4

Troy Translated, Troy Transformed

Rewriting the Aeneid in Medieval Ireland

Susannah L. Wright

+

Medieval Irish prose retellings of the story of Troy are among the earliest surviving vernacular adaptations of Latin literature. These texts exemplify a range of approaches to their source material – from close reproduction to relatively free recasting – and generally appear to have originated in monastic environments. Given their subject matter and likely circumstances of production, the Irish classical adaptations present fertile ground for consideration of medieval Christian engagement with folktale and the fantastic, 'Christianization' of Greco-Roman mythological themes, and processes of translation across languages and cultures. Even so, the profoundly imaginative ways in which they reshape the classical tradition largely have yet to be analyzed through the lens of modern translation theory.

This chapter will examine one representative Middle Irish Troy narrative with an eye toward its strategies of translation and adaptation. *Imtheachta Aeniasa* ("The Adventures of Aeneas"), typically dated to the twelfth or perhaps late eleventh century,[1] reworks Virgil's *Aeneid* into a new and

☞ Special thanks to Tine Scheijnen and Ellen Söderblom Saarela for organizing the stimulating conference from which this volume originated and providing their editorial insights and support as this paper took shape. I am also grateful to Joseph Nagy, who read and commented on an earlier version of the chapter, and to the anonymous reviewer.

[1] For the date of this text, see Poppe 1995, 30–33; Poli 1981, 1001–2.

more linear account of its hero's deeds. The Irish version engages closely with the Latin text of Virgil while also reframing its content to fit the conventions of medieval historiography and prose saga. The argument that follows will apply the concepts of domestication and foreignization to two sites of cross-cultural negotiation in the text: the role of the divine and the presence of fantastical or mythological elements. By illustrating the varied kinds of translation practice at play in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, the resulting investigation draws attention to the creativity and richness that characterize this and other medieval Irish adaptations of the myths associated with Troy, thereby shedding light on a significant and often-overlooked area of vernacular reception.

4.1 THE TEXT IN CONTEXT: CLASSICAL ADAPTATION IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND

A large number of medieval Irish classical adaptations survive, dating from roughly the eleventh to fourteenth centuries CE.[2] In addition to our text of focus, these include *Togail Troí* ("The Destruction of Troy"), a reworking of Dares the Phrygian that exists in multiple recensions; *Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis* ("The Wandering of Ulysses son of Laertes"), a strikingly original rendering of the story of Odysseus; *In Cath Catharda* ("The Civil War"), a retelling of Lucan's *Civil War*; and *Togail na Tebe* ("The Destruction of Thebes"), an adaptation of Statius's *Thebaid*. Further examples involve the career of Alexander the Great (*Scéla Alaxandair*, "The Tale of Alexander"); the boyhood deeds of Achilles (*Robo maith Aichil mac Péil*, "Good was Achilles, son of Peleus"); the re-founding of Troy by Hector's son Astyanax (*Don Tres Troí*, "On the Third Troy"); the tale of the Minotaur (*Sgél in Mínaduir*, "The Story of the Minotaur"); and the misdeeds of the house of Atreus (*Fingal Chlainne Tanntail*, "The Kin-Slaying of the Family of Tantalus").[3] Several of these texts are either older than or roughly contemporaneous with the

[2] These adaptations are concisely outlined at O'Connor 2014, 13–17. Other such overviews include Stanford 1970, 35–38; Ní Mhaonaigh 2006; Hillers 2010, 40–44; Miles 2011, 51–66.

[3] O'Connor 2014, 13–16.

earliest such reworkings produced on the continent.[4] While Irish sources of this type survive in the greatest numbers, the Middle Welsh *Ystorya Dared* ("The History of Dares") is a notable example of a classical adaptation from medieval Wales.[5]

These texts are typically assumed to have been written in monastic settings, where classical learning would have been most readily available in Ireland during this period.[6] Some have been tentatively associated with particular monastic centers, while the origins of others remain obscure. Despite all that is unknown about their methods and places of production, the very existence of such works, along with their impressive number and variety, bears witness to a high degree of interest in and engagement with the classical literary past, especially Greek legendary history.[7] Several of these texts, including *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, are often grouped together in the manuscripts to form what has been called an incipient Troy cycle.[8]

As scholars have similarly observed regarding other vernacular traditions,[9] medieval Celtic notions of translation seem to have been fairly far removed from modern conceptions of the process. 'Faithfulness' to the original, at least in a strict sense, does not appear to have been a central consideration, and as a result, these texts are more commonly called 'adaptations' or 're-workings' than 'translations'.[10] As Barbara Hillers has stated, "none of these works are 'translations' in our sense of word-for-word correspondence; they are more or less free adaptations which have been altered structurally, as well

[4] For the dating of the medieval Irish classical adaptations and their relationship with parallel vernacular translation movements in medieval France and elsewhere, see O'Connor 2014, 4–5, 13–17.

[5] For the Troy narrative in medieval Wales, see Fulton 2011, 138–44; 2014, 52–56.

[6] For the relevance of ecclesiastical centers of learning in medieval Ireland to these adaptations, see Ní Mhaonaigh 2006, 7–9.

[7] Hillers 2014, 85.

[8] See Poppe 1995, 3–11 for this idea and the placement of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* in the Book of Ballymote, where it appears alongside *Togail Troí*, *Merugud Uilixis*, and the Irish Alexander compilation.

[9] For medieval translation practices beyond the Celtic tradition, see Campbell & Mills (eds) 2012 and Beer (ed.) 2019.

[10] Hillers 1992, 63. See also O'Connor 2014, 17–22 for a discussion of medieval Irish approaches to classical adaptation.

as stylistically, to fit in with native narrative tradition".[11] Since the degree of structural and stylistic modification varies widely from text to text, the medieval Irish classical adaptations can be viewed as occupying places on a continuum ranging from narratives that are closely aligned with their sources to essentially independent tales. As we will see, *Imtheachta Aeniasa* would be situated nearer to the former pole, while many other texts lean more toward the latter.[12]

On the whole, the Irish retelling is fairly close to Virgil and exhibits a high level of engagement with the *Aeneid* – so much so, in fact, that its existence has been used as a piece of evidence to support the availability of the Virgilian text in medieval Ireland.[13] Even though the content of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* is in the end not far removed from its classical epic source material, the text nevertheless makes substantial alterations that reflect a process of dramatic reworking. The most prominent of the adapter's many modifications involve the structure of the newly-created Irish text. The complex shape of the *Aeneid*'s opening books is well known: the narrative begins *in medias res* with Juno's rage-driven visit to Aeolus, and only once the shipwrecked Trojan refugees reach Dido's court does Virgil recount his hero's Trojan past and wanderings at sea. After Aeneas's tale has been told in Books 2 and 3 through a frame device that mirrors the extended inset narrative of *Odyssey* 9–12, the remaining events unfold in a roughly chronological fashion. In this pattern of narration, the reader does not learn the full story of Aeneas's journeys until the end of Book 3, and even then only through the embedded accounts of the hero himself.

This ornate mode of organization seems to have been unsatisfying to the Irish redactor, who divides the first few books of the *Aeneid* into their component parts and develops an entirely new structure governed by cause and effect rather than intricate literary representation. In this new model, the events of *Aeneid* 2 and 3 are logically and temporally anterior to those

[11] Hillers 1992, 63.

[12] One such example is *Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis*, which has been described by Robert Meyer as holding "only a few waifs and strays of the Homeric account" (1958, xiv).

[13] Miles 2011, 22: "the Middle Irish translation of the *Aeneid* proves ... that the poet's greatest poem was read in Ireland at least in the eleventh or twelfth century."

of *Aeneid* 1 and then *Aeneid* 4, and the Virgilian order must be reshuffled accordingly. By making these revisions, the Irish adapter creates a new tale of Aeneas that begins with the aftermath of the fall of Troy and carries him straight through his trials at sea to Dido's court. In Carthage, the hero tells of Troy's destruction and summarizes his journey (much more briefly than in *Aeneid* 3, since the details are already known to the reader), and we return to a modified Virgilian scheme thereafter. The resulting narrative structure, illustrated in the table below, might seem more historical than that of the *Aeneid*: instead of utilizing a highly recursive model, as Virgil does, the redactor of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* presents events in a largely linear fashion.[14]

Virgil's *Aeneid*	*Imtheachta Aeniasa*
Introduction and invocation (1.1–11)	Discussion of treachery (1–52)
	The Trojans' struggles at sea (52–209)
Juno's wrath and visit to Aeolus (1.12–80)	Juno's wrath and visit to Aeolus (210–21)
Storm and arrival at Carthage (1.81–756)	Storm and arrival at Carthage (221–407)
Aeneas tells of the fall of Troy (2.1–804)	Aeneas tells of the fall of Troy (408–654)
Aeneas tells of the Trojans' struggles at sea (3.1–718)	Aeneas summarizes the Trojans' struggles at sea (655–68)
Aeneas and Dido (4.1–705)	Aeneas and Dido (668–931)

FIGURE 1: Initial Narrative Structure in Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Imtheachta Aeniasa*

But a peek at even the first few pages of the Irish adaptation will suffice to demonstrate that the redactor has made a more dramatic set of changes still. Rather than beginning with any sort of grand programmatic statement or

[14] Poppe 1995, 6–7.

epic introduction, this tale of the adventures of Aeneas opens with a rather shocking surprise: a scene loosely modeled on the closing paragraphs of the account of Troy's fall attributed to Dares the Phrygian, in which the Greeks consider what they should do with Antenor, Aeneas, and the others who betrayed the city.[15] Though there are traces even in Virgil of an alternative ancient tradition that frames Aeneas as a traitor,[16] the version ascribed to Dares was particularly popular in the Middle Ages and widely taken to be an eyewitness report. As a result, Dares' representation of Aeneas as having been involved in a conspiracy at Troy would likely have been seen as a fixed component of the character's prehistory. The inclusion of this element at the start of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* thus provides vital contextual information, not unlike what modern readers might expect from an introduction or commentary.[17] Aside from its broader chronological restructuring and the incorporation of this supplementary material, *Imtheachta Aeniasa* follows the *Aeneid* fairly closely, and the author's in-depth engagement with Virgil is apparent throughout.

4.2 THEORIES OF TRANSLATION

Fully integrating the methods of modern translation theory into an analysis of medieval Irish approaches to literary adaptation will not be possible here: such an endeavor could easily be the subject of an entire monograph, or more. But two notions from this rich area of research can enhance our examination of the text at hand. These are the ideas of 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translation, which have been central to the field of translation studies since Lawrence Venuti's publication of *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* in 1995.

Their relatively recent popularization notwithstanding, the concepts themselves are by no means new. Perhaps the best-known articulation of a domesticating approach to translation remains that of John Dryden, who

[15] Dares, *Fall of Troy* 42–43. For the issues of consistency and characterization posed by the addition of this episode at the beginning of *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, see Harris 1988–91, 25–28, 39–43; Poppe 1995, 6–10; LeBlanc 2019, 215; Wright 2023, 418–21.

[16] See Casali 1999, 206–11, along with Ahl 1989, 24–31; Galinsky (1969) 2015, 46–51; Ussani 1947, 116–23.

[17] Miles 2011, 57.

wrote in his 1697 "Dedication of the *Æneis*" that he had "endeavour'd to make *Virgil* speak such *English*, as he wou'd himself have spoken, if he had been born in *England*, and in this present age".[18] An influential formulation of the two strategies was later given in an 1813 lecture by Friedrich Schleiermacher, who stated that "there are only two [methods]. Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him".[19] Schleiermacher's twice-repeated qualifications – "as much as possible" – provide an important reminder that no translation can be domesticating or foreignizing in totality, while every such work necessarily constitutes a text distinct from its original.[20] Particular narrative moments, too, may call for their own translation methods.

As Venuti has observed, a fundamental divergence has been identified here:

> Schleiermacher allowed the translator to choose between a domesticating practice, an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to receiving cultural values, bringing the author back home, and a foreignizing practice, an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad.[21]

These two paths have been further explored by Antoine Berman, who marshalled a series of ethical arguments in favor of receiving "the Foreign as Foreign".[22] Though other theoretical perspectives have been formulated since, Venuti stands with Schleiermacher and Berman in preferring foreignizing translation as restraining what he calls the "ethnocentric violence of translation".[23]

The ethical concerns associated with different theories of translation will not be addressed in what follows, nor will the idea of translational violence.

[18] Quoted from Kinsley (ed.) 1958, 1055.
[19] Translation by Lefevere 1977, 74.
[20] Venuti 2008, 15.
[21] Venuti 2008, 15.
[22] Berman 1999, 74: "l'Autre en tant qu'Autre".
[23] Venuti 2008, 16.

But the central ideas of domestication and foreignization – the former strategy integrating the translated text as much as possible into the literary context of a target culture, and the latter strategy maintaining a sense of the translated text's foreignness even in its new language and context – offer a useful way of describing medieval Irish classical adaptations without relying overmuch on ideas of 'faithfulness' or 'closeness' to the classical original. (As noted above, such notions tend to do insufficient justice to the imaginative dynamism of medieval translation practices.) With these considerations in mind, we embark in earnest upon our examination of *Imtheachta Aeniasa*.

4.3 DEALING WITH THE DIVINE

The so-called 'divine apparatus' is a central aspect of Greco-Roman epic, with the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aeneid* all featuring the gods in major roles.[24] These figures not only add significance, weight, and sometimes even humor to the proceedings of a given epic, but also keep the plot moving: Aeneas's journey throughout the *Aeneid* is in many ways determined by the opposing forces of Juno's antagonism and Venus's support. For an adapter working within the context of medieval Celtic Christianity, the prominence of the gods in classical epic would presumably have posed a considerable challenge – not least because reactions to making classical texts available in the vernacular would likely not have been universally positive in some communities.[25] Possible ways of handling the Greco-Roman pantheon might have included retaining the gods and representing them much as they were depicted in earlier epic contexts; preserving their presence, but modifying their role or characterization to be more palatable for Christian audiences; replacing them with something else; or removing them from the narrative altogether. As we shall see, *Imtheachta Aeniasa* adopts a strategy most like the second of these possibilities.

[24] The scholarship on the role of the gods in these texts is extensive. For a diachronic analysis of the gods in Greco-Roman epic, see Feeney 1991; for the divine apparatus in the *Iliad,* see Griffin 1980, 144–204, Lloyd-Jones 1983, 1–27, and Kearns 2004; for the *Odyssey,* see Kullmann 1985, Friedrich 1987, and Allan 2006; and for the *Aeneid*, see Coleman 1982 and Pollio 2021.

[25] Ní Mhaonaigh 2006, 7.

In the early twentieth century, Eleanor Hull's *Text Book of Irish Literature* described *Imtheachta Aeniasa* as a work "in the whole course of which the Immortals hardly appear at all".[26] Though the Irish classical adaptations do tend to minimize the divine and supernatural aspects of their Greek and Latin originals – as Hull rightly notes[27] – this characterization of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* is misleading. The place of the gods has been reduced, to be sure, but divine figures from Juno,[28] Venus,[29] Jove,[30] and Mercury[31] to Allecto,[32] Iris,[33] and even Fama, goddess of rumor,[34] nevertheless appear frequently and play significant roles in the text. Most often, their involvement is preserved where divine action is required to set major plot events in motion.[35] Additionally, characters make sacrifices in the traditional Roman manner, and many of the numerous omens and various prodigies that appear in the *Aeneid* are included.[36] Detailed genealogies and descriptions of the gods have largely been removed where they do not serve the plot,[37] along with quite a few scenes involving immortal characters; chief among the excised episodes are god-to-god conversations with no mortal witnesses.[38] It is hard to say, however, whether these omissions constitute a deliberate program of erasure or a consequence of the text's relative compression.

[26] Hull 1908, 79. For the presence of the gods in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, see also Poppe 1995, 17–18; Kobus 1995, 82–83; Meyer 1966, 99; Williams 1899, 419 and 421.

[27] Hull 1908, 79.

[28] See the following discussion for Juno's role in the text.

[29] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 291–307, 568–83, 1275–84, 1952–67, 3028–32, and elsewhere.

[30] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 757–65 and 2018–26.

[31] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 757–79 and 877–89.

[32] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1625–1735. For the character of Allecto and the Irish *badb,* see LeBlanc 2019, 217–19.

[33] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1154–75 and 1968–78.

[34] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 734–45.

[35] LeBlanc 2019, 217.

[36] Sacrifices, prophecies, and omens are mentioned at numerous points in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, including (among many other instances) 67–89, 129–135, 484–500, 948–69, 1509–21, 2671–77, and 2981–92. Such moments are often identified explicitly as examples of ancient custom, as at 202, 961–62, 1275, 1512, and 2717 (Poppe 1995, 18n61).

[37] Poppe 1995, 17–19.

[38] Williams 1899, 421; Kobus 1995, 82–83.

As in the *Aeneid*, the deity involved most directly in the plot of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* is Juno. Though the treachery scene occupies in this text the conspicuous opening position granted to her rage in Virgil's poem, the goddess still appears at many key junctures. Significant instances of her intervention include asking Aeolus to wreck the Trojan fleet; sending Iris to incite the Trojan women; summoning Allecto to stir up war in Latium and receiving her report once the task is complete; sending Iris to tell Turnus Aeneas is gone; drawing Turnus away from the conflict by posing as Aeneas; and protecting Turnus in battle.[39]

Despite Juno's prominence in the text, several major episodes involving her have been omitted from the Irish version. One such instance is the agreement of Juno and Venus regarding the relationship between Aeneas and Dido.[40] In the *Aeneid*, Juno assures Venus that she will orchestrate a romantic encounter between the two by stirring up a storm while they are out on the hunt and ensuring that they take shelter in the same cave.[41] Juno's speech includes numerous first-person verbs and an emphatic use of the first-person pronoun,[42] underscoring her pledge to take up the task herself.[43] The storm scene shortly thereafter closely echoes Juno's words,[44] an effect that shows the goddess has done just as she promised. In the 'marriage' itself, Juno is even described as presiding over the wedding as an attendant and joining Tellus in giving the signal for the ceremonies to commence.[45] Her role in the proceedings is central and carries ominous weight: when the hero's chief divine antagonist plays the role of bridesmaid in his supposed wedding, certainly nothing good can result.

[39] These actions occur at *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 210–21; 1154–58; 1611–38 and 1728–35; 1968–75; 2577–605; and 2305–6 and 2545–46.

[40] On the reception of the Dido episode in the medieval French tradition, see also chapter 8 of this volume (Söderblom Saarela).

[41] Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.115–27.

[42] The concentration of first-person verbs is highest at Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.122 ("I will pour" – "infundam"; "I will stir" – "ciebo") and 125–26 ("I will be there" – "adero"; "I will join" – "iungam"; "I will designate" – "dicabo"). The emphatic use of the first-person pronoun ("ego") occurs at Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.120.

[43] Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.115.

[44] See Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.161 (~ 4.120) and 4.165–66 (~ 4.124–25) for these echoes.

[45] Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.166–67.

In *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, by contrast, the pact between Juno and Venus is entirely absent. The otherwise close adaptation of the consummation scene, in fact, does not mention the scheming goddess even once:

> Then it came into Dido's mind to go a-hunting, Aeneas going with her; and to that Aeneas agreed [...] Now whilst [the party was] splendidly hunting the game, foul weather poured down upon them, and storm, hail, thunder, and lightning, so that they were seized with fear and terror, and they separated and fled each of them to his house, being unable to hunt. Also Aeneas and Dido went both together in flight to a cave that was near them; and they two consummated their union there, since what had been appointed[46] befell them.[47]

With Juno removed from the picture, the events of the hunt take shape organically. The idea for the outing develops entirely in the queen's own mind,[48] with the storm merely offering a convenient opportunity for the lovers to find themselves alone in a cave together. No choreography or elaborate maneuvering by a higher power is required, and the gestures toward marriage ritual seen in the Latin text are nowhere to be found.[49] In this version of the story, then, the misunderstanding between Aeneas and Dido is left to fall squarely on their own human shoulders: divine intervention is not to blame.[50]

That is not to say, though, that the gods have no role in their affair. Just as in the *Aeneid*, Venus initiates Dido's love for Aeneas by dispatching Cupid to encourage the queen's affection,[51] while Jove, Mercury, and (purportedly)

[46] Calder's edition notes that both the text and translation are doubtful here.

[47] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 719–20 and 727–33: "Tic dono ara menmain do Didain teacht do shelg 7 Aenias imale fria, 7 foghabar o Aenias inni sin i cuibdius [...] In tan tra ba haine ic tafand na fiadmil nos-dortend in duibhsin 7 in gaillim 7 in casar 7 in toirneach 7 in tene gealan forro conus-rogab ecla 7 omun 7 gu roscailset 7 gu rotheichset cach dib dochum a thighi ar femeamh na sealga. Teid dono Aenias 7 Dido ina n-æn dis ar teiched i n-uaim bai i comfhochus doibh, 7 dogniad a n-æntaidh andsin a ndis uair dorala a ndesi[d] doib". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 47.

[48] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 719–20.

[49] See Austin 1979, 68–69 for the ritual features of the Latin account.

[50] Williams 1899, 421.

[51] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 382–401.

the ghost of Anchises are all involved in their ultimate parting.[52] But immediate responsibility for their clandestine tryst is not attributed to the gods – a modification that can perhaps be explained as either compression or moralization. The attraction between Aeneas and Dido is well established by this point in the text; as a result, to a redactor condensing a work of such exceptional length, Juno's intervention to bring them together might seem superfluous and therefore ripe for omission. From the perspective of Christian morality, we may also wonder whether the Irish adapter would have felt fully comfortable with the idea of a god – even a Roman one – promoting and orchestrating the disastrous liaison of these two widowed characters.

The handling of Juno, the most prominent deity in both *Imtheachta Aeniasa* and the *Aeneid*, epitomizes the redactor's approach to the gods throughout: scenes of essential plot relevance are typically retained, while others are silently passed over or shortened considerably. In general, the representation of the Greco-Roman gods when they are present aligns closely with their depiction in the *Aeneid*. This foreignizing strategy applies even to divinities who are less than anthropomorphic in appearance, such as Fama and Allecto:

> A monster, horrible, huge, is [Fama]. She walks on the ground with her head among the clouds covered with plumes from top to toe, an eye under every plume watching the deeds of everyone, and a mouth and a tongue for every eye a-telling these deeds, an ear for every eye of them, a-listening to these tales.[53]

> When Allecto heard these words that Turnus had spoken to her, she was seized with anger and indignation against him; and she changed herself into her own form, and loathsome, dreadful was that form. Rough, horrible, wrinkled was her

[52] Jove enlists Mercury to confront Aeneas at *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 757–65; Mercury addresses the hero at 765–77 and 877–89. As in the *Aeneid* (4.351–53), the ghost of Anchises does not appear directly but is mentioned in one of Aeneas's speeches to Dido (820–21).

[53] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 736–40: "Torothor grana dermhair iside, 7 si ac imteacht for lar 7 a cend etir na nellaib, lan do chluim o ind co bond, suil fo gach cluim ic forcoimet gnim caich, 7 bel 7 tenga gacha sula ac indisin na ngnim sin, cluas gacha sula dib i[c] cloisteacht na scel sin". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 47.

face; wild, sharp, bloody, deep red, unresting were the angry, flaming eyes that were in her head. Tresses of poisonous serpents, that was the hair about her head.[54]

In these passages, the two frightful goddesses are represented in all their monstrously terrifying glory. The details of each description are thoroughly Virgilian: in the *Aeneid*, as in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, Fama is a horrible and huge monster who walks on the ground with her head among the clouds and is completely covered in feathers, eyes, mouths, tongues, and ears,[55] while the true form of Allecto, which she reveals after Turnus's words cause her to blaze with sudden anger, includes flaming eyes and hair of serpents.[56] The adapter's account of her appearance is further enhanced by the use of alliterative phrases, a characteristic technique of elevated medieval Irish prose.[57] The descriptions of both deities closely render their Latin source and reflect a willingness to engage with the fantastic, a topic that we will consider more thoroughly in the section that follows.

Even in this generally accurate presentation of the gods of the *Aeneid*, there are nevertheless some instances where the medieval redactor's perspective on the power – or lack thereof – of classical Roman divinities is made clear. One such case is the meeting between Aeneas and his former helmsman Palinurus in the underworld. At the end of *Aeneid* 5, Palinurus is shoved headlong to his death by the god Somnus.[58] Though readers of the poem know that he has been killed by a god, and Aeneas himself suspects

[54] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1683–89: "O rochuala Electo na briathra sain roraidh Tuirn fria, nos-geb ferg 7 londus fris, 7 nos-dealband ina delb fen 7 ba hetig aduathmar in delb sin. Ba garb granda grugach a gnuis. Batar feochra feighi fuilide forderga foluaimnecha na ruisc londa lasarda robatar ina cind. Trillsi do nathrachaib nemi is e folt bai imon cend". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 107.

[55] These features of Fama appear at Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.176–77 and 4.181–83.

[56] These aspects of Allecto's appearance are given at Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.448–50.

[57] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1686–87: "ba garb granda grugach a gnuis" ("rough, horrible, wrinkled was her face"), "feochra feighi fuilide forderga foluaimnecha" ("wild, sharp, bloody, deep red, unresting"), "londa lasarda" ("angry, flaming"). Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 107. See Poppe 2014, 33–34 on this passage and Poppe 1995, 19–22 on the use of alliterative phrases in *Imtheachta Aeniasa* more widely.

[58] Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.833–71.

as much, Palinurus's ghost is nevertheless adamant that divine involvement had nothing to do with it:

> Aeneas, barely seeing who it was
> through all the gloom, addressed the anguished man:
> "Who was the god that snatched you, Palinurus,
> and drowned you in the water's vast expanse?
> Tell me. Apollo has not ever lied;
> yet he misled me with this one response,
> when he declared you would be safe at sea
> and reach the shores of Italy unharmed.
> Is this how he fulfills his promises?"
> The helmsman said, "Anchises' son, my captain,
> the oracle of Phoebus did not lie,
> nor did a god submerge me in the waves".[59]

Palinurus goes on to claim that Phoebus upheld his promise in the end: following his tumble overboard, the helmsman drifted to the shores of Italy unharmed – even if only to be attacked and killed immediately upon his arrival.[60]

When Palinurus perishes in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, his death is likewise assigned to the intervention of Somnus.[61] Here, however, his shade answers Aeneas's questions very differently:

> Moreover, Palinurus came to him, and he was gloomy, sad, sorrowful, wretched; and Aeneas asked of him what was the reason of his falling from the ship into the

[59] Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.340–48: "hunc ubi uix multa maestum cognouit in umbra, / sic prior adloquitur: 'quis te, Palinure, deorum / eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit? / dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus, / hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo, / qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat / uenturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?' / ille autem: 'neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit, / dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit'". Translation by McGill & Wright (forthcoming).

[60] Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.355–62.

[61] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1221–39.

sea. Palinurus said that Somnus put him [overboard] by force while he slept, and he took the rudder with him.[62]

In a key departure from the Latin original, the Irish ghost of Palinurus does not hesitate to attribute his demise to Somnus. The promises of Apollo and the helmsman's death at the hands of hostile Italians are not mentioned, leaving the blame to rest solely on the god of sleep.[63] This could constitute a correction on the redactor's part, since the Virgilian response of Palinurus can be read as a narrative inconsistency (as has been recognized in scholarship on the poem since at least the time of Servius).[64] It is equally possible, however, that the adapter simply lacked an incentive that was operative for his source poet: in a medieval Christian context, there was no need to protect the reputation of a Greco-Roman deity from charges of capriciousness. Now that the ancient pantheon is no longer in active religious play, Palinurus's death at the hands of a god can be called exactly what it is without charges of sacrilege or impiety.

To close our consideration of the gods in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, a few minor instances of domesticating practice are worthy of note. When the Trojans arrive in Italy, the genealogy of Latinus – given through Saturn by way of Faunus and Picus in the *Aeneid*[65] – is traced back to Noah through the line of Ham: "Latinus, son of Faunus, son of Picus, son of Neptune, son of Saturn, son of Apollo (?), son of Picus, son of Pel, son of Tres, son of Tros, son of Mizraim, son of Ham, son of Noah".[66] This is an example of a

[62] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1331–34: "Dorala do dono Palamurus, 7 se dubach dobronach toirrsech taidiuir, 7 roiarfaigh Aenias de cid fodera a toitim asin luing isin fairgi. Roraid Palamurus Somnus dia chur ar egin ina chodlud co ruc in sdiuir lais". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 85.

[63] Rather than dying by force, the Irish Palinurus drowns on his fourth day of drifting at sea (*Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1335–36).

[64] For a survey of proposed solutions to the discrepancy, see Perkell 2004, 134–40. See also Kobus 1995, 79–80 for the redactor's apparent familiarity with Servius.

[65] Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.47–49.

[66] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1478–80: "Laitin mac Puin meic Picc meic Neptuin meic Saduirn meic Pal loir meic Pic meic Pel meic Tres meic Trois meic Mesraim meic Caimh meic Noe". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 93–95. For this genealogy, which appears in similar forms elsewhere in the Book of Ballymote, see Poppe 1995, 19; and for No-

specifically Christianizing form of domestication, in which the translator has integrated Latinus and his divine ancestors into Old Testament genealogy. The Etruscan ruler Tarchon, meanwhile, is elsewhere connected with native Celtic religious practice by his identification as a druid ("drui").[67] Somewhat later, after Aeneas has sworn an oath by the gods of heaven and earth, the seas, rivers, and streams, and his own valor,[68] Latinus responds by vowing that the truce between the Trojans and Latins will not be broken "till heaven will fall to earth, and the deluge come over the world,"[69] calling to mind his own descent from Noah – but with an eschatological slant.

These cases represent minor instances of domestication in an overall strategy of foreignization as it relates to the gods. As we have seen, Greco-Roman deities remain very present in this text and play prominent plot-supporting roles, frequently serving as the device that moves the narrative ahead. Where they are included, the representations of divine figures – even menacing ones like Fama and Allecto – are fairly close to the Virgilian original. The Roman pantheon is kept largely intact and given permission to operate on its own terms, even in its new Celtic literary context.

4.4 FACING THE FANTASTIC

Now that we have considered the role of the divine in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, we turn to a closely related topic: the presence of fantastical elements. To think first in terms of Greco-Roman epic more generally, scholars have long observed that the fantastic is not present to any great degree in the *Iliad*, where heroes slay one another on the battlefield in a manner that can include divine intervention but rarely takes a genuinely supernatural character.[70] That text well demonstrates that an epic involving the gods does

achic pedigrees attributing the origin of the Greco-Roman gods to Cham, see Myrick 1993, 164–72.

[67] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 2375–76 and 2392. See Meyer 1966, 102.

[68] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 2956–57.

[69] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 2965–66: "co tæth nemh dochum talmhan 7 co ti in diliu tarin domun". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 185.

[70] As Griffin has stated (1977, 40), "the *Iliad* is notably more cautious with the fantastic". The perplexing encounter between Achilles and Scamander in *Iliad* 21 is one of the few episodes that can be said to belong in this category, though other moments warrant consideration. See Zanon 2019 for a recent reappraisal of the situation.

not necessarily have to include elements of a fantastical or folkloric nature. In classical epic from the *Odyssey* onward, however, adventures from the world of folktale became a common component,[71] and both the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* involve episodes that are truly fantastical or supernatural. These include encounters with ghosts, visits to the Underworld, and confrontations with mythological creatures, such as Harpies, Sirens, or witches. Though such scenes sometimes overlap closely with those involving the divine, their fundamentally fanciful character is remote from actual religious practice and thus warrants separate treatment.

Regarding the gods, we have seen that *Imtheachta Aeniasa* follows Virgil's text carefully while making only occasional domesticating adjustments to adapt it to the Christian context of the medieval Celtic world. On a broad level, this foreignizing tendency also holds true for the fantastic, but a few of the most overtly supernatural episodes from the *Aeneid* exhibit a degree of demythologization in their new Irish shape. This trend may have to do with Poppe's characterization of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* as operating within the world of Irish historical narrative:[72] if the text is to be interpreted this way, it may certainly include a few fantastical elements (as other such works in the Celtic tradition were known to do), but it should likely not stray too far from the realm of possibility.

Some of the most fantastical portions of the *Aeneid* occur during Aeneas's wanderings in the first half of the poem, which is appropriately often called 'Odyssean'. One incident in this category is the encounter with the Harpies, whose appalling filthiness is vividly depicted. These fearsome creatures are more than just unpleasant birds, as the opening lines of the scene make clear: they have the features of maidens, along with hooked hands, pale faces, and a constant overflow of disgusting excrement.

> No other monster is more terrible;
> no fiercer scourge or fury of the gods
> has ever raised itself from Stygian waters –
> birds with girls' faces, bellies that discharge

[71] See, e.g., Page 1973 and Reinhardt (1948) 1996.
[72] See Poppe 1995, 1–16.

disgusting waste, hooked claws for hands, and cheeks
forever pale with hunger.[73]

When Aeneas and his companions first arrive on the Strophades, they are excited to find the islands full of unsupervised cattle and goats.[74] As soon as they have slain some of the livestock and attempt to consume their meal, however, the monsters descend in a series of sudden swooping attacks and pollute the food with their filth. Eventually, the Trojan group is forced to wage a brief battle against the Harpies, which proves more challenging than expected when their enemies' feathers turn out to be impervious to their weapons:

My soldiers launched a new and strange attack,
to stain those reeking seabirds with our steel.
Their feathered backs deflected every blow.
They swiftly flew up to the stars, unharmed,
and left half-eaten spoils and trails of filth.[75]

Once Aeneas and his men manage to gain victory, the Harpy Celaeno delivers a menacing prophecy.[76] She invokes the authority of Phoebus to predict that the Trojans will not find their ultimate home before hunger forces them to consume their tables – an ominous warning that will later meet a harmless actualization in *Aeneid* 7.[77] The episode as a whole is

[73] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.214–18: "tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saeuior ulla / pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis. / uirginei uolucrum uultus, foedissima uentris / proluuies uncaeque manus et pallida semper / ora fame". Translation by McGill & Wright (forthcoming).

[74] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.219–21.

[75] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.240–44: "inuadunt socii et noua proelia temptant, / obscenas pelagi ferro foedare uolucris. / sed neque uim plumis ullam nec uulnera tergo / accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae / semesam praedam et uestigia foeda relinquunt". Translation by McGill & Wright (forthcoming).

[76] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.245–57.

[77] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.255–57. The prophecy proves much less dire than expected at Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.107–34, where Aeneas attributes the prophetic utterance to Anchises rather than Celaeno.

thoroughly disconcerting, owing in large part to the nauseatingly realistic depiction of the Harpies' squalor.

In *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, the basic structure of the scene is the same, though it is characteristically condensed. As in the *Aeneid*, the Trojans come upon an island rich in sheep, cattle, and goats, with no one tending the flocks.[78] The moment that the Trojans attempt to eat, they are attacked by birdlike monsters whose onslaught they struggle to combat:

> Thus was that island – full of cattle, sheep, and goats, with no one to protect them or to guard them. Among the Trojans therefore, they made much flesh-meat from these herds. Now after that, when their portions of food were brought before them, they saw bearing down upon them from the hills a flock of noisome birds – Harpies they are named – that screamed and snatched their portions of food from them out of their hands, and left their filth upon their platters. The Trojans seized their shields and swords, and got quit of them by dint of fighting.[79]

Importantly, however, the Harpies are here described without any reference whatsoever to their part-human nature: the Trojans' food is snatched away and their meal sullied by repulsive birds,[80] but the text provides no indication that their adversaries are anything more than this. The details of the Harpies' half-human, half-bird physical composition are missing, as is the specification that their feathers cannot be wounded by mortal weapons.[81] Further, the creatures have now been deprived of speech, with the arresting prophecy of the Harpy Celaeno being excised as well.[82] If this passage repre-

[78] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 108–10. The parallel Virgilian moment is Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.219–21.

[79] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 108–16: "Is amlaidh robai in indsi sin, lan do buaib 7 do cæraib 7 gabhraib, gan nech aga n-anacul no aga n-imcoimet. Dogniat dono feolbach imdha dona hindilib sin agna Troiandaib. In tan tra iarsin tuctha a mbiadh[a] ina fiadnaise, co n-accatar chucu dona slebiu elta do enaib granda—Airpi a n-anmand side—7 siat for grechaid—7 srengaid a mbiada uaithib asa lamaib, 7 fagbaid a salchar fora miasaib, 7 gabait na Troiandaigh a sciathu 7 a claidme, 7 nos-dicuirit uaidibh a l-los comluind". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 9.

[80] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 113: "enaib granda".

[81] These details are presented at Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.216–18 and 3.242–44, respectively.

[82] This may have to do with Aeneas's later attribution of the prophecy to his own father (see footnote 77 above). Since the reassignment of Celaeno's predictions to Anchises

sented a reader's first or only encounter with the Harpies, there would be no reason to suspect anything fantastical about them at all: the Irish adaptation has reduced them to little more than filthy and bothersome birds.

Another transformation from Aeneas's travels involves Mount Aetna. In the *Aeneid*, the constant thrashing of the monstrous Enceladus, trapped beneath the mountain, is the cause of its terrifying fires and quakes.

> Tradition has it that Enceladus,
> blasted by lightning, lies beneath the weight
> of giant Etna, which exhales its fire
> above his body from its shattered forges;
> and every time he turns his weary frame,
> Sicily shakes and cloaks the sky in smoke.[83]

The redactor of *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, however, offers a different explanation:

> An ever-living fire always [burns] in that mountain, and [columns] of its black smoke and flame burst at all times forth from caves and craters of that mountain. God does that to make known to men that the fire of hell is eternal; for this is what some allege, that Mount Etna is one of the doors of hell.[84]

Much like the *Aeneid*, *Imtheachta Aeniasa* exhibits a preoccupation with the physical unpleasantness of Mount Aetna. The Irish adapter's description of the ever-living fire and columns of fumes and flames that plague the area

constitutes an inconsistency in Virgil's narrative, the Irish redactor could well have recognized the problem and elected to solve it by removing Celaeno's speech altogether.

[83] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.578–82: "fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus / urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam / impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis, / et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem / murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo". Translation by McGill & Wright (forthcoming).

[84] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 141–45: "Teni bithbeo 'sin tshleb sin dogress, co maided a duibdiad 7 a lasra a huamaib 7 a haircelaib in tshlebi sin amach dogress. Dia fhis do dainib conad do sut[h]ine tine iffirn dogni dia sin, ar is ed aderait araile conad dorus du dhoirsib iffirnd sliab Eathna". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 11. See Poppe 1995, 18–19 for this passage.

around the volcano directly echoes Virgil's mention of constant smoke and fiery quakes immediately before the passage quoted here.[85] Both texts, too, place the fantastical explanation for Aetna's flames in the mouth of someone other than the narrator. In the *Aeneid*, the source of the Enceladus story is rumor ("tradition has it"),[86] while the Irish adapter attributes the tale to the allegations of some ("this is what some allege").[87]

But despite the surface-level similarities between these two accounts, the folkloric suggestions they carry are thoroughly different. Rooted in Christian writings and the Irish tradition, the new mythical geography of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* no longer assigns the smoke and flames of Aetna to the eternal writhing of Enceladus: instead, Aetna has become the site of one of the doors to hell.[88] This represents not only a case of domesticating translation in a typically foreignizing text, but also one of genuine Christianization. A location with its own mythological history in the Greco-Roman past has now been rewritten and reframed to hold a new religious significance.[89]

Other aspects of the landscape of Aeneas's journey in *Imtheachta Aeniasa* are subject to changes that cannot be addressed in detail here. Some constitute instances of demythologization, as is the case with Scylla and Charybdis; though the straits flanked by these monsters are depicted vividly in *Aeneid* 3 and *Odyssey* 12, the Irish adaptation treats them as little more than natural obstacles.[90] Other locations on Aeneas's route are presented with an awareness of fantastical traditions, but with some aspects of Greco-Roman mythology changed. This occurs in the description of Circe's isle, where the

[85] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.570–77.

[86] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.578: "fama est".

[87] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 144: "ar is ed aderait araile".

[88] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 145: "dorus du dhoirsib iffirnd".

[89] See also a Middle English romance discussed in chapter 1 in this volume (Scheijnen), where the superhuman powers of Achilles are represented as originating from the dark magic of hell.

[90] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 136–39: "And Aeneas came to his ships, and sailed on the sea till they reached the district of Italy, where dwelt Greeks; and they skirted the coast of Italy till they came between Scylla and Charybdis, and they ran aground there, till power of rowing and sailing brought them away". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 11.

witch is portrayed as having transformed the crew of Ulysses into wolves rather than swine, her beast of choice in the *Odyssey*.[91]

A final instance of the fantastic in *Imtheachta Aeniasa* involves one of the most evocative scenes from *Aeneid* 3: the encounter with Achaemenides, an invented member of Ulysses' crew abandoned during their escape from the Cyclops Polyphemus. As Virgil's hero follows in the wake of the wandering Ulysses, the poet himself retraces the literary moves of his epic predecessor by crafting a Cyclops episode of his own. The bedraggled Achaemenides provides a harrowing account of the monster, reporting how he watched the Cyclops smash two men against the rocks, devour their limbs, and belch up bits of gore mixed in with bloody wine.[92]

In *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, too, Aeneas and his men meet Achaemenides and hear the story of his horrifying experiences:

> We landed here and went into Cyclops' cave; and he seized two of us, and dashed them out of his hands against the rocks of the cave; so that small fragments were made of them, and he ate them raw, and I myself saw their limbs in the openings that were between his teeth. Then he drank wine, and went to sleep in his cave after it. We could not imagine Ulysses departing from him without avenging his people upon him; and we approached him so as to surround him while he was asleep, belching out and slobbering his blood and vomit on his beard; one eye in his head as big as a Grecian battle-shield or a moon on the fifteenth. We wounded that eye and broke it, and, joyous, very terrified, we embarked. I was left unwittingly unnoticed by my folk, since I had strayed away from them.[93]

[91] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1458–64. The redactor likely bases his rendering on Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.15–20, which lists lions, swine, bears, and howling wolves as present on Circe's island.

[92] Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.613–54. The details noted here appear at 3.623–38.

[93] *Imtheachta Aeniasa* 154–65: "Dochuamar a tir sunda. Ron-la a n-uaim in Ciclop[ec]-dai, 7 tarraid dis uaind, 7 ros-gab asa glacaib fo cairrgib na huamad, co ndernait min-bruar dib, 7 co nus-duaid oma iat, 7 atconnarc-sa fen a mbuill etir na samlachaib fuil etir a fiaclaib, 7 ibid fin iarsin, 7 rochodail ina uaimh dia eis. Ni rofedamar-ni Uilix do teacht uad, gan digail a muintire fair; 7 dochuamair-ne dia indsaigid co rabamar uime, 7 se ina chodlad, ac bruchtaig 7 slamrad a fhola 7 a sgeithi fora ulchain, æn shuil ina chind medither cathsciath Gregda, no esca i coigid dec. Gonmaid in suil sin 7 brismid 7 tiagmaid uad anfailtig, imeclaigh, ar long, 7 rom-facbad-sa gan fis, gan

Here, the description of the creature's monstrous qualities is very similar to Virgil's version and exhibits no real sign of demythologization or domestication. In fact, there are hardly any discrepancies between Achaemenides' account in *Aeneid* 3 and his character's story in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*. The Irish redactor has treated the basic shape of the episode with careful attention, precisely preserving details like the number of men seized by the Cyclops and dashed against the rocks, Ulysses' unwillingness to depart without vengeance, the Cyclops' drunken sleep, and the wounding of his eye.[94] But, more notably, our adapter has also retained the most graphic and grisly features of the encounter. As in the *Aeneid*, there are chunks of human flesh stuck in the monster's teeth, he belches up blood and vomit in his sleep, and his one eye is as big as a Greek battle-shield (or a full moon, which appears in place of the Latin text's reference to the sun).[95] No reduction of the fantastical elements is occurring here: the Irish Cyclops is every bit as menacing and grotesque as his Latin counterpart.

In this case, then, the Irish redactor has made the fundamentally foreignizing choice to render Virgil's narrative as closely as possible and to retain mythological aspects that connect it with its original context. Though *Imtheachta Aeniasa* is remarkable for its attentive engagement with the Latin text and does typically lean toward foreignization, other episodes we have considered in this section – the Harpies, Mount Aetna, Scylla and Charybdis, and Circe – exhibit a variety of translation strategies ranging from general demythologization to outright Christianization.[96] Our final example serves as a reminder to be wary of speaking too broadly about translation approaches in texts like this. Though overall trends can be identified, no translator applies a given strategy universally, and a wide range of methods can be utilized even within the body of a single work.

fairiugud do[m] muintir, uair rochuadus ar sechran uaidhib". Translation by Calder (1907) 1995, 11–13.

[94] These features of the Latin account appear at Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.623–25, 3.628–29, 3.630, and 3.635–36.

[95] These further details are given at Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.627, 3.631–33, and 3.637.

[96] Goldwyn (chapter 6 in this volume) discusses the reception of several of these characters in Byzantine literature.

4.5 CONCLUSION

When examined in this light, *Imtheachta Aeniasa* can be seen to demonstrate an intriguing degree of internal variation in terms of translation methods. The Middle Irish adaptation of the *Aeneid* restructures the poem's events into a new chronological narrative that evokes the tradition of medieval historiography, but it does not historicize completely: the Greco-Roman gods and Aeneas's imaginative adventures remain to lend the work a sense of the ancient, the fanciful, and the mysterious. Rather than transposing the story of Aeneas into a more familiar context or eliminating the elements a medieval Irish audience might have found most unusual, the redactor has elected to leave largely intact the areas most likely to cause perplexity – like the Roman pantheon – and to refrain from smoothing out all possible difficulties for his readers. Yet even within this broader strategy of foreignization, there are some surprises to be found: missing encounters with the gods, demythologized representations of fantastic obstacles, Christian rewritings of mythological locations, and more.

Though much further work remains to be done, this investigation of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* illustrates that medieval approaches to Greco-Roman Troy narratives, and to classical literature more generally, cannot be neatly described in terms of any one framework of adaptation or reworking. Such reinterpretations are often characterized by a high degree of variation, and the disparate strategies they adopt make them all the more compelling. No text emerges into its new context looking just as it did when first produced, and the very features that make the *Aeneid* or other ancient works relevant to medieval Celtic audiences provide opportunities for significant revision and reshaping. A figure known for his dutifulness in antiquity becomes even more complex through the acknowledgment of alternative tales of his treachery; foul bird-maidens turn out to be little more than frustrating fowl; an ever-flaming volcano becomes not the forge of the gods' blacksmiths, but the door to hell. As adapters and translators draw upon the substance of classical epic to craft new versions artfully suited to their own times and cultures, the ancient works themselves are at once translated and, in the process, utterly transformed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

Imtheachta Aeniasa. Ed. and tr. G. Calder, *Imtheachta Æniasa: The Irish Aeneid*. London (1907) 1995.

Virgil, *Aeneid*. Ed. R.A.B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford 1969. Tr. S. McGill & S. Wright, *Virgil: The Aeneid*. New York (forthcoming).

Secondary literature

Ahl, F. 1989. "Homer, Vergil, and Complex Narrative Structures in Latin Epic: An Essay" *Illinois Classical Studies* 14, 1–31.

Allan, W. 2006. "Divine Justice and Cosmic Order in Early Greek Epic" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 126, 1–35.

Austin, R. 1979. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Oxford.

Beer, J. (ed.) 2019. *A Companion to Medieval Translation*. Leeds.

Berman, A. 1999. *La traduction et la lettre, ou L'auberge du lointain*. Paris.

Byrne, A. & V. Flood (eds) 2019. *Crossing Borders in the Insular Middle Ages*. Turnhout.

Campbell, E. & R. Mills (eds) 2012. *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*. Cambridge.

Casali, S. 1999. "Facta impia (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.596–9)" *Classical Quarterly* 49.1, 203–11.

Coleman, R. 1982. "The Gods in the *Aeneid*" *Greece & Rome* 29.2, 143–68.

Feeney, D.C. 1991. *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Oxford.

Fowler, R. (ed.) 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*. Cambridge.

Friedrich, R. 1987. "Thrinakia and Zeus' Ways to Men in the *Odyssey*" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 28, 375–400.

Fulton, H. 2011. "Troy Story: The Medieval Welsh *Ystorya Dared* and the *Brut* Tradition of British History" *The Medieval Chronicle* 7, 137–50.

———2014. "History and *historia*: Uses of the Troy Story in Medieval Ireland and Wales", in O'Connor (ed.) 2014, 40–57.

Galinsky, K. (1969) 2015. *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*. Princeton, NJ.

Griffin, J. 1977. "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer" *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97, 39–53.

———1980. *Homer on Life and Death.* Oxford.

Harris, J. 1988–91. "Aeneas's Treason and Narrative Consistency in the Mediaeval Irish *Imtheachta Aeniasa*" *Florilegium* 10, 25–48.

Hillers, B. 1992. "The Odyssey of a Folktale: *Merugud Uilix meic Leirtis*"

Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium 12, 63–79.

———2010. "The Reception and Assimilation of Continental Literature", in J. Wright (ed.) 2010, 39–56. Malden, MA.

———2014. "The Medieval Irish *Wandering of Ulysses* Between Literacy and Orality", in O'Connor (ed.) 2014, 83–97.

Hull, E. 1908. *A Text Book of Irish Literature*, vol. 2. Dublin & London.

Kearns, E. 2004. "The Gods in the Homeric Epics", in Fowler (ed.) 2004, 59–73.

Kinsley, J. (ed.) 1958. *The Poems of John Dryden*, vol. 3. Oxford.

Kullmann, W. 1985. "Gods and Men in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89, 1–23.

Kobus, I. 1995. "*Imtheachta Aeniasa*: *Aeneis*-Rezeption im irischen Mittelalter" *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 47, 76–86.

LeBlanc, J. 2019. "Heroic Traditions in Dialogue: The *Imtheachta Aeniasa*", in Byrne & Flood (eds) 2019, 203–25.

Lefevere, A. 1977. *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*. Assen.

Lloyd-Jones, H. 1983. *The Justice of Zeus*, 2nd ed. Berkeley.

Meyer, R. 1958. *Merugud Uilix maic Leirtis* (introduction). Medieval and Modern Irish Series 17. Dublin.

———1966. "The Middle-Irish Version of the *Aeneid*" *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 11, 97–108.

Miles, B. 2011. *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*. Studies in Celtic History 30. Cambridge.

Most, G. & S. Spence (eds) 2004. *Re-Presenting Virgil: Special Issue in Honor of Michael C. J. Putnam* (*Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 52). Pisa & Rome.

Murray, K. (ed.) 2006. *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Æniasa and Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*. Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series 17. London.

Myrick, L. 1993. *From the De Excidio Troiae Historia to the Togail Troí: Literary-Cultural Synthesis in a Medieval Adaptation of Dares' Troy Tale*. Heidelberg.

Ní Mhaonaigh, M. 2006. "Classical Compositions in Medieval Ireland: The Literary Context", in Murray (ed.) 2006, 1–19.

O'Connor, R. (ed.) 2014. *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*. Studies in Celtic History 34. Cambridge.

———2014. "Irish Narrative Literature and the Classical Tradition, 900–1300", in O'Connor (ed.) 2014, 1–22.

Page, D. 1973. *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey*. Cambridge, MA.

Perkell, C. 2004. "Irony in the Underworlds of Dante and Virgil: Readings of Francesca and Palinurus", in Most & Spence (eds) 2004, 127–42.

Poli, D. 1981. "L'*Eneide* nella cultura irlandese antica", in *Letterature comparate: Problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di Ettore Paratore*, 997–1012. Bologna.

Pollio, D. 2021. "Non-Olympian Gods and Persuasive Speech in the *Aeneid*" *Mouseion* 18.2, 203–14.

Poppe, E. 1995. "Introduction: The Classical Epic from an Irish Perspective", in Calder (1907) 1995, 1–40.

———2014. "*Imtheachta Aeniasa* and its Place in Medieval Irish Textual History", in O'Connor (ed.) 2014, 25–39.

Reinhardt, K. (1948) 1996. "The Adventures in the *Odyssey*", tr. H. Flower, in Schein (ed.) 1996, 63–132.

Schein, S. (ed.) 1996. *Reading the Odyssey*: *Selected Interpretive Essays*. Princeton, NJ.

Stanford, W.B. 1970. "Towards a History of Classical Influences in Ireland" *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 70, 13–91.

Ussani, V. 1947. "Enea traditore" *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 22, 109–23.

Venuti, L. 2008. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd ed. London.

Williams, T.H. 1899. "Cairdius Aenias ocus Didaine (The Love of Aeneas and Dido)" *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 2, 419–72.

Wright, J. (ed.) 2010. *A Companion to Irish Literature*, vol. 1. Malden, MA.

Wright, S. 2023. "Translating Treachery: Representations of Aeneas in Medieval Irish and Welsh Literature" *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 40, 411–35.

Zanon, C. 2019. "Fantastic Creatures and Where to Find Them in the *Iliad*" *Classica* 32.2, 235–52.