BORROWED ELEMENTS IN THE CORPUS OF IRISH PERSONAL NAMES FROM MEDIEVAL TIMES*

The corpus of Irish personal names comprises (1) names which clearly belong in origin to the Goidelic branch of Celtic — Aedha, Cathail, Dommhail, Edhgar, mostly those are names of foreign origin which have come into use over a long space of time. Early sources, and especially genealogical material, contain names whose origins are obscure, and some of which may go back to pre-Goidelic peoples in Ireland. Many of these are of rare occurrence and need not concern us here, for the purpose of this paper is to consider names which were in use in the historic period.

The Irish sources for a full study are many and include historical works of various kinds, legal documents, martyrologies, saints’ lives and other religious texts, tales, bardic verse and so on. Most important of all are the annals and the genealogies. Special mention must be made of M. A. O’Brien’s Corpus Genealogiarum Hibernicarum (1962) in which the genealogical material in the tenth century collections has been edited and published. The book of Leinster (Trinity College, Dublin) has been edited with full indexes. Some later genealogical collections which have been published, such as the O’Clery ‘Book of Genealogies’, are without full indexes of names and hence the study of their contents is very tedious. I must mention two other publications which provide a welcome contrast in the way in which they have been edited. They are A’Tract on the O’Rourkes’, edited by James Carney and published in Celtica 1 (1945-50) 230-19, and A Genealogical History of the O’Reillys (1999), also edited by James Carney, both of which have exhaustive indexes.

For the period down to the year 1100 or so O’Brien’s Corpus is a wonderful aid. In it about 12,000 persons are listed. There are over 3,000 separate names, most of which are of infrequent occurrence. Sometimes over 1,000 of the persons listed share 100 of the names, leaving the remaining 3,400 names distributed among less than 8,000 persons, that is, an average of two occurrences for each of the names. In fact many names have been compiled in a frequent list which shows at the top of the scale: Aed 250, Eochu, Eochaid 220, Finna, Finncha 170, Aithil 150, Ferga 140, Taisne 130, Luaid 130, Connair 110, Cormac 100, Dommhail 100, Flann 100, Cellach 90 and Mulvadach 90. However, only a comparatively small number of the borrowed names that I will be discussing feature in the Corpus.

We owe one of our commonest names to the introduction of Christianity. The first bishop sent to the Irish, Palladius, has left no trace as far as the ordinary use of personal names is concerned. Not so his successor, Patricius, for his name has been perpetuated in the form Fidhlista, modern Farbhlaith, Farbhla, and so on. The Q-Celtic form Cothraige, in which the name was first used, was a non-starter as far as being used for naming was concerned. Other first names or baptismal names common to-day whose origins are to be found in the Christianisation of our country are Modiosa, Modiosa, and Modius (or Móidhrid). I shall have more to say about these later. Men’s names, such as Edhgar, Modius, Sídhe, Saide, Saadh, and Tóraidhe, and women’s names, such as Catinna, Mochail, Mónine and Nóirí, are literally ‘Christian names’, for they are associated with Christian saints. However the dates (1) of their being adapted into Irish form and (2) of their incorporation in the corpus of Irish personal names in common use require systematic study. I shall not have time here to do more than touch on such matters very briefly.

My original intention when I was invited to take part in this conference was to confine my remarks to names in the period after the Anglo-Norman invasion. However, I decided that a more general treatment might be useful at this stage, even though this would preclude discussion in detail of a number of topics. You will find, then, that while I begin with borrowed names in the later period, .

With regard to the post-invasion period, there are several points that have struck me in the course of reading annalistic and other source material over the years, e.g. (i) the very many new ‘given’ names that appear in an Irish dress in our records after 1169, (ii) the adoption of some of these new names by Irish families, (iii) the preference for certain names — whether borrowed or Irish — by some families, and (iv) the relatively few instances we can find of native Irish first names being used by the settlers and their descendants in the centuries following the invasion. Among matters which a survey would aim at establishing are (i) the range and forms of new names adopted into Irish during that time, (ii) the distribution of these names among families, (iii) the date of appearance of each name, and the development in its use, etc.

It must be noted that many of the borrowed names which became current after the Anglo-Norman invasion existed in Irish form centuries earlier and that the later form is often a regular reflex of the earlier one, as with Medhda, Peadar, Fól and, indeed, Fidhlista. But there are exceptions. Medr is a post-invasion borrowing from A.N. (Marie), the earlier form (from Marla) being Marla (with short stressed vowel) which later became Marie (with short stressed vowel) in use to the Virgin Mary and other saints named Mary, but in this way it came to be used in the given names Maol Maire and Gilla Maire. Seadh, which is the nonsyllabic Gaelic Gá, is a post-invasion borrowing from A.N. John, the earlier forms (from Johannes) being Ioan, Iain and Ith, the last of which has been retained as Íth.

To give you an idea of the distribution factor I have taken material from A Genealogical History of the O’Reillys which brings the genealogy down to the late seventeenth century. Having listed the names in order of frequency I find that at the top of the scale the names, Irish and borrowed (printed in italics), are: Brian 219, Fidhlista 190, Aedh 199, Aedhgar 199, O’Shea 198, Cathail 198, Brian 195, Toirdheballbach 145, Eoghan 136, Eamann 125, Cathail 96, Maol, Mórda 92, Dobhthach 79, Feargha 73, Domhna 62, Síolma 61. Other names non-Gaelic in origin are Tomas 29, Gearóid 18, Peadair 13, Fidhlista 10, Ídair 8, Luaid 6, Moraid 4, Moraid 4, Domhna 4, Cathaile 4, and so on. However, no other later than the year 1200 is given. The names occur only in the later stages of the pedigrees, that is, in the seventeenth century.

The genealogical tract on the O’Rourkes, which is of the same language but different from the O’Reillys, shows a different range of names. In this case the distribution of names is: Brian 23, Eochu 19, Aedh 18, Donaladh and Eoghan 17, Tighearn 15, Conn 14, Íadhga 11 and Toirdheballbach 11, Donndach and Fidhlista 10, Feargha 9, Seadh and Art 5, Síolma 4, Cathail, Cothbach, Fidhlista and Íadhga 3, Cathail, Conchobhar, Mórda and Íadhga 2, and Aedhgar, Toirdheballbach, Eoghan, Maol, Móidhrid, Niall and Iadha 1. Borrowed names common to both lists are Aedh, Áedh, Mórda, Proinsias, Seadh, Seadh and Síolma; with Seadh the most common in both.

I present in a different way my third illustration derived from genealogical sources. For it I have abstracted from the seventeenth-century O’Clery ‘Book of Genealogies’ the names given there of male descendants of Domnaill Óg. Domnall Óg is the son of Domnall Úa Domnall Óg (1284), son of Domnall Óg, and I have listed them in alphabetical order and in tabular form to show the number of occurrences of each over ten generations, that is from the latter part of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth. However, it must be noted that the main part of these genealogies was compiled in the first decades...
of the sixteenth century and that nearly all the occurrences indicated in the last three columns derive from a late addition made over a century later and are not representative of the 6 Domhall families as a whole in the sixteenth century.

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All told we see here forty-three names shared by 529 individuals. With regard to the two most common names, Domhall 46 and Aodh 43, I might mention that Aidh is the most common name in O'Brien's Corpus Genealogicum Hiberniae and that Conor Cille D6 in his Martyrology (Prologue 11. 235-5), composed c. 800, indicated that Domhall was a typical royal name, just as Ciarán and Cianán were typical saint's names:

In gormgrí ro mhúchta, The famous kings were being stifled, in Domhall ro pháglia, the Domhallas were being plagued, in Ciaráin ro fíghta, the Ciaráins have been crowned, in Connchobhair ro mórtha, the Connchóbaí have been exalted.

In this case the popularity of Domhall is presumably due to the fact that it was not only the name of the progenitor of this branch of the 6 Domhall family but was also the name of his father from whom the importance of this branch of Ceinsghal gConall derived. It is interesting to see a slight vogue for the names of two earlier ancestors, Dáileach and Éigsnecháin, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Once more we see that Seand 38 was the most popular of the borrowed names. However, two earlier borrowings, Maghna 30 and Gofraidh 16 are well represented. One of Domhall Óg's brothers was named Gofraidh.

I come now to another major source for the post-invasion period, the Irish annals, and here I restrict myself almost entirely to discussion of non-Irish first names. In the Annals of Cennachta, which cover the period 1224-1914, I have noted about 150 such names, but, as in the case of the Corpus Genealogicum, many are of infrequent occurrence. Taking the occurrence of first names over all families I find that Seand (which is sometimes spelled Seán) is the most common name, occurring as it does 111 times. There are also by-forms Seán 5, Seóin 6 and Súibhín 13. Some other borrowed names in order of frequency are: Tomás 9, Ultán 7, Cionnaith 7, Éifes 7, Connchubhair 6, Dáileach 6, Nacsáin 6, Niall 6, Raghnaill 6, Rídhéard 6, Ruaidrí 6, Róispighe 6, Seanda 6, Síomós 5, Toirircheallbheith 5, Tuchtai 5, Ultán 5.

In view of the illustrations I have given from the genealogies of the use of borrowed names by Irish families, some evidence from these annals may be of interest. I have noted Seand in use in 34 Irish families, the earliest occurrence being in 1292, with quite a few occurrences in the first half of the fourteenth century. Tomás was used by about 40 Irish families and was already popular by the middle of the thirteenth century. Ultán was used by some 20 Irish families; I have noted a few such occurrences in the thirteenth century, such as Ultán of Náscaí 1276, but most of the occurrences are after 1350. I have noted Súibhín in only 15 Irish families, mainly from the end of the fourteenth century on.

The evidence of the Annals of Cennachta indicates that in general Anglo-Norman families were very conservative about naming their children and did not readily take Irish first names. The genealogies tend to confirm the annals. Thus I have found no Irish names in the Butler sections of O'Clery's 'Book of Genealogies'. Among the Fitzgeralds listed by O'Clery I have noted a Brian at the fourteenth generation from Maurice Fitzgerald (fl. 1171), that is, in the late sixteenth century, and I have noted a Fermor in the same generation. A few exceptions I have noted in the annals include a Diarmuid Mac Iago (1465), and among the Mac Horiberd family a Domhall (1119) and a Maol Sheachainn
(11) I might add that as regards surnames some of the families depended
on the Normans went over to the Irish system very early. So we get Mac Geanúine, Mac
Muirí, Mac Góititile, and so on. But there are many families where Móy was
not used: a Bóire, Clóchar, Daltáin, de Laist, Dédamn, Fionnlaoigh, and so on.

Before I leave the post-invasion period I want to refer to a feature which
must be familiar to any of you who have read Irish bardic poetry of that period:
the division of Irish versions of some borrowed names into segments with sepa-
rate stress. (Examples are Cathaoir Páinsa (< Cathachár), Cróis Dómsa (< Christa-
ina) and Muir Grág (Margaretta), which have genitive forms Cathachár Páinsa,
Cróis Dómasa (< Christina) and Muir Gráiga.) This sort of segmentation goes back
to the earlier period, and to a large extent reflects the stress pattern of the basic
formal and emotional morphology of Ongus and its derivatives. It is interesting
from this point of view, for riming and alliteration in them help us to deter-
mine word boundaries. It is, perhaps, worth calling attention to a difference in
boundary choice in the Middle Irish form Cathairma which occurs in Féilire
Ua Cuanáin (1166-1174) in the alliterating phrase Céit na rogha (Nov. 25).
Segmentation in some names from Anglo-Saxon is seen in the
 Féilire, thus Ædleber (abbot of Barking) is commemorated in the
line Eadbelda Índadatha (Oct. 11), and Æthelrida (abbot of Ely) in the line
EiðelÍeða Síadadtha (Oct. 17).

The major body of borrowed names in existence in the Old Irish period was
derived from religious sources. There is a limited number of the poems in
the Book of Armagh which have in the Irish version either Ongus or
in the Irish version of the Book of Armagh. There is a very large number in Féilire
Ongusa. Naturally enough many of the names in the Féilire are of the learned type — they were probably coined by
Ongus from the forms in the Latin martyrology which he used. But other names may have been getting a fairly standard form being used in church
circles; and some of these were carried over through later periods, despite
the subsequent introduction of different forms derived from the same original.

Names in the Blathmac poems include Adam Ádám, Átdubna (gen.), Bartholomew,
Cicero, Dómad, Eud, Gabriel Gabriel, Isóbh, Inóic, Isóña, Isóat (Joseph in the
Gospel of St. Thomas), Láide, Móire, Móre, Móthas, Móthó, Petroc, Pál, Pat, Páin,
Sióin, Sphóin and Tomá. Corresponding to some of these I have noted in
Féilire Ongusa the forms Abduv, Abduin, Bartholomew with variant readings Bartholom,
Parvatul, Parthul, Parthulon, Cicero but also Cicero (alliterating with -a-),
Isóth (v. Isóth etc.), Isóph, Isóth, Isóth, Stefan with gen. Stef-on (riming:
-sín). Other names found in the Féilirw which turn up in Ínguma form later on in
Ínguma are: Onóíol, Ronóbht, Onóbht, Conóbht (v. Conóbht), Múna, (v. Múna),
Mároin and Sínóin.

As I have already said, several Christian names current to-day are re-
flexes of forms that were in use in Irish as saints' names (or biblical names)
over a thousand years ago, names such as Andricas, Anna, Colm, Dómbh (< Dómad),
Eud, Móthó, Móthó (< Móthó), Pál, Pál, Tomá. One might wonder
how far back the current usage can be traced. In this connection some com-
ments of Gerald Murphy's are of interest. In discussing the forms Móire and
Mári (< Éigse i 224) he said:

In pre-Norman times the Irish do not appear to have used saints' names as
"Christian" names, except as parts of compound names, of which the first
element was Móel (modern Móel)... At a later period the Irish
began to use these. In the Normans the present Catholic forms of
accommodation with which saints' names are applied directly to the persons
placed under their patronage. It was in that period that Móine came
into Irish from Norman-French Maria, just as Se-ôn (modern Seán) came
from Norman-French Jehan.

While there is no doubt that Móire and Se-ôn are post-invasion borrowings, we
must not ignore that they existed before. In fact, all we must note that as well as Móel the elements Gille (< Gille) 'servant' and,
to a limited extent, Céit 'client' were used as elements in the formation of
personal names based on saints' names. More important is the fact that there
is an increase in the use of Irish annals of saints' names being used for naming in
Ireland before the Norman invasion. Among those names there is a curious
range of names ranging from the sixth century to the tenth are Augustin, Clémente, Daniél, David,
Eliáire, Joseph, Marian and Tomás (Tomá). The persons so named had connections
with the church: the early bishops, abbots, etc., the earliest of them being
David, bishop of Armagh (AD 550).

In the eleventh century, the number had also not reached its peak. An ink
inked in 1165, 1167), whose name looks like a derivative of Peter. Many instances of ecclesiastical persons with biblical or saints' names will be found in annel-
istic references. The latter extend in a random selection from Armagh:
Chano Tu Guaimein (1161), Petrwy Tu Moethíne (1171), Joseph Tu Guaimein (1185) Con-
tantín Tu Brain (< Brain) (1194) Donait Tu Begebha (1205) András Móo Gilla<br>
Gáib (1249), Tomás Tu Mellimé (1250), Seómbhéin Ò Braojáin (1301), Seómbhéin Ò
Braojáin (1311), see this point I must put forward a possibility that has oc-
curred to me: that the first names applied to these men in the historical re-
cords are baptismal names or original 'given' names, but are names
assigned by them at some point in a religious career, in much the same way that
members of religious orders for many centuries past have been using 'saints'
names in place of their baptismal names. However, I must add that it is possible
that the practice of using such names as 'given' names developed early in families
in connection with the church. It is, perhaps, significant that in later centuries we
find the familiar leper families such names as Ólchad, Lóide and Sollam,
thus Ólchad Ò Cháinid, Lóide Ò Ghuillemáin and Sollam Ò Clerm, all of the four-
teenth century.

I turn now to the earliest borrowings due to the Christianisation of
Ireland. The Patrician texts of Moidebh and Tírecháin found in the ninth-century
Book of Armagh have very many names in Latin form which may have had Irish forms
but the latter, if they existed, have not been handed down to us. Three names
which are clearly known are Aułatius, Ouvitius and Seómbhéin, the names of
St. Patrick's principal fellow-missionaries. Aułatius gave Irish Aułatill (< Uttilis),
Sómbóth (< Uttilis), and it seems to have survived in a distorted form in the
place-name Killashe (near Naas) which represents earlier Cell Aułatill. In
the same place-name, Breac, there is an Autraî (v. Autraî) (1185), with which
seems to be connected to give Seómbhéin, but this form does not occur, as far as I know. In Féilire Ongusa and the 'Additional Notes' in the book of Armagh we find Seómbóth which, as
Thurneysen pointed out (Gnmsm 151), is due to assimilation. Again we have a case where Káinumhaughaín (v. Káinumhaughaín) with a form
altered from the Irish, the name form being Donnshach Seómbóth which appears
earlier as Domnuach Seómbóth. Of the three names Aułatill, Benen and Seómbóth,
only the last is of real significance for naming purposes. Combined with Móel it gave Móel Seómbóth, a non-indo-germanic type name which became extremely
common after the ninth century. We have no evidence that Benen was used for
naming, but Aułatill was not completely forgotten. In 1151 we find Gloisainnall na Gollósháin, Tighnamhna Tu Móir Chualain, and under 1066, at the end of a list of ecclesiastical oths, we find the name
Gillónaúsaile na Máolshing. As I have already mentioned, Gilló is used like
Móel to form personal names, and here we have Auxilis commemorated in the
eleventh century by having his name in its modified form used for a lord of the
Loisar of Bruid and also, probably, for an ecclesiastical.

This brings me to consider the body of names formed with Móel, Gilló and Céit.<br> A small number of entries in the genealogies and in the annals suggests that each of these 'given' names was used as a title, or a qualifying element, by names of

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8 These names where a qualifying element is appended are modelled
on an earlier pattern consisting of Mag 'slave' combined with the name of a
deity ancestor, thus Mag Néit.

Céile is of minimal importance. In an ecclesiastical context it is best
known in the phrase Céile Dhu 'client of God' which at the end of the eighth
century was used to indicate a number of the reforming group of archbishops.
But even in the early years of the eighth century the compound names Céile Fírgnac (AU 715), Céile Críost (AU 726), Céile Dúlann (AU 750) and
Céile Peitair (AU 757) were the most common; that they were quite common by the seventh century is clear from the compilation by Fitzpatrick (1)
the annals from which all others named in the annals are not their original 'given' names.

Mael is not only the most frequently used of the three prefixed elements,
but also the earliest so used. Indeed it goes back to the time of the Osian
inscriptions and was quite common by the seventh century. The
curious fact is that the great number of Mael names in O'Brien's Corpus: Mael = adjective, + ordinary noun (in
genitive), + place name, + personal name. Among them I have noted over twenty
names with a saint's name as the second element, but sometimes one cannot be
sure that the second element is to be associated with a saint. Thus the most
commonly used Mael is with a personal name as second element in Mael Druisall.
Some, if not all, of the persons so named may reflect a devotion to a Welsh
who was abbot in Iona (AU 780), but several of them lived before that. Next in frequency is Mael Seachnall, a name which I have mentioned already.
There are eleven occurrences of this in the Corpus. The earliest Mael Seachnall
that I have found in the annals and the genealogies in Mael Seachnall
is Mael Ruandadai who was king of Ireland (862). The name became common in a
fairly short space of time and in due course gave rise to a surname O Mael
Seachnall.

Other Mael names based on saints' names found in the Corpus are Mael Pátra
10, Mael Críost 9, Mael Brígh 7, Mael Oíre 6, Mael Colmán 5, Mael Caíbín
4, Mael Ótín 3, Mael Íta 3, Mael Mícheál 3, Mael Póil 1, Mael Ógairt 1.
I take the last to be an indication of devotion to St. Cyricus (or Quiricus) of Antioch whose name is found in the poems of Eithne mac in Phíogno (953). The death in 898 of a 'chief-pot of Ireland' named Mael Íta
Ve Mael Ógairt is recorded in AU.

Apart from persons named Mael Seachnall, the majority of the names
composed of Mael + saint's name recorded in the early annals either are clerics
or have church associations - they are abbots, bishops, priests, lectors,
erevaghu etc.; but there are some who are not identifiable as such, and there
are some who have not been identified as kings, lords, etc. The earliest
 occurrence of Mael Brígh I have noted is recorded in 845 as having killed Rághallach, king of Connacht, in 645, but the entry may be without historical
foundation. The earliest Mael Brígh I have noted in the later annals (AU and AI) died in 830 (AU). The
earliest occurrences in these annals of some other Mael names are Mael Colmán
(953), Mael Ótín (930), Mael Ógairt (931), Mael Íta (966), Mael Oíre (902),
Mael Mícheál (888), Mael Pátra (846), Mael Peitair (896) and Mael Póil (921).
The name Mael Sempall appears in an AU entry for 921. The second element in
this name may safely be taken to refer to Sempall 'old' for whom feast-
days are noted at January 19 and March 5 in the Martyrology of Cénaiges. The
form Sempall might be derived by consequent assimilation and shortening of the unstressed vowel; but an alternative explanation is that it is a calque on the word Sempall which was applied to Paul the Hermit.

Just as with Mael, I have noted in O'Brien's Corpus over twenty Gilla names
which I take to be based on saints' names of which several are borrowed. Nine
of the second elements are also used in the formation of Mael names found in the
Corpus: Bríghet, Celiach, Críost, Conna, Colm, Compái, Íta, Micheál,
and Pátra. There are names Gilla Críost, Gilla Martan and Gilla na Naom for
which the Corpus has no corresponding Mael names. On the other hand the Corpus
has Gilla Peitair, Gilla Mael Peitair, Gilla Seachnall, Gilla Íta and Gilla Pátra, but it is clear that the Corpus is not fully representative in this respect. As regards
frequency, Gilla Pátra 15 is the most common, with Gilla Íta 7 next, and
Gilla Bríghet 5 and Gilla Críost 3. The choice of the name Gilla Pátra for the son of Ímar is an indication of devotion to St. Patrick as part of the Christianizing of the Viking
settlers in Ireland. In the following century the second bishop of Dùnain
was named Pátra, in recording his death in 1084 the annals use the form
Gilla Pátra.

I have already mentioned the name Gilla Naóla which honours Auxillus.
Secundinus is commemorated not only by the name Mael Seachnall but also by
a name Gilla Seachnall. A Gilla Seachnall son of Gilla Mo Chonna, lord of Brega, is
recorded as having been killed in 1034 (AU, AP). There is no Gilla Seachnall in the Osian Corpus, but I have found names like this man's father Gilla Mo Chonna (op. cit. p. 161). The surname Mael Gilla Seachnall
occurs in entries in AP relating to South Brega for a period of fifty
years from 1121 to 1171.

I have pointed out that many of those who had a first name consisting of
Mael + saint's name were connected with the church. The name is true of Gilla
names, though to a lesser extent. I am tempted to link these facts with the
suggestion that the early associations with the church were due to the early use of borrowed saints' names such as
Dáithí, Diogd and Tómas. Hence I wonder is it a coincidence that three of
the eight churchmen name Mael Pátra listed in AU held office in Armagh (as
abbot, bishop or lector) and that another, abbot of Treveot in Meath, is
described as a very important Pátra (AU 887), or that Gilla Mo Chuta Ḫa Behad Nóin whose death in 1129 is recorded in AI was an abbot of Lismore and hence a coarb
of St. Mo Chutu.

Another aspect of the use of such names which merits further investigation
is the possible correlation between the saint whose 'devote' the person named
was supposed to be and the territory to which the person belonged. The most
obvious example is the frequent use of Mael Colún in naming members of the
royal family in South Brega; it is used in Colmán at Corcomroe, colín Maelduin would have been natural; and also its occurrence in Colm Cille's native territory in the
person of Mael Colóm Ḫa Cenéil Connall, king of Cenél Connall (AU 995). The
use of Mael Seachnall in North Leinster and of Gilla Seachnall in South Leinster
may be taken to reflect a special devotion to Secundinus and Auxillus in those areas, and the distribution of Mael Cóipim points to a
similar territorial correlation.

In addition to Latin we must take note of Pictish, British and Anglo-Saxon
sources for early borrowed names, though the number of these lies in question
is not very great. I shall mention only two here. The name Conaing was
explained long ago as Colmán Mac Móin as a pre-ultramist form of Anglo-Saxon cyning 'king'. Its occurrence in the earliest Osian historic genealogies in O'Brien's
works should be regarded as posing a serious objection to this derivation. The earliest
Conaing recorded in AU, a son of Scottish Aedán mac Gabrán, was drowned in 621,
A Conaing na Són, abbot of Bally, died in 661 (AI), and a Conaing mac Conaing, king of North Brega, died in 661 (AU).
Francis J. Byrne mentions this last
Coning was discussing early Anglo-Saxon influence in Leinster. The name became fairly popular and continued in use into the Anglo-Norman invasion.

Far more popular than Coning was the name Cinead, if we can judge from O'Brien's Corpus, where it comes eighteenth in order of frequency (56 entries). T. F. O'Rahilly thought that the name might be of Pictish origin, as he pointed out that three Pictish stelae and myths, possibly describing a name as of Picts (AU 630). He thought that the original form might have been Cintach or Cintach, but he went no further towards providing an etymology. However, he pointed out that the Pictish name Cintach is a borrowing of Latin Constantinus, that Ethip / Eith and Alphlin or Alphlie may be a borrowing of Latin Alpilus, and that Ulf or Ulfus may be a borrowing of Latin Ulfius. This leads me to put forward a suggestion which was made to me in another context a few years ago by Professor John O'Meara, that is, that the name Cinead may go back ultimately to the Old Norse 'eindr', 'einad', 'eind' derived from 'eind", an adjective of unspecified term it could have become a nickname and then, with its significance forgotten, a popular personal name. The earliest appearance of the name in the Irish annals is said to be referring to the death of a Pictish king of that name: Cormac mac Eoin (c. 1078), and I have noted twenty entries in AU for the following century and a half where Irishmen in various parts of the country, including kings and churchmen, are so named.

I come finally to deal fairly briefly with some of the personal names that the Irish took from the Scandinavians between the beginning of the ninth century and the end of the twelfth. In the narrative accounts of the Scandinavian wars the names of a considerable number of Scandinavians, with the influence of Irish sounds and spellings. Several of them were adopted for use by the Irish and in due course the majority of these gave rise to surnames. So we have to-day Mac Asbaefe, Mac Caffrey, Godfrey etc.) Mac Ioora, Mac Loughlin (Mac Loughlin), Mac Randal, Crossley, etc.), Sayers and so on.

The name Amlan (or Olaf), from which the surname Mac Amlanai (Mac Amlan) comes, appears in the annals as the name of a son of a king of Lochaill (Lothian) in Ireland in 850-851. The name of the Irishman entered into the Dublinannannanok in the tenth century it is found with reference to at least seven Vikings in Dublin and Limerick. O'Brien's Corpus has three entries of Amlan from LL and two in late additions from Lagan. The earliest of the Corpus examples that I have dated was a member of the royal line in Scotland, a son of Illidh, great-grandson of Cined mac Amlan. His death in 977 is noted in AU. The earliest use of the name for an Irishman that I have dated is Amlan mac Machaillin, of the MS Murghu (1102) who died in 1073 (AU). I have found two Amlans in the Irish annals with the name in the eleventh century, one of them being Amlan mac Britain who was killed in the Isles of Man in 1096. In all I have noted in AU over twenty Irishmen named Amlan down to the year 1250.

The name Godfrid or Godsfried (or Gofryd), from which the surname Mac Gofryd (Mac Goffrey, etc.) comes, is seen in FAI § 81 (T AD 811-2) where the genealogy of Imar, a brother of the first Amlan mentioned above, is given: Tombar mo, Godsfried mo, Rainbith mo, Godsfried Comyn mo, Goffrey. It appears in the annals in the years 921-2 as the name of a grandson of Imar, and there are four other Scandinavians recorded with the name in the following sixty years, the latest of these being Godfrid, son of Aralt, king of the Hebrides (AU 1101). In the following century was Godfrid MacNiall, king of Dublin (1095). The name does not appear in O'Brien's Corpus, but AU has an entry for the year 835: Godfrid, mac Fearghusa, toiseach Gogheal do leachtse go hUaith do naearghaidh Daithi Riu, to dhath mac Coile na mBan Godfrid, son of Tearce, chief of Coirghail, went in search of Deark Rua, at the request of Cined, son of Alpin'. Another entry in the same annals records the death in 851 of a Godfrid mac Fearghusa, chief of Imer. Despite these early appearances of the name, as noted, no instances of the name appear in the next four hundred years. Yet the name was given to a son of Domhnaill Mór Ó Domhnaill who died in 1247 and, as I have shown, it was also given to later members of the Ó Domhnaill family. One of the most celebrated of late medieval Irish poets was Diarmaid Ó Domhnaill (1487-1566). The surname, in the form Mac Godfrid, is found in AU from 1320 on.

Eam (or Ó Óin) occurs in the annals as the name of a king of the Norsemen from 856 to 871, and there were several others of the name among the kings of Dublin, Limerick and Waterford in the period down to 1000. The name does not occur in O'Brien's Corpus. The earliest instance of the name applied to an Irishman seems to be Eamsl naé Brainne, lord of Us Ith, who died in 1049 (AU). I have noted five others down to 1250. The surname Mac Donnchad does not seem to occur in the annals.

No Scandinavian personal name has been found as a source for the name Lochlainn. The Irish name is presumably taken from the place name Lochlann, earlier Lothlind. There are four instances of it in O'Brien's Corpus, three in the MS Nélíell genealogies and one in the genealogy of Corcoráin Ó Druid of Clare. This last, Lothlann mac Niall Scobhail, is recorded in AU as royal heir of Corcoráin. The MS Dili in 891, this being the earliest instance of the name. From Lochlainn were descended the Us洛chlainn of Boreann. Among the Us Nélíell there were apparently two contemporaries named Lochlainn: Lothlann mac Niall Scobhail (11023) and Lochlann mac MacRídh (1104); the latter being Lord of Us Nélíell (1122), and his descendants. The form O Lochlainn is also used.

I have already shown the name Ragnall (or Raenaild) two generations back in the genealogy of the Viking Eamsl (T. c. 850-871). The first Viking named Ragnall recorded in AU as being active in Ireland died in 920, and I have noted two others of the name in the tenth century. Three instances of the name are found in O'Brien's Corpus, two from the Rawlinson manuscript and a late one from Lagan. Among the Norsemen who came to the Irish court is that of the Rawlinson manuscripts, the Norse king of Ulster and the other to Ossen Eighan; both may refer to eleventh-century persons. The earliest instance of the name in the annals of an Irishman named Ragnall is Raenail mac Bookhaid, Medbhna Uaid (AU 1049). There are over a dozen others down to 1290 in the genealogies for the Mac Ragnalaid family of Munster in Lathan in 1150 on.

The name Stochfrith appears in AU as the name of a Viking, a son of Ómar, who died in 887. In 892 there is mention of Stochfrith Ierlin in connection with the Dublin Norsemen. Stochfrith mac Bliadhain, identified in AU 932 as a grandson of Domnall, king of Aliez (913), through his father, may have been of mixed Irish and Norse blood, for an earlier annal (920) records mac Bliadhain as being a son of Ierlin who may be identified as the 'tirmannus magnus Nordmannorum' who died in 860. The earl of Orkney who died at Clontarf in 1014 is named as Stochfrith mac Lodhlaí in AU, but as Stochfrith in Chronicum Scotorum, while the Annals of Loch Dè make two characters of him, Stochfrith Fionn and Stochfrith down. He is called Sigfridr in Icelandic sources. The Irish forms may represent ON Sigfríðr or Sigfríðr. The name does not occur in O'Brien's Corpus but AU has records a lord of Fir Ríais, Stichfrith mac Mba Sléibícha, in 1096, and AU 1283 records a man named Stokfrith as a warrior in the Us Lathan Súmirach. Among notable Scilla Fláinn, among notable descendents of Domhnaill Mór Ó Oíllaighbáin named Stochfrithváid, I have found no early occurrences of the names Ó Stochfrith, anglicised Sayers, which is found in Kerry, but it is reasonable to associate it with the use of the forename Stochfrith among the O'Sullivans.
The name *Ó dríos* (ON *Ó dríggdr* or *Ó dregdr*) is found in AD 895 where the death of a Viking of that name is recorded. Four more Vikings of the name are to be found in the annals before the year 1000. The best-known being *Ó dríos mac Ambríd*, king of Dublin, who died in 1046. There is no *Ó dríos* in O'Brien's Corpus, but in AD 1037 there is a record of a member of the Ua Flannagain family of Ul Dúnain as *Ó dríos* as his forename, and I have noted the name in use by various Irish families about fifteen times in the period down to 1250.

The discussion of pre-Norman borrowings could be extended to include such names as Aedh, Colm, Dubgall, Maighc, Semmha and Tómas, all of which have their points of interest. An aspect of my subject that I have barely touched upon is the morphophonology involved in the borrowings. However, my aim has been to give a general impression of the material with which future researchers might concern themselves as well as indicating some of the questions about Irish personal names that have occurred to me in the course of my work. It is safe to repeat what has been said so often during this conference: there is a great deal more to be done.

**Notes**

1. See *Old Irish Personal Names* in Celtic x (1973) 211-36.
2. I use the following abbreviations in the course of this paper: AC = Annaíanna Connacht, ed. A. M. Freeman (1944).
   
APM = Annaí Bicigheta Eireann, ed. J. O'Donovan (1856).
   
AI = The Annaí of Inisfallen, ed. S. Mac Airt (1951).
   
   
3. There is a considerable degree of variation in spelling and form in the Annaí of Connacht, and in presenting this material I have disregarded some minor differences. My survey and analyses were carried out in a fairly short space of time, so I cannot be sure that the figures I have given are correct in every detail.
4. See *Irish Grammatical Tracts - Declension*, published as supplement to Erin wilix (1916-28) §§ 235, 255 and 157. Despite their conservatism the poets had to accept borrowed names and to provide rules governing their use. In the tract on declension I have noted (1) 30 borrowed names of men and (ii) 8 borrowed names of women: (i) *Ámadhas* (Aminius), *Amlais* (Amlae), *Conmaicn* (Commodus), *Ébracth* (Eparch), *Gofruit* (Goferth), *Holbeard* (Holbeard), *Liadhbrint* (Magnus), *Maithlis* (Michaél), *Muiris* (Muiris), *Naomhais* (Nicholas), *NicOcallmaí* (Nicolai), *Pilib* (Pilib), *Péil* (Péil), *Róin* (Ronan), *Róin* (Ronan), *Seachrán* (Seachráidh), *Sionna* (Siona), *Tead* (Tod), *Téann* (Tífna), *Ullug* (Ulliam) and (ii) *Annía, Anfra* (Anfra, Ógna), *Caitir Fionfha* (Criost Dámha), *Maire* (Maighréad), *Muir Greaga* (Muir Greaga), *Eile* (Eile), *Súlth Fhiona*. Quite a few of these must have been taken into Irish about the time of the evolution of the classical; early modern Irish (which is dated about the end of the twelfth century) or afterwards. Of course there are very many borrowed names occurring in bardic verse which are not listed in the Linguistic Tracts.
7. I have already shown that the name *Magbhus* was a favourite one with the O Domhnaill family. Although its occurrence in the Féitir shows that it was known in Ireland in the eighth century, it is generally associated with names borrowed from the Vikings. Its popularity probably derives from the impression made on the popular mind by the invasion of Ireland in 1101 and 1102 by Magnus Barelegs, king of Norway.
8. See Celtic x 299-30.
9. According to O'Rahilly the adoption of the name Conchánta was due to the fact that Constantine I ruled as emperor of Britain and Gaul A.D. 307-41. The Pictish king named Conchánta, in connection with whom O'Rahilly discussed the possible borrowing from Latin, died in 1002 (C). O'Brien's Corpus has five entries under Conchánt (a by-form of Constantine). One of these - in a supposed genealogy of Cu Chulainn - is clearly spurious; one records a son of Blastamus (f 670), king of the Ulaid, and three refer to descendents of Chanl mac Alpin, king of Scotland (893-916). The name Conchánta is found in Féitir Connacht for March 10 and March 11, in the commentary the first of these is identified as 'Helena's son', but the second is identified as a king of Britain and Scotland who left his realm and came on a pilgrimage to Rome in 618. This would place him in the second quarter of the seventh century. Hennessy (AD 72, n. 4) identified the Rahon Constant, with a Constant, whose conversion in the year 588 is recorded in AD, but the dates do not tally.

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I have mentioned a bishop of Killaloe named Constantine O'Brien. He was the brother of Domhnall Mór O'Brien, and both he and Domhnall Mór died in 1194. According to O'Clery's *Book of Genealogies* (1397) and the late historical work *An Leabhar Muinrach* (pp. 328, 340), Clann Conchánta (or Conchánta), a branch of the Óg Ógaha, were descended from him. In his *Irish Families* (P. 92) R. Mac Lysaght cites Mac Conchánta as an example of a Gaelic surname from a foreign christian name and he says 'The Condinsen, like their kinsmen the Mac Lysaghts, were a branch of the Óibríona, being descended from Domhnall Mór O'Brien'. Mac Lysaght has made a slight slip here. We should, I believe, read 'Oibríona', in place of 'Domhnall Mór'.

As to the choice of the name Conchánta for the man who became bishop of Killaloe, it is impossible now to determine the reason for it, but it was more likely to have been made on religious grounds than anything else.

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