth

⁵⁹¹ 'The seven heads are the seven mountains upon which the woman sits, and they are the seven kings. Five have fallen, one is, and another has not yet come: and when he comes, it is necessary that he remains for a brief time [...] And the woman, who you saw, is the great city, which has rule over the kings of the earth'. (Revelation 17.9–10, 18).

⁵⁹² For modern theological interpretations, see Aune, p. 944–95; Koester, p. 677.

(depending on how Roman emperors are counted).⁵⁹³ Multiple late antique writers also suggested that Nero was the Antichrist or prefigured his coming.⁵⁹⁴ Sulpicius Severus twice mentions Nero in the context of the Antichrist. In the *Dialogues*, Sulpicius quotes a Gaul claiming that Nero and the Antichrist will divide the world between them (Nero taking the West, Antichrist the East), after which the Antichrist will overthrow Nero.⁵⁹⁵ In *Chronicorum*, he relates that some believe Nero will come before the Antichrist ('ipsum ante Antichristum venturum').⁵⁹⁶ Jerome's commentary on Daniel also states, 'multi nostrorum putant ob saevitiae et turpitudinis magnitudinem, Domitium Neronem Antichristum fore'.⁵⁹⁷ Both Sulpicius Severus and Jerome were well-known in medieval Ireland and it is difficult to imagine that Nero's reputation both as the first great Christian persecutor and as the Antichrist (or at least an Antichrist-like figure) was not in the minds of the author(s) of CC when they removed Lucan's opening praise and replaced it with the pseudohistorical prologue.⁵⁹⁸

It is very possible that the redactor(s) of CC also knew that Nero had caused Lucan's forced suicide, as the event is mentioned in Statius's *Silvae*, II.7, a manuscript witness of which contains errors reflecting an insular transmission.⁵⁹⁹ Middle Irish works such as TTe and the *Achilleid* material also attest to the presence of the rest of Statius's corpus in medieval Ireland. The removal of Lucan's opening praise of Nero may have been done primarily to bring the text within a more universal model of biblical and world history, but there are many possible additional reasons for this choice as well. A medieval Christian redactor of *Bellum Civile* could hardly praise the man who put Peter, Paul, and Lucan himself to death, and who was recognized by patristic commentators including those as authoritative as Jerome as a potential Antichrist. Thematically, the Irish redactor(s) also likely recognized (as do most modern scholars of Lucan) that the events and tone of *Bellum Civile* are profoundly anti-imperial, clashing uncomfortably with the panegyric to the emperor

⁵⁹³ Aune, pp. 946–95.

⁵⁹⁴ See Malik, *The Nero-Antichrist* for analysis and historical overview of Nero as Antichrist.

⁵⁹⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues*, 2.14 (PL 20, cols. 211–12).

⁵⁹⁶ Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicorum*, 2.28 (PL 20, col. 144D).

⁵⁹⁷ 'many of our perspective think that because of the magnitude of his cruelty and infamy, Domitius Nero will be the Antichrist'. (Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 11.28–30 in Glorie, p. 920).

⁵⁹⁸ See Máire Herbert, 'The Life of Martin of Tours' for continued interest in and use of Sulpicius Severus in twelfth-century Ireland.

⁵⁹⁹ Reynolds, pp. 397–99.

that opens Lucan's work. The omission of Nero from CC thus speaks not only to how the medieval Irish redactor(s) and readers viewed the events of the narrative within the larger framework of salvation history, but also to the range of intertextual relationships which may have shaped their understanding of the work.⁶⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

CC is perhaps the subtlest of the Classical adaptations in retaining the most of the original Latin text (especially regarding supernatural and pagan details) while deeply altering its message and interpretation. Read through the lens of Christian exegesis and eschatology, the narrative is entirely transformed: civil war is not merely a horror so great that the Classical gods themselves wish to look away, as in Lucan, but a cataclysm on a par with the end of the world in biblical tradition. Roman defeat at Pharsalia will be reshaped as Roman—and indeed universal—triumph under Christianity.

It is worth noting a closing disjunction in the text. At the end of CC, the text claims that the Romans skim over the details of the battle in an effort to prevent further familial strife:

[...] ro facesatt auctair na Roman ocus lucht cummae in sceoil-si
comraic an cathu can a n-aisneis ocus gan a n-innisin, co suaicnidh. Is
tre cell & tre comairli dano ro faccsat na h-auctair cetnu righpersannu
na Roman can suaicintugudh a n-gnimradh isin cath, fobith na bad
leabur cuimnighthi folad da clannaibh daneis an scél-su, na ro eirged
misceais ocus miduthracht ina cridhibh etarru fein, intan atcluinfitis a
n-aithri ocus a m-braithri do commarbad araili i comraictib in cathae
sae.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰⁰ For potentially loosely similar stylistic approaches to minimizing authorial subjectivity in TTe, see Briggs, 'Removing the Muses'.

⁶⁰¹ '[...] the Roman authors and the framers of this story left the combats of the battle in particular without relating and recounting them. Through prudence and design the same authors left the royal persons of the Romans without making known their deeds in the battle, lest this story might be a book of rancorous memories to their children after them, and cause hatred and ill will to arise in their hearts among themselves when they should hear that their fathers and their brothers killed one another in the combats of this battle'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 6159–67).

This seems to contrast with the text's earlier assertion that 'all the men of the world in common' rejoice at the bloody details of the story 'from then until later'.⁶⁰² How can the two be reconciled? The Romans of CC are trapped at the end of the pagan era as the events of the narrative occur shortly before the birth of Christ; thus, they have nothing to rejoice at and must suffer familial shame. The audience of both CC and Lucan's original poem, however, occupy the Christian world (as much as this may have been irrelevant for most of Lucan's early readers), and may take joy in looking forward to impending judgment and the Kingdom of Heaven. The mysterious and often opaque forces of Fate and the Classical gods at work in Lucan's poem require standardization, both for internal consistency and for a Christian audience. CC accomplishes this feat by bringing them in line with an intricate and sophisticated portrayal of salvation history, drawing from multiple models of world history. For CC, Pharsalia falls not just between the Roman senate and the Christian era, but also between the flood and judgment day. 'In cath catharda' is a far greater conflict occupying a larger cosmic stage than the 'bellum civile' it adapts.

⁶⁰² Ibid., ll. 4836–41.

CHAPTER 6

OTHERWORLDLY CHARACTERS BEYOND THE CLASSICAL ADAPTATIONS

Exploring the structure and implications of salvation history in the Classical adaptations such as CC highlights the broader significance of universal chronology and typology across the medieval Irish literary corpus. This chapter will turn to non-Classical Otherworldly beings in texts beyond the Classical adaptations. It questions how *interpretatio* of the Classical gods may have influenced supernatural characters in medieval Irish literature more generally, and how these literary works fit into a framework of universal history, as outlined in the preceding two chapters. I will present two primary case studies that highlight the ways in which Classical syncretism allowed medieval Irish authors writing about the pre-Christian past to connect Irish prehistory to world history. The first case study will consist of an analysis of the motif of magically-induced thirst in TBDD, CMT, *Cath Maige Tuired Cunga* ('The First Battle of Mag Tuired'; CMTC), and Statius's *Thebaid*. The second case study will address potential Ovidian influence in TE as well as wider Classical affinities present in the text. From these specific examples, a new approach towards Classical influence develops—one that focuses on narrative affinity and thematic influence rather than literal quotation and direct borrowing of characters or plots. The background to these textual relationships is an idea of salvation-oriented world history, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, in which events and characters in different cultures could be linked due to chronological position and typological significance. As a result, a picture emerges of the broader learned context in which early medieval Irish texts interacted with and received Classical mythology.

FROM MAG NAÍ TO THEBES:

MAGICAL THIRST IN STATIUS AND MEDIEVAL IRISH LITERATURE

Both case studies have been specifically chosen because they allow us to think about directions of influence and the growth of literary traditions. The question of Classical (and other non-Irish) influence on Irish literary traditions has long been a battleground of nativist vs non-nativist scholarship, as has the problem of what similarities between Classical Greco-Roman and Irish traditions constitute shared Indo-European inheritance as opposed to medieval borrowing from Classical literature. Miles has

discussed these issues at length in relation to portrayals of heroes and heroism in TTr and TBC.⁶⁰³ As I will argue here, these conflicting attitudes are also particularly evident in the critical discussion of TBDD.

Eleanor Knott opens the introduction to her 1936 edition of TBDD by stating, ‘TBDD is of all the older Irish sagas that of the greatest literary interest. It is a native epic, uninfluenced in its general conception by foreign models’.⁶⁰⁴ At first glance, one might agree with her assessment. Among other motifs and thematic elements, TBDD shares an episode in which magical thirst is conjured upon a king and all the waters of Ireland dry up, with another major work of medieval Irish literature CMT and its later, derivative work, CMTC. All three texts are composite works, representing developing interests and literary style over the Middle Irish period; sections of TBDD and CMT date to the ninth century, while their current versions exist in eleventh-century redactions. CMTC is significantly later; its events are seemingly represented for the first time in *The Poem of the Forty Questions* at the end of the eleventh century, and the likely late twelfth- or thirteenth-century Middle Irish prose narrative postdates the poem.⁶⁰⁵ Despite this rich and complex textual history, all three narratives, and especially TBDD and CMT, have been seen by scholars as conservative testaments to archaic Irish beliefs and practices. Knott’s assertion has largely been upheld in subsequent scholarship although Ralph O’Connor has recently examined biblical and Classical parallels within TBDD.⁶⁰⁶ While O’Connor discusses potential Classical influences on the text’s use of the so-called ‘watchman device’ and ekphrastic style, he accepts the former largely as convergent cultural evolution and concedes, ‘It is especially difficult to identify specific classical allusions in the *Togail*’.⁶⁰⁷ CMT has similarly been seen as an reflex of Indo-European theomachy, which preserves ancient and unchanging traditions by scholars such as Dumézil, Puhvel, and Gray.⁶⁰⁸ This has been challenged by John Carey, who sees the ninth-century core of the work as a possible response to contemporaneous Viking raids and points to its eleventh-century pseudohistorical prologue drawn from LGÉ as evidence for wider historical

⁶⁰³ Miles, *Heroic Saga*, pp. 7–14, 145–93.

⁶⁰⁴ Knott, TBDD, p. ix.

⁶⁰⁵ Williams, *Ireland’s Immortals*, p. 145, n. 51.

⁶⁰⁶ O’Connor, *Destruction*, pp. 228–86.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 236–43.

⁶⁰⁸ Dumézil *apud* Ó Cathasaigh, ‘*Cath Maige Tuired* as Exemplary Myth’, p. 8; Gray, CMT, p. 1; Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, pp. 177–81.

and literary connections.⁶⁰⁹ Mark Williams has also expressed skepticism as to some of the alleged Indo-European inheritance of the tale.⁶¹⁰ This section will examine the specific episodes of magical thirst in each text and propose Classical literary origins for the motif, representing medieval Irish creative engagement within a larger intellectual milieu.

In TBDD, the episode occurs at the end of the battle, when all of the drink and water in the burning *bruiden* is used in an attempt to put out the fire. The king in the narrative, Conaire Mór is then seized by a magically-induced thirst and sends his retainer Mac Cécht to find him a drink of water. Mac Cécht at first refuses, but is eventually able to fill Conaire's golden cup from Uarán Garad on Mag nAí after all the other waterways of Ireland have hidden themselves from him. He brings the water back to Conaire but returns too late, just in time to see the king being beheaded. Mac Cécht pours a drink for Conaire's severed head, which recites a poem and dies. The version of TBDD in the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL) gives the following account of the cause of the thirst:

‘Bid gair uair dossum’, or na druid ro bátar immalli frisna
díbergachaib. Ba hé milliud sòn do-bertadar conid-rogaib roluigi
dighi.⁶¹¹

The versions of the episode in RIA MS D.iv.2 and the composite recension of TBDD in London, British Library MS Egerton 1782 are substantially similar, although D.iv.2 specifies that the enemy druids inflict the thirst *a ndraidecht* ‘through druidry’, an element only implied in the other versions.⁶¹² That the thirst episode is important to the overall literary presentation of the tale is affirmed by the closing words of the recension found in YBL, where, as O'Connor observes, Conall states that he gave

⁶⁰⁹ Carey, ‘Myth and Mythography in *Cath Maige Tuired*’.

⁶¹⁰ Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, pp. 109, 111. Cf. Thurneysen, ‘Das Gedicht’, §11, p. 132.

⁶¹¹ “‘There will be a short time to him [i.e., he has little time left]”, said the druids who were together with the raiders. This was the destruction they brought, so that a great lack of drink seized him’. (Knott, TBDD (YBL), ll. 1419–21, p. 42; my trans.). The versions in RIA MS D.iv.2 and the composite recension in London, British Library MS Egerton 1782 are substantially similar; for which, see Knott, TBDD, §144, p. 66 and Stokes, ‘The Destruction of Dá Derga’s Hostel’, §144, p. 315, respectively.

⁶¹² See Knott, TBDD, §144, p. 66 for the reading in D.iv.2, and Stokes, ‘The Destruction of Dá Derga’s Hostel’ §144, p. 315 for Egerton 1782.

‘drinks of death’ (*deoga tondaig*) to many during the fighting, resonating with (or perhaps even punning on) Conaire’s earlier lack of drink.⁶¹³

CMT features a somewhat less dramatic thirst episode. During the preparations for battle, the cupbearer of the Tuatha Dé Dannan (TDD) lists his supernatural abilities to Lug:

Imcomaircidh dano den deogbori cíá cumagg conánocair. Atbert-side
dobéradh dá prímlloch déc na hÉrenn ina fiadnoisi & ní fugbidis uisce
indtib, cid íotae not-gabad. At íad-sou éat-side .i. Dercloch, Loch
Lumnig, Loch n-Orbsen, Loch Rí, Loch Mescdhae, Loch Cúan, Loch
Láeig, Loch nEchach, Loch Febail, Loch Dechet, Loch Ríoch,
Márloch. Aross-cích(er)sit do díb prímaibnib déc ina hÉrenn .i. Búas,
Bóann, Banna, Nem, Laí, Sinond, Múaid, Sligech, Samaír, Fionn,
Ruirthech, Siúir, & decélaigter ar Fomorib ulie cona foighbid bando
indtib. Targébu deogh firu Érenn ce bet go cenn secht mbliadnae isin
cath.⁶¹⁴

CMTC presents the episode and its explanation as part of the action of the battle between the TDD and the Fir Bolg:

Rogabh robhar itan in t-airdrigh 7 imarcraid sgisi a haithli na himlaide
imchene. Tabair Sreng chugainn, ar Eochaid. Tugadh. Cungaibh an
cath 7 Slaingi Finn, ar Eochaid, gu ndeachaind d’iarraidh m’aindigi 7
innuaraighthi mh’aighthi uair ni [f]uilgimin shoidethbhir itan a fuilim.
[...] Otchonncadur draithi Tuath nDe Danann righ 7 Erenn isin allscoth

⁶¹³ Knott, TBDD, ll. 1537–39, p. 46. Cf. O’Connor, *Destruction*, p. 222. O’Shea, ‘The Drink of Death’ has noted that in Irish ‘drink of death’ is a kenning for blood.

⁶¹⁴ ‘Then he asked the cupbearer what power he wielded. He answered that he would bring the twelve chief lochs of Ireland into their presence [of the Fomoiré] and they would not find water in them, however thirsty they were. These are the lakes: Lough Derg, Lough Luimnig, Lough Corrib, Lough Ree, Lough Mask, Strangford Lough, Belfast Lough, Lough Neagh, Lough Foyle, Lough Gara, Loughrea, Marlóch. They would proceed to the twelve chief rivers of Ireland—the Bush, the Boyne, the Bann, the Blackwater, the Lee, the Shannon, the Moy, the Sligo, the Erne, the Finn, the Liffey, the Suir—and they would all be hidden from the Fomoiré so they would not find a drop in them. But drink will be provided for the men of Ireland even if they remain in battle for seven years’. (Gray, CMT, ll. 318–27; trans. adapted).

itan a raibe, do cheledur srotha 7 aibne Erend fair co riacht co Traig
Éothoile.⁶¹⁵

Eochaid subsequently dies in battle.

Of the three episodes presented here, the one in TBDD has drawn the most critical attention. The scene has primarily been interpreted in light of sovereignty motifs. O'Connor, drawing on the work of Máire Herbert and Máire Bhreathnach writes,

[Conaire's] thirst is inflicted as a deliberate strategy by enemy druids, but like Ingcél they have become the tools of the Otherworld's retribution.... In this light Conaire's thirst reflects the failure of his rule and the Otherworld's withdrawal of sovereignty from him. The drink which should have been gladdening his people has been used up in putting out the fires, just as Conaire's kingly energies—which should have been directed to maintaining peace and justice in his realm—are now spent in fighting enemies whose arrival is the indirect result of his own failure'.⁶¹⁶

We should be wary of identifying too many aspects of medieval Irish narrative as figures of sovereignty or sovereignty motifs at the expense of considering literary agency and wider intellectual influences, as Greg Toner has rightly observed.⁶¹⁷ The episode could still be seen as a subversion of the 'drink of sovereignty'; however, it is unlikely that this is all the narrative is trying to accomplish or the only influence at work.

Connell Monette and Ralph O'Connor have more promisingly compared the episode in TBDD with II Samuel, 23.14–17, where David is struck by thirst while fighting against the Philistines.⁶¹⁸ Three of David's warriors break into the Philistine

⁶¹⁵ 'After this long-continued effort the high-king [Eochaid] was overcome by great weariness and excess of thirst. 'Bring Sreng to me', Eochaid said. That was done 'You and Slainge the Fair', said Eochaid, 'must maintain the fight till I go in search of a drink, and to bathe my face, for I cannot endure this consuming thirst'. [...] When the Tuatha Dé Danann's druids saw how the king of Ireland was suffering from a burning thirst, they hid from him all the streams and rivers of Ireland till he came to the strand of Eothail'. (Fraser, CMTC, §§532–34, pp. 48–51.)

⁶¹⁶ O'Connor, *Destruction*, p. 211. Cf. Herbert, 'Goddess and King' and Bhreathnach, 'The Sovereignty Goddess', pp. 257–58. See also Tymoczko, *Translation*, p. 201.

⁶¹⁷ Toner, *Manifestations*.

⁶¹⁸ Monette *apud* Dooley, *Playing the Hero*, p. 251, n. 36; O'Connor, *Destruction*, p. 263.

camp and return with water, which David subsequently dedicates to the Lord, instead of drinking himself. If the episode in TBDD is drawing from the Bible, it adds a magical source of the thirst, which is not specified in II Samuel, and accords its origins to the supernatural agents of the enemy, as is also the case with CMT's cupbearer and CMTC's druids. O'Connor notes that the thirst motif in II Samuel is 'of no more than incidental importance to the larger story' rather than being 'fully integrated' into the structure of the narrative, as in TBDD.⁶¹⁹ It is worth bearing II Samuel in mind, but we may wish to look elsewhere for more striking analogues, namely to Statius's *Thebaid*.

In *Thebaid*, IV.678–738, Bacchus, who supports his birth city Thebes against the Greeks, afflicts the invading Argive army with thirst. According to Statius,

undarum vocat ille deas mediusque silentum
incipit: 'agrestes fluviorum numina Nymphae
et nostri pars magna gregis, perferte laborem,
quem damus. Argolicos paulum mihi fontibus amnes
stagnaque et errantes obducite pulvere rivos,
praecipuam Nemeen, qua nostra in moenia bellis
nunc iter.'⁶²⁰

There follows a lengthy description of the effects of the drought on the land of Argos and on the Argive host, including,

Ergo nec ardentes clipeos vectare nec artos
thoracum nexus—tantum sitis horrida torret—
sufficiunt: non ora modo angustisque perusti
faucibus, interior sed vis quatit, aspera pulsu
corda, gelant venae, et siccis cruor aeger adhaeret
visceribus.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ O'Connor, *Destruction*, p. 263.

⁶²⁰ '[Bacchus] called the watery gods, and in the midst of Their silence, began: "Nymphs of the wild, powers Of the rivers, and the greater part of my host, Complete this work I give you faithfully. Choke the Argive Springs, and rivers, the swamps, and wandering streams With dust, for me, for a little time. In Nemea, most of all, In which war now moves against my walls [...]'"'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, IV.683–89).

⁶²¹ 'Thus they no longer had sufficient strength to bear blazing shields, Or the tightly bound breastplates (the horrible thirst

Eventually, the Argives encounter Hypsipyle, who guides them to the Langia, the only river that Bacchus has not caused to dry up.

Common motifs between all the episodes include a magical thirst before or during a battle caused by supernatural agents representing Otherworldly or divine displeasure and the concealment of waterways (save one in Statius, TBDD, and CMTC). In Statius, TBDD, and CMTC, a thirsty king sends someone to bring him a drink or goes himself to find one, but dies in battle sometime later even though the drink is procured. One could argue that Polynices's death fighting his brother Eteocles happens much later than the death of Conaire in TBDD or Eochaid in CMTC, but close narrative and thematic similarities remain. I will now address three elements of the magical thirst episodes in turn: the supernatural origins of the thirst, the death of a child as a result of the search for water, and the interfamilial nature of the larger conflict. My analysis will focus primarily on the parallels between Statius and TBDD, although I will also discuss CMT and CMTC. Finally, I will include the version of Statius's magical thirst episode as it appears in TTe, which illustrates how a Classical motif could enter Irish literary culture, circulate within various vernacular tales, and ultimately return to impact the Irish adaptation of the original Classical text. This will allow a discussion of directions of influence and the agency of individual adaptors of Classical material and redactors of existing Irish narratives.

The Origins of the Thirst

In Statius the supernatural agents of a god, Bacchus, who intervene on behalf of Thebes against its enemies, hide all the waters of the land except one river and inflict thirst upon an opposing army. Most of the Irish texts attribute the magical thirsts to the powers of druids. In TBDD, it is Ingcél's druids, part of the raiding party lead by Conaire's Mór's banished foster brothers, who inflict thirst upon Conaire. TBDD does not explicitly state that the waters of Ireland have dried up as a result of these druids' magic, but the implication is either that the druids are responsible, or that the concealed waters represent Otherworldly retribution for earlier events, such as those described in TE and Conaire's poor judgment in banishing his foster brothers. In

parched so). Not only did their mouths and constrained throats
Burn, but an inner assault afflicted them: hearts were uneven
In pulse, veins congealed, diseased
Blood adhered to dry viscera'. (ibid., IV.723–28).

CMT and CMTC, it is clear that the cupbearers or druids of the TDD have hidden the waters from the Fomorians or Fir Bolg, respectively. The cupbearer in CMT is not explicitly called a ‘druid’, but is mentioned between a *corrguine* ‘sorcerer’ and a *druí* in the list of battle preparations. In the *Thebaid*, Bacchus calls upon the Nymphs (*Nymphae*) and deities of the water (‘undarum deas’, ‘numina fluviorum’). These are not quite druids, but they are supernatural beings associated with and obeying the commands of a deity.

TTe follows the passages of Statius quoted above very closely, with one exception. In the Irish version, Hypsipyle explains to the Greeks that the druids have spared the Langia, ‘7 [ni] rochuindig druidi do thragad ar met is coiserctha é’.⁶²² A comparable explanation is not provided in Statius. While TTe, dating to the twelfth century, is too late a text to have influenced the thirst motif as it appears in TBDD and CMT, it is evidence for the continuing resonance of such episodes. If Statius’s *Thebaid* influenced the thirst episodes in TBDD and CMT, perhaps their versions of the episode in turn resonated with the twelfth-century Irish redactors of Statius (who themselves may have recognized the motif as originally coming from Statius). CMTC is late enough that it could have been influenced by any of the earlier texts.

The Death of a Child

A further parallel between Statius and TBDD involves the death of a child when the individual minding the child is sent to find water. In the *Thebaid*, the nursemaid Hypsipyle leaves Opheltes/Archemorus behind when she takes the Argives to drink from the Langia. While she is gone, a giant serpent, sacred to Jupiter, crushes Opheltes.⁶²³ Hypsipyle and Opheltes’s biological parents mourn. The Argives kill the serpent and hold funeral games for the child.⁶²⁴ In TBDD, we have another episode where a child dies as the result of the quest for water. Mac Cécht takes Conaire’s son, Lé fri Flaith, with him when he goes in search of water, placing him ‘foo ochsail’, or

⁶²² ““and druids have not sought to dry it up inasmuch as it is consecrated””. (Calder, TTe, ll. 1782–83).

⁶²³ Statius, *Thebaid*, IV.499–587.

⁶²⁴ This basic narrative of Opheltes’s death while Hypsipyle shows the Greeks water can also be found in Hyginus, *Fabulae*, §74 and the Second Vatican Mythographer, §164 although without any details as to the supernatural origins of the thirst or concealment of waters.

‘under his armpit’.⁶²⁵ When Mac Cécht finally finds water in Uarán Garad on Mag nAí, ‘do-beir lán a chúaich de usci as & docher an mac foa choimb’.⁶²⁶ In the process of the search for water, the boy becomes trapped against Mac Cécht’s breast, under his armpit, where he cannot withstand the heat. After Mac Cécht returns to the *bruiden* to give Conaire’s head his drink and rout the enemy, the hero collapses on the battlefield (where in some recensions of TBDD he dies). According to the version found in *Lebor na hUidre*, he slays a wolf that has stuck its head and shoulders into his copious wounds, and, ‘At-bath dano Lé fri Flaith mac Conaire fó oxail Meic Cécht. & ro leg bruth & allus in miled hé’.⁶²⁷ The two boys perish in very different ways, but both result from neglect during a search for water, after a strikingly similar magical thirst.

Ironically, in the *Thebaid* the Langia is sacred (and thus spared from drought by Bacchus) precisely because of its later associations with Opheltes and the Nemean games, held in honor of dead boy.⁶²⁸ Statius’s narrative anachronism tightens the episode’s dramatic tension and reveals the extent to which the Olympian gods and fate rule the characters’ actions. The death of Lé fri Flaith in TBDD, by contrast, seems to be almost a rude parody, especially coming as it does in the same sequence as Mac Cécht’s dismissal of the wolf that is shoulders-deep in the hero’s wound as a ‘gnat’. Lé fri Flaith’s death, dissolved in Mac Cécht’s sweat, may be bizarre, but it also has narrative implications: Conaire’s destruction and defeat is so thorough that he leaves no heir behind. Lé fri Flaith’s death is also mentioned in the *dindshenchas* of Rath Cnámrossa (in the Book of Leinster and elsewhere), where it is Mac Cécht’s body heat and blood, rather than sweat, that overwhelms and drowns him.⁶²⁹ That Lé fri Flaith’s death appears in the *dindshenchas* as well as in the *Lebor na hUidre* recension of TBDD may indicate it was a widely-known tale. This does not rule out Statian influence, but it requires viewing such influence as part of a larger, inter-textual tradition. Even if we do not assume the death of Lé fri Flaith was originally

⁶²⁵ Knott, TBDD, I. 1448, p. 43.

⁶²⁶ ‘he brought his full cup of water out of it, and the boy fell under his breast [or, mantle, protection]’. (ibid., II. 1468–9, p. 44).

⁶²⁷ ‘Then Lé fri Flaith, son of Conaire, died under Mac Cécht’s armpit, and the warrior’s heat and sweat had dissolved him’. (*Lebor na hUidre*, fol. 98b19–21; trans. adapted from Stokes, §§160–1 (cf. Knott, TBDD, p. 45, n. 2)).

⁶²⁸ Statius, *Thebaid*, IV.716–22.

⁶²⁹ Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, III, §17, pp. 128–33; Stokes, ‘The Prose Tales in the Rennes *Dindshenchas*’, §31, pp. 333–34.

based on Statius, the scene's positioning in TBDD as part of the magical thirst episode, integrally tied to the narrative structure, may owe something to the Classical text.⁶³⁰

Familial Conflict

Another crucial thematic similarity between the *Thebaid* and TBDD is the conflict between brothers. This thematic resonance may have influenced the authors of TBDD to draw from Statius. The fact that in TBDD, the raiders are Conaire's *foster* brothers surely makes their crime all the worse for a medieval Irish audience. In TBDD, Conaire makes a false judgment, sparing his foster brothers' lives when he catches them raiding and sending them into exile in Alba. In Alba, his three foster brothers gain the support of Ingcél, the king of the Britons, and ultimately return to wreak destruction upon Conaire. The central conflict of the *Thebaid* occurs when Polynices is exiled after his brother Eteocles refuses to share the rule of Thebes. Polynices goes to Argos and gains support from Adrastus and the 'Seven' to retake Thebes. In both tales, the defending king and his invading brother or foster brothers end up dead, along with the vast majority of their armies, while the foreign ruler who supported the brother's claim, Adrastus and Ingcél, respectively, escapes. This is not at all to say that TBDD merely retells the narrative of the *Thebaid*, but the similarities and resonances between the two texts are striking enough that it seems very possible that Statius's poem informed the presentation of the material found in TBDD.

The familial conflicts in the *Thebaid* and in TBDD can also both be traced to patterns of generational violence and revenge, often enacted with supernatural assistance. At the beginning of the *Thebaid*, it is Oedipus's curse upon his sons that prompts the Furies to plant the seeds of discord in the brothers' hearts. Oedipus has, of course, prior to this, killed his father Laius and married his mother Jocasta. The royal line of Thebes is also plagued by Harmonia's cursed necklace, gifted by Vulcan to Harmonia, the daughter of his wife Venus and her lover Mars, in vengeance for

⁶³⁰ It is worth noting that in *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, one of the titular swineherds lives in Uarán Garad in the form of a water animal before being swallowed and reborn as one of the bulls in the *Táin*, for which see Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Text*, III.1, pp. 241; Roider, pp. 38, 52. Thueneyen, *Die irische Helden*, p. 278 dates *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* to the ninth century. An independent tradition about a water beast at Uarán Garad may have been linked to the snake in Statius, recommending the location for a setting.

Venus's adultery. Harmonia and her husband Cadmus end their days transformed into snakes by the gods. Harmonia's daughter, Semele, is tricked by a jealous Juno into convincing Jupiter to show her his true divine form, the magnificence of which burns her to a crisp, but not before Jupiter rescues their unborn son, Bacchus. TBDD also features divine retribution for earlier familial sins. In various recensions, TBDD is tied to the body of material including the eighth-century *De Shíl Conairi Móir* and the ninth- or tenth-century TE about Étaín, a woman associated with the *síd* and Mess Búachalla, her daughter or granddaughter, usually conceived by incest.⁶³¹ Conaire's claims to kingship rely heavily on his Otherworldly heritage, while his downfall, like his mother's incestuous parentage is sometimes presented as Otherworldly vengeance for Étaín's mortal husband's attempts to dig up the *síde*.⁶³² Neither of these tales bears direct resemblance to the incestuous and internecine struggles of the Theban royal house. Instead, I would suggest that an awareness of the similarities in theme and motif between Statius and TBDD lead the Irish authors of TBDD as we have it to incorporate Classical elements, especially in the case of the magical thirst. While CMT and CMTC do not have any episodes that resemble the history of the Thebes nearly as closely as those I have discussed in TBDD, they do both feature conflicts between groups closely related by marriage, the TDD and the Fomorians or Fir Bolg, respectively. Perhaps, loosely similar thematic elements encouraged their authors to draw from Latin sources (such as Statius directly) or from other texts already in dialogue with those sources (such as other versions of the magical thirst motif circulating in medieval Ireland).

Before drawing any conclusions, it is important to establish whether Statius could have been known in medieval Ireland at an early enough date to influence the magical thirst episodes in the ninth-century cores of TBDD and CMT. Besides the parallels discussed here, there are other reasons to think the *Thebaid* was known in medieval Ireland before it was adapted as TTe in the twelfth century. Alcuin was familiar with Statius at York in the late eighth century, and a ninth-century manuscript of the *Thebaid* was written at the Irish foundation of Corbie, making it possible that

⁶³¹ Gwynn, 'De Shíl Chonairi Móir'; Bergin and Best, TE.

⁶³² The sense is obliquely given in the YBL version of TBDD edited by Knott, TBDD, §26, and specified in the Cín Dromma Snechta version preserved in Lebor na hUidre, for which see Ó Cathasaigh, 'On the *Cín*', pp. 106–07.

the text was also present in medieval Ireland at or before that time.⁶³³ Jacopo Bisagni has also argued for the influence of the *Thebaid* on the *tarbflaith* or ‘bull ruler’ in a section of *Audach Morainn*, which he attributes to the early eighth century.⁶³⁴

As I have suggested here, it seems plausible that the episodes in TBDD, CMT, and CMTC represent the influence of Statius’s *Thebaid* on medieval Irish literature. CMT and CMTC may have drawn their comparable episodes from TBDD or from Statius, as the narrative and thematic similarities are not as close as those discussed above between Statius and TBDD. Even if stories about magical thirst already circulated in some form in medieval Ireland, a recognition of their thematic similarities with other literary traditions may have prompted medieval authors to draw upon Classical models such as Statius, alongside biblical ones, such as II Samuel, when composing or redacting their own narratives.

In a similar intertextual vein, we might compare the depiction of Da Derga’s *bruiden* in TBDD as having seven doors with the famous Seven Gates of Thebes.⁶³⁵ While buildings in early medieval Irish literature often have seven doors (such as the *bruiden* in *Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó*), the lengthy ekphrasis lavished upon the interior of the *bruiden* in TBDD has stylistic parallels both with Classical ekphrasis generally and specifically with the extensive description of Thebes’s gates in TTe, which is not found in Statius or the commentary tradition.⁶³⁶ The redactor of TTr-2 also adds the detail that Troy has seven gates, which Mac Gearailt claims, ‘was influenced ultimately by Irish tales’.⁶³⁷ The seven gates in TTr-2 could equally have been influenced by the Theban gates, either in a Classical or Irish source, or by Irish texts such as TBDD which may have drawn elements of their own descriptions from Classical works. Like the magic thirst episode, multiple layers of textual influence worked together, syncretizing both Classical and Irish motifs and contributing to the development of those same Classical motifs in later texts.

The continued development of these motifs is demonstrated by the appearance of the magic thirst episode in the late Middle Irish or early Modern Irish *Forbuis*

⁶³³ Reynolds, p. 394; Lapidge, pp. 231, 333.

⁶³⁴ Bisagni, ‘Tarbflaith’.

⁶³⁵ Knott, TBDD, §§29, 98 (although it is once described with nine doors at §102); Stokes prints no variants from Egerton 1782.

⁶³⁶ For ekphrasis in TBDD, see O’Connor, *Destruction*, pp. 53–54, 233–42 (although he does not make the comparison with the gates of Thebes).

⁶³⁷ Mac Gearailt, ‘Change and Innovation’, p. 483.

Droma Dámhgháire ('The Siege of Druim Damgaire') contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript, the Book of Lismore (now housed at University College Cork). In this text, Cormac mac Airt's druids inflict thirst on the province of Munster when the Munstermen refuse to pay tribute, reducing the Munstermen to consuming milk, and then blood as substitutes.⁶³⁸ Eventually the Munster druid Mog Ruith helps defeat Cormac and creates a new source of water by striking the earth with his magic spear, foiling the enemy enchantment.⁶³⁹ The resolution of the drought through the intervention of another druid, the (in)famous Mog Ruith, was likely the invention of the authors of *Forbuis Droma Dámhgháire*, but the core motif itself is the same as discussed above.⁶⁴⁰ The text is linguistically later than the other magic thirst examples discussed here, although the title is mentioned in the Book of Leinster, indicating that earlier versions could have circulated.⁶⁴¹ It is unclear when the magic thirst motif was assimilated into the narrative, but the linkage of the motif with traditions surrounding Mog Ruith illustrate how well-entrenched it had become in medieval Irish literature.

It is not always possible to untangle the web of mutual influence and intertextuality at work in medieval Irish literature. However, we can say with certainty that the *Thebaid* and magical thirst continued to be of interest into the twelfth century and beyond. TTe and CMTC both testify to strands of this developing tradition. TTe may very well draw its detail that druids helped Bacchus cause the thirst from TBDD, CMT, or related traditions. It seems even more likely that CMTC built on the magical thirst in CMT and based its subsequent search for water sequence on a text like TBDD, Statius, or TTe. *Forbuis Droma Dámhgháire* probably drew from one of the pre-existing Irish examples of the motif and incorporated the well-known druid Mog Ruith. The evolution and origins of the thirst motif in these texts serve to remind us that medieval Irish narratives were erudite textual productions, synthesizing a range of sources from multiple linguistic and literary traditions. They were anything but 'uninfluenced in [...] general conception by foreign models', as Knott once claimed.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁸ Sjoestedt, ed., §§51–56; Ó Duinn, trans., pp. 49–51.

⁶³⁹ Sjoestedt, ed., §§73–76; Ó Duinn, trans., pp. 67–71.

⁶⁴⁰ For the development of Mog Ruith as a literary character from the eleventh century onwards see O'Leary, 'Mog Ruith and Apocalypticism', and her 'Constructing the Magical Biography'.

⁶⁴¹ LL, f. 189b; cf. Mac Cana, *The Learned Tales*, p. 45 for an edition of the tale list.

⁶⁴² Knott, TBDD, p. ix.

Since TBDD has proved so productive an avenue of discussion, we should consider also the possibility of Classical influences on TE, the ninth- or tenth-century prequel tale to TBDD, which is roughly contemporaneous with the core of TBDD and contains a version of the story of Conaire's birth and the abduction of his grandmother, Étaín, by Otherworldly beings.⁶⁴³ In one of the pivotal scenes in the narrative, Étaín is turned into a puddle by Fúamnach, Midir's jealous first wife, after which point:

Doghni tes in tened & ind aeoir & combruith na talman imfortacht ind
usci co ndernai cruim din lind ro baí for lar in tighi, & dogní iar sin
cuil corcraí don chruim sin.⁶⁴⁴

This episode has resisted easy interpretation. Mark Williams argues that the generation of the fly out of the puddle may be inspired by Augustine of Hippo's commentary on *Genesis*, and that the unseen agent of the transformation can be taken to be God.⁶⁴⁵ This is a possible reading and consonant with Augustine's popularity in medieval Ireland, but Augustine mentions only water and earth in the generation of life, not heat.⁶⁴⁶ A closer parallel may be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

Cetera diversis tellus animalia formis
sponte sua peperit, postquam vetus umor ab igne
percaluit solis, caenumque udaeque paludes
intumuere aestu, fecundaque semina rerum
vivaci nutrita solo ceu matris in alvo
creverunt faciemque aliquam cepere morando. [...]
Quippe ubi temperiem sumpsero umorque calorque,

⁶⁴³ See Charles-Edwards, 'Tochmarc Étaíne: A Literal Interpretation', pp. 165–66 for a discussion of the manuscripts and organization of TE.

⁶⁴⁴ 'The heat of the fire and the air and the boiling of the earth aided the water so that the pool that was in the middle of the house turned into a worm, and after that the worm became a purple fly'. (Bergin and Best, TE, §17, pp. 152–53; trans. adapted).

⁶⁴⁵ Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, p. 93.

⁶⁴⁶ See Augustine, *Commentary on Genesis*, Chapter 4, for which see Rotelle and Hill. In his basic assessment of spontaneous generation and the requisite elements of life, Augustine differs little from other Classical and late antique accounts of natural history such as those found in Pliny or Isidore's *De Natura Rerum* and *Etymologies*. See Smyth, *Understanding the Universe*, p. 23 for Augustine's commentary in earlier seventh-century Ireland, and Poppe, 'Grammatica', for Augustine and TBC.

concipiunt, et ab his oriuntur cuncta duobus;
 cumque sit ignis aquae pugnax, vapor umidus omnes
 res creat, et discors concordia fetibus apta est.
 Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti
 solibus aetheriis altoque recanduit aestu,
 edidit innumeras species, partimque figuras
 rettulit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit.⁶⁴⁷

Here, heat, moisture, and the fecund earth together give rise to life, as in TE. The ‘combruth na talman’ ‘boiling’ or ‘seething earth’ in TE mirrors Ovid’s ‘paludes intumere’ ‘swelling marshes’. Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* is, of course, concerned with transformation, usually as the result of divine displeasure. Étaín’s transformation and rebirth under similar circumstances may be read not only against larger theological questions of spontaneous generation and the origins of life, but also in a Classical literary and scholarly context. The ‘soles aetherii’ by which the earth is heated in Ovid could still be interpreted along Augustinian lines as heavenly influence, while *diluvio* would bring to mind the Flood for any Christian reader of Ovid, especially in medieval Ireland where the Classical Flood was synchronized with the biblical deluge.⁶⁴⁸ If the author of TE was reading Ovid from a Christian perspective, Étaín’s time as a puddle could typologically represent the Flood in microcosm, thus placing the world of the first third of the saga firmly in an antediluvian past when the TDD still ruled Ireland, in contrast to the human narrative present of the later events of the tale. This is consonant with chronological framework within which we know that tales about Conaire Mór were read, as he appears in the Irish World Chronicle annalistic

⁶⁴⁷ ‘Earth brought forth other animals of diverse forms by her will. After the ancient moisture became warm from the fire of the sun, and the mire and the damp marshes swelled up with heat, and fecund seeds of things, nourished by lively soil as if in the womb of a mother, grew, and with delay assumed a certain nature. [...] Indeed when heat and moisture acquire temperateness, they conceive, and from these two things everything together originates; And although fire is hostile towards water, humid heat creates all things, and the discordant concord is apt for growth. Thus when the earth, muddied by the recent flood, shone again, heated by the celestial sun and profound heat, she birthed innumerable species, in part she remade ancient forms, in part she created new wonders’. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.416–37).

⁶⁴⁸ See Chapter 5.

material and the inter-related text *Do Fhlathiusaib Érenn*, appended to LGÉ, where his birth corresponds roughly to the beginning of the Christian era.⁶⁴⁹

The obligatory question arises: was Ovid known in early medieval Ireland? No complete manuscripts of any of Ovid's works survive anywhere in medieval Europe before the eleventh century.⁶⁵⁰ Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* was certainly known in neighboring Wales by the ninth century, as attested by fragments.⁶⁵¹ More relevant for our purposes, extracts from the *Metamorphoses* survive in the late ninth-century Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363, written in insular miniscule at an Irish continental center (although the lines quoted above are not included in the manuscript in question).⁶⁵² Daniel Watson has recently suggested that the Middle Irish text *Suidiugud Tellaig Temra* may have drawn on Book XV of the *Metamorphoses*, and I have elsewhere argued for Irish knowledge of Ovid by the twelfth century.⁶⁵³ It is thus plausible, if perhaps unverifiable, that at least some of Ovid's corpus was available in medieval Ireland, and that TE could have drawn from it.

The chronology of TE also has Ovidian thematic parallels. The contrast between TE's initial setting in the distant past, in which the unfallen TDD ruled Ireland, followed a thousand years later by a mortal epoch in which humans, veiled by sin, no longer recognize the TDD mirrors the Hesiodic Golden Age of Saturn's rule and its successive, lesser ages in the *Metamorphoses*.⁶⁵⁴ Midir's description of the Otherworld in TE may not parallel Ovid's Golden Age any more exactly than it does the biblical imagery of Eden, Israel, or the Heavenly Kingdom, but the contrast between sinless past and present iniquity resonates:

amrai tíre tír asber.
ní théid óc ann ré sén.
Srotha téith millsí tar tír.
rogha dé midh & fín.

⁶⁴⁹ Kelleher, 'The *Táin*', pp. 108–15. *Do Fhlathiusaib Érenn* is elsewhere inconsistent as to the placement of Conaire's reign, so multiple, malleable traditions were evidentially in circulation at the same time.

⁶⁵⁰ Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 257–84.

⁶⁵¹ See Russell, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales* for a discussion of these fragments and their intellectual context.

⁶⁵² Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 277. Cf. Miles, 'Riss in *Mundtuirc*', p. 76.

⁶⁵³ Watson, 'The Evidence', *contra* his 'The Mortal and Divine Histories of Mongán', p. 31, n. 17; Ehrmantraut, 'A Wrong Turn'.

⁶⁵⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.89–150.

daíne delgnaide cen ón.
 combart cen pecadh cen chol.
 Atchiam cach for cach leath.
 & nícon aice nech.
 teimel imorbuis Adaim
 dodonarcheil ar araim.⁶⁵⁵

The Otherworld of Midir's description is both pre-lapsarian, as John Carey and Mark Williams have observed, and—if we read Étaín's time as a puddle as type for the Flood—antediluvian.⁶⁵⁶

Whereas Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ends with an implied return to a new Golden Age under Augustus, Midir's description of the unfallen Otherworld implicitly suggests Eden, the Christian era, and eventual Kingdom of Heaven which will redeem the tale's audience. More strikingly, however, both Ovid and TE undermine the moral integrity of their past paradisiacal Golden Ages, perhaps in the service of later Golden Ages which become not merely a return to former innocence, but a marked improvement thereon. Ovid's imperial leanings and the degree to which the *Metamorphoses* represents the poet's genuine feelings towards Augustus's rule is opaque. However, the poem invites us to question how golden Saturn's Golden Age actually was, given that it was predicated upon devouring his children, and how morally superior the ages of Jupiter's subsequent role were to our own in light of the numerous acts of divine violence, rape, and petty vengeance that permeate the work.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁵ 'A wondrous land is the land I tell of;
 youth departs not there before old age.
 Warm sweet streams flow across land,
 the choice of mead and wine.
 A distinguished people without blemish,
 conception without sin, without lust.
 We see everyone on every side,
 and no one sees us.

It is the darkness of Adam's transgression that has prevented us from being counted'. (Bergin and Best, TE, §10, pp. 180–83; trans. adapted). In what is probably wordplay on the theme of sight in the following lines, *delgnaide* could be translated as both 'distinguished' and 'conspicuous'; cf. eDIL, 's.v. 1 delgnaid', <dil.ie/15373> and 's.v. 1 delgnaide', <dil.ie/15375>.

⁶⁵⁶ Carey, *A Single Ray*, pp. 30–32; Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, pp. 87–89.

⁶⁵⁷ For a foundational bibliography on Ovid's ages and the role of the gods therein, see Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*, p. 221.

The version of TE as it survives in *Lebor na hUidre* and YBL also undermines Midir's sinless Otherworld and with it a past Golden Age before humans ruled Ireland. Characters' behavior in the first third of the saga is anything but 'without blemish' or 'without lust', as the Dagda and Boand commit adultery, Óengus tricks Elcmar out of Brú na Bóinne, and Fúamnach vengefully transforms Étaín. Furthermore, taking Étaín-as-puddle as typologically representative of the Flood places the TDD in an unstable position between unfallen Edenic beings and the numerous monstrous descendants of Cain destroyed by the Flood.⁶⁵⁸ Unlike the monsters destroyed by the Flood, the TDD in TE survive into the human present with powers largely unabated, although in the final third of the tale they are no longer recognized by mortals and no longer rule Ireland.

The behavior of the TDD and their human counterparts does not significantly change as a result of the thousand-year time gap in the middle of the narrative, however, nor as a result of the events of the saga. Midir's conflict with the mortal Eochaid paves the way for generational violence to follow, culminating in Conaire Mór's downfall in the events of TBDD, discussed above. TE itself does not recount Conaire's death tale, but it ends with a gesture towards his parentage (his mother is Eochaid's daughter born of incest after Midir tricks him) and an account of Eochaid's own violent death. Williams attributes the inconsistencies between the behavior of the TDD in the first part of the saga and Midir's poem to the composite nature of the narrative as it survives.⁶⁵⁹ While TE contradicts itself on other plot points and offers alternative explanations for many of its episodes, the fact remains that the compilers and audience of *Lebor na hUidre* and YBL read the set of tales and poems that make up the narrative together and thus so may we. Neither past nor present is entirely *cen chol*, especially as *col* means not only generic '(sexual) wrong' but also specifically 'incest'.⁶⁶⁰ In the collection of prose sub-tales and poetry that makes up the text as we have it, Midir's statement to Étaín that the Otherworld contains 'conception without *col*' is disturbing and ironic, highlighting not only *col* in the sense of 'wrong' evident in the sexual escapades of the first third of the narrative but also foreshadowing *col* in the sense of 'incest' which Eochaid commits in the final third as a result of Otherworldly deception. Like Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, TE presents an idealized past

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Rodway, 'Mermaids, Leprechauns and Fomorians'.

⁶⁵⁹ Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, p. 88.

⁶⁶⁰ eDIL, 's.v. *col*', <dil.ie/10473>.

that turns out to be neither ideal nor entirely relegated to the past, implying with varying degrees of subtlety that the next Golden Age (be it Augustus's rule or the implicit coming of Christianity) will finally be golden.

Other Narrative and Thematic Parallels

There are other parallels between TE and Classical literature, although none so close as the generation of life from water and heat discussed above. The following discussion does not aim to identify concrete instances of borrowing from Classical narrative, but rather to point to close narrative resonances that might suggest creative adaptation was at play in shaping the structure and presentation of TE as it has come down to us. In this respect, the discussion of resonance and intellectual milieu mirrors that addressed in Chapter 3, where exact lexical borrowings are difficult to pinpoint, but thematic similarities reflect larger cultural interests and scholarly production. I will discuss narrative parallels involving Étaín's metamorphosis and Óengus's concealed parentage before turning to broader thematic depictions of supernatural power in both TE and the Classical adaptations.

Étaín's transformation into a fly is striking and reminiscent of Io's transformation into a cow and pursuit by a gadfly in Classical tradition.⁶⁶¹ Like Étaín, Io is transformed as a result of her lover's infidelity and jealous wife. Where Fúamnach turns Étaín into the fly, Jupiter turns Io into a cow in order to hide her from Juno, which ultimately fails. As a fly Étaín is sheltered by Midir and his kin until Fúamnach finds her again, while Jupiter sends Mercury to free Io from Juno's watchman Argos. Juno then sends a gadfly to torment Io, which chases her until she reaches Egypt, much as Fúamnach sends a wind to blow Étaín away. Book I of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* contains most of the details of the story, although in Ovid, it is a Fury (*Erinys*) rather than a gadfly that stings Io;⁶⁶² however, the gadfly (*asilius*) tradition could easily have been known from Vergil.⁶⁶³ The correspondences are not exact and assume an amalgamation of multiple Classical sources, drawn either directly from Classical texts or from commentary or mythography traditions, but the similarities are such that they may have colored aspects of the creative composition of TE. Instead of unilateral influence between specific texts, we are likely dealing with a larger sphere

⁶⁶¹ See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.724; Vergil, *Georgics*, III.146.

⁶⁶² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.724.

⁶⁶³ Vergil, *Georgics*, III.146.

of Classical knowledge and intertextual allusion within which TE could have developed. As was the case with the magical thirst episode discussed above, and the development of *ammaiti* across texts examined in Chapter 3, the potential Ovidian aspects of TE represent a complicated picture of mutual influence and entangled intellectual cultures.

A similarly tentative parallel can be identified in Óengus's search for his father at the beginning of TE and Phaethon's assertion of his paternity in *Metamorphoses*, I.747–64. Óengus believes he is Midir's son until one of the Fir Bolg retainers insults him because of his uncertain parentage, at which point Midir explains the circumstances of his birth and brings him to the Dagda. In Ovid, Io's son Epaphus mocks Phaethon for believing that the Sun is his father, prompting Phaethon to question his mother, who tells him to seek out the Sun's dwelling.⁶⁶⁴ Again, the similarities between Ovid and TE may be superficial but as both Io's transformation and Phaethon's parentage occur in the same book of the *Metamorphoses* as the generation of life parallel discussed above, we may have reason to believe that the Irish authors TE had Ovid in mind and chose to incorporate Classical elements into the Irish narrative. A different (and likely earlier) ninth-century version of Óengus's acquisition of the Brug told in *De Gabail in tSida* in the Book of Leinster is missing the Fir Bolg's insult and discovery of parental identity, suggesting that this element may be new to the version of the tale recounted in TE as we have it in later manuscripts.⁶⁶⁵ Questions of paternity are universal and scenes of paternal revelation feature in other medieval Irish works, including the ninth-century *Immram Curaig Máele Duin* (itself a Classically-informed text which quotes Vergil's *Aeneid*, I.203).⁶⁶⁶ However, the addition of the paternal revelation scene in TE and its proximity to other passages with Ovidian affinities may contribute to a case for Classical influence in the text.

Cumachtae

TE frequently uses the term *cumachtae* to refer specifically to divine or supernatural power. As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 4, *cumachtae* can mean either general 'power' or 'supernatural power', both within the Classical adaptations and in

⁶⁶⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.747–79.

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. Hull, 'De Gabáil in t-Shída', pp. 53–58.

⁶⁶⁶ Oskamp, pp. 176–77.

non-Classical Irish texts. As discussed in Chapter 2, TTe uses the adjectival form *cumachtach* for divine characters (especially divine women) to a greater extent than any other text. TE plays on the ambiguity between types of *cumachtae* and degrees of knowledge to create narrative tension. Boand is reluctant to sleep with the Dagda at first because she fears her husband Elcmar ‘ar med a chumachtai’.⁶⁶⁷ Similarly, Ailill initially refuses to give Étaín to Óengus to be Midir’s wife ‘ar med do cumachtai & cumachta th’athar’.⁶⁶⁸ Óengus later warns Midir against bringing Étaín home to his first wife Fúamnach who is of the TDD ‘co meid fis & éolus & cumachtai feib ro ngab a cenel’.⁶⁶⁹ In the first two instances, *cumachtae* could be political or supernatural power, although both Óengus and the Dagda achieve their ends through supernatural devices. In the case of Fúamnach, it is presumably supernatural power and knowledge that is meant, which she possesses because she was fostered by the druid Bresal.⁶⁷⁰ At the same time, however, Fúamnach commands significant non-supernatural power as a result of her networks of family, fosterage, and security among the TDD. In all three instances supernatural *cumachtae* accompanies social position and political power.

In the final third of the text, the contrast between political and supernatural *cumachtae* is heightened. When Midir first appears to Eochaid, Eochaid’s steward tells the king, ‘Is beite duit menma fris, as fer mórcumachtai dotainic’.⁶⁷¹ Later, after spying on Midir’s earth-moving efforts, the steward reports, ‘nad roibé for fertais an betha cumachtai doroisce de’.⁶⁷² In both cases, the steward recognizes Midir’s supernatural power for what it is. By contrast, Midir sardonically comments on the nature of Eochaid’s *cumachtae* when he states, ‘Nach ní rosia do cumachtai, ní roib

⁶⁶⁷ ‘because of the extent of his power’. (Bergin and Best, TE, I §1, pp. 142–43; trans. adapted).

⁶⁶⁸ ‘because of the extent of your power and your father’s power’. (ibid., I §12, pp. 148–51; trans. adapted).

⁶⁶⁹ ‘with the extent of the knowledge and skill and power that belongs to her people’. (ibid., I §15, pp. 152–53; trans. adapted).

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. In this instance, *cumachtae* is partly Fúamnach’s by birthright and partly by Bresal’s fosterage, putting us in mind of the learned *ammaitecht* discussed in Chapter 3.

⁶⁷¹ “‘You must take heed of him; it is a man of great power that has come’”. (Bergin and Best, TE, III, §5, pp. 176–77; trans. adapted).

⁶⁷² ‘there was not a power on the ridge of the world that surpassed it’. (ibid., II, I §8, pp. 178–79; trans. adapted).

ben na fer and fria tech anechtair co turcbail ngreine ambarach'.⁶⁷³ Here, *cumachtae* refers to Eochaid's power of rule over his subjects, although it may also extend to his self-restraint and ability to keep his promise to Midir, as he promptly sends his steward to watch Midir's efforts. The dramatic tension stems from the fact that the audience knows that Midir's *cumachtae*, like that of the Dagda, Óengus, and Fúamnach in the first third of the text, is supernatural power that Eochaid cannot hope to match.

In this respect, the ominous supernatural qualities of *cumachtae* reflect the use of the term in the Classical adaptations, especially TTe, IA, and MU, in which the mortal characters understand they have limited recourse in the face of divine might.⁶⁷⁴ Supernatural *cumachtae* exists in a number of Irish texts outside of the Classical adaptations, including TBC-I, *Cóir Anmann*, and *Scéla Cano* and the use of the term for supernatural and divine power in the Classical adaptations undoubtedly draws on its usage in earlier vernacular texts, among which we might count TE.⁶⁷⁵ At the same time, however, the careful wordplay in TE distinguishing different levels of *cumachtae* and the role of knowledge in limiting Eochaid's understanding of his Otherworldly adversary until it is too late has affinities with the often duplicitous behavior of the Olympians in Classical literature.

Otherworldly Disguise

The duplicitous behavior of Otherworldly beings in TE shares other characteristics with Classical deities, namely the propensity of Classical gods to take on the forms of specific mortals with the intent to deceive. Examples abound from Classical literature, including Tisiphone's masquerade as Halys and Megaera's disguise as Argia in the *Thebaid*, as discussed in Chapter 3.⁶⁷⁶ In the *Aeneid*, Venus masquerades as a huntress when she speaks to Aeneas in Book I, Iris disguises herself as Beroe in order to convince the Trojan women to burn the ships, and Allecto appears to Turnus as Calybe to stir him to war.⁶⁷⁷ To return to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Jupiter takes on Diana's shape in order to rape her companion Callisto, Juno disguises

⁶⁷³ "'To whatever your power might extend let no man or woman be out of doors until sunrise tomorrow'" (ibid., III, §6, pp. 178–79; trans. adapted).

⁶⁷⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 43–45, and Chapter 4, pp. 128–29.

⁶⁷⁵ See eDIL, 's.v. cumachtae', <dil.ie/13790>.

⁶⁷⁶ Calder, TTe, ll. 3447–50, 4325–27.

⁶⁷⁷ Vergil, *Aeneid*, I.314–405, V.620, VII.415–44.

herself as an old woman to trick Semele, and Minerva bates Arachne in disguise.⁶⁷⁸ By contrast, while shape-shifting is hardly uncommon in medieval Irish literature, examples of Otherworldly beings intentionally transforming themselves into mortal characters are limited. Besides the episodes in TE when Midir masquerades as Ailill, and Étaín's daughter is mistaken for her mother, the other main instances of Otherworldly characters disguising themselves as mortals occur in TBC-I when the Morrígan tricks Cú Chulainn into healing her, in the *Acallam*, in the Early Modern Irish *Compert Mongáin ocus Serc Duibe Lacha do Mongán* when Manannán mac Lir disguises himself as Fíachna in order to father Mongán, and in the Classical adaptations.

In TBC-I, the Morrígan appears to Cú Chulainn as a beautiful woman and, after he rebuffs her sexual advances, threatens to return in the form of an eel, a wolf, and a heifer to impede him.⁶⁷⁹ Cú Chulainn subsequently injures her in each of these forms. She later returns as an old woman and tricks Cú Chulainn into blessing her when she offers him milk from her cow with three teats, thus accomplishing her healing.⁶⁸⁰ The Morrígan's appearance as an old woman in order to trick the young hero is broadly similar to the old woman disguise employed by Allecto in the *Aeneid* and by Juno and Minerva in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. While it need not be an inherently Classical motif on its own, TBC-I is the same text in which 'Morrígan' glosses Allecto, as discussed in Chapter 1. Indeed the gloss on Allecto constitutes the first mention of the Morrígan in the text, so readers of TBC-I (at least as we have it in surviving manuscripts) would already be primed to think about the Irish character in terms of the Classical Fury.

While the episode in TBC-I involves sexual overtones and the deception of a mortal character by an Otherworldly being by means of physical disguise, it is otherwise not terribly close to the sorts of Otherworldly disguises in TE. The Morrígan appears as both a young and an old woman but does not take on the identity of any named, independent mortal character in the way that Midir masquerades as Ailill, and Étaín's daughter is mistaken for Étaín in TE. The Morrígan's appearances and manipulation of Cú Chulainn in TBC-I do not drive the plot of the narrative in the same way as Midir's duplicity does in TE. Both texts resonate with Classical themes

⁶⁷⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II.417–40, III.253–72, IV.26–69.

⁶⁷⁹ O'Rahilly, TBC-I, ll. 1845–73.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., ll. 2020–70.

and imagery and both may draw elements of their portrayals of Otherworldly beings from Classical literature, but they are not identical, nor do they pursue the same narrative ends.

The Early Modern Irish thirteenth- or fourteenth-century *Compert Mongáin ocus Serc Duibe Lacha do Mongán* bears closer similarities to TE in that the Otherworldly character (Manannán mac Lir) disguises himself as a mortal (Fíachna) in order to achieve a sexual union.⁶⁸¹ However, the detail that Manannán disguises himself as Fíachna may very well be a later addition to narrative traditions surrounding Mongán as there is no disguise in an earlier eighth-century Mongán tale, *Compert Mongáin*.⁶⁸² The two texts need not be directly related, and it is possible that the detail was sourced from a different, non-extant version of the conception of Mongán tale, but if so, it does not survive. It could have thus been introduced to the tradition as represented by the Early Modern Irish tale as a result of influence from a text like TE or from Classical narrative (Ó Broin has suggested that the Classical myth of the birth of Hercules may have been an influence, but the specific narrative parallels are not close, as Ní Mhaonaigh has convincingly demonstrated).⁶⁸³ In both versions, Manannán offers to save Fíachna's life in return for sleeping with Fíachna's wife and fathering Mongán. Unlike any of the Otherworldly disguise episodes in TE, in *Compert Mongáin ocus Serc Duibe Lacha do Mongán* Manannán discloses his identity and receives Fíachna's consent before sleeping with his wife. In the earlier *Compert Mongáin*, Manannán also divulges his identity and Fíachna's wife consents to the union. While there may be something sinister about the fact that Mongán's conception occurs as the result of a forced bargain for Fíachna's life, Manannán is clear about his identity and intentions in both versions. In the disguise episodes in TE, Midir is not forthcoming about his own identity or that of Étaín's daughter until after the fact, nor does he enact such disguises for any positive reason, such as saving a mortal's life or conceiving a heroic character. Conaire Mór is eventually descended from Étaín via her daughter's incest, but this seems inadvertent on the part of the Otherworldly beings in TE and eventually proves to be his downfall in TBDD.

The Classical adaptation texts also furnish numerous examples of supernatural disguise, two of which will be examined here: Apollo and Laius in TTe. In Statius,

⁶⁸¹ Meyer and Nutt, I, pp. 58–84.

⁶⁸² White.

⁶⁸³ Ó Broin, pp. 262–71; Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Mongán's Metamorphosis', pp. 207–16.

Apollo assumes the appearance of Amphiaraus's charioteer Haliagmon after he has been killed by Hypseus, shortly before Amphiaraus plummets into Hades. Apollo speaks to Amphiaraus before his fall and the Amphiaraus reveals that he recognizes the god, although Statius does not state that Apollo dropped his disguise as Haliagmon at any point during the exchange. In TTe, however, the narrator is explicit: 'Roben immoro Apaill andsin a deilb ndruídechta de, 7 dachuaid 'na richt fen'.⁶⁸⁴ Apollo's removal of his 'delb druíchechta' parallels Aillenn's claim in the *Acallam*, 'uair ni ben tsídhe mé, acht mad do Thuaith dé Danann 7 mo chorp féin umum'.⁶⁸⁵ We also see a comparable use of supernatural disguise made by Oedipus's father Laius, when he assumes the form of Tiresias:

Is andsin rogabastar in seonor eclach imnach imnedach .i. Laius, rogabastar delb 7 denam araile fatha 7 fisid do Tiauandaib fair fen .i. Tresias a ainm-side. Et is immi rogab Laius in ndeilb sin fhair, commad moidi rocreitea do, ar ni chreiti[r]-sium fisi na hamra na haislingi and, mina bedis persanda uaisli aca imluad.⁶⁸⁶

Statius tells us that Laius masquerades as the Theban prophet, 'neu falsa videri noctis imago queat', with no mention that a higher status disguise will make his message more believable.⁶⁸⁷ This detail is not to be found in the commentaries of Lactantius or Fulgentius, so it likely represents an original justification for the deception.

The *Acallam* contains another instance of malevolent supernatural shape-changing. The text states of Bé Mannair, who has disguised herself as Étaín Fholtfhinn in order to fool Finn's company, that:

⁶⁸⁴ 'Then, moreover, Apollo took from himself his shape of *druídecht*, and went into his own form'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 2916–17; trans. adapted).

⁶⁸⁵ 'for I am not a woman of the *síd*. Though I am of the TDD, I have my own body about me'. (Stokes, 'Acallamh', ll. 6380–81; trans. Dooley and Roe, p. 179, adapted; cf. commentary in Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, pp. 206–07).

⁶⁸⁶ 'Then he assumed, the fearful, horrified, woeful old man Laius himself assumed the form and shape of a certain Theban prophet and seer, Tiresias his name. And Laius assumed that form for the reason that he might be the more believed, for visions, marvels, or dreams were not believed there, unless there were noble persons spreading it about'. (Calder, TTe, ll. 618–23).

⁶⁸⁷ 'Lest he may seem a false image of the night'. (Statius, *Thebaid*, ll. 94–95).

Ocus is sí théit a richt in spegdubain & in míl moir, & delbus a richt na cuile h-í féin, & delbaid a richt cachá fir-charat etir fhir & mnai fos, & co léicenn cach a rún ria....⁶⁸⁸

This bestial description strongly echoes Vergil's many-eyed Fama in *Aeneid*, IV, Allecto in *Aeneid*, VII, who appears snake-like before deceiving Amata and disguising herself to Turnus, or more remotely, Iris in *Aeneid*, V. Like Allecto and Iris as well as Apollo and Laius in TTe, Bé Mannair also transforms into a well-known friend or confidant of the mortals with whom she interacts in order to increase the credibility of her statements, obtain information, or otherwise conceal their true selves and purpose. As discussed in Chapter 3, the *Acallam* appears at times to reflect other Classical descriptions, as in its Erichtho-like description of the nine *ammaiti* with whom Patrick contends.⁶⁸⁹ There may be intertextual borrowings between the *Acallam*, Étaín's transformation into a *cuil* 'fly' in the earlier TE, as well as the two swineherds in *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* who transform into insect-like *míl uiscei* 'water creatures' for their own deceptive and manipulative purposes, as Bé Mannair transforms into various insects (including a *cuil*) and a *míl mor* 'sea creature'.⁶⁹⁰

To return to TE, we see that the Otherworldly shape-shifting in the text has far more in common with the menacing and manipulative disguises of Classical beings than it does with later Irish texts including TBC-I and *Compert Mongáin ocus Serc Duibe Lacha do Mongán*, with the exception of the *Acallam*, which may borrow from earlier texts. Midir strikes Ailill ill so he can assume his form to seduce Étaín and in the tale's denouement he reveals that Eochaid has mistaken his own daughter for Étaín, thus committing incest. The nonchalance with which Midir effects these disguises, in order to deceive the mortal characters impeding his recovery of his wife,

⁶⁸⁸ 'It is she who goes in the shape of the water-spider or a sea creature, who transforms herself into the shape of a fly or a person's best friend, whether male or female, so that the secrets of all are entrusted to her'. (Stokes, 'Acallamh', ll. 5679–81; trans. Dooley and Rose, p. 159, adapted). I prefer to translate *míl moir* as 'sea creature' rather than 'whale' on the basis that the other animals listed are insects and that the similarly described *míl uiscei* 'water creatures' in *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* are specified to be *doirb* 'water worms', in Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Text*, III.1, pp. 241, 245, and Roider, pp. 38, 52. Cf. eDIL, 's.v. 1 míl', <dil.ie/32221> for *míl mór* as 'whale'; it could mean 'large animal' instead here, but given the marine associations of the water spider and the whale, I have preferred to keep the oceanic element.

⁶⁸⁹ See Chapter 3, pp. 88–90.

⁶⁹⁰ Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Text*, III.1, pp. 241, 245; Roider, pp. 38, 52.

and the negative outcomes for the mortals so deceived, mirror the behavior of Classical deities in Latin literature. The Irish text's portrayal of fickle and unscrupulous TDD may owe something to depictions of the Classical gods in works such as Vergil, Statius, and Ovid, as well as in later commentaries and mythographies. At the same time, such a depiction of the Otherworldly pre-Christian inhabitants of Ireland as deceptive and self-serving fits well with a Christian reading of the work. As we have no exact parallels in narrative or phrasing between TE and Classical scenes of divine disguise, any influence must be thematic rather than on the level of direct quotation or borrowing. The authors of TE may very well have looked to Classical models not only for scenes of spontaneous generation (as in Étaín's metamorphosis, analyzed above) but also for examples of the behavior and characterization of pagan divinities and supernatural characters and in the process enacted their own *interpretatio*.

CONCLUSION: AFFINITY AND INNOVATION

This chapter has presented two extended case studies in an attempt to explore the notion of Classical affinities in medieval Irish texts, that is, the idea that Classical sources may influence the depiction of a motif or episode in an Irish text to which it already bears thematic similarities. This does not necessarily mean that the Irish text draws the motif or episode wholesale from the Classical source. Thus, it is very possible that some motif of magical thirst already existed in medieval Irish narrative before it was reinforced by a comparable episode in the *Thebaid*. However, the versions of the motif in texts such as TBDD appear to develop it in the light of Statius's poem. Similarly, identification of thematic and narrative similarities between pre-existing episodes and texts may have inspired Irish authors and redactors to draw additional imagery and style from Classical sources. CMT and TBDD feature close familial conflicts and acts of kinslaying that parallel those in Statius's work. TE involves questions of autochthonous generation, Otherworldly intervention in human affairs, and whether past ages were morally or religiously superior to the present world. In TE, we also have behavioral parallels with Classical gods in ancient Mediterranean literature, allowing us to hypothesize that Classical borrowing and influence extended not only to the depiction of individual episodes or motifs, but also to larger conceptualizations of god-like Otherworldly characters.

Such Classical affinities produced and were produced by a kind of literary feedback whereby Classical texts influenced works of Irish literature, which in turn influenced later adaptations of the same Classical materials. Classical narratives may have contributed elements to the portrayal of Otherworldly disguise in TE, but we also see that thematic and stylistic choices from TE are shared with the Irish Classical adaptations. TE's carefully constructed sense of relative orders of supernatural and worldly *cumachtae* and atypically manipulative TDD find their parallel in MU, in which Penelope waits to be sure that the Odysseus who has returned to her is indeed her husband because 'the people of *cumachtae* are many'.⁶⁹¹ Negatively-charged divine impersonation of mortals may have originated in Irish narrative partially via the influence of Classical literature, but as we see in MU, it is in turn ascribed to Classical gods in Classical adaptation texts. Likewise, the depiction of magical thirst in CMT and TBDD owes something to Statius, but also likely contributed in turn to the way in which the divinely-induced thirst episode from Statius was translated in TTe. As was the case with the *ammaiti* examined in Chapter 3, influence clearly operated in multiple directions, and webs of literary affinity may prove to be more productive ways of thinking about the relationships between Irish and Classical literature than linear paths of influence.

These webs are situated within an intellectual milieu concerned with Christian salvation history and in which the Otherworldly beings and pagans of the past prefigure Christianity to come. This has already been explored in the context of the Classical adaptations in Chapter 4 and specifically in the case of CC in Chapter 5. Now we will turn to the role of druids in medieval Irish and Classical texts, which has concerned us in the magical thirst episodes discussed here, in greater depth for what it can tell us about Classical reception, medieval Irish identity, and the translation of knowledge and Christian salvation to medieval Ireland.

⁶⁹¹ Meyer, MU, ll. 297–300, pp. 14–15.

CHAPTER 7
MAGI, DRUÍD, DRUIDAE

From the earliest attestations of the Irish word *druí* ‘druid’ as a gloss on biblical magicians in the Würzburg Glosses, Irish druids and Latin *magi* have been linked, representing an instance of *interpretatio* integral to many works of medieval Irish literature.⁶⁹² This chapter will review the arguments for identifying druids with biblical *magi*, and question the degree to which Classical magic-workers also influenced the conception and depictions of druids in medieval Irish literature. This discussion of Classical influence will involve two stages: I will first interrogate whether Classical ethnographic portrayals of (primarily Gaulish) druids could have influenced medieval Irish Latin and vernacular authors, before then turning to the use of *druí* to translate Classical magicians, priests, and prophets in the Middle Irish Classical adaptation texts by means of *interpretatio*, giving special attention to CC. Finally, I will discuss the implications these depictions of druids have on both Classical and Christian *translatio studii* and the growth of Irish identity in relation to world history and salvation. Throughout, I will use *druí* (pl. *druí*d) to refer to medieval Irish druids, *druidae* to refer to druids in Classical literature, and ‘druid(s)’ when referring to both, or when a specific literary or historical context is not specified.

The equation of the terms *druí* and *magus* has become commonplace in scholarship on medieval Ireland, based largely on the use of *magus* for practitioners of magic in seventh-century Hiberno-Latin texts set in conversion-era Ireland.⁶⁹³ While it is generally recognized that these texts tell us far more about perceptions of the pagan past in the seventh century than about the pagan past itself, the degree to which any pre-Christian Irish priesthood stands behind the characters designated as *magi* in

⁶⁹² Würzburg Glosses 26a20 (on 2 Thessalonians 2.9), 30c17 (on 2 Timothy 3.8; cf. Exodus 7.11) in Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*, I, pp. 666, 695. See Clarke, ‘Linguistic Education’, p. 44 for further discussion. It should be noted that the Latin word *magus* does not actually appear in either Vulgate passage, although both refer to pagan magic-workers (those who work ‘prodigiis mendacibus’ ‘false prodigies’ presaging the Antichrist, and ‘Iamnes et Mambres’, respectively).

⁶⁹³ Including Muirchú, *Vita S. Patricii*, I.10, 13–20; Tírechán, *Collectanea*, §8, for which see Bieler; Adomnán, *Vita S. Columbae*, II.17, for which see Anderson; Cogitosus, *Vita S. Brigidae*, §33 (PL 72, cols. 775–90); *Vita Prima S. Brigidae*, I.2, 5–12, 16, 17, 120, for which see Hochegger.

these seventh-century texts is a matter of debate. Likewise, while modern scholars tend to agree that biblical *magi* influenced the portrayal of characters termed *magi* in early Hiberno-Latin narratives, the simple equation of the terms *druí* and *magus* is not uncomplicated. Thomas Charles-Edwards, Mark Williams, and Jacqueline Borsje have drawn equivalencies between *magus* and *druí*, especially in relation to the *magi* who contend with Patrick in Muirchú's seventh-century *Vita S. Patricii*, I.16–20,⁶⁹⁴ primarily due to the fact that the later ninth- or tenth-century *Vita Tripartita* of Patrick refers to the same pagan magicians as *druíd*.⁶⁹⁵ Williams states, 'the Irish and Latin terms were effectively interchangeable'.⁶⁹⁶ Other scholars have questioned whether the *magi* of early Hiberno-Latin texts are in fact simply biblical *magi* interposed into the Irish setting of the narrative, rather than representative of a pre-existing Irish priesthood of *druíd* whose depiction had been influenced to some degree by biblical *magi*. Thomas O'Loughlin has challenged whether Muirchú's *magi* ought to be equated with *druíd* at all, and Catherine McKenna has argued that the *magi* that appear in the early Brigidine Lives might be better read as biblical *magi* transported wholesale from Matthew 2.1–12.⁶⁹⁷ Mark Williams has also put forward the suggestion that, 'It is usual in medieval Irish literature for the druid to be a magician rather than a pagan priest, but the suspicion dawns that the striking overplus of magic-workers in the society of the gods represents—a perhaps unconscious—reflection of the ecclesiastical orders in Irish society', leading to the literary 'idea that druids had been unholy mirror images of Christian clerics'.⁶⁹⁸

Similar tensions exist as to the interpretation of the *magi* in the famous passage of Ps. Augustine's seventh-century *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, which claims that, 'et ridiculosis magorum fabulationibus dicentium in avium substantia majores suos saecula pervolassee, assensum praestare videbimur'.⁶⁹⁹ John Carey treats this passage as evidence of a druidic doctrine of reincarnation as late as the seventh century, but Daniel Watson has recently questioned this:

⁶⁹⁴ Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 195; Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, pp. 51–58; Borsje, 'Druids, Deer', pp. 124–29.

⁶⁹⁵ Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, I, pp. 40–60. See also Clarke, 'Linguistic Education', p. 44.

⁶⁹⁶ Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, pp. 53.

⁶⁹⁷ O'Loughlin; McKenna, pp. 69–70.

⁶⁹⁸ Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, pp. 104–05.

⁶⁹⁹ 'and we would seem to give assent to the ridiculous, fabulous sayings of *magi* who say that their ancestors flew through the ages in the substance [or, nature] of birds'. (*De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, I.17, for which see PL 35, col. 2164).

Given this indeterminacy [between *magus* and *druí*], it would be difficult to identify, based on this text alone, which way the influence is going. Is [Ps. Augustine] imputing characteristics to Biblical or Classical *magi* on the analogy of his experience of or beliefs about Irish *druí*, or imputing characteristics to *druí* based their presumed equivalence with *magi*?⁷⁰⁰

The influence of biblical *magi* in early Hiberno-Latin texts is not in doubt, merely the degree to which it occurred. As Watson argues, context is key and different authors likely pursued different approaches to representing pagan priests and magicians.⁷⁰¹ It is evident that later Irish literature from the *Vita Tripartita* to vernacular sagas treated the two words as, if not always synonymous, at least on a definitional continuum, as will be explored further below in reference to the Classical adaptations.

Within this larger discussion of terminology and influence, it should also be remembered that the application of *magus* to druid is not exclusive to medieval Irish authors, but was already in use in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, in which he defines 'Druidae—ita suos appellant magos'.⁷⁰² If medieval Irish authors (of any period between the seventh and thirteenth centuries) were capable of identifying similarities between Irish *druí* and biblical *magi*, they were also potentially capable of associating Latin *druidae* with their own *druí*, despite having no notion of larger affinities with Brittonic or Continental Celtic-speaking peoples. The medieval Irish etymological identification of *druidae* with *druí* is evident from a digression on the shared origin of the words in CC, as will be discussed below.⁷⁰³ But was there any literary influence from Classical *druidae* on Irish *druí* beyond etymology? We will now turn to druids in Classical texts to determine what, if any, influence Classical *druidae* may have had on the portrayal of medieval Irish *druí*.

⁷⁰⁰ Carey, *A Single Ray*, p. 54; Watson, 'Philosophy', pp. 310–11, see his larger discussion, pp. 310–14.

⁷⁰¹ Watson, 'Philosophy', p. 311.

⁷⁰² 'Druids—thus [the Gauls] call their *magi*'. (Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI.95). Pliny also uses *druidae* and *magi* interchangeably throughout XXIX.12.

⁷⁰³ Stokes, CC, ll. 724–31; cf. Lucan, I.450–65.

In order to address influence from Classical ethnography, we must ascertain which Classical texts mentioning *druidae* were likely to have been read by medieval Irish authors. We will confine ourselves to Latin texts given the limited knowledge of Greek in medieval Ireland.⁷⁰⁴ Among the Classical and Late Antique Latin works to mention *druidae* are Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (BG), Cicero's *De Divinatione*, Pliny's *Natural History*, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, Tacitus's *Annales*, Ammianus Marcellinus's *Res Gestae*, Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbe*, and the *Historia Augusta* (Lampridius's *Alexander Severus* and Vopiscus's *Numerianus*). Of these, we can be certain that the Irish knew Lucan at least by the twelfth century as the existence of CC attests. It seems likely that Pliny was also known.⁷⁰⁵ Caesar's BG could have been read in Ireland, as a ninth-century copy was written at the Irish foundation of Corbie.⁷⁰⁶ We know that the ethnographic sections of Caesar's work were read and used by continental historians, as Aimoin of Fleury made use of the text (including the descriptions of *druidae*) for his tenth-century *Gesta Francorum*.⁷⁰⁷ Fleury's Breton connections in this period and the circulation of literary culture to and from the insular world via Brittany allow for the possibility that Caesar or Aimoin could have been known in Ireland.⁷⁰⁸ Cicero's *De Divinatione* also circulated at Corbie in the ninth and tenth centuries, making it possible that it could have been read in Ireland as well.⁷⁰⁹ The eleventh-century poem *A Rí richid, réidig dam* by Gilla in Chomdid úa Chormaic refers to Cicero and Tiro, indicating that Cicero was familiar in Ireland by that time as an historical individual if not necessarily from his works.⁷¹⁰ Tacitus's *Annales* are less likely to have been known given their limited medieval transmission but cannot be entirely ruled out.⁷¹¹ Both Ammianus Marcellinus and Pomponius Mela circulated on

⁷⁰⁴ For which, see Moran, 'A Living Speech?', and his 'Greek in Early Medieval Ireland'.

⁷⁰⁵ For knowledge of Pliny, see discussion of natural history in CC in Chapter 5.

⁷⁰⁶ Reynolds, pp. 35–36.

⁷⁰⁷ Lake, 'Rewriting Merovingian History', pp. 497–99. I am grateful to James Miller for bringing this reference to my attention.

⁷⁰⁸ Gougaud, 'Les relations de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire', pp. 3–30.

⁷⁰⁹ Reynolds, pp. 124–28.

⁷¹⁰ Best and O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, III, ll. 17787–90 (§16).

⁷¹¹ Reynolds, pp. 406–10. *Annales*, I–VI survive in a c. 850 copy from Fulda copy, while *Annales*, VII–XVI are extant in a mid eleventh-century MS from Montecassino. Book XIV mentions *druidae*. Neither *Agricola* nor *Germania* mentions druids as

the continent in the ninth and tenth centuries, but not at historically Irish foundations and I am aware of no evidence for or against Irish transmission.⁷¹² The *Historia Augusta* has a notably fraught textual history, but it was copied in the ninth century, probably in Northern Italy (perhaps at Lorsch); Theodor Mommsen suggested that Sedulius Scottus produced a set of extracts from the text, indicating it was known by at least one Irish continental scholar.⁷¹³ From this evidence, we can say with confidence that the medieval Irish knew Lucan. It seems reasonably likely that they knew Pliny, Caesar, and Cicero. It is possible that the Irish had access to the *Historia Augusta*, and perhaps less likely that they knew Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, or Pomponius Mela. All the aforementioned texts will be taken into consideration here, but greater weight will correspondingly be given to Lucan, followed by Pliny, Caesar, and Cicero.

Several claims about *druidae* in Classical ethnography have no reflex in medieval Irish literature. There are no attestations of Irish *druid* collecting mistletoe (or any other specific plant), as in Pliny.⁷¹⁴ Nor do we see any evidence for druidic training in Britain, as Caesar indicates was the case for Gaulish druids, or a course of training lasting twenty years, as both Caesar and Pomponius Mela describe.⁷¹⁵ We can set aside these features and move on to discuss other attributes found in Classical ethnography which are present to a greater degree in medieval Irish literature: the existence of a chief or pre-eminent druid, the wearing of white vestments, the appearance of groups of druids in battle, female druids, the druidic teaching of reincarnation, and the druid practices of prophecy and human sacrifice.

In his seventh-century *Collectanea*, Tírechán describes a ‘primus magus’ who leads a group of other *magi* clad in white to attack Patrick.⁷¹⁶ If we accept that *magus* equates to *drui* in Tírechán, then we potentially find two Classical topoi concerning druids represented: Caesar’s claims that the Gaulish druids answer to one pre-eminent

such, although both circulated at Fulda in the ninth century and Rudolf of Fulda read *Germania*. Both the eleventh-century writer Adam of Bremen and Peter the Deacon in the twelfth century seem to have known *Agricola*.

⁷¹² Ibid., pp. 6–8; 290–92.

⁷¹³ Ibid., pp. 354–56.

⁷¹⁴ Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI.95, XXIV.62. We would not expect to see mistletoe in medieval Irish sources as the plant was not introduced to Ireland until the eighteenth century, for which see Nelson.

⁷¹⁵ Caesar, BG, VI.13–14; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, III.18–19.

⁷¹⁶ Tírechán, *Collectanea*, §42.

druid who is elected from among the other druids or attains the role by force,⁷¹⁷ and Pliny's assertion that *druidae* wear white.⁷¹⁸ However, the host of *magi* under one leader is likely intended to contrast with the host of clerics under Patrick's leadership, and the white garments of the *magi* likewise parallel the white garments that Patrick gives to the newly-baptized earlier in the text.⁷¹⁹ Given these internal parallels and given that the *Collectanea* was composed at least a century before we have any evidence for Caesar or Pliny circulating at insular centres or affiliated continental foundations, I see no reason to attribute either detail to the presence of Classical ethnography. If Classical influence is at work, we might instead look to Vergil's descriptions of *sacerdotes* wearing shining robes.⁷²⁰

Later vernacular medieval Irish texts do not typically feature a pre-eminent chief *druí* with authority over all Ireland. The closest example comes from Áed Ollbarr Úa Carthaig's twelfth-century *dindshenchas* poem on Mide in which a 'prímdruí 7 prímsenchaid' named Mide assembles the other *druíd* of Ireland and cuts out their tongues.⁷²¹ While it is possible that this narrative shows the influence of Caesar's claim that a pre-eminent druid is selected by vote or the use of force, this seems unlikely and several factors might dissuade us from such a conclusion. Firstly, Mide retaliates against the other *druíd* of Ireland after they grumble about the smoke from his fire, rather than setting out to assume authority over them. Indeed, he is not called *druí* or *senchaid* at all until after he has overcome the other *druíd*.⁷²² Secondly, there is evidently room for more than one *prímdruí*, as in the metrical *dindshenchas* Mide's nurse Gáine is also described as both *fáith* 'seer' and *prímdruí*, and is clearly separate from the other, now tongueless *druíd* since she speaks after the removal of

⁷¹⁷ Caesar, BG, VI.13–14.

⁷¹⁸ Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI.95.

⁷¹⁹ Tírechán, *Collectanea*, §26. See also Maier, 'Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid', pp. 122–23 for white garments as a sign of holiness in late antique hagiography.

⁷²⁰ Vergil, *Aeneid*, X.539, XII.169. Servius also mentions the colours and materials of the robes in the commentary to each line; those at X.539 are 'vestes albas', as are the robes of the *magi* in Tírechán.

⁷²¹ 'chief *druí* and chief historian'. (Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, II, pp. 42–45); cf. Stokes, 'The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas', pp. 297–98; Stokes, 'The Bodleian Dinnsenchas', pp. 475–76. See Carey, 'Connachta', pp. 130–34 for authorship and dating.

⁷²² Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, II, p. 44, l. 36.

their tongues, naming the hill of Uisnech.⁷²³ *Prím*- here seems to have the valence of ‘excellent’ rather than ‘pre-eminent’ or ‘chief’. Finally, the tale lends itself to a Patrician reading, mirroring the pagan *magi* who are overcome by Patrick’s Easter fire at Slane in Muirchú, *Vita S. Patricii*, I.13–18.⁷²⁴ The removal of the tongues also has Old Testament parallels in Proverbs 10.31: ‘Os justi parturiet sapientiam; lingua pravorum peribit’, and in II Macabees 15.33 in which the tongue of the enemy general Nicanor is cut out after he is slain in battle.⁷²⁵ This does not rule out influence from both Caesar and biblical motifs, but neither are the details any more obviously Caesarian than biblical.

Rarely do we see large congregations of Irish *druíd* in medieval sources outside this narrative to compare with Caesar’s convocation of *druidae*. Instead it is more usual for medieval texts to depict a single, named *druí* or a small group of *druíd*, typically advising a king such as Cathbad at Emain Macha, or Caicher (and his descendants) in LGÉ. Examples of groups of *druíd* do occur in battle sequences, however, such as those in CMT, CMTC, and TBDD.⁷²⁶ The imprecations of these *druíd* in, or directly before battle are similar to Tacitus’s descriptions of the *druidae* of Anglesey, who chant spells at the invading Romans while explicitly Fury-like women with funerary garb and unbound hair rush about carrying torches.⁷²⁷ While the behaviour of these *druidae* and the Fury-like women offer a close parallel to the magic-workers and supernatural beings in some medieval Irish battle scenes, the textual transmission of Tacitus suggests that it was unlikely that *Annales*, XIV was read in Ireland.⁷²⁸ The similarities are thus more likely to be the result of universal approaches to describing battles, mutual evolution, or aspects from Classical depictions of battle spirits which influenced both Tacitus and medieval Irish authors independently. Individual named druids appear in battle scenes as well, such as Duibdiad in CMR and Mog Ruith in *Forbuis Droma Dámhgháire*, although these are

⁷²³ Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, II, p. 44, l. 40. In the prose versions, she is not *prímdruí*.

⁷²⁴ Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, II, pp. 42, l. 11. Cf. Muirchú, *Vita S. Patricii*, I.13–18. See Carey, ‘*Connachta*’, p. 132 for comparison of the Mide poem and Muirchú.

⁷²⁵ ‘The mouth of the just will bear wisdom; the tongues of the wicked will perish’.

⁷²⁶ See discussion of druids and concealed waters in Chapter 6.

⁷²⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV.30.

⁷²⁸ See Chapter 3 for Furies and female battle spirits and Chapter 6 for druids and battles in TBDD, CMT, and CMTC.

both late texts.⁷²⁹ We might more profitably compare the appearances of druids in battle scenes with Old Testament prophets who appear on battlefields or affect the outcome of battles,⁷³⁰ or with Classical priests who take part in armed conflict such as Amphiaraus in Statius.⁷³¹

Two authors of the *Historia Augusta* attest to the existence of female *druidae*.⁷³² In both instances, a female druid prophesies the fate of an emperor. In Lampridius, a female druid warns Alexander Severus shortly before his death that he will not achieve victory, while in Vopiscus, a female druid tells Diocletian that he will someday rule. We might compare the role of Fedelm in TBC, although she is called *banfáith* and *banfile* rather than *bandruí*.⁷³³ Irish *bandruí* are not as common as their male counterparts, but they do appear. Examples include the three *ferdruid* and three *bandruí* whom Medb sends to attack Cú Chulainn in TBC-LL, the titular character of the brief tale *Toghmairc Baisi Bandruadh* in Harley MS 5280, fol. 48b and TCD 1337, p. 60a, and Macha, who calls herself ‘bandruí 7 bancumachtach’ in the version of *Noínden Ulad* found in TCD 1337.⁷³⁴ *Bandruí* is also a common description for female magic-workers in the Classical adaptations, where it is applied to Circe in IA, Thetis in the prose *Achilleid* material, and both Medea and the witches of Thessaly in CC (no example directly translates a word comparable to *druí* in Latin).⁷³⁵ These attestations date from roughly the eleventh or twelfth century and later, suggesting that *bandruí* was coined during the Middle Irish period. Both *Historia Augusta* passages refer to their female druids as specifically ‘mulier Druias’, so it is not impossible that *bandruí* calques the Latin phrase. However, the frequency of *ban-* compounds in medieval Irish, following the model of pre-existing compounds such as *banairchinnech* ‘female *princeps*, abbess’, and *bandea* ‘goddess’, which we find as early as the St Gall Priscian glosses, or *bancháinte* ‘female satirist’, which

⁷²⁹ O’Donovan, *The Banquet*, p. 170 et al.; Sjoestedt.

⁷³⁰ Such as Elisha in II Kings 3.9–12, 6.15–19, Oded in II Chronicles 28.9, and Jeremiah in Jeremiah 21.4–5.

⁷³¹ Statius, *Thebaid*, VII.688–823. Cf. Chloereus and Haemon’s son in Vergil, *Aeneid*, X.537, XI.768.

⁷³² Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, §59.5, and Vopiscus, *Numerianus*, §14, for which see Magie.

⁷³³ O’Rahilly, TBC-I, pp. 2–4; O’Rahilly, TBC-LL, pp. 6–8.

⁷³⁴ O’Rahilly, TBC-LL, p. 57; Meyer, ‘*Toghmairc Baisi bandruadh*’, p. 104; Thurneysen, ‘*Tochmarc Cruinn ocus Macha*’, p. 525.

⁷³⁵ Circe: Calder, IA, ll. 1459, 1462; Thetis: Ó hAodha, ‘Irish Version’, §25, pp. 108–09; Medea: Stokes, CC, l. 3909; Thessalian witches: *ibid.*, ll. 3893–908.

occurs in the ninth-century *Longes mac nUislen*, and the range of texts across which the word appears make it unlikely that the Irish concept of *bandruí* was based entirely on two short references in the *Historia Augusta*.⁷³⁶ Given the ease with which *ban-* compounds could be formed, it is also possible that at least one of the attestations of *bandruí* was formulated as a calque on the Latin as discussed above, and that other attestations of the word represent separate coinages. Nevertheless, the frequency of the word's application to Classical magic-workers compared with its relatively sparse, late appearances in non-Classical vernacular texts does suggest Classical connections, and it is likely that figures designated as *bandruí* in non-Classical vernacular texts owe something to Classical literary characters such as Circe, Thetis, and Medea, as will be discussed in greater detail below.

Classical *druidae* often preach a doctrine of reincarnation, usually to assuage concerns about death in battle.⁷³⁷ While various forms of reincarnation, metempsychosis, and the transmigration of souls appear sporadically in medieval Irish narratives, they are rarely tied specifically to *druí*. Indeed, the passage of *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* quoted above is the only instance of which I am aware in which a pre-Christian Irish priesthood promulgates such an idea. Examples of reincarnation in vernacular literature include Étaín's rebirth as a human woman after she is swallowed in the form of a fly in TE, the rebirth of the swineherds in the ninth- or tenth-century *De Chopur in Dá Muccida* as the bulls in TBC after they are swallowed in the form of water creatures, and the rebirth of Túan mac Cairill in the also ninth- or tenth-century text *Scél Túain meic Cairill* after he is swallowed in the form of a fish.⁷³⁸ None of these examples involve *druí* and in all of them the reincarnated characters are consumed in animal form, rather than dying as humans

⁷³⁶ For *banairchinnech* see Bauer et al., St Gall Priscian, 69b28. For *bandea* see Bauer et al., St Gall Priscian, 53b1 and Carey, 'Dee "Pagan Deity"', pp. 38–39 for discussion. For *bancháinte* see Hull, *Longes*, p. 45. Many *ban-* compounds, especially those where the second element is a profession, seem to be relatively late Middle Irish coinages, although a thorough study of their date and formation remains to be done; cf. eDIL, 's.v. 1 ben', <dil.ie/5644>.

⁷³⁷ For druids teaching reincarnation see Caesar, BG, VI.14; Lucan, I.450–65; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XV.9.4; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbe*, III.18–19.

⁷³⁸ See Chapter 6 for further discussion of TE. For *De Chopur in Dá Muccida* see Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Text*, III.1, pp. 241, 245; Roider, pp. 38, 52. For *Scél Túain meic Cairill* see Carey, 'Scél Túain meic Chairill', p. 102. See Watson, 'Philosophy', pp. 301–71 for further discussion of metempsychosis and its Neoplatonic and patristic antecedents.

and being reborn in a new human body. This is fundamentally unlike the reincarnation associated with Classical *druidae* who cynically encourage warriors to fight to the death in battle with the promise of future lives. The Classical ethnographies on Celtic *druidae* discussed here contain no mention of rebirth in animal form. It thus seems unlikely that Classical ideas of druidic reincarnation are reflected by the re-embodiments and rebirths found in medieval Irish literature. The single exception where druids and reincarnation are linked is found in CC, where, as in Lucan, druids preach the transmigration of souls, as discussed below.⁷³⁹

Classical *druidae* also commonly engage in divine interpretation and divination.⁷⁴⁰ Cicero, the single Classical source to claim that his information comes from a named druid interlocutor (Diviciacus), includes only this detail about druidic practice. Medieval Irish literary *druí*d prophesy frequently across texts produced during the entirety of the medieval Irish period, from the *magi* who foretell the arrival of Patrick in Muirchú's *Vita S. Patricii*, to Cathbad in vernacular tales, down to late Middle Irish texts and Early Modern Irish narratives such as *Forbuis Droma Dámhgháire*.⁷⁴¹ However, the ability to foretell the future to at least some degree is a basic and widespread ability of most supernatural and religious characters and is attributed to Old Testament pagans, biblical prophets, Christian saints, and Classical priests alike. There is no reason to suppose that Classical ethnographic sources influenced medieval Irish *druí*d in this regard when ample examples of prophets and prophecies existed in both Christian and secular Latin and vernacular literature.

Finally, we turn to the most lurid and one of the most oft-repeated claims about Gaulish *druidae* in Classical ethnography: that they practice human sacrifice.⁷⁴² Like reincarnation, there are instances of human sacrifice in medieval Irish literature, but they are not associated with *druí*d in particular. Jacqueline Borsje identifies only one example from medieval Irish literature of human sacrifice to pagan deities set in pre-Christian Ireland: the Crom Cróich narrative in the *dindshenchas* of Mag Slécht.⁷⁴³ In the prose account, the pre-Christian Irish are said to sacrifice their

⁷³⁹ Stokes, CC, ll. 724–31; cf. Lucan, I.450–65.

⁷⁴⁰ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, I.xli.90; Caesar, BG, VI.13; Lucan, I.450–65.

⁷⁴¹ Muirchú, *Vita S. Patricii*, I.10; Sjoestedt, pp. 18–20.

⁷⁴² For druids practicing human sacrifice see Caesar, BG, VI.16; Lucan, I.450–65; Pliny, *Natural History*, XXX.4; Tacitus, *Annales* XIV.30; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, III.18–19.

⁷⁴³ Borsje, 'Human Sacrifice', pp. 33–42.

firstborns to the idol Crom Cróich until Patrick puts a stop to the practice, while in the verse it is specified that children's blood is poured around the idol in return for plentiful harvests.⁷⁴⁴ As Borsje persuasively argues, human sacrifice is a late, eleventh- or twelfth-century addition to the Patrician idol-smashing narrative found in earlier hagiography, and reflects Old Testament sources involving the sacrifice of children to pagan idols.⁷⁴⁵

Human sacrifice appears occasionally elsewhere in medieval Irish literature, but it is usually performed by pagans in distant lands, as in the ninth-century *Epistil Ísu* (Letter of Jesus), in which abduction and sacrifice by pagans are threatened as punishments for those who fail to uphold the law of Sunday.⁷⁴⁶ It is also found in *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* and CC. None of these narratives directly involve *druíd* in the sacrifice (indeed the druids *are sacrificed* in *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*). *Druíd* threaten human sacrifice in the Middle Irish version of the Vortigern narrative in the *Historia Brittonum*, which probably contributed to a comparable scene in the Early Modern Irish tale *Echtra Airt meic Cuind ocus Tochmarc Delbchaíme ingine Morgáin*, but no sacrifice ultimately occurs.⁷⁴⁷ Crucially, these texts are predominantly eleventh-century or later and only the *dindsenchas* of Mag Slécht depicts actual human sacrifice as taking place in pre-Christian Ireland. Medieval Irish literary *druíd* do not perform human sacrifice, unlike Classical *druidae*, and scenes of sacrifice (or attempted sacrifice) that take place in Ireland seem to be influenced by biblical models and, in the case of *Echtra Airt meic Cuind ocus Tochmarc Delbchaíme ingine Morgáin*, probably by the *Historia Brittonum* narrative. Human sacrifice set in Classical settings such as that in CC and *How Samson Slew the Gesteda* is notably not practiced by druids, as will be discussed in greater detail below. We can therefore rule out Classical ethnography as a source for linking human sacrifice to medieval Irish *druíd*. This is not necessarily surprising, given how unwilling the medieval Irish were to attribute the practice to their pre-Christian ancestors in any form.

⁷⁴⁴ Stokes, 'The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas', p. 35 (prose); Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, IV, pp. 18–23, ll. 13–16 (verse).

⁷⁴⁵ Borsje, 'Human Sacrifice', pp. 33–42.

⁷⁴⁶ O'Keeffe, 'Cáin Domnaig'; cf. Borsje 'Human Sacrifice', pp. 42–45.

⁷⁴⁷ Borsje 'Human Sacrifice', pp. 46–48. Cf. Todd, *Leabhar Breathnach*, pp. 90–99; Best, 'The Adventures of Art son of Conn', pp. 149–73.

In conclusion, very little information about *druidae* in Classical ethnographic sources is reflected in the depiction of *druíd* in medieval Irish literature. Some attributes of Classical *druidae* simply do not occur in medieval texts, such as a fascination with mistletoe. A few parallels appear only once or twice but may or may not involve *druíd*, as is the case in the *dindshenchas* episode involving human sacrifice practiced by the pre-Christian Irish. Some form of reincarnation also appears in medieval texts, but is never explicitly linked with *druíd*. Even when there are loose similarities between Classical ethnographic claims and medieval narratives, explanations other than direct influence are usually more likely. Thus *bandruí* may have been a calque on ‘Druias mulier’, but in the absence of other evidence for the circulation of the *Historia Augusta* in medieval Ireland, it seems more likely that the word was simply formed on the model of other common *ban-* compounds.⁷⁴⁸ Similarly, the presence of groups of *druíd* in battle is so widespread in Irish literature and the transmission of the later books of Tacitus’s *Annales* so restricted during the Middle Ages that it is unlikely that Tacitus was responsible for the motif. Finally, prophecy is such a generic trait that there is no reason to assume Classical ethnography stands behind medieval Irish *druíd* who predict the future. The absence of Classical ethnographic influence on medieval Irish depictions of *druíd* does not equate to an absence of any Classical influence, however, as we saw in the case of the magical thirst motif in Chapter 6. It is to the Classical adaptations that we will again turn to find examples of *druíd* and elucidate the relationship between Classical priests and magic-workers and medieval Irish conceptions of *druíd*.

DRUÍD IN THE CLASSICAL ADAPTATIONS

In the Classical adaptations, *druí* is usually applied to priests and prophets, as well as to the supernatural women discussed in Chapter 3 and earlier in the present chapter. It often appears alongside *fáith* ‘seer’ or *físid* ‘learned one (especially one learned in supernatural knowledge)’ as a set collocation, much like the alliterative pairing of *fáith ocus físid*. Thus in TTe, Tiresias is both *físid* and *druí*.⁷⁴⁹ Apollo’s priests in IA are both *fáithi* and *druíd*, as are the Theban priests in TTe, and the Greek seers in the

⁷⁴⁸ See above, pp. 204–05 for date and development of *ban-* compounds.

⁷⁴⁹ Calder, TTe, ll. 1623–24.

prose *Achilleid* material.⁷⁵⁰ In CC the Etruscan *fáithi* are skilled in *druidecht*, which they learned from its inventor, the *fáith* Tages.⁷⁵¹ All these usages either translate Latin *vates* or appear in sections that have been added to the narrative (in the case of the Theban priests in TTe and the Greek seers in the prose *Achilleid* material).

By contrast, most of the usages of *bandruí* (as with *ammait* in Chapter 3) do not directly translate anything in Latin, instead clarifying a character's role and powers, or replacing a proper noun or geographic designation (e.g., 'Thessalian'). While *druí* on its own or paired with *físid* or *fáith* seems to designate a figure invested with a prophetic and/or priestly office, *bandruí* appears to describe a female character's narrative function and intrinsic supernatural abilities. *Bandruí* do not typically prophesy or enact propitiatory rites themselves, and indeed TTe terms Tiresias's daughter Manto, who does possess prophetic abilities, *bansacart* 'female priest' rather than *bandruí*.⁷⁵² The Irish adaptors have created a lexical category of female supernatural character where none existed in the Classical originals. Sometimes *bandruí* overlaps with *ammait*, as in the case of the Thessalian witches in CC, but primarily it seems to designate supernatural women who are neither Furies nor battle spirits. It is against this Classical background that we should read other appearances of *bandruí* in medieval Irish literature, especially Bais in *Toghmairc Baisi Bandruadh* and Macha in the TCD 1337 version of *Noínden Ulad*, both of which appear in the same manuscript and date linguistically to the later Middle Irish period.⁷⁵³ Macha's assertion that she is 'bandruí 7 bancumachtach' also calls to mind the use of *banchumachtach* as an epithet of Venus in TTe, as discussed in Chapter 2. If the word *ammait* made its way from Irish texts into the Classical adaptations, which in turn influenced its use in later Irish narratives, *bandruí* may very well have been coined or at least popularized by the Classical adaptors (regardless of its relation, or lack thereof, to the 'Druis mulier' of the *Historia Augusta*).

Druids in In Cath Catharda

With this background in mind, we can return to the question of whether *druí* ever directly relates to *druidae*. The one instance where a medieval Irish text explicitly

⁷⁵⁰ Calder, IA, l. 1498; Calder, TTe, l. 84; Ó hAodha, 'Irish Version', §5, pp. 94–95.

⁷⁵¹ Stokes, CC, ll. 923–33, 992–94.

⁷⁵² Calder, TTe, l. 1655.

⁷⁵³ Meyer, 'Toghmairc Baisi bandruadh', p. 104; Thurneysen, 'Tochmarc Cruinn ocus Macha', p. 525.

cites and responds to a Classical description of *druidae* appears in CC. It is worth quoting both the original Latin and the Irish passage in full:

Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse deos et coeli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbrae
Non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longae (canitis si cognita) vitae
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget, leti metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces
Mortis: et ignavum, rediturae parcere vitae.⁷⁵⁴

In Irish, this passage becomes:

Tancadar ann popul na druidecda, popal iat sén da fognaitis fesa &
faistine & no gnáthaigtis taiscélad for réthaibh rend & rétlann, & is ed
atbertis trena fesaibh demhnacdaibh anmanna in lochta ba marbh isin
mesraighthisea do breith tresin tendtigi fodes & a tabairt i corpaibh ele
isin mesraighthi descertach. Druide anmanna na popul sin, & Druis
ainm a cathrach. Is assén atberar druí & dráidhecht isin Scotie.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵⁴ ‘And Druids, putting down your weapons, you reclaimed your barbaric rites and sinister custom of worship. To you alone it is given to know (or not to know) the gods and celestial powers. You inhabit the distant groves in remote forests. You teach that shades do not descend to the silent throne of Erebus and the pale kingdom of Dis below, but the same spirit governs its limbs in another world: if what they say is believed, then death is merely the middle of long life. Thus the peoples on whom the pole star gazes are happy in their error, since the greatest fear, the fear of death, does not oppress them. Thence the mind of the warrior is inclined to rush into arms, and their spirits are fit for death: it is cowardice to spare a life that will be renewed’.
(Lucan, I.450–462).

⁷⁵⁵ ‘The people of the Druids came there— that people whom science and soothsaying used to serve and they used to ascertain [the future] from the courses of stars and constellations; and this is what they would say through the diabolical sciences, that the souls of those that died in the [northern] temperate zone were taken southward through the hot zone, and placed in other bodies in the southern temperate zone.

As I will argue here, the changes made to this passage function not only to link Lucan's narrative to Irish identity and history via etymology, but to ameliorate the depiction of druids once the connection to the Irish words and cultural institutions is made, turning bloodthirsty pagan priests into gentle natural philosophers.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the passage shortly before that quoted above attempts to make the Romans *more* barbaric by linking the bloodthirsty gods of the Teutones to Classical deities and removing their Gaulish names.⁷⁵⁶ This passage, by turn, makes the druids *less* barbaric since the vernacular version removes the mention of human sacrifice. There is no risk that the Gaulish bards and druids could be part of the Teutones and their blood sacrifices because each group is rendered in Irish as a separate *popul* that joins Caesar's army, rather than an amorphous group of Gauls sliding back into barbarism as soon as Caesar's forces have departed. Not only are the 'barbaric rites and sinister customs of worship' associated with the Latin *druidae* gone, but so is the mention of secret groves. This may be an attempt to break any potential connection between druids and the sacred grove that Caesar destroys in III.399–452, where human sacrifice has been practiced by the Gauls. CC also lessens the impact of the Massilian grove in Book III by again removing the mention of human sacrificial victims and stating that the trees were simply the colour of human blood ('Dath fola doendai for cech n-aen crann ann')⁷⁵⁷ rather than purified with it ('Omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos').⁷⁵⁸ Since Arnulf of Orléans clarifies that these rites indeed require human blood in his scholia on III.404–05, this subtle change should be read as a specific and conscious choice on the part of the redactors rather than a misunderstanding of Lucan.⁷⁵⁹

CC states that these druids come from the city of Druid. This is reminiscent of the claim in the prologue of CMT (sourced from LGÉ) that the TDD came to Ireland from cities in the north of the world where they learned 'fesa & fithnasachta & druidechtaí & amaidechtaí & amainsechta' from *druid* until they surpassed the sages

Druids the names of those people, and Druid the name of their city. Hence is said *druí* "druid" and *druidecht* "druidry" in Irish'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 724–31).

⁷⁵⁶ Chapter 2, pp. 32–35.

⁷⁵⁷ 'The colour of the blood of humans was upon each of the trees there'. (Stokes, CC, l. 1770; my trans.).

⁷⁵⁸ 'All the trees were purified with human blood'. (Lucan, III.405).

⁷⁵⁹ Marti, p. 187.

of the pagan arts.⁷⁶⁰ The names of the cities in CMT and LGÉ (Falias, Gorias, Findias, and Murias) are formed on the same *-(i)as* model as *Druias* in CC, as are the names of several of the *druí*d who reside in each city in CMT and LGÉ (Morfesa, Esras, Uiscias, Semias).⁷⁶¹ The druids in CC may be more than merely etymologically linked with the Irish *druí*d: like the *druí*d dwelling in the northern cities in the prologue of CMT and in LGÉ, they seem to represent the people from whom the Irish druids learned or descended. The pervasive distaste for human sacrifice in medieval Irish literature and refusal to connect the practice with druids, even in late texts as discussed above, may explain the changes made to druids in this passage of CC. Medieval Irish *druí*d were never so violent or sacrilegious as to sacrifice humans, so neither could their progenitors be, even if this meant rejecting Lucan's original text (and potentially a good deal of other Classical ethnography on *druidae*). Instead the Irish redactors of CC drew from elements of their own pseudohistorical literature and the Classical commentary tradition to present the text's druids as natural philosophers who may have erred theologically, but were far from the problematic pagans found in Lucan.

CC introduces the antipodes to the doctrine of transmigration promulgated by the druids. This detail almost certainly comes from scholia on Lucan.⁷⁶² The *Commenta Bernensia* states, 'prudentes dicunt per μετεμψύχωσιν animas ad alterius climatis corpora transire nec in eo orbe uersari in quo prius fuerint. unde et Virgilius *pelagine uenis erroribus actus*'.⁷⁶³ Arnulf of Orléans also affirms, '*Longe vite quia diu durat uita cum anima deuno corpore transeat in aliud in alio emisperio. Despicit*

⁷⁶⁰ 'knowledge and sorcery, *druídecht* and *ammaitecht* and (magical?) skill'. (Gray, §§1–7, pp. 24–25; trans. adapted). See Carey, 'Myth and Mythography', pp. 53–4 for discussion of the origins of the prologue, and his 'Lebar Gabála: Recension I', pp. 129, 196, 435–37 and Macalister, LGÉ, IV, p. 106 for the comparable passage of LGÉ.

⁷⁶¹ Gray, §§3–7, pp. 24–25; Macalister, LGÉ, IV, p. 106. This form is also similar to the Latin feminine adjective *Druias* found only in the *Historia Augusta* authors discussed earlier.

⁷⁶² To the best of my knowledge, no Classical ethnographer links druidic transmigration with the antipodes.

⁷⁶³ 'the wise say that through *metempsychosis* souls transfer to bodies of the other climate and do not dwell in this sphere in which they were before. Whence Vergil *do you come, moved by the wanderings of the sea?*'. (Usener, p. 33). The quotation reproduces the Greek as it appears in Usener's edition of the text and in the manuscript tradition, although the correct form would be μετεμψύχωσιν.

deorsum aspicit utpote superior, id est qui sunt septentrionales'.⁷⁶⁴ Here, the scholia on Lucan are in dialogue with Servius's commentary on Vergil, *Aeneid* VI.532, which itself quotes Lucan, I.456:

pelagine venis erroribus actus? non ad inferos, sed ad locum, in quo inferorum descensus est, id est ad Avernum, si intra terram sunt inferi. alii altius intellegunt: qui sub terra esse inferos volunt secundum chorographos et geometras, qui dicunt terram σφαιροειδῆ esse, quae aqua et aere sustentatur. quod si est, ad antipodes potest navigatione perveniri, qui quantum ad nos spectat, inferi sunt, sicut nos illis. hinc est quod terram esse inferos dicimus, quamquam illud sit, quia novem cingitur circulis. Tiberianus etiam inducit epistolam vento allatam ab antipodibus, quae habet *superi inferis salutem*: qua occasione tractat reciprocum hoc quod diximus supra. nam prudentiores etiam animas per μετεμψύχωσιν dicunt ad alterius climatis corpora transire, nec in eo orbe versari in quo prius fuerunt: unde ait Lucanus *regit idem spiritus artus orbe alio: longae, canitis si cognita, vitae*. sciendum tamen hoc Homericum esse: nam etiam illic Elpenor similiter Vlixem interrogat.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁴ 'Longe vite because life endures for a long time when the spirit transfers from one body to another in the other hemisphere. *Despicit* [Arctos] looks downwards, namely [it is] above, that is, which are northern'. (Marti, p. 59). Arnulf means than the Pole star (Arctos) looks down from above upon the northern hemisphere.

⁷⁶⁵ 'do you come, moved by the wanderings of the sea? not to the underworld, but to a place, in which there is a descent towards the underworld, that is to Avernus, if the underworld is within the earth. Others understand more clearly: those who wish the underworld to be below the earth, according to chorographers and geometers, who say the earth is *spherical*, which is sustained by water and air. Because if it is, it is possible to come to the antipodes by ship, which for us seem to be the underworld, so much as we seem to be for them. This is because we assert that the earth is the underworld, although that may be, because it is encompassed by nine circles. Tiberianus also brought forward a letter driven by the wind from the antipodes, which said *Those of the upper world greet those of the underworld*: on which occasion he discussed the reciprocity which we mentioned above [i.e., from the point of view of the antipodes, our hemisphere is the 'underworld']. For the wiser also say that souls transfer to bodies of another climate through *metempsychosis*, and they do not dwell in this sphere in which they were before: whence Lucan says *the same spirit governs its limbs in another world: if what they say is believed, then death is merely the middle of long life*. However this was known to Homer: for Elpenor also questioned Ulysses there similarly'. (Servius, VI.532).

It is unlikely that either Vergil's sea imagery or Lucan's reference to the Pole star originally referred to the antipodes. However the interpretation of Lucan, I.456 in Servius undoubtedly influenced the scholiasts on Lucan and ultimately CC.

The antipodes constituted a somewhat fraught theological problem for medieval Christianity. In 748, Pope Zachary famously denounced the Irish cleric Vergil of Salzburg for his suggestion that there was another world on the other side of the earth.⁷⁶⁶ Classical writers including Lucretius, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela supported the existence of the antipodes, while Augustine, Isidore, and Bede denied their existence.⁷⁶⁷ The theological problem posed by the antipodes was their inaccessibility, as they lay on the opposite side of the unbearably hot torrid zone which extended around the middle of the earth: this meant that the descendants of Noah could not have populated the antipodean region, against the assertion in Genesis 9.19 that all of humanity was descended from Noah, and that Christ and his apostles could not have reached it to proselytize the faith, in contravention of Matthew 24.19 and Acts 2.4–5. Carey and Bilić have argued that the antipodes were unusually well-represented in early medieval Hiberno-Latin and vernacular Irish literature, likely as a way of explaining traditions about the Otherworld, located across the sea or underground.⁷⁶⁸ Regardless of the extent to which the antipodes were used to justify or reflect Irish Otherworld traditions (or may have inspired those traditions), the antipodes or antipodes-like ideas appeared in Irish sources from the seventh-century *Altus prosator* to the tenth-century *Saltair na Rann* and *In Tenga Bithnua*.⁷⁶⁹ Theological debate over the existence and habitation of the antipodes had become increasingly complex in the Latin West by the time CC was produced. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw greater literary interest in the antipodes and Vergil of Salzburg was canonized in 1233; at the same time, however, proponents of the inhabited antipodes also came under fire for heresy.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁶ Carey, 'Ireland and the Antipodes', pp. 1–3. See there for further bibliography on the antipodes in medieval thought.

⁷⁶⁷ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I.373–75; Pliny, *Natural History*, II.65; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, I.4; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 16; Isidore, *Etymologies*, IX.ii.133; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, §3. Lucretius and Pliny suggested that the antipodes may be populated.

⁷⁶⁸ Carey, 'Ireland and the Antipodes'; Bilić, 'The Antipodes'.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ Carey, 'Ireland and the Antipodes', pp. 2–3, nn. 6–7.

While the antipodes were the subject of abiding theological and literary interest in medieval Ireland and growing popularity in twelfth-century Europe, the idea that human souls migrated to new bodies there after death never belonged to any form of Christian theology. Instead, the druids in CC promulgate a doctrine concomitant with pagan natural philosophy of the sort espoused by Pliny, while nodding to the contemporaneous debate over the antipodes in both Irish and wider European theological and geographical thought. Theologically, the error made by the druids in CC is only a step beyond that of Vergil of Salzburg; it is rather that of Vergil of Mantua (as represented by Servius). The introduction of the antipodes to the description of the Gaulish druids represents a further attempt to distance the text's druids from negative Classical ethnographic portrayals in Lucan. The druids in CC may flirt with heresy and practise 'fesa demhnacda', much as the Túatha De in CMT learn 'fesa & éolas & díabuldánachta' in the northern cities, but they stop short of human sacrifice.⁷⁷¹ They are instead learned gentile philosophers and prophets, closer to the *magi* who attend Christ's birth (and are also translated as *druid* in medieval Irish), or to Cathbad or the other *druí* who prophesy the crucifixion in *Aided Chonchobuir*.⁷⁷²

Indeed, the druids in CC occupy a similar chronological framework as both the *magi* at the birth of Christ and to Cathbad, but whereas the *magi* at Christ's birth overlap with Christ, the druids in CC fall a generation too early—on the cusp of the Christian era but forty-eight years too soon to offer genuine Christian revelation. They, like the *magi* of the Old Testament and Vergil himself stumble now and then over theology, while presaging things to come. The druids in CC make no prophecies of Christ, but they are claimed as the source of the Irish word *druí* and presumably the institution of druidry, as illustrated by the links with Irish pseudohistorical traditions found in LGÉ and the related prologue to CMT. This implicitly suggests that these Irish terms and institutions *do* fall within the Christian era since they originate from and must chronologically postdate the druids in CC who occupy the interval shortly before the birth of Christ. The *translatio studii* at work is not simply the reception of the Classics in medieval Ireland, but the transfer of druidic learning as a form of

⁷⁷¹ 'knowledge and learning and diabolic arts'. (Gray, §2, pp. 24–25; trans. adapted).

⁷⁷² For the (Three) Magi as *druid* see Carney, *Poems of Blathmac*, p. 4 and *Scéla na Druad* ed. in Hogan, pp. 59–60 and trans. in Herbert and McNamara, p. 36. For discussion see Williams, *Fiery Shapes*, pp. 56–57; McKenna, p. 70. For Cathbad (and other druids) in *Aided Chonchobuir* see Meyer, *Death Tales*, pp. 16–17.

natural philosophy from the continental druids in CC and their city Druias to the medieval Irish *druíd*. Broader *translatio imperii* may lurk behind the reference to Irish language and identity in the passage as well when we remember the text's eschatological interest in world empires and ages, as discussed in Chapter 5. The Irish are not merely the inheritors of druidic identity and Classical knowledge: CC implicitly constructs them as new Israelites—the occupants of the *seventh* age of the world, whose own migration mirrors that of the biblical Israelites in the Irish pseudohistorical traditions alluded to by the druids passage in CC.⁷⁷³ The Christian Irish emerge as the real inheritors of the Christian, post-Pharsalian, and post-Roman (republican) world.

As much as the ethnographic 'people of druids' in CC are presented as inoffensive gentile philosophers linked to Irish *druíd*, the term *druí* also appears in the rest of the work with its more general denotation of 'magic-worker'.⁷⁷⁴ As mentioned above, the Etruscans are also said to be skilled in *druidecht* and Tages is credited as the founder of 'in ealadhain draidochta'.⁷⁷⁵ If read together with the ethnographic passage analysed here, this may imply another stage of *translatio studii* in which the knowledge of *druidecht* was passed from Tages to others including the druids of Druias and thence to the Irish. However, the term also has more explicitly negative connotations as Medea and the Thessalian *ammaiti* are called *bandruíd* and Erichtho practices *druidecht*.⁷⁷⁶ *Druíd* similarly enchant military standards alongside idolaters and unbelievers, much as *ammaiti* enchant Caesar's shield.⁷⁷⁷ In CC *druí* and *druidecht* have both specific etymological and ethnographic valences, and function as generic terms for 'magic-worker' and 'magic', respectively. This extension of meaning to encompass any kind of supernatural power, prophecy, or natural science, or the practitioners thereof is keeping with the use of both words in Middle Irish literature more generally, and the corpus of Classical adaptations in particular, as

⁷⁷³ See Garrison, 'The Franks as a New Israel?', and O'Brien, 'Chosen Peoples' for broader discussion of medieval New Israelites. See Boyle, *History*, especially Chapters 1 and 5 for Irish typological and historiographical links to the Israelites.

⁷⁷⁴ 'idolaters and unbelievers'. (Stokes, CC, ll. 4932–33).

⁷⁷⁵ 'of the science of *druidecht*'. (ibid., ll. 992–94).

⁷⁷⁶ Medea: ibid., ll. 3909; Thessalians: ll. 3893–908; Erichtho: l. 3989; l. 4084, et al.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., ll. 4931–33.

illustrated above.⁷⁷⁸ At the same time, within the ethnographic passage discussed here, the terms are linked to Irish identity on linguistic and pseudohistorical levels.

CONCLUSION

During the Middle Irish period, *druí* came simply to mean ‘magic worker’, mapping onto *vates* as much as *magus*. *Druíd* could be pagan priests, natural philosophers, prophets, or otherwise supernatural beings. What they almost inevitably were *not*, however, was closely modelled on Classical *druidae*. With the exception of CC, which made etymological and intellectual connections between Lucan’s *druidae* and Irish identity, linking the Classical druids to a chain of *translatio studii* and sanitizing their behaviour in the process, we have very little evidence that Irish *druíd* were based in any way on Classical *druidae*. Nonetheless we do see influence from Classical literature and the Classical adaptations in the evolution of medieval literary *druíd*. The prevalence of *bandruí* in the Classical adaptations to describe a category of otherwise lexically unspecified female magic-worker may have influenced the use of the term in non-Classical vernacular literature. The magical thirst inflicted upon the Argive army by Bacchus and his followers in Statius in turn influenced portrayals of Irish *druíd* in battle, as seen in Chapter 6.

One final example will serve to illustrate how far *druíd* and Irish Classicism had become entwined and how far *interpretatio* had influenced conceptions of the pagan supernatural over the course of the medieval Irish period. In the Early Modern Irish text *Cath Findchorad*, Ailill and Medb’s *druíd* worship the Classical gods: ‘Do ronsad udhbarta do Mhairt, do Ois do Ióbhi 7 d’Ápaill’, bringing us full circle from the use of *druí* to describe Classical magic-workers such as Tiresias and Medea in the Classical adaptations, and of *druidecht* to describe the god Apollo’s power in TTe.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁸ See entry b under s.v. *druí* <dil.ie/18853>, and s.v. *druidecht* or dil.ie/18855.

⁷⁷⁹ ‘They offered sacrifices to Mars, to Ois, to Jove and to Apollo’. (Dobbs, ll. 10–11). A gap appears in the text following *Ois*. Dobbs expands the name as *Osiris* (?), a reading which Bernhardt-House, p. 53 accepts. This would be the only reference to Osiris in medieval Irish literature of which I am aware, although Eriugena mentions ICIAA (Isis), for which see Herren, *Iohannis Scotti Eriugena Carmina*, l. 26, pp. 68–9. I am thus inclined to favour Carey’s suggestion that it ought to be taken as *Orcus* instead, as recently expressed in his 2022 Kalamazoo presentation ‘Druid Battle Magic’. See Chapter 6 for Apollo’s *druidecht*. Mills, ‘*Fet, gol, and éigem*’ has

If the early Hiberno-Latin works of the seventh century represented druids as biblical *magi*, transposed into medieval Irish settings, these late *druí*d reflect their Classical counterparts. The *druí*d in *Cath Findchorad* do not merely acknowledge the influence of Classical priests and prophets—their gods have become the Classical deities themselves. If Allecto could appear in the *Táin*, by the end of the Middle Irish period, Apollo could be invoked in *Cath Findchorad*, its sequel tale.

discussed supernatural women in *Cath Findchorad* in greater detail. Further linguistic analysis is required to establish a more specific date for the text however.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has contextualized the ‘dynamic processes’ of Classical *interpretatio* in medieval Ireland, and argues for the importance of salvation history in medieval historiography.⁷⁸⁰ Chapter 1 contextualized historiographical and literary endeavour in medieval Ireland, highlighting new trends and interests in compilation from the ninth and tenth centuries onwards. It also presented strategies towards Classical mythological reception found throughout Latin Europe, identifying both commonalities with, and unique creative approaches taken by medieval Irish authors. Chapter 2 approached the workings of *interpretatio* in medieval Ireland as it applies to the names and associations of Olympians, setting out the learned glossarial background to the later adaptations. Irish texts display multiple levels of *interpretatio*, representing Classical deities in terms of other Greco-Roman gods, as well as in Irish terms, from the earliest glossaries of the seventh century down to the Middle Irish adaptations and beyond. I began by outlining the intellectual background provided by the early Irish glosses and glossaries, which underlies the reception of Classical mythology in later medieval Ireland. The early glossaries present linguistic *interpretatio*, based on Isidorean etymological thinking meant to elucidate creatively aspects of a word or name’s inherent nature, rather than to provide an absolute definition. I argued that elements of glossing and glossary traditions are reflected by the names and associations of Classical gods and mythological characters in the later Classical adaptations and that TTe and, to a lesser extent, IA and CC provide evidence for a burgeoning system of divine epithets used for the Olympian gods in medieval Irish literature. Once again, we see instances of intertextuality, both between the Classical adaptations and non-Classical vernacular texts and within the Classical adaptations themselves, elucidating the continuities and development of Classical scholarship in the wider intellectual milieu of medieval Ireland between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries.

Chapter 3 discussed the relationships between Classical Furies, the necromancer Erichtho, and Irish battle spirits based on an analysis of the term *ammait* ‘witch, supernatural woman’ and its evolving definition between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries. The first half of the chapter addressed medieval Irish interest in

⁷⁸⁰ Porter, p. 493.

infernal and supernatural women in TTe and CC. The second half of the chapter turned to the influence of *ammaiti* in earlier Irish narratives (such as CCCL and *De Shíl Chonairi Mór*) on *ammaiti* in the Classical adaptations, and the subsequent influence of the *ammaiti* in the Classical adaptations on Furies and *ammaiti* in contemporaneous and later vernacular texts (such as CMR and the *Acallam*). This chapter introduced a much broader discussion of the types of intertextual relationships between Classical literature and medieval Irish narratives, and between the medieval Irish Classical adaptations and non-classical vernacular texts. I concluded that medieval Irish interest in battle spirits and supernatural women found common ground with portrayals of comparable figures in Classical epic, and that the Classical figures in turn supported and shaped the continued appearances of similar Otherworldly beings in Irish literature. These multidirectional influences form the basis for the patterns of Classical reception discussed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 analysed the portrayals of the gods in the Classical adaptations. It compares their appearances and behaviour in Irish narratives with those in Classical literature, considering texts on an individual basis before drawing larger conclusions about interpretations of Classical polytheism in medieval Ireland. The texts relating to the Trojan War (TTr, *Luid Iasón ina luing loir*, the *Achilleid* material, and *Don Tres Troí*) illustrate conflicting and evolving approaches to interpreting the Classical gods in a Christian world, from TTr-2, which (in contrast to Dares) adds a pseudohistorical prologue, incorporating the Olympians into biblical genealogy while maintaining their Classical powers and sphere of influences, to *Don Tres Troí*, which eschews the Classical gods entirely. While these texts offer diverse approaches to the Olympians, they share an interest in world history, and in biblical and Classical synchronism. If Chapters 2 and 3 focused on intertextuality and shared interpretive developments across texts, Chapter 4 demonstrated that authors and redactors also exercised individual agency for creative historiographical ends. This historiographical interest is a primary focus in the remainder of the thesis, in which I argue that interest in salvation history provided the major impetus for medieval Irish Classical studies. Building on the first three chapters, the following chapters discuss the ways in which medieval Irish authors employed Classical literature and *translatio studii* in the service of writing and thinking about historiography.

Chapter 5 provided a case study of historiographical adaptation by examining the medieval Irish version of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, a Classical text which notably

minimizes the role of the Olympians. By exploring the historiographical choices made by the redactors and the biblical intertexts through which they read Lucan, we can more clearly see the integral role played by salvation history in shaping medieval Irish reception of the Classics. Despite changing very little of Lucan's original, CC reframes the central conflict by means of a new pseudohistorical prologue (like that in TTr-2), reorganization of material, and the incorporation of scholia and commentary traditions. The text positions the battle of Pharsalia as a pivotal point between the pagan past and the Christian present, drawing on Augustinian ages of the world and an Orosian succession of world empires to do so. The text's emphasis on Erichtho and *ammaiti*, discussed in Chapter 3, makes further sense in this light: the infernal actors reflect the eschatological orientation of the narrative, presaging the end of the Roman republic and threatening the fate that awaits pagan and Christian alike on Judgment Day.

Following from this discussion of chronology and biblically-inspired historiography, Chapter 6 examined non-Classical Irish texts for evidence of Classical influence in the portrayals of Otherworldly beings. The first half of the chapter addressed the motif of magical thirst inflicted by enemy druids in battle and argued that this episode, seen in TBDD, CMT, and CMTC, owes elements of its literary articulation to Statius's *Thebaid*. The expression of the motif in Irish sources in turn likely influenced the depiction of the episode in TTe. The second half of the chapter presented similar parallels between Irish and Classical texts, including the possibility of Ovidian influence on TE, arguing in these instances not for one-to-one examples of borrowing, but for larger, fluid bodies of knowledge and attitudes towards writing and rewriting the past. In most cases, textual correspondences—be they on the level of specific vocabulary such as *ammait*, episodes such as magical thirst, or broader themes such as fraternal conflict—represent a web of intellectual connections. These connections and influences function precisely because they contribute to the idea of salvation history outlined in Chapter 5. Medieval Irish scenes of magical thirst do not merely draw from Statius because medieval authors were searching for a literary model of pre-Christian paganism, but because themes and events in Classical and pre-Christian Irish history could be linked typologically with one another to the same degree that they could be tied to biblical history.

Chapter 7 surveyed the evidence of Classical ethnography on druids in order to determine to what degree (if any) Classical sources on continental and British

druids influenced conceptions of druids in medieval Ireland. I concluded that Classical ethnography exerts very little influence on medieval Irish literary depictions of druids, with the exception of the Gaulish druids in CC. As observed in earlier chapters, this chapter illustrates the varying and multiple interpretations taken by different authors and manifest in different texts: while the majority of medieval Irish texts featuring druids seem uninterested in Classical druidic models (even when there is good reason to suppose that examples of Classical *druidae* were known in medieval Ireland), CC engages with and deconstructs Lucan's vision of Gaulish druids. The text's interest in salvation history, discussed already in Chapters 3 and 5, also permeates its portrayal of druids. Lucan's bloodthirsty priests become pagan *magi* and natural philosophers, typologically and genealogically prefiguring both medieval Irish *druíd* and Christian theologians, and tied to contemporaneous theological debates concerning the antipodes. These druids and the sequence of world ages and earthly empires into which they fit are instrumental in the transfer of learning to, and the inheritance of intellectual authority and ultimately heavenly salvation by the Christian Irish. In this case, it is via *translatio studii* that *translatio imperii* occurs and can be articulated to a wider audience.

The reception of Classical mythology and learning in medieval Ireland was a profoundly creative and intertextual endeavour, grounded in biblical typology. Medieval Irish *interpretatio* and manifestations of *translation studii* functioned as extensions of a typological understanding of history. The etymological thinking that led the writers of *O'Mulconry's Glossary* to link the Latin expression *cae bo!* simultaneously to Jove, Jephthah's daughter, Bacchus, and the Irish festival of Samain represents the same underlying typological methodology as the *translatio studii* by which druidic learning, Classical knowledge, and Christian salvation are transferred to Ireland in CC. The presentation of Jove, floating down the Nile, as a type for Moses in TTr-2 demonstrates the same typological interpretation of history as the depiction of Samson as a type for Hercules, in *How Samson Slew the Gesteda*, chronologically aligned with the Trojan War via synchronisms.

The Classical adaptation texts and many of the examples of Classical reception discussed in this thesis are best considered as *historiographical* rather than

as purely *historia* or purely *fabula*.⁷⁸¹ As Toner argues, ‘Medieval history was intended as a lesson for humanity’.⁷⁸² Through a typological reading of salvation history the texts discussed in this thesis served both to provide historical and literary information to an Irish audience and as a means to think about the larger concept of history and the process of history-writing. The Classical adaptations constitute Alter and Boyle’s ‘imaginative re-enactments of history’ as much as their biblical counterparts.⁷⁸³ They were successful because, much like Isidorean etymology—the purpose of which was to reveal a word’s inner truth and inherent character and thus the place of its referent in God’s Creation—these texts served to reveal the fundamental truth and position of their narratives within a model of salvation history. It is immaterial to ask whether anyone in medieval Ireland actually believed that Samson slew the Gesteda. Instead, the point of the text is to illustrate that by reading the events and characters of Classical, biblical, and Irish history alongside one another, a medieval Irish audience could achieve a deeper and more profound understanding of their connected roles in history and their significance as part of God’s plan for salvation.

The translation of Classical texts into the vernacular further acted as the very instantiation of *translatio studii* (and indeed, in some cases *translatio imperii*) for the medieval Irish. It was evidence not only that Classical and biblical learning had reached Ireland, but that the Irish were the rightful inheritors of the knowledge, power, and salvation that they conveyed. The conflation of Allecto and the Morrígan in TBC-I is not merely an exercise in erudition, nor a equivalency drawn for the sake of clarifying an obscure allusion. It embodies *interpretatio*, the lexical expression of *translatio*, and ultimately the typological methodology by which medieval authors and audiences understood the course of history. Allecto and the Morrígan became God’s instruments of salvation.

⁷⁸¹ As noted in the Introduction, p. 11, Poppe, *A New Introduction*, pp. 16–17 has made a similar point for IA.

⁷⁸² Toner, ‘The Ulster Cycle’, p. 20.

⁷⁸³ Alter, p. 35; Boyle, *History*, p. 189.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Acallam*: *Acallam na Senórach*, ed. by Stokes (1900)
 BG: Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, ed. by Edwards (1917)
 BMMM: *Breslech Mór Maige Murthemne (Aided Chon Culainn)*, ed. by Kimpton (2009)
 CMCS: Cambrian [formerly, Cambridge] Medieval Celtic Studies
 CC: *In Cath Catharda*, ed. by Stokes (1909)
 CMR: *Cath Maige Rath* (unless otherwise specified, this refers to the second recension), second recension ed. by O'Donovan (1842), and first recension ed. by Marstrander (1911)
 CMT: *Cath Maige Tuired* ('The Second Battle of Moytura'), ed. by Gray (1982)
 CMTC: *Cath Maige Tuired Cunga* ('The First Battle of Moytura'), ed. by Fraser (1916)
 CCCL: *Conall Corcc and the Corco Luigde*, ed. by Hull (1959)
 CCSL: *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
 CGG: *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, ed. by Todd (1867)
 DIAS: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
 eDIL: Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language, available at <<https://dil.ie/>>
 FCT: *Fingal Chlainne Tántail*, ed. by Byrne (1927)
 FDG: *Fled Dúin na nGéd*, ed. by Lehman (1964)
 IA: *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, ed. by Calder (1907)
 LB: Leabhar Breac
 Lewis and Short: *A Latin Dictionary*, available at <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/>>
 LGÉ: *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, ed. by Carey (1983), and Macalister (1932–42)
 LL: The Book of Leinster
 MS: manuscript
 MU: *Merugud Uilixis*, ed. by Meyer (1958)
 NAJCS: *North American Journal of Celtic Studies*
 PL: *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Migne (1841–1855)
 RIA: Royal Irish Academy
 SAM: *Sex Aetates Mundi*, ed. by Ó Cróinín (1983)
 TBC-I *Táin Bó Cúailnge* Recension I, ed. by O'Rahilly (1976)
 TBC-LL: *Táin Bó Cúailnge* from the Book of Leinster, ed. by O'Rahilly (1966)
 TBDD: *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. by Knott (1936), and Stokes (1901)
 TDD: Túatha Dé Danann
 TE: *Tochmarc Étaíne*, ed. by Bergin and Best (1938)
 TTe: *Togail na Tebe*, ed. by Calder (1922)
 TTr: *Togail Troí*
 TTr-1: *Togail Troí*, first recension, ed. by Stokes (1884)
 TTr-2: *Togail Troí*, second recension, ed. by Stokes (1881)
 TTr-3: *Togail Troí*, third recension, prologue ed. by Clarke (2014)
 YBL: The Yellow Book of Lecan
 ZCP: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Ahlqvist, A., ed. and trans., *The Early Irish Linguist: An Edition of the Canonical Part of the Auraicept na n-Éces*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, 73 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1983)
- Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe, 3 vols, Loeb Classical Library, 300, 315, 331 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939–1950)
- Anderson, A. O., and M. O. Anderson, eds and trans, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1991)
- Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. and trans. by J. G. Frazer, Loeb Classical Library, 121–122 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1921)
- Arbuthnot, S., ed. and trans., *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, 2 vols, Irish Texts Society 59 ['Early Version' and 'Short Version'], 60 ['Long Version'] (London: Irish Texts Society, 2005, 2007)
- Atkinson, R., ed. and trans., *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac: Text, Translation and Glossary*, Todd Lecture Series, 2 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1887)
- , ed., *The Yellow Book of Lecan: A Collection of Pieces (Prose and Verse) in the Irish Language, in Part Compiled at the End of the Fourteenth Century* (Dublin: RIA, 1896)
- Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart, B. and A. Kalb, CCSL, 47–48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955)
- Bately, J., ed., *The Old English Orosius* (London: Early English Texts Society, 1980)
- Bauer, B., R. Hofman, and P. Moran, eds, *St Gall Priscian Glosses*, version 2.0 (2017) <www.stgallpriscian.ie/index.php?bb=1> [accessed 21 June 2022]
- Bede, *De temporum ratione*, in *Bedae opera didascalica* 2, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL, 123B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997)
- Bergin, O. and R. I. Best, eds and trans, 'Tochmarc Étaíne', *Ériu*, 12 (1938), 137–196
- Best, R. I., ed. and trans., 'The Adventures of Art son of Conn, and the Courtship of Delbchaem', *Ériu*, 3 (1907), 149–73
- , M. A. O'Brien, eds, *Togail Troi from the Book of Leinster, Vol. IV* (Dublin: DIAS, 1966)

- , et al., eds, *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols (Dublin: DIAS, 1954–1983)
- Bieler, L., ed. and trans., *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh, with a Contribution by Fergus Kelly* (Dublin: DIAS, 1979)
- Bode, G. H., ed., *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti* (Cellis: E. H. C. Schulze, 1834)
- Byrne, M., ed. and trans., ‘The Parricides of the Children of Tantalus’, *Revue Celtique*, 44 (1927), 14–33
- Calder, G., ed. and trans., *Auraicept na n-Éces: The scholars’ primer, being the texts of the Ogham tract from the Book of Ballymote and the Yellow book of Lecan, and the text of the Trefhocul from the Book of Leinster* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1917)
- , ed. and trans., *Imtheachta Aeniassa: The Irish Aeneid, Being a Translation, Made Before A.D. 1400, of the XII Books of Vergil’s Aeneid into Gaelic*, Irish Texts Society, 6 (London: Irish Texts Society, 1907)
- , ed. and trans., *Togail na Thebe: The Thebaid of Statius* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1922)
- Carey, J., ed. and trans., ‘An Edition of the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*’, *Ériu*, 45 (1994), 1–32
- , ed. and trans., ‘Connachta cid dia tá int ainm’, *Celtica*, 32 (2020), 127–144
- , ed. and trans., ‘Lebar Gabála: Recension I’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1983)
- , ed. and trans., ‘*Scél Túain meic Chairill*’, *Ériu*, 35 (1984), 93–111
- Carney, J. P., ed., *The Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cú Brettan: Together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas and a Poem on the Virgin Mary*, Irish Texts Society, 47 (London: Irish Texts Society, 1964)
- Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ed. by W. A. Falconer, Loeb Classical Library, 154 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923)
- Clarke, M., ed. and trans., ‘The Extended Prologue of *Togail Troí*: From Adam to the Wars of Troy’, *Ériu*, 64 (2014), 23–106
- Crampton, R. J., ed. and trans., ‘*Fingal Chlainne Tanntail*: Text and Context’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2010)
- Dobbs, M. E., ed. and trans., ‘The Battle of Findchorad’, *ZCP*, 14 (1923), 395–420

- Dooley, A., and H. Roe, trans, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Edwards, H. J., ed. and trans., *Caesar. The Gallic War*, Loeb Classical Library, 72 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917)
- Endt, J., ed., *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909)
- Fotheringham, J. K., ed., *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1923)
- Fraser, J., ed. and trans., ‘The First Battle of Moytura’, *Ériu*, 8 (1916), 1–63
- Frazer, R. M., ed. and trans., *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1966)
- Glorie, F., ed. and trans., *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri: Commentariorum in Daniele Libri III*, CCSL, 75A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964)
- Gray, E. A., ed. and trans., *Cath Maige Tuired: The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, Irish Texts Society, 52 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1982)
- Greene, D., ed. and trans., ‘*Saltair na Rann*’, DIAS, <<https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/celt-saltair-na-rann/>> [accessed 20 June, 2022]
- Gwynn, E. J., ed. and trans., *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, 5 vols, Todd Lecture Series, 8–12 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1903–1935)
- Gwynn, L., ed. and trans., ‘De Shíl Chonairi Móir’, *Ériu*, 6 (1912), 130–43
- Heck, E., and A. Wlosok, eds, *Divinarum institutionum libri septem* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005)
- Helm, R., ed., *Fabii Placiadis Fulgentii V. C. opera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898)
- Henderson, G., ed. and trans., *Fled Bricrend*, Irish Texts Society, 2 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1899)
- Herbert, M. and M. McNamara, trans, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1989)
- Herren, M. W., ed., *Iohannis Scotti Eriugena Carmina*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 12 (Dublin: DIAS, 1993)
- Hillers, B., ed. and trans., ‘*Sgél in Mínaduir: Dädalus und der Minotaurus in Irland*’, in *Übersetzung: Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter*, ed. by E. Poppe and H. L. C. Tristram, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie, 4 (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1999), pp. 131–44

- Hochegger, K., ‘Untersuchungen zu den ältesten Vitae sanctae Brigidae’ (unpublished MPhil thesis: Universität Wien, Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, 2009)
- Hogan, E., ed., *The Irish Nennius from Lebor na hUidre and Homilies and Legends from Lebor Breac*, Todd Lecture Series, 6 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1895)
- Hull, V., trans., ‘Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 62 (1947), 887–909
- , ed. and trans., ‘De Gabáil in t-Shída’, *ZCP*, 19 (1933), 53–58
- , ed., ‘On Conall Corc and the Corcu Luigde’, *ZCP*, 27 (1959), 64–74
- , ed. and trans., *Longes mac n-Uislenn: The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*, The Modern Language Association of America, 16 (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1949)
- Hyginus, *Fabulae*, ed. by P. K. Marshall (Munich: Saur, 1993, corrected 2002)
- Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, in *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la nature; suivi de l’Épître en vers du roi Sisebut à Isidore*, ed. by J. Fontaine, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études Hispaniques, 28 (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960)
- , *Etymologies*, ed. by W. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911)
- Keil, H. and T. Mommsen, eds, *Probi Donati Servii qui feruntur De arte grammatica libri. Notarum laterculi*, Grammatici Latini, 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864)
- Kimpton, B., ed. and trans., *The Death of Cú Chulain: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Version of Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemni*, Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts, 6 (Maynooth: Department of Early Irish, Maynooth University, 2009)
- Knott, E., ed., *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 8 (Dublin: DIAS, 1936)
- Koester, C. R., trans., *Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)
- Kübler, B., ed., *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis, translatae ex Aesopo Graeco. accedunt Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo, rege Bragmanorum, per litteras facta. et Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem magistrum suum, de itinere suo et de situ Indiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888)
- Kulcsár, P., ed., *Mythographi vaticani I et II*, CCSL, 91C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987)
- Lactantius Placidus, *Commentary on Statius’s Thebaid*, ed. by R. D. Sweeney (Leipzig: Teubner, 1997)
- Lehman, R. P. M., trans., ‘The Banquet of the Fort of the Geese’, *Lochlann: A Review*

- of Celtic Studies*, 4 (1969), 131–59
- , ed., *Fled Dúin na nGéd*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 21 (Dublin: DIAS, 1964)
- Lucan, *Bellum Civile*, ed. and trans. by J. D. Duff, Loeb Classical Library, 220 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928) [text edited by A. E. Housman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1926)]
- Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, ed. and trans. by W. H. D. Rouse, rev. by M. F. Smith, Loeb Classical Library, 181 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924)
- Mac Airt, S., ed. and trans., ‘Middle Irish Poems on World Kingship’, *Études Celtiques*, 6.2 (1953), 255–80; 7.1 (1955), 18–45; 8.1 (1958), 98–119; 8.2 (1959), 284–97
- Macalister, R. A. S., ed. and trans., *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, 5 vols, Irish Texts Society, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1932–42)
- and E. Mac Neill, ed. and trans., *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland. The Recension of Micheál Ó Cléirigh* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1916)
- Mac Eoin, G., ed. and trans., ‘Dán ar Chogadh na Traoi’, *Studia Hibernica*, 1 (1961), 19–55
- Magie, D., ed. and trans., *Historia Augusta*, 3 vols, Loeb Classical Library, 140, 139, 263 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921–1932)
- Marstrander, C., ed. and trans., ‘A New Version of the Battle of Mag Rath’, *Ériu*, 5 (1911), 226–47
- , ed. and trans., ‘How Samson Slew the Gesteda’, *Ériu*, 5 (1911), 145–159
- Marti, B. M., *Arnulfi Aurelianusensis Glosule super Lucanum* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1958)
- Meyer, K., ed. and trans., ‘The Adventures of Nera’, *Revue Celtique*, 10 (1889), 212–228, 520 [Corrigenda in *Revue Celtique*, 17 (1896), 319]
- , ed. and trans., ‘The Chase of Síd na mBan and the Death of Finn’, in *Fianaigecht: Being a Collection of Hitherto Inedited Irish Poems and Tales Relating to Finn and His Fiana*, Todd Lecture Series, 16 (Dublin: Figgis, 1910), pp. 52–99
- , ed., ‘Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde’, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, in *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts*, 4 vols, ed. by O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, K. Meyer, and J. G. O’Keeffe (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910), III, pp. 57–63

- , ed. and trans., *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, Todd Lecture Series, 14 (Dublin: RIA, 1906)
- , ed., ‘Mitteilungen aus Irischen Handschriften’, ZCP, 4 (1903), 467–68
- , ed., ‘Sanas Cormaic: An Old-Irish Glossary Compiled by Cormac úa Cuilennáin, King-Bishop of Cashel in the Tenth Century’, in *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts*, 4 vols, ed. by O.J. Bergin, R. I. Best, K. Meyer, and J. G. O’Keeffe (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1912), iv, pp. 1–128
- , ed., ‘Toghmara Baisi bandruad ind so’, ZCP, 8 (1912), 104
- , ed. and trans., *The Triads of Ireland*, Todd Lecture Series, 13 (Dublin: RIA, 1906)
- , and A. Nutt, ed. and trans., *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal to the Land of the Living*, 2 vols, Grimm Library, 4–6 (London: David Nutt, 1895–1897)
- Meyer, R. T., ed. and trans., *Merugud Uilix maic Leirtis* (Dublin: DIAS, 1958)
- Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologia Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1841–1855)
- Miles, B., ed. and trans., *Don Tres Troí: The Middle Irish History of the Third Troy*, Irish Texts Society, 68 (London: Irish Texts Society, 2020)
- , ‘Riss in Mundtuirc: The Tale of Harmonia’s Necklace and the Study of the Theban Cycle in Medieval Ireland’, *Ériu*, 57 (2007), 67–112
- Moltzer, J., ed., *C. Iulii Hygini, Augusti liberti, ‘Fabularum liber’, ad omnium poetarum lectionem mire ne cessarius, & nunc denuo excusus. Ejusdem ‘Poeticon astronomicon libri quatuor’* [etc.], (Basel: Joannes Heruagius, 1549)
- Moran, P., ed. and trans., *De origine Scoticae linguae (O’Mulconry’s Glossary): An Early Irish Linguistic Tract, with a Related Glossary, Irsan, Lexica Latina Medii Aevi*, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019)
- Mozley, J. H., ed. and trans., *Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica*, Loeb Classical Library, 286 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934)
- Ó Cróinín, D., ed. and trans., *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin: DIAS, 1983)
- O’Curry, E., ed. and trans., *Cath Mhuighe Léana or The Battle of Magh Leana, together with Tochmarc Moméra or the Courtship of Moméra*, Publications of the Celtic Society, 4 (Dublin: Celtic Society, 1855)
- O’Donovan, J., ed. and trans., *The Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1842)

- Ó Duinn, S., trans., *Forbhais Droma Dámhgháire: The Siege of Knocklong* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1992)
- Ó hAodha, D., ed. and trans., ‘The Irish Version of Statius’ *Achilleid*’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 79 C (1979), 83–138
- O’Keeffe, J. G., ed., ‘Cáin Domnaig’, in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, ed. by O. Bergin, R. I. Best, K. Meyer, and J. G. O’Keefe, vol. 3 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1910), pp. 21–27
- O’Rahilly, C., ed. and trans., *Cath Finntrágha*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 20 (Dublin: DIAS, 1962)
- , ed. and trans., *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin: DIAS, 1966)
- , ed. and trans., *Táin Bó Cúailnge Recension I* (Dublin: DIAS, 1976)
- Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*, in *Histoires contre les païens*, ed. by M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, 3 vols (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1990–1991)
- Oskamp, H. P. A., ed. and trans., *The Voyage of Máel Dúin* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff Publishing, 1970)
- Ovid, *Fasti*, ed. and trans. by J. G. Frazer, rev. G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library, 253 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931)
- , *Metamorphoses*, ed. and trans. by F. J. Miller et al., Loeb Classical Library 42, 43 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916)
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ed. and trans. by W. H. S. et al., 5 vols, Loeb Classical Library, 93, 188, 272, 297, 298 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918)
- Pepin, R. E., trans., *The Vatican Mythographers* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008)
- Peters, E., ed. and trans., ‘Die irische Alexandersage’, *ZCP*, 30 (1967), 71–264
- Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. by H. Rackham et al., 10 vols, Loeb Classical Library, 350, 352, 353, 370, 371, 392, 393, 394, 418, 419 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938–1963)
- Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, in *Chronographie*, ed. and trans. by A. Silberman (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988)
- Quin, G., ed. and trans., *Stair Ercuile agus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, Irish Texts Society, 38, (London: Irish Texts Society, 1939)
- Robert, L., *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994)

- Roider, U., ed. and trans., *De Chophur in Dá Muccida: wie die beiden Schweinehirten den Kreislauf der Existenzen durchwanderten. Eine altirische Sage*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 28 (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1979)
- Rotelle, J. E., and E. Hill, eds and trans, *On Genesis*, (New York: Augustinian Heritage Institute, 2002)
- Russell, P., S. Arbuthnot, and P. Moran, eds, *Early Irish Glossaries Database* <<https://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/>> [accessed 4 July 2022]
- Servius, *Commentary on Vergil*, ed. by G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881–1902)
- Sharpe, R., and J. R. Davies, eds and trans, ‘Rhygyfarch’s *Life* of St David’, in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. by J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, *Studies in Celtic History* 24 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), pp. 107–55
- Sjoestedt, M.-L., ed., ‘Le siège de Druim Damhghaire: Forbuis Droma Damhghaire’, *Revue Celtique*, 43 (1926), 8–122; 44 (1927), 157–64, 169–76
- Statius, *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, ed. and trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library, 207, 498 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004)
- Stokes, W., ed. and trans., ‘Acallamh na senórach’, in *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols, ed. by E. Windisch and W. Stokes (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1900) iv.1, pp. 1–438
- , ed. and trans., ‘Echtra mac Echach Muigmedoin: The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón’, *Revue Celtique*, 24 (1903), 190–203
- , ed. and trans., ‘The Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*’, *Folk-Lore*, 3 (1892), 467–516
- , ed. and trans., ‘In Cath Catharda: The Civil War of the Romans. An Irish Version of Lucan’s *Pharsalia*’, in *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols, ed. by E. Windisch and W. Stokes (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1909), iv, pp. 1–581
- , ed. and trans., ‘The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel’, *Revue Celtique*, 22 (1901), 9–61, 165–215, 282–329, 390–437, 260
- , ed. and trans., ‘The Destruction of Troy’, in *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols ed. by E. Windisch and W. Stokes (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1884), ii.1, pp. 1–142
- , ed. and trans., ‘The Edinburgh *Dinnshenchas*’, *Folk-Lore*, 4 (1893), 471–97
- , ed. and trans., ‘The Prose Tales in the Rennes *Dindshenchas*’, *Revue Celtique*, 16 (1895), 31–83, 135–167, 269–312, 468

- , ed., *Three Irish Glossaries: Cormac's Glossary, O'Davoren's Glossary and a Glossary to the Calendar of Oengus the Culdee* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1862)
- , ed. and trans., *The Tripartite Life of Patrick: With Other Documents Relating to that Saint*, 2 vols, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 89 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887)
- , ed. and trans., *Togail Troí: The Destruction of Troy* (Calcutta, 1881)
- , and J. Strachan, eds, *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose, and Verse*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901–1910)
- Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*, ed. and trans. by M. Hutton et al., Loeb Classical Library, 35 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914)
- , *Annales*, ed. and trans. by C. H. Moore, J. Jackson, et al., Loeb Classical Library, 249, 322 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931, 1937)
- Thurneysen, R., ed. and trans., 'Das Gedicht der vierzig Fragen von Eochaid ua Cérín', *ZCP*, 13 (1921), 130–36
- , ed. and trans., 'Tochmarc Cruinn ocus Macha', *ZCP*, 12 (1918), 251–54
- Todd, J. H., ed. and trans., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 48 (London: Stationery Office, 1867)
- , ed. and trans., *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1848)
- Tristram, H. L. C., ed., *Sex aetates mundi: die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte*, *Anglistische Forschungen* 165 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1985)
- Usener, H., ed., *Scholia in Lucani bellum civile* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1869)
- van Hamel, A. G., ed., *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories*, *Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series*, 3 (Dublin: DIAS, 1933)
- Vergil, *Opera*, ed. by R. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)
- Watson, J. C., ed., *Mesca Ulaid*, *Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series*, 13 (Dublin: DIAS, 1941)
- White, N., ed. and trans., *Compert Mongáin and Three Other Early Mongán Tales*, *Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts*, 5 (Maynooth: Department of Early Irish, Maynooth University, 2006)

Windisch, E. and W. Stokes, eds, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols, (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1880–1909)

Winkelman, F., *Eusebius Werke. Bd I. T.I, Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975)

Wolff, É. and P. Dain, trans., *Fulgence, Mythologies: édition bilingue français-latin* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013)

Secondary Sources

Ahl, F., *Lucan: An Introduction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976)

Alter, R., *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981)

Appleton, H., 'The Insular Landscape of the Old English Poem *The Phoenix*', *Neophilologus*, 101 (2017), 585–602

Arbuthnot, S., and G. Parsons, eds, *The Gaelic Finn Tradition* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012)

Aune, D., *Revelation 17–22* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2017)

Bartsch, S., *Ideology in Cold Blood: A Reading of Lucan's Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997)

Bergin, O. J., 'Review of *Togail na Tebe: The Thebaid of Statius*, ed. by George Calder', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 12.46 (1923), 320–22

Bernhardt-House, Phillip A., 'Interpretatio Hibernica', *Eolas*, 2 (2007), 45–61

Bhreathnach, E., *Tara: A Select Bibliography*, Discovery Programme Report, 3 (Dublin: RIA, 1995)

Bhreathnach, M., 'The Sovereignty Goddess as Goddess of Death?', *ZCP*, 39 (1982), 243–60

Bilić, T., 'The Antipodes Between Classical and Medieval Welsh and Irish Tradition', *Medium Aevum*, 88.2 (2019), 207–29

Bisagni, J., 'Tarbflaith: une influence classique dans *Audacht Morainn*?', *Études Celtiques*, 41 (2015), 145–91

Borsje, J., 'Demonising the Enemy: A Study of Congal Cáech', in *Proceedings of the Eighth Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, ed. by J. E. Rekdal and A. Ó Corráin (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2007), pp. 21–38

- , ‘Druids, Deer and “Words of Power”: Coming to Terms with Evil in Medieval Ireland’, in *Approaches to Religion and Mythology in Celtic Studies*, ed. by K. Ritari and A. Bergholm (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), pp. 122–49
- , ‘Human Sacrifice in Medieval Irish Literature’, in *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, ed. by J.N. Bremmer, *Studies in the History and Anthropology of Religion* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 31–54
- , ‘Omens, Ordeals and Oracles: On Demons and Weapons in Early Irish Texts’, *Peritia*, 13 (1999), 224–48
- , ‘A Spell Called Éle’, in *Ulidia 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, University of Ulster, Coleraine, 22–25 June, 2009. In memoriam Patrick Leo Henry*, ed. by G. Toner and S. Mac Mathúna (Berlin: Curach Bhán, 2013), pp. 193–212
- , ‘The “Terror of the Night” and the Morrígain: Shifting Faces of the Supernatural’, in *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, ed. by M. Ó Flaithearta (Uppsala: University of Uppsala Press, 2007), pp. 71–98
- Boyle, E., ‘Allegory, the *áes dána* and the Liberal Arts in Medieval Irish Literature’, in *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales*, ed. by D. Hayden and P. Russell, *Studies in the History of the Language Sciences*, 125 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016), pp. 11–34
- , ‘Biblical History in the Book of Ballymote’, in *Codices Hibernensis Eximii II: The Book of Ballymote*, ed. by R. Ó hUiginn (Dublin: RIA, 2018), pp. 51–75
- , ‘Eschatological Themes in Lebor na hUidre’, in *Codices Hibernenses Eximii I: Lebor na hUidre*, ed. by R. Ó hUiginn (Dublin: RIA, 2015), pp. 115–30
- , *History and Salvation in Medieval Ireland*, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (London: Routledge, 2021)
- Brady, L. and P. Wadden, eds, *Origin Legends in Early Medieval Western Europe, Reading Medieval Sources*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2022)
- Breisach, E., *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, 3rd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)
- Briggs, M., ‘The Middle Irish Translation of Statius’s *Thebaid*: A Study in Reception’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2018)
- , ‘Removing the Muses: Responses to Statian Subjectivity in the Middle Irish *Thebaid*’, in *Crossing Borders in the Insular Middle Ages*, ed. by A. Byrne, and V. Flood, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 179–202
- Carey, J., ‘Dee “Pagan Deity”’, *Ériu*, 62 (2012), 33–42

- , ‘Druid Battle Magic’ (conference presentation, Kalamazoo International Congress of Medieval Studies, 13 May 2022)
- , ‘Ireland and the Antipodes: The Heterodoxy of Virgil of Salzburg’, *Speculum*, 64.1 (1989), 1–10
- , ‘Myth and Mythography in *Cath Maige Tuired*’, *Studia Celtica*, 24–25 (1989–90), 53–69
- , *A Single Ray of the Sun: Religious Speculation in Early Ireland*, Celtic Studies Publications, 3 (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999)
- , ed., *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster: Reassessments*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series, 32 (London: Irish Texts Society, 2020)
- , ‘A Túatha Dé Miscellany’, *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 39 (1992), 24–45
- Carney, J. P., *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin: DIAS, 1955)
- Cerquiglini, B., *Eloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989)
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- , ‘Geis, Prophecy, Omen, and Oath’, *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 38–59
- , ‘*Tochmarc Étaíne*: A Literal Interpretation’, in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. by M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002), pp. 165–81
- Clarke, M., *Achilles beside Gilgamesh: Mortality and Wisdom in Early Epic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019)
- , ‘The Choice of Cú Chulainn and the Choice of Achilles: Intertextuality and the Manuscripts’, *NAJCS*, 5.1 (2021), 1–29
- , ‘Demonology, Allegory and Translation: The Furies and the Morrígan’, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O’Connor, *Studies in Celtic History*, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 101–22
- , ‘International Influences on the Later Medieval Development of *Togail Troi*’, in *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Processes of Literary Transfer in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe*, ed. by A. Harlos and N. Harlos, *Studien und Texte zur Keltologie*, 13 (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2016), pp. 75–102

- , ‘An Irish Achilles and a Greek Cú Chulainn’, in *Ulidia 2: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 24–27 June 2005*, edited by R. Ó hUiginn and B. Ó Catháin (Maynooth: An Sagart, 2009), pp. 238–51
- , ‘A Latin Source for *Merugud Uilix*, the Medieval Irish Narrative of Ulysses’, *Ériu*, 70 (2020), 95–118
- , ‘Linguistic Education and Literary Creativity in Medieval Ireland’, *Cahier de l’ILSL*, 38 (2013), 39–71
- , ‘Reconstructing the Medieval Irish Bookshelf: A Case Study of *Fingal Rónáin* and the Horse-Eared Kings’, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O’Connor, Studies in Celtic History, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 123–39
- , ‘Translation and Creativity in the Antiquity Sagas: The Arming of Julius Caesar in *In Cath Catharda*’, in *Tintúd Aistriú: Papers on Translation in Irish Tradition*, ed. by Ken Ó Donnchú (Cork: Cló Torna, 2022), pp. 23–47
- , and M. Ní Mhaonaigh, ‘The Ages of the World and the Ages of Man: Irish and European Learning in the Twelfth Century’, *Speculum*, 95.2 (2020), pp. 467–99
- , E. Poppe, and I. Torrance, eds, *Classical Antiquity in Medieval Ireland: The Antiquity Sagas and Related Literature* Bloomsbury Studies in Classical Reception (Bloomsbury, 2023, forthcoming)
- Collins, C. J., ‘Noah, Deucalion, and the New Testament’, *Biblia*, 93.3 (2012), 403–26
- Cooke, J. D., ‘Euhemerism: A Medieval Interpretation of Classical Paganism’, *Speculum*, 2 (1927), 396–410
- Copeland, R., ed., *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 1: 800–1558* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Corthals, J., ‘Early Irish *retoirics* and their Late Antique Background’, *CMCS*, 31 (1996), 17–36
- Cox, E. G., ‘Classical Traditions in Medieval Ireland’, *Philological Quarterly*, 3 (1924), 267–284
- Cox, F., ‘Virgilian Transformations—The *Aeneid* in the History of Translation’, in *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Aenias and Stair Ercail ocus a Bás*, ed. by K. Murray, Irish Texts Subsidiary Series, 17 (Dublin: RIA, 2006), pp. 69–82
- Crampton, R. J., ‘The Uses of Exaggeration in *Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis* and *Fingal Chlainne Tanntail*’, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval*

- Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O'Connor, *Studies in Celtic History*, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 58–82
- Cruz, K. N., 'The Poetics of Horror in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and Statius' *Thebaid*', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 2020)
- Cullhed, A., *The Shadow of Creusa: Negotiating Fictionality in Late Antique Latin Literature*, trans. by M. Knight, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde*, 339 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015)
- Day, H., *Lucan and the Sublime: Power, Representation, and Aesthetic Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- De Bernardo Stempel, P., 'A Reassessment of *Fingal Rónáin*: Theatrical Plot and Classical Origins', *CMCS*, 72 (Winter, 2016), 33–71
- , 'Phaedra und Hippolytos in irischem Gewand: Die mittelalterliche *Fingal Rónáin*, „Der Verwandtenmord des Rōnān“, als Theaterstück', in *Nachleben der Antike: Formen ihrer Aneignung. Festschrift anlässlich des 60. Geburtstages von Klaus Ley*, ed. by B. Bosold-DasGupta, C. Krauß, and C. Mundt-Espín (Berlin: Weidler, 2006), pp. 237–266
- Dillon, M., 'A Note on the Texts of *Cath Maige Rath* Preserved in the Yellow Book of Lecan', *Éigse*, 7.3 (1955), 199–201
- Dooley, A., *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006)
- Doran, J., 'Eugenius II and the Roman Commune', in *Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153): The First Cistercian Pope*, ed. by I. Fonnesberg-Schmidt and A. Jotischky (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 243–70
- Doyle, A. and K. Murray, eds, *In Dialogue with the Agallamh: Essays in Honour of Seán Ó Coileáin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014)
- Dronke, P., *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
- Eberlein, J. K., 'Interpretatio Christiana', in *Brill's New Pauly* <<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly>> [accessed 1 July 2022]
- Egeler, M., 'Death, Wings, and Divine Devouring: Possible Mediterranean Affinities of Irish Battlefield Demons and Norse Valkyries', *Studia Celtica Fennica*, 5 (2008), 5–26
- , *Islands in the West: Classical Myth and the Medieval Norse and Irish Geographical Imagination*, *Medieval Voyaging* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017)

- , *Walküren, Bodbs, Sirenen. Gedanken zur religionsgeschichtlichen Anbindung Nordwesteuropas an den mediterranen Raum*, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 71 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011)
- Ehrhart, M., *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia, PA, 1987)
- Ehrmantraut, B., ‘How Samson Slew the Gesteda (en Route to Troy)’, in *Classical Antiquity in Medieval Ireland: The Antiquity Sagas and Related Literature*, ed. by M. Clarke, E. Poppe, and I. Torrance, *Bloomsbury Studies in Classical Reception* (Bloomsbury, 2023, forthcoming)
- , ‘A Wrong Turn on the Way to Troy: Samson and the Classical Tradition in Medieval Ireland’, *Celtica*, 34 (2022), 39–59
- Engesland, N. E., ‘The Intellectual Background of the Earliest Irish Grammar’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 47 (2021), 472–84
- Feeney, D. C., *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)
- Flanagan, M. L. ‘Hiberno-Papal Relations in the Late Twelfth Century’, *Archivium Hibernicum*, 34 (1977), 55–70
- Freeman, P. M., ‘The Earliest Greek Sources on the Celts’, *Études Celtiques*, 32 (1996), 11–48
- , ‘Elements of the Ulster Cycle in Pre-Posidonian Classical Literature’, in *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Belfast and Emain Macha, 8–12 April 1994*, ed. by J. P. Mallory and G. Stockman (Belfast: December Publications, 1994), pp. 207–16
- , ‘Greek and Roman Views of Ireland: A Checklist’, *Emania: Bulletin of the Navan Research Group*, 13 (1995), 11–13
- , *Ireland and the Classical World* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000)
- , ‘A Middle Irish Version of the Romulus and Remus Story’, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 11 (1993), 1–13
- , ‘Visions from the Dead in Herodotus, Nicander of Colophon, and the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’, *Emania: Bulletin of the Navan Research Group*, 12 (1994), 45–48
- Garrison, M., ‘The Franks as a New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne’, in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114–61

- Gaullier-Bougassas, C., ed., *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe-début du XVIe siècle). Réinventions d'un mythe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)
- González, J. M., 'The "Catalogue of Women" and the End of the Heroic Age (Hesiod fr. 204.94–103 M-W)', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-2014), 140.2 (2010), 375–422
- Gougaud, L., 'Les relations de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire avec la Bretagne armoricaine et les îles Britanniques (Xe et XIe siècles)', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, 4.1 (1923), pp. 3–30
- Green, C. M. C., 'Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1.444–46: A Reconsideration', *Classical Philology*, 89.1 (January, 1994)
- Hardie, P., *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Harris, J. R., *Adaptations of Roman Epic in Medieval Ireland* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1998)
- Harrauer, C., 'Why Styx? Some Remarks on Statius's *Achilleid*', *Wiener Studien*, 123 (2010), 167–75
- Haüssler, R., *Die historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius und seine Theorie: Studien zum historischen Epos der Antike. II. Teil: Geschichtliche Epik nach Vergil* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1978)
- Hawes, G., 'Cicean Enchantments and the Transformation of Allegory', in *A Handbook to the Reception of Classical Mythology*, ed. by V. Zajko and H. Hoyle (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), pp. 123–38
- Haynes, J. A., *The Medieval Classic: Twelfth-Century Latin Epic and the Virgilian Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021)
- Henderson, J., 'Lucan/the Word at War', *Ramus*, 16.1, 2 (1987), 122–64
- Herbert, M., 'Fled Dúin na nGéd: A Reappraisal', *CMCS*, 18 (1989), 75–87
- , 'Goddess and King: The Sacred Marriage in Early Ireland', in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. by L. O. Fradenburg, *Cosmos*, 7 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), pp. 264–75
- , 'The Life of Martin of Tours: A View from Twelfth-Century Ireland', in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. by M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002), pp. 76–84
- , 'Transmutations of an Irish Goddess', in *The Concept of the Goddess*, ed. by S. Billington and M. Green (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 141–51

- Herren, M. W., 'Literary and Glossarial Evidence for the Study of Graeco-Roman Mythology in Ireland, 600–800', in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Literature, Language and Learning Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer on the Occasion of his Seventy-First Birthday*, ed. by H. C. O'Briain et al. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 49–67
- Hillers, B., 'In fer flamach firglic: Ulysses in Medieval Irish Literature', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 16–17 (2003), 15–38
- , 'The Medieval Irish Odyssey: *Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1997)
- , 'The Medieval Irish *Wandering of Ulysses* Between Literacy and Orality', in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O'Connor, *Studies in Celtic History*, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 83–97
- , 'The Odyssey of a Folktale: *Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis*', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 12 (1992), 63–79
- , 'Ulysses and the Judge of Truth: Sources and Meanings in the Irish Odyssey', *Peritia*, 13 (1999), 194–223
- Hull, E., *A Text Book of Irish Literature*, 2 vols (London: Nutt, 1906–1908)
- Kelleher, J. V., 'Early Irish History and Pseudo-History', *Studia Hibernica*, 3 (1963), 113–127
- , 'The *Táin* and the Annals', *Ériu*, 22 (1971), 107–127
- Kershner, S., 'Statius' Dynamic Absence in the Narrative Frame of the Middle Irish Togail na Tebe', in *The Medieval Cultures of the Irish Sea and the North Sea. Manannán and His Neighbors*, ed. by C. W. MacQuarrie and J. F. Nagy (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp. 99–122
- Lake, J., 'Rewriting Merovingian History in the Tenth Century: Aimoin of Fleury's *Gesta Francorum*', *Early Medieval Europe*, 25.4 (2017), 499–525
- Lapidge, M., *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- LeBlanc, J., 'Heroic Traditions in Dialogue: the *Imtheachta Aeniasa*', in *Crossing Borders in the Insular Middle Ages*, ed. by A. Byrne, and V. Flood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 203–25
- Mac Cana, P., 'The *ingen moel*', *Ériu*, 52 (2002), 217–27
- , *The Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: DIAS, 1980)
- Mac Eoin, G., 'The Creation of the World in *Saltair na Rann*', in *Celtic Cosmology: Perspectives from Ireland and Scotland*, ed. by J. Borsje, A. Dooley, S. Mac

- Mathúna, and G. Toner, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2014), pp. 144–64
- , ‘The Greek Background to *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*’, in *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Aenias and Stair Ercail ocus a Bás*, ed. by K. Murray, Irish Texts Subsidiary Series, 17 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 2006), pp. 20–36
- , ‘Das Verblsystem von *Togail Troí* (H.2.17)’, *ZCP*, 28 (1960–1961), 73–136
- MacFarlane, K. N., ‘Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods (*Origines* VIII.11)’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 70.3 (1980), 3–40
- Mac Gearailt, U., ‘An Domhan Mór i Litríocht Ghaeilge an Deichiú agus an Aonú hAois Déag’, in *Litríocht na Gaeilge ar Fud an Domhain*, 2 vols, ed. by R. Nic Congáil, M. Nic Eoin, M. Ní Urdail, P. Ó Liatháin, and R. Uí Chollatáin (Dublin: Leabhair Comhar, 2015), II, pp. 41–58
- , ‘Change and Innovation in Eleventh-Century Prose Narrative in Irish’, in *(Re)Oralisierung*, ed. by H. L. C. Tristram, *ScriptOralia*, 84 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1996), pp. 443–93
- , ‘*In Cath Catharda*: Translation in Transition in Late Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish’, in *Tintúd Aistriú: Papers on Translation in Irish Tradition*, ed. by Ken Ó Donnchú (Cork: Cló Torna, 2022), pp. 50–119
- , ‘Issues in the Transmission of Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish Translation Prose: *Togail Troí* and *Scéla Alaxandair*’, in *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Processes of Literary Transfer in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe*, ed. by A. Harlos and N. Harlos, *Studien und Texte zur Keltologie*, 13 (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2016), pp. 103–34
- , ‘“Togail Troí”: An Example of Translating and Editing in Medieval Ireland’, *Studia Hibernica*, 31 (2000/2001), 71–85
- Maier, B., ‘Dead Men Don’t Wear Plaid: Celtic Myth and Christian Creed in Medieval Irish Concepts of the Afterlife’, in *Writing Down the Myths*, ed. by J. F. Nagy, *Cursor Mundi*, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 107–36
- Makowski, J. F., ‘Oracula Mortis in the *Pharsalia*’, *Classical Philology*, 72.3 (1977), 193–202
- Malik, S., *The Nero-Antichrist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Masters, J., *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan’s Bellum Civile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Mathis, K. L., ‘Gaelic *Gemina Opera*? The Verse and Prose texts of *Saltair na Rann* and *Scél Saltrach na Rann*’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 28 (2011), 1–20

- McKenna, C., 'Between Two Worlds: Saint Brigit and Pre-Christian Religion in the *Vita Prima*', in *Identifying the 'Celtic'*, ed. by J. F. Nagy, CSANA Yearbook, 2 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp. 66–74
- McNamara, M., *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, 165 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000)
- Melve, L., "'The Revolt of the Medievalists'". Directions in Recent Research on the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32.3 (September 2006), 231–52
- Meyer, R. T., 'The Middle-Irish Version of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan', *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, 44 (1959), 355–63
- , 'The Middle-Irish Version of the *Thebaid*', *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, 47 (1962), 687–99
- Miles, B., *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History, 30 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011)
- , 'Irish Evidence for Shared Sources of Classical Mythology in Anglo-Saxon England and Medieval Ireland', in *Insignis Sophiae Arcator: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Herren on His 65th Birthday*, ed. by G. R. Wieland, C. Ruff, and R. G. Arthur, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 6, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 124–48
- , 'The Irish History of the "Third Troy" and Medieval Writing of History', in *Gablánach in Scélaighecht: Celtic Studies in Honour of Ann Dooley*, ed. by S. Sheehan, J. Findon, and W. Follett (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 220–37
- Miller, M., 'The Chronological Structure of the Sixth Age in the Rawlinson Fragment of the "Irish World Chronicle"', *Celtica*, 22 (1991), 79–111
- Mills, K., '*Demna Aeóir* "Demons of the Air"', *Éigse*, 41 (2021), 1–30
- , '*Fet, gol, and éigem*', *Studia Celtica*, 52.1 (December 2018), 53–65
- Moran, P., 'Greek in Early Medieval Ireland', in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. by A. Mullen and P. James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 172–92
- , '"A Living Speech"? The Pronunciation of Greek in Early Medieval Ireland', *Ériu*, 61 (2011), 29–57
- Mulligan, A. C., *A Landscape of Words: Ireland, Britain and the Poetics of Space, 700–1250*, Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019)

- , ‘The Anatomy of Power and the Miracle of Kingship: The Female Body of Sovereignty in a Medieval Irish Kingship Tale’, *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 1014–54
- Murdoch, B., *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Murphy, G., ‘Notes on *Cath Maige Tuired*’, *Éigse*, 7 (1953–1955), 191–98
- Myrick, L. D., *From the De excidio Troiae historia to the Togail Troí: Literary-cultural Synthesis in a Medieval Irish Adaptation of Dares’ Troy Tale*, *Anglistische Forschungen*, 223 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993)
- Nagashima, M., ‘Lucan’s Simile in *In Cath Catharda* 567–70 and the Meaning of the Middle Irish Hapax *uchterand*’, *Philologica*, 14 (2019), 71–79
- Nelson, E. C., ‘Mistletoe (*Viscum album* L.) in Ireland: A Review of Records and Status’, *The Irish Naturalists’ Journal*, 29.2 (December, 2008), 87–94
- Ní Chatháin, P., ‘Bede’s Ecclesiastical History in Irish’, *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 115–30
- Ní Mhaonaigh, M., ‘Classical Compositions in Medieval Ireland: The Literary Context’, in *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Aeniasa and Stair Ercail ocus a Bás*, ed. by K. Murray, Irish Texts Subsidiary Series, 17 (Dublin: RIA, 2006), pp. 1–19
- , ‘The Date of *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*’, *Peritia*, 9 (1995), 354–77
- , ‘The Hectors of Ireland and the Western World’, in *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert*, ed. by J. Carey et al. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015), pp. 258–68
- , ‘Irish World Annals and Universal Chronicling: Medieval Irish Scholars and their “Global Turn”’, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 40 (2021, forthcoming)
- , ‘“The Metaphorical Hector”: Literary Portrayal of Murchad mac Bríain’, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O’Connor, *Studies in Celtic History*, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 140–61
- , ‘Mongán’s Metamorphosis: *Compert Mongáin ocus Serc Duibe Lacha do Mongán*, a Later Mongán Tale’, in *TOME: Studies in Medieval History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, ed. by F. Edmonds and P. Russell (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 207–16
- , and E. M. Tyler, ‘The Language of History-Writing in the Ninth Century: An Entangled Approach’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 47.4–5 (2021), 451–71

- Nichols, S. G., 'Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, 65.1 (1990), 1–10
- North, R., *The Origins of Beowulf: From Vergil to Wiglaf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- O'Brien, C., 'Chosen Peoples and New Israels in the Early Medieval West', *Speculum*, 95.1 (2020), 987–1009
- Ó Broin, T., 'Classical Source of the "Conception of Mongan"', *ZCP*, 28 (1960–1961), 262–71
- Ó Cathasaigh, T., 'Cath Maige Tuired as Exemplary Myth', in *Coire Sois: The Cauldron of Knowledge*, ed. by M. Boyd (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), pp. 135–54 [originally published in *Folia Gadelica: Essays Presented by Former Students to R. A. Breatnach on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Professorship of Irish Language and Literature at University College, Cork*, ed. by P. de Brún, S. Ó Coileáin, and P. Ó Riain (Cork: Cork University Press, 1983), pp. 1–19]
- , 'On the *Cín Dromma Snechta* Version of *Togail Brudne Uí Dergae*', *Ériu*, 41 (1990), 103–114
- O'Connor, R., ed., *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, Studies in Celtic History, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014)
- , *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel: Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Medieval Irish Saga* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- , 'Irish Narrative Literature and the Classical Tradition, 900–1300', in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O'Connor, Studies in Celtic History, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 1–22
- , 'Was Classical Imitation Necessary for the Writing of Large-Scale Irish Sagas? Reflections on *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the "Watchman Device"', in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O'Connor, Studies in Celtic History, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 165–95
- Ó Cuív, B., *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries. Part I: Descriptions* (Dublin: DIAS, 2001)
- Ó Háinle, Cathal, 'Three Apologues and *In Cath Catharda*', *Ériu*, 65 (2015), 87–126
- O'Higgins, D., 'Lucan as "Vates"', *Classical Antiquity*, 7.2 (1988), 208–26
- O'Hogan, C., 'Reading Lucan with Scholia in Medieval Ireland: *In Cath Catharda* and Its Sources', *CMCS*, 68 (2014), 21–49

- Ó hUiginn, R. ed., *Codices Hibernensis Eximii I: Lebor na hUidre* (Dublin: RIA, 2015)
- , ed., *Codices Hibernensis Eximii II: The Book of Ballymote* (Dublin: RIA, 2018)
- O’Leary, A., ‘Constructing the Magical Biography of the Irish Druid Mog Ruith’, in *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. by A. Classen, *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 20 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 219–30
- , ‘Mog Ruith and Apocalypticism in Eleventh-Century Ireland’, in *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, ed. by J. F. Nagy, *CSANA Yearbook*, 1 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 51–60
- O’Loughlin, T., ‘Reading Muirchú’s Tara-Event within Its Background as a Biblical “Trial of Divinities”’, in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults*, ed. by J. Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 123–35
- Ó Néill, P., ‘The Latin Colophon to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Book of Leinster: A Critical View of Old Irish Literature’, *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 269–75
- O’Shea, N., ‘The Drink of Death’, *Studia Celtica*, 35 (2001), 299–306
- Puhvel, J., *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987)
- Poli, D., ‘L’Eneide nella cultura irlandese antica’, in *Letterature comparate, problemi e method: Studi in onore di E. Paratore*, 2 vols (Bologna: Pàtron, 1981), I, pp. 997–1012
- Poppe, E., ‘The Epic Styles of *In Cath Catharda: Imitatio, Amplificatio, and Aemulatio*’, in *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Processes of Literary Transfer in the Middle Ages, Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe*, ed. by A. Harlos and N. Harlos (Munster: Nodus Publikationen, 2016), pp. 1–20
- , ‘*Grammatica, Grammatic, Augustine, and the Táin*’, in *Ildánach Ildirech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*, ed. by J. Carey et al., *Celtic Studies Publications*, 4 (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), pp. 203–10
- , ‘*Imtheachta Aeniasa* and Its Place in Medieval Irish Textual History’, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by R. O’Connor, *Studies in Celtic History*, 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 25–39
- , ‘*Imtheachta Aeniasa*: Virgil’s *Aeneid* in Medieval Ireland’, *Classics Ireland*, 11 (2001), 74–94

- , ‘Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* in Ireland: Structure and Sources’, *Studia Hibernica*, 42 (2016), 97–120
- , *A New Introduction to Imtheachta Aeniasa: The Irish Aeneid: The Classical Epic from an Irish Perspective*, Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series, 3 (London: Irish Texts Society, 1995)
- , ‘Reconstructing Medieval Irish Literary Theory: The Lesson of *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise*’, CMCS, 37 (Summer, 1999), 33–54
- , ‘Scholia: A Medieval Learned Background to *In Cath Catharda*’, in *Mélanges en l’honneur de Pierre-Yves Lambert*, ed. by G. Oudaer et al. (Rennes: Tir, 2015), pp. 431–40
- , ‘*Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*—Rewriting Hercules in Ireland’, in *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Aeniasa and Stair Ercail ocus a Bás*, ed. by K. Murray, Irish Texts Subsidiary Series, 17 (Dublin: RIA, 2006), pp. 37–68
- , ‘A Virgilian Model for *Lúirech Thredúalach?*’, *Ériu*, 54 (2004), 171–77
- Porter, J. I., ‘Reception Studies: Future Prospects’, in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. by L. Hardwick and C. Stray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Pugh, S., ed., *Euhemerism and Its Uses: The Mortal Gods*, Routledge Studies in Renaissance and Early Modern Worlds of Knowledge (London: Routledge, 2021)
- Pyłacz, J., *When Legends Come Alive: A Reading of Lucan’s Pharsalia* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2015)
- Rankin, D., ‘*Bendacht dee agus andee fort, a ingen (Táin Bó Cúalgne 2111, O’Rahilly)*’, ZCP, 51 (1991), 116–24
- Reynolds, L. D., ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983)
- Rodway, S., ‘Mermaids, Leprechauns and Fomorians: A Middle Irish Account of the Descendants of Cain’, CMCS, 59 (2010), 1–17
- Ross, B., *Bildungsidol, Ritter, Held: Herkules bei William Caxton und Uilliam Mac an Lega*, Britannica et Americana (3. Folge) 10 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1989)
- , ‘The Transformation of Non-Irish Narratives into an Irish Context: Uilliam Mac an Lega’s Early Modern Irish Adaptation of the Story of Hercules’, *Studia Hibernica*, 29 (1995–1997), 185–93
- Russell, P., ‘*Graece ... Latine*: Graeco-Latin Glossaries in Early Medieval Ireland’, *Peritia*, 14 (2000), 406–20

- , ‘*Read It in a Glossary*’: *Glossaries and Learned Discourse in Medieval Ireland*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture, 6 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2008)
- , *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales*, Text and Context (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2017)
- , ‘The Sounds of a Silence: The Growth of Cormac’s Glossary’, *CMCS*, 15 (1988), 1–30
- Sayers, W., ‘*Airdrech, sirite* and Other Early Irish Battlefield Spirits’, *Éigse*, 25 (1991), 45–55
- , ‘Netherworld and Otherworld in Early Irish Literature’, *ZCP*, 59 (2012), 201–30
- , ‘Supernatural Pseudonyms’, *Emania: Bulletin of the Navan Research Group*, 12 (1994), 49–60
- Shaw, J., ‘Indo-European Dragon-Slayers and Healers, and the Irish Account of Dian Cécht and Méiche’, *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 34.1–2 (2006), 153–81
- Smyth, M., *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History, 15 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1996)
- Sommerfelt, A., ‘Le système verbal dans *In Cath Catharda*’, *Revue Celtique*, 36 (1915–16), 23–62; 38 (1920–21), 295–357; 40 (1923), 157–69
- Spiegel, G., *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1993)
- Stanciu, R. R., ‘Attitudes Towards Paganism in Medieval Irish and Old Norse Texts of the Trojan War’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015)
- Stanford, W. B., *Ireland and the Classical Tradition* (Dublin: Figgis, 1984)
- , ‘Monsters and Odyssean Echoes in the Early Hiberno-Latin and Irish Hymns’, in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900: A Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. by J. J. O’Meara and B. Naumann (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 113–20
- , ‘Toward a History of Classical Influence in Ireland’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 70 C (1970), 13–91
- Thurneysen, R., *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921)
- Toner, G., ‘Authority, Verse and the Transmission of *Senchas*’, *Ériu*, 55 (2005), 59–

- , 'Landscape and Cosmology in the *Dindshenchas*', in *Celtic Cosmology: Perspectives from Ireland and Scotland*, ed. by J. Borsje et al., *Papers in Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2014), 268–83
- , *Manifestations of Sovereignty in Medieval Ireland*, H. M. Chadwick Lecture, 29 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2018)
- , 'The Ulster Cycle: Historiography or Fiction?', *CMCS*, 40 (2000), 1–20
- Tristram, H. L. C., 'Aspects of Tradition and Innovation in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*', in *Papers on Language and Mediaeval Studies Presented to Alfred Schopf*, ed. by R. Mathews and J. Schol Merostovsky, *Neue Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 37 (Frankfurt and Main: Lang, 1988), pp. 19–38
- , 'Der insulare Alexander', in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter*, ed. by W. Erzgräber (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 129–55
- , 'More Talk of Alexander', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 658–63
- Tymoczko, M., *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1999)
- Wachowich, C., 'In Search of Worlds to Conquer: Echoes of Alexander the Great in Medieval Ireland', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 36 (2016), 215–30
- Wadden, P., 'The Beauty and Lust of the Gaels': National Characteristics and Medieval Gaelic Learned Culture', *NAJCS*, 2.2 (2018), 85–104
- , 'The Frankish Table of Nations in Insular Historiography', *CMCS*, 72 (2016), 1–31
- , 'Irish and World History in the First Fragment of the *Annals of Tigernach* (Rawlinson B 502) in *Classical Antiquity in Medieval Ireland: The Antiquity Sagas and Related Literature*, ed. by M. Clarke, E. Poppe, and I. Torrance, *Bloomsbury Studies in Classical Reception* (Bloomsbury, 2023, forthcoming)
- Watson, D. J., 'The Evidence for the Influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XV on *Suidiugud Tellaig Temra*' (seminar presentation, Classical Influences in Irish Culture, Aarhus University, 10 May, 2021)
- , 'The Mortal and Divine Histories of Mongánmac Fiachnai in *Cín Dromma Snechtai*', *Celtica*, 32 (2021), 27–75

- , ‘Philosophy in Early Medieval Ireland: Nature, Hierarchy and Inspiration’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2018)
- Webster, J., ‘A Dirty Window on the Iron Age? Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Pre-Roman Celtic Religion’ in *Understanding Celtic Religion: Revisiting the Pagan Past*, ed. by K. Ritari and A. Bergholm (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 121–54
- Weiler, B., ‘Historical Writing in Europe, c. 1100–1300’, in *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March: New Contexts, Studies and Texts*, ed. by B. Guy et al., Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 31–67
- Williams, M., *Fiery Shapes: Celestial Portents and Astrology in Ireland and Wales 700–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- , *Ireland’s Immortals: A History of the Gods of Irish Myth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016)
- Woods, M. C., *Weeping for Dido: The Classics in the Medieval Classroom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019)
- Young, J. B., ‘Deathly Erichtho as Vital to Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*’ (unpublished masters thesis, Marshall University, 2011)
- Zdansky, H., ‘Love in Translation: The Irish Vernacularization of the *Aeneid*’, in *The Language of Gender, Power and Agency in Celtic Studies*, ed. by A. Handy and B. Ó Conchubhair (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014), pp. 43–58

