

# Glossing the Glosses: The Right Marginal Notes on *Glaidomuin* and *Gudomhuin* in TCD MS 1337

Kristen Mills

## Abstract

This article examines marginal notes glossing two entries (*glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin*) in a legal glossary in TCD MS 1337. The entries in the glossary and the glosses in the upper margin connect these terms to a range of natural and supernatural beings (wolves, women of the *side*, *morrigna*, infernal demons, demons of the air, scaldcrows, and foxes). This study considers the glosses in the right margin, which etymologize the lemmata as referring to the doubling of howls and voices. It is argued that this may refer to the phenomenon of the echo; furthermore, it is proposed that this interpretation may relate to a recurring image in prose literature, where supernatural beings screech in reply to a hero's shouts or the sounds of battle. Finally, an association between echoes and the voices of demons in several late antique texts and the *Vita Antonii* is discussed.

TCD MS 1337 (formerly H. 3. 18) contains a set of *glossae collectae* taken from *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* 'the last *Bretha Nemed* (concerned with judgments of privileged persons)', hereafter *BND*.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is a mixed vellum and paper miscellany containing fragments of varying ages bound as a quarto, and the text is found on a single 12.7 cm x 8.89 cm leaf (pages 61–2; Abbott and Gwynn 1921, 140–58). Two of the lemmata, *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* (normalized as *glaidemain* and *gudemain*), are glossed in the upper and right margins. These entries and the related marginal glosses are well-known, and have been cited frequently for their references to supernatural female figures; despite this attention, the text continues to pose a number of difficulties. The material found in the right margin will be the focus of this discussion.

The entries on *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* occur on page 61, column b, lines 11–12, with a gloss inserted above line 11 (Figures 1 and 2). The phrase *a bretha neime deidhinach so* ('this is from *Bretha Nemed Déidenach*') is written in the upper margin above column a. It should be noted that the section of *BND* to which these glossary entries originally corresponded is no longer extant, and thus they cannot be interpreted within the original context.<sup>2</sup> The other two entries in the margin gloss *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin*. The upper marginal note begins slightly more

---

1 For discussion of the *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* glossary, see Breatnach 2005, 184–88, and Russell 1999, 102–5; see also Breatnach 1984. An edition of the glossary was published in Gwynn 1942, 54–6.

2 See Breatnach 2005, 186–7, for discussion.

than halfway horizontally over column a and continues above column b, ending near the right edge of the page. It is preceded by a construe mark, a triple punctum, which links the note to another construe mark at the end of the *gudomhuin* entry in the main text. The upper marginal glosses are comprised of two lines running along the top edge of the manuscript, with *nach* added under the lower line by a different hand from that in the note (Figure 3). The right marginal notes begin immediately beneath the final letter of the upper marginal note, and run in a single line perpendicular to the main body of the text, along the outer edge of the page (Figure 4). The text, as edited by D. A. Binchy in the *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, reads:

Glaidomuin .i. sindaigh <sup>a</sup>l mac *tire*<sup>a</sup>. Gudomhuin .i. fennóga l bansigaidhe; <sup>b</sup>but est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuín. goacha, na mórigna. l go conach deamain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach<sup>c</sup> demain iffrinn iat <sup>d</sup>̄ .d.<sup>d</sup> acoir na fendóga <sup>b</sup>. <sup>e</sup>l camnait a nglædha na sinnaigh, 7 .e. <sup>f</sup>a ngotha na *fennoga*<sup>c</sup>

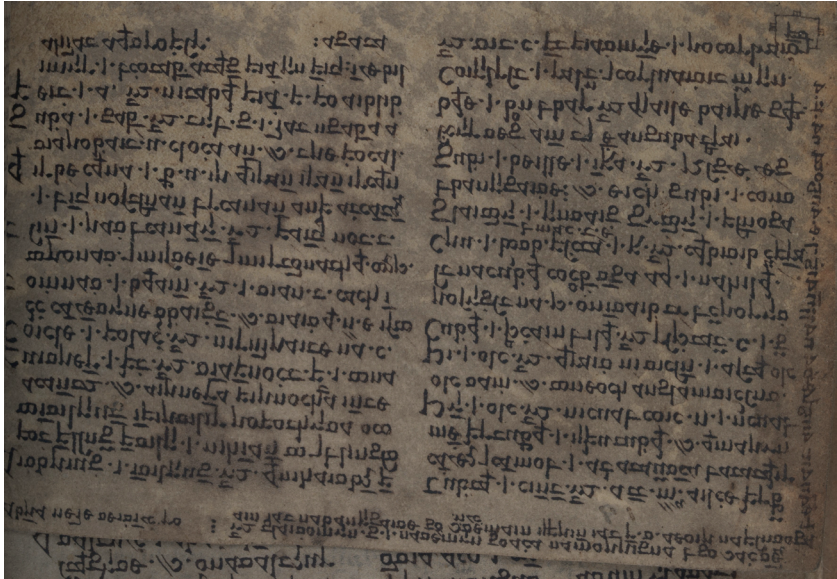
<sup>a-a</sup> added above line. <sup>b-b</sup> in marg. sup. <sup>c</sup> nach added under line by different scribe, with caret mark. <sup>d</sup> i.e. demain. <sup>e-c</sup> in marg. dext. <sup>f</sup> i.e. camnait. (1978 II, 604, ll. 1–4)

The text in the *BND* glossary corresponds broadly to the entries for *glaidemain* and *gudemain* appearing in sequence in the ninth-century *Sanas Cormaic*:

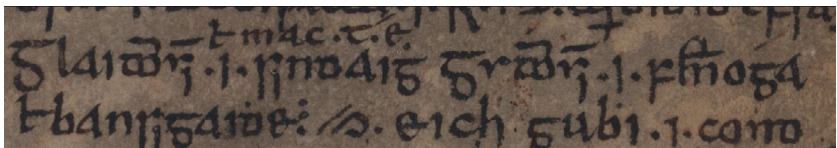
Glāidemain .i. maic tīre glāidaite .i. focerdait hūalla  
 Gūdemain .i. ūatha 7 mórignæ (Meyer 1912, 58 §696–697)  
*Glaidemain*, i.e., wolves which howl, i.e. they utter/emit/raise wailings  
*Gudemain*, i.e., spectres and *mórigna* (my translation; translations are my own unless otherwise noted)

*Sanas Cormaic* gives an explanatory definition for *gudemain* but does not engage in the etymological speculation that characterizes the *BND* glossary entries and marginal notes; only the first element of *glaidemain* is etymologized (*glāidaite*).

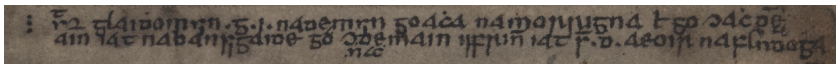
The *BND* glossary gives howling animals (*sindaigh l mac tire* ‘foxes or a wolf’) as the interpretation of *glaidomuin*, and this is supported by the likely etymology of the term. Karin Stüber assigns *glaidem* to a class of ‘agent nouns’ formed ‘from verbal roots or stems as well as from verbal nouns’ to which the Proto-Indo-European suffix *\*-mon-* was attached (1998, 194); she observes that *glaidem* may be understood as a ‘derivation of the *ā*-stem MIr. *glāed* “shout” ... and consequently be reconstructed as *\*glajd-ijamon*. Semantically, the wolf as “howler” seems to be attractive’ (1998, 157). Ulla Remmer proposes that ‘passt *glaidem* in die Gruppe der Tierbezeichnungen um *legam* etc., deren Benennungsmotiv eine charakteristische Tätigkeit ist’ (*glaidem* fits into the group of animal names such as *legam* [clothes moth] etc., whose basis for naming is a characteristic activity’; 2002-3, 198; see also Remmer 2011, 67). If *gudemain* developed on the same



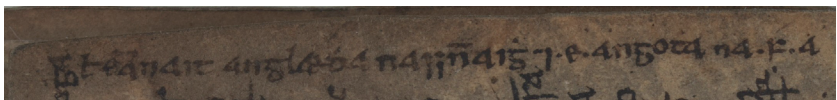
(Fig. 1, TCD MS 1337, p. 61, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)



(Fig. 2, lemmata and interlinear gloss, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)



(Fig. 3, upper margin notes, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)



(Fig. 4, right margin notes, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)

model, then it could derive from *guth* ‘voice’, and mean something like ‘voice-maker’ or ‘sound-maker’, with an earlier form \**guthemain*.<sup>3</sup> If so, given that the \*-*mon-* suffix was frequently used to form animal names (Stüber 1998, 191), this might indicate that *gudemain*, like *glaidemain*, originally referred to a species of animal, perhaps scald-crows; however, in *Sanas Cormaic* the entry for *gudemain* refers to supernatural beings, not animals.

The lemmata in the *BND* glossary are spelled differently than they appear in *Sanas Cormaic*: the spellings *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* may have been influenced by etymological speculation, deriving the second element of both terms from *omun*, *ómun* ‘fear, the state of being afraid’ (perhaps also ‘pl. in sense “terrors, causes of fear”’; *DIL*, s.v. *omun*).<sup>4</sup> Following the methods of ‘Isidorian’ etymology, the entries in the glossary and the margins present several possible interpretations of *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin*.<sup>5</sup>

The glosses in the upper margin, ‘*ut est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuin*.<sup>6</sup> *goacha, na morrigna. l go conach deamain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach demain iffrinn iat s̄ .d. aeoir na fendóga*’, are difficult to interpret. In a recent article on the demonic in the understudied Old Irish poem *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*, Jacqueline Borsje observes that the gloss ‘is concerned with classification’, and she suggests that influence from *Sanas Cormaic* may be evident here because of the inclusion of *morrigna*, which appear in the *gudemain* entry in *Sanas Cormaic*. She points out the possibility that the person who added the note to the upper margin may also have added ‘*mac tire*’ above line 11, which she presumes was influenced by *Sanas Cormaic*’s entry on *glaidemain* (2007, 89). She suggests that *gudomhuin* ‘needed explanation’, and that ‘both marginal comments connect the term with the previous lemma on *glaidemuin*’. Concerning ‘*glaidhomuin .g.*’ in the upper marginal note, which she tentatively expands as ‘false (?) howlers’, Borsje states that:

[a]t first sight, it may seem that the glossator added a third category to the howlers and false demons: false howlers. Demons are, however, also infamous as producers of horrible sounds, screams and shrieks ... It looks, therefore, as if the foxes and wolves should be seen as the true howlers, and the others perhaps as screamers but not as true howlers. (2007, 89)

This is a persuasive explanation, but it is possible that the ‘false howlers’ do not actually exist in the text—this reading relies on expanding ‘*.g.*’ as *goa* and taking

3 I am grateful to the anonymous peer-reviewer for this suggestion.

4 I am grateful to the anonymous peer-reviewer for this suggestion.

5 See Baumgarten 1990, and Baumgarten 2004, 55-65 *et passim*.

6 Context suggests that this should be a plural form, but *demnae* is the expected OI nominative plural. On the declension of OI *demon*, *demun*, see O’Rahilly 1942, 157-8. *Demain* does, however, appear as a nominative plural in a MI text concerning Cairpre Cromm (Carey 2014, 150).

it as modifying *glaidhomuin*, but it could also be an abbreviation for *gudomhuin*.<sup>7</sup> If the latter is the correct interpretation, the ‘false howlers’ vanish, and the upper marginal note would contain two separate glosses: *ut est glaidhomuin*, glossing *glaidomuin*, and *.g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na morrigna. † go conach deamain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach demain iffrinn iar acht .d. aeoir na fendóga*, glossing *gudomhuin*. In any case, the upper marginal note is, as Borsje discusses, concerned with classifying types of demonic and/or supernatural beings, and she suggests that the author of the gloss construed *glaidomuin* as ‘consisting of *gláed*, “cry, shout, howl”, and *demain*, “demons”,’ while *gudomhuin* ‘was possibly formed from *gú*, “false” and *demain*, “demons”’ (2007, 89).

Before proceeding to consider the glosses in the right-hand margin, it will be useful to present a tentative translation of the glossary entries and the material in the upper margin.

ll. 11–12: *Glaidomuin .i. sindaigh † mac tire. Gudomhuin .i. fennóga † bansigaidhe*

Upper margin: *est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na morrigna. † go conach deamain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach demain iffrinn iat s̄ .d. aeoir na fendóga.*

ll. 11–12: *Glaidomuin*, that is, foxes or a wolf. *Gudomhuin*, that is scald-crows or women of the *side*.

Upper margin: That is, *glaidhomuin. g(udemain?)*, that is the false demons, the *morrigna*. or: it is false that the women of the *sid* are not demons, it is false that the scald-crows are not demons of hell, but they are demons of the air.<sup>8</sup>

The notes in the right-hand margin read: *† eamnait a nglaedha na sinnaigh, 7 .e. a ngotha na fennoga* ‘or: the foxes double their calls, and the scald-crows double their voices’. In a study in the inaugural volume of *Revue Celtique*, W. M. Hennessy explained the notes in the right-hand margin as follows:

To understand this curious gloss it is necessary to add that in a previous one the word *glaidomuin* is explained as signifying *sinnaig*, or *maic tire* (foxes, or wolves), because in barking they double the sound; *glaidomuin* being understood by the author as *glaid-emain*, i.e. ‘double call’, from *glaid*, ‘call’ and *emain*, ‘double’, while the crow only doubles the sound, *guth-emain*, ‘double-sound’. (1870–72, 36–7)

<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to an anonymous peer-reviewer for this observation.

<sup>8</sup> My translation; I have consulted the translations by Borsje (2007, 88) and Hennessy (1870–72, 36). For discussion of the phrase ‘demons of the air’, see Mills (forthcoming) and Velasco López 2018, 99–106. I am indebted to Henar Velasco López for sharing a preprint of her chapter with me.

Likewise, Borsje observes that ‘the gloss in the right-hand margin etymologises both words as having to do with sound. *Glaidomuín* is explained from *glaéd*, “howl, shout, call”, and *emuín*, “pairs, twins.” *Gudomuín* is split up in *guth*, “vowel, sound” and *emuín*, “pairs, twins.”’ (2007, 89; see also Borsje 1999, 241–2).

Support for this interpretation may be found in another entry in *Sanas Cormaic*. *Emon*, *emuín* appears in *Sanas Cormaic* as a name for a type of metrical composition. The editors of the *DIL* state that this term may be identical with *emon*, *emuín* ‘twin’; it is defined as ‘a species of verse, apparently a stanza with couplets similar in structure’ (*DIL* s.v. *emon*, *emain*). The entry in *Sanas Cormaic* reads: *Emon airchidail, ar it cosmaili a ndi lethc[h]omarc, unde anemuín dicitur .i. ni hemuín acht is cethairre(a)ch* (Meyer 1912, 47 § 574) ‘*Emuín* composition, for their two half-quatrains are alike, whence it is called *anemuín*, i.e. it is not *emuín* (twins) but *cethairre(a)ch* (quadrupled; the gloss refers here to *anamain mór* or *anamain ceithireich*, a poetic metre having four divisions)’. The use of *emon* as a term for repeated speech in *Sanas Cormaic* may have influenced the author of the right-hand marginal note to analyse *gudomhuín* as *guth emuín*.

This raises the question: what exactly does it mean to ‘double’ or ‘twin’ a sound? It could refer to a doubling of the number of cries, or an increase in the volume; however, I propose that the note refers to the phenomenon of the echo, which may be understood as the ‘twinning’ or doubling of sound, and is associated with wild, isolated locations, where foxes and crows might be found. The glosses could be understood as a prosaic reference to animal cries, but the emphasis on demonic beings associated with shrieking and wailing in the *gudomhuín* entry in the main text and the upper marginal note (Borsje 1999, 231–48), along with the demonic associations that corvids and some canids have in medieval Irish literature (Borsje 2007, 90), suggests that there may be other contextual associations underlying the formulation of the material in the right margin.

Borsje has suggested a connection between the *BND* glossary entries on *glaidomuín* and *gudomhuín* and the commonplace of supernatural shrieking beings at battlefields (2007, 90); I would push this point further, and argue that the right marginal notes may be related to a recurring topos in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, where the Morrígain, the Badb, and other supernatural figures shriek or scream in response to a hero’s shout or the sounds of battle.<sup>9</sup> The well-known *Breslech Maige Murthemne* episode describes Cú Chulainn:

Dofánic ferg 7 luinni mór icá n-aiscin re ilar a bidbad, re immad a námat. Ro gab a dá sleig 7 a sciath 7 a chlaideb. Crothais a sciath 7 cressaigis a slega 7 bertnaigis a chlaidem, 7 dobert rém curad asa brágit coro [f]reccatar bánanaig 7

9 I count two examples of this topos in Recension 1 of the *Táin*, and four in the Book of Leinster Recension (including the two found in Recension 1). For a fuller demonstration, I have taken my examples from the Book of Leinster *Táin*.

bocánaig 7 geniti glinni 7 demna aeóir re úathgráin na gáre dosbertatar ar aird, coró mesc ind Neamain forsin tslóg.<sup>10</sup> (O’Rahilly 1967, 58)

Anger and rage filled him when he saw the host, because of the multitude of his foes and the great number of his enemies. He seized his two spears and his shield and his sword. He shook his shield and brandished his spears and waved his sword, and he uttered a hero’s shout from his throat. And the goblins and sprites and spectres of the glen and demons of the air gave answer for terror of the shout that he had uttered, and Nemain, the war goddess, brought confusion on the host. (O’Rahilly 1967, 197–8)

In an elaborate description of the dressing and arming of Cú Chulainn, after he takes up his sword, spears, and shields, it is stated that:

Is and sin ro gab a chírchathbarr catha 7 comlai[n]d 7 comraic imma chend as[a] ngáired gáir cét n-óclách do sírígim cecha cúli 7 cecha cerna de, dáig is cumma congáiritis de bánanaig 7 bocánaig 7 geinití glinne 7 demna aeóir ríam 7 úasu 7 ina thimchuill cach ed immatéiged re tesitin fola na míled 7 na n-ánglond sechtair. (O’Rahilly 1967, 61)

Then he put on his head his crested war-helmet of battle and strife and conflict, from which was uttered the shout of a hundred warriors with a long-drawn-out cry from every corner and angle of it. For there used to cry from it alike goblins and sprites, spirits of the glen and demons of the air, before him and above him and around him, wherever he went, prophesying the shedding of the blood of warriors and champions. (O’Rahilly 1967, 201)

When Cú Chulainn sets out to meet his foster-brother Fer Diad in single combat,

Is and sin cininis in cur cetach clessamnach cathbúadach claidebderg, Cú Chulaind mac Sualtaim, ina charpat. Gura gáirsetar imme bocánaig 7 bánanaig 7 geniti glinne 7 demna aeóir, dáig dabertis Túatha Dé Danand a ngáriud immisium combad móti a gráin 7 a ecla 7 a urúad 7 a urúamain in cach cath 7 in cach cathrói, in cach comlund 7 in cach comruc i téiged. (O’Rahilly 1967, 78)

Then Cú Chulainn mac Sualtaim mounted his chariot, the blow-dealing, feat-performing, battle-winning, red-sworded hero, and around him shrieked goblins and sprites and fiends of the glen and demons of the air, for the Túatha De Danand used to raise a cry about him so that the fear and terror and horror

10 Brent Miles interprets this scene typologically: ‘Cú Chulainn’s appearance to his foes at the beginning of this episode presents a striking visual index to the iconography of the crucifixion ... The ‘goblins and sprites and spectres of the glen’ happen to recall Matthew’s description of how the dead rose from their graves following Jesus’s last great cry’ (2011, 196-97). Ann Dooley has also examined the supernatural cries in this scene: ‘Cú Chulainn’s power cry, his *srem aurad* which prefaces it, is by this stage no more than a kind of lower-scale reflex of the original effect of his *riastartha* powers. Its echo produces an eruption of miscellaneous non-human types of terrifying other-worldly responses ... The effect is to reiterate the power of the death goddess at this time’ (2006, 145).

and fright that he inspired might be all the greater in every battle and field of conflict and in every encounter to which he went. (O’Rahilly 1967, 216–7)

Cú Chulainn’s battle with Fer Diad extends over several days. At their final meeting, before Cú Chulainn succeeds in slaying his *comalta*, the fierceness of their fighting provokes the attendant spirits to cry out once more:

Ba sé dlús n-imairic darónsatar gora chomraicsetar a cind ar n-úac[h]tur 7 a cossa ar n-íc[h]tur 7 a lláma ar n-irmedón dar bilib 7 chobradaib na sciath. Ba sé dlús n-imaric darónsatar goro dluigset 7 goro dloingset a scéith á mbilib goa mbróntib. Ba sé dlús n-immaric darónsatar goro fíllsetar 7 goro lúpsatar 7 goro gúasaigsetar a slega óa rennaib goa semannaib. Ba sé dlús n-imaric darónsatar gora gársetar boccánaig 7 bánanaig 7 geniti glinni 7 demna aeóir do bilib a sciath 7 d’imdornaib a claideb 7 d’erlonnaib a sleg. (O’Rahilly 1967, 92)

Such was the closeness of their encounter that their heads met above, their feet below and their hands in the middle over the rims and bosses of the shields. Such was the closeness of their encounter that they clove and split their shields from rims to centers. Such was the closeness of their encounter that they caused their spears to bend and turn and yield to pressure from points to rivets. Such was the closeness of their encounter that sprites and goblins and spirits of the glen and demons of the air screamed from the rims of their shields and from the hilts of their swords and from the butt-ends of their spears.<sup>11</sup> (O’Rahilly 1967, 228)

It will be recalled that medieval Irish texts present looking upwards to see the source of aerial cries during a battle as one of the ways that one may become *geilt*,<sup>12</sup>

- 11 The idea of voices echoing from a warrior’s shield is also found in Tacitus’ *Germania*: *adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur; obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat* (Wolff 1907, 9): ‘A fierceness of tone and shattering roar are especially sought, with shields raised to mouth, by which the voice may swell more fully and deeply through the echo’.
- 12 The madness of the titular Suibhne in *Buile Suibhne* is the classic example of this topos: *O rochomhracsíot iarum na catha cechtarrdha robhúirset an damhradh dermhair adú 7 anall amail dámbha damhghoire co tuargaibhset tri tromghaire os air. O’dchúala thrá Suibhne na gaire mora sin 7 a shuamanna 7 a freagartha i nellaibh nimhe 7 i fraightibh na firmaminnte rofhéich Suibhne suas iarum co rolion nemhain 7 dobhar 7 dásacht 7 fáoinnel 7 fúalang 7 foluamain 7 udmhaille, anbsaidhe 7 anfhoistine, miosgais gach ionaid ina mbíodh 7 serc gach ionaidh noco roichedh; romheirbhligset a meoir, rocrióthnaighsiot a chosa, roluathadh a chroidhe, roclódhadh a chedfadha, rosaobadh a radharc, rotuitset a airm urnocht asa lámhuibh co ndeachaidh la breithir Rónáin ar gealtacht 7 ar geinidecht amail gach n-ethaid n-aerdha.* ‘Thereafter, when both battle-hosts had met, the vast army on both sides roared in the manner of a herd of stags so that they raised on high three mighty shouts. Now, when Suibhne heard these great cries together with their sounds and reverberations in the clouds of Heaven and in the vault of the firmament, he looked up, whereupon turbulence [?], and darkness, and fury, and giddiness, and frenzy, and flight, unsteadiness, restlessness, and unquiet filled him, likewise disgust with every place in which he used to be and desire for every place which he had not reached. His fingers were palsied, his feet trembled, his heart beat quick, his senses were overcome, his sight was distorted, his weapons fell naked from



and supernatural beings answering a mortal's shout is a conceptualization of the echo that occurs in classical texts. Cú Chulainn is strongly associated with the Morrígain and other war-goddesses,<sup>13</sup> and the list of creatures who cry out in response to him in the *Táin* includes both 'demons of the air' and scald-crows (*badba*). The inclusion of *morrígna*, demons of the air, and scald-crows in the glossary entry on *gudomhuin* may have called to mind for the author of the marginal note the scenes in which supernatural beings answer Cú Chulainn's shouts.

The echoes described in *In Cath Catharda*, the Irish adaptation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, take on a decidedly supernatural cast. The Middle Irish text expands and modifies a brief passage in Book 7 of Lucan's poem that describes the echoing of trumpets during the battle. The Latin text is as follows:

tum stridulus aer/ elisus lituis conceptaque classica cornu./ tunc ausae dare signa tubae, tunc aethera tendit/ extremique fragor conuexa inrumpit Olympi,/ unde procul nubes, quo nulla tonitrua durant / exceptit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus/ Pelicisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis./ Pindus agit fremitus Pangaeaque saxa resultant/ Oetaeaeque gemunt rupes, uocesque furoris/ expauere sui tota tellure relatas. (7.475–84; Housman 1926)

Then the buzzing air was forced from the clarions, and the field signals birthed from the horn. Then the war-trumpets dared to give signal; it reaches the heavens, and the din breaks upon the peaks of far Olympus, which clouds do not approach, where no thunder endures. Haemus snatched the clamor from echoing valleys and casts it back to double in Pelion's caverns, Pindus roars and the rocks of Pangaeus resound, Oeta's cliffs groan, and men feared the sounds [or: cries?] of their own fury borne back by the whole earth.

Compare the Latin original to the more elaborate account in the Irish version:

Ni ro tocobait reimi-sin no ina ndeghuidh isin doman gairi a mbarsamla sin. Deithvir on, ocus sloig na cruinni domanda uili ic eighmigh inn aenfecht ar in aenmuig[sin]. Ro lin mac-alla na gairi sin mothra ocus caillti, fedha occus fidhneimhedha, tulc[h] æ ocus sleivti, aibni ocus essu, allu ocus inherai in tire [uili].

---

his hands, so that through Ronan's curse he went, like any bird of the air, in madness and imbecility' (O'Keeffe 1913, 14-15). See also Chadwick 1942.

- 13 In a recent article, Sharon Arbuthnot makes a compelling argument that the phrase *troig mná trogain* 'the foot of a raven-woman' refers to the Morrígain's alighting upon Cú Chulainn's shoulder at the moment of his death: 'The tradition that Cú Chulainn's death was signalled by the Morrígain, in her bird-aspect, coming to rest on him predates the earliest surviving attestation of the phrase *troig mná trogain*. In light of the strong visual impression and significance of this scene, it is not difficult to imagine how a phrase translating roughly as "the foot of the Morrígain on you" might have served as the direst of imprecations in medieval and Early Modern Ireland and why people might have been warned against associations which could lead to "the foot of the Morrígain on their corpses" (*troigh mná troghain for a ccollaib*)' (2015, 16).

Ro siac[h]t a mbresmaidm ocus a fuamannai ocus a freccurtai co fireleit[h]i sleibi Olimp in conair on cusna rancatar goethu no toirmi na nell uretrom etorbuasach inn aeoir fuasnadhuigh riamh. Ro freccrait na gairi-sin 7 na nualleigmhi cetna i comhglendaibh slebhi Heim, 7 inn uam[h]annaip imdorcaibh slebhe Peil, 7 i mbendaib bitharda sleibi Pinn, ocus i caircibh cenngarbæ sleibi Paing, 7 in all-cnocoip agadlethnaibh slebhi Oeta, ocus inn-uiliph diamraibh ocus ditreibaibh na Tesaili arcenæ. (Stokes, 1909, 410–12)

Neither before that nor after it in the world were cries like those upraised. That was meet, for all the hosts of the earthly globe were shouting at once on the one plain. The echo of those shouts filled the fields and forests, woods and sacred groves, hills and mountains, rivers and rapids, rocks and invers of the land. Their crash and their noises and their answering challenges reached the very summit of Mount Olympus, by a way to which neither winds nor thunders, nor light, hovering cloud of the turbulent air ever came. Those shouts and the same outcries were answered in the glens of Mount Haemus, and in the darksome caverns of Mount Pelion, and in the rough-headed crags of Mount Pangæum, and in the broad-faced cliff-hills of Mount Oeta, and in all the secret places and wildernesses of the rest of Thessaly. (Stokes, 1909, 413).

The host takes fright then, because the echoed cries rouse the horses, cattle, boar, deer, and other beasts to storm the plain where the hosts were assembled for battle, and the stamping of the beasts set the plain to trembling as though it were an earthquake. The excessive terror of the animals suggests a possible supernatural aspect of the echoing cries: they were not frightened by the men's shouts, but by the echoes resounding back upon them from the wilds. The animals flee from these cries, driven by their fear towards the plain, where their panicked milling adds to the chaos of the battlefield.

The most obvious change made by the Irish adaptor is to change the signaling of the horns on the battlefield to shouting, but another, more subtle difference is significant. In the Latin text, it is the landscape itself that performs action: *excepit ... Haemus ... dedit, Pindus agit, saxa resultant, gemunt rupes*. The land itself casts back the sounds of the trumpets as an echo. In the Irish adaptation, the shouts are answered (*ro freccrait*) from places in the landscape, but it is not clear who is doing the answering; alternatively, *na gairi-sin 7 na nualleigmhi* 'those shouts and the same outcries' could be the subject of *ro freccrait*: 'those shouts and same outcries answered'.<sup>14</sup> Given the similarity to accounts in other Irish texts of supernatural beings shouting or shrieking from various points of the landscape before or during a battle, it is possible that the Irish adaptor of *In Cath Catharda* conceptualized the *mac alla* of the warriors' shouts as emanating from the throats of creatures inhabiting the wild places of the earth.<sup>15</sup> The association between demonic beings, shouting,

<sup>14</sup> I thank the anonymous peer-reviewer for this observation.

<sup>15</sup> The association of echoes with supernatural beings is also found in Old Norse-Icelandic texts, where one word for an echo is *dvergmál*, 'dwarf speech,' and there is a related

and battle is well established (see Borsje 1999, *passim*, and Sayers 1991, 48–51), and many of the descriptions of supernatural shouting related to battles include a list of places that closely matches the additions made by the adaptor of *In Cath Catharda*. For example, prior to the first battle of Magh Tuired, *ro gairsed badba 7 bledlochta, 7 amaite aidgill co clos a nallaib, 7 a nesaib, 7 i fothollaib in talman* (Fraser 1916, 44): ‘Badbs and (sea?)monsters and hags of destruction shouted, so that they were heard in the rocks and streams and the hollows of the earth’. Cillian O’Hogan has shown that *In Cath Catharda* drew on the collections of Lucan *scholia* to augment and expand on Lucan’s text (2014, *passim*). The *scholia* to lines 481 and 483 in the *Commenta Bernensia* both emphasize the echoing quality of the sounds:

481 RVRSVS GEMINARE C· per echo  
 483 VOCESQVE FVRORIS E·S·T·T·R· per echo. uoces suas de collibus  
 resonantes horruerunt (Usener 1869, 241)  
 481 TO DOUBLE BACK C through (an) echo  
 483 AND THEY FEARED THE VOICES OF THEIR OWN FURY BORNE  
 BACK BY THE WHOLE EARTH they trembled at the echo of their own  
 voices resounding from the hills

Another question that should be considered is whether the author of the marginal notes might have had in mind the eponymous Echo, the nymph who pines for Narcissus in Greek myth. For modern readers, the *locus classicus* for the Echo narrative is Book 3 of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: she is cursed by Hera so that she can only repeat the words of others, as punishment for preventing Hera from catching her husband, Zeus, *in flagrante delicto* with the nymphs. Echo becomes besotted with the beautiful Narcissus, who spurns all of his would-be lovers. Prior to his transformation into a flower, Echo glimpses Narcissus as he hunts. She follows him, burning with desire, waiting for him to speak so that she may reply. She pursues him for some time before he calls out for his companions. Echo answers, they have a verbal exchange, and she emerges from the woods to embrace him, but Narcissus flees. After her rejection, Echo, shamed, wanders in the forest and lurks

---

verb *dvergmála* ‘to echo’; fitting, given the strong association between dwarves and stones or mountains. *Bergmál* ‘mountain speech’ or ‘rock speech,’ is also used for the echo (Cleasby and Vigfússon, 1874, s.v. *dvergr*; *bergmál*). Dwarves in Old Norse-Icelandic texts frequently appear from or disappear into seemingly solid rock; the notion that vocal utterances emanating from stony places was the speech of such beings is consistent with ideas about dwarves in the textual tradition (Motz 1973-74, 102-3). Given that the Tuatha Dé Danann are said to dwell beneath the surface of the land in medieval Irish tradition, inhabiting hills and mountains, it is tempting to posit a similar connection, but I have not come across an explicit example of a correspondence between the Tuatha Dé Danann and echoes, although the *Cnoc in Nuaille* ‘Hill of the Cry’, named, according to the *Acallam*, for the great cry that the people of the *sid* make upon Caillte’s final departure from the otherworld, may hint at such a connection (Stokes 1900, l. 7280).

in caves. She is unable to sleep, so great is her love and longing. Her flesh wastes away, until only her voice and her bones remain. The latter, with time, turn to stone, while her voice endures in the woods (2004, 77–8, 82–3).

Ovid's account would not have been well-known in early medieval Ireland; rather, medieval Irish *literati* would have been more likely to be familiar with the account written by the First Vatican Mythographer:

Liriope nymp̄ha ex amne Cephiso procreauit Narcissum, cui Tiresias omnia prospera pollicitus est, si pulchritudinis suae nullam habuisset notitiam. Hunc igitur cum Echo diligeret, n<eque> ullam uiam potiendi inueniret, cura iuuenis, quem extremis uocibus persequeretur fugientem, extabit eiusque corporis reliquiae in lapidem uersae sunt. Quod ei incidit Iunonis ira, quia garrulitate sua eam saepe est morata, ne Iuppiter in montibus, dum persequeretur nymp̄has, deprehendi posset. Fertur Echo filia Iunonis; et ob deformitatem in montibus est recondita, ne quid eius prater uocem inspicere posset, quae tamen post obitum auditor. Narcissum autem supradictum ob nimiam crudelitatem, quam in Echo exhibebat, Nemesis—id est fortuna Ultrix fastidientium—in amore sui pertulit, ut non minori flamma ac illa exureretur. (Zorzetti 1995, 100)

Lyriope the nymph gave birth to Narcissus; his father was the River Cephissus. Tiresias promised Narcissus every good fortune if he would have no knowledge of his own beauty. When Echo loved Narcissus and found no way to possess him, she pined away with love for the young man. She pursued him with her last cries as he fled. The remains of her body were turned into stone. Juno's wrath fell upon her because Echo often delayed her with her chattering. Thus Juno could not catch Jupiter when he pursued nymphs in the mountains. Echo is said to be Juno's daughter, and she was concealed in the mountains because of her deformity. Nothing of her could be perceived except her voice, which is still heard after her death. Nemesis, that is, Fortune, the avenger of those who are disdainful, drove the above-named Narcissus to love of himself because of his excessive cruelty to Echo. (Pepin 2008, 78–9)

The closest approximation for classical nymphs in medieval Ireland would surely have been the beautiful and immortal women of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Echo's love for Narcissus has numerous parallels in medieval Irish texts, where it is a commonplace for women of the *sid* to fall in love with and pursue mortal heroes. Cú Chulainn attracts the attentions of the otherworldly Fand (Dillon 1953), and a woman of the *sid* falls in love with Connla the Fair. She is invisible to all but Connla: the others present can only hear her disembodied voice (McCone 2000). It is an account of Noísiu's snow-white skin, blood-red cheeks, and raven hair that prompts Deirdre, another female figure associated with terrifying vocal utterances (while yet in the womb, no less), to seek him and demand his love, though Deirdre is all too mortal in the end (Hull 1949). The connection with the Morrígain initially appears more tenuous, but the fact that her sexual advances are spurned by Cú Chulainn in the first recension of the *Táin* may have reminded

the glossator of Echo's failed seduction of Narcissus (O'Rahilly 1976, 57). These parallels are admittedly very tenuous, especially given that Echo herself does not appear in medieval Irish texts, in contrast to numerous references to other classical goddesses in Irish texts, where they are frequently connected to the Morrigan and similar figures. Given the absence of Echo from Old and Middle Irish texts, the likelihood that the scribe who added the glosses in the right margin was influenced by her myth recedes in likelihood, but cannot be ruled out entirely.

Classical tradition is not the only possible source for the idea that echoes were related to the speech of supernatural beings. The pseudepigraphic *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, which may have been known in medieval Ireland in at least fragmentary form (Carey 1990, 108-12), contains a scene that may be illuminating here. The passage expands on 1 Samuel 3. When Samuel is being called by name by a disembodied voice, he approaches his father, Eli, who advises him:

'In te video hoc signum quod habebunt homines ab hodierna die usque in seculum quoniam, si clamaverit bis alter ad alterum per noctem vel in meridie, scient quoniam spiritus pessimus est. Si autem adiciat ter clamare, sciam quia angelus est.' (53.4; Jacobson, 75)

'In you I see this sign that men will have from today on forever, that if one should call to another twice by night or in midday, they will know that it is an evil spirit. But if he should call a third time, they will know that it is an angel.' (Jacobson, 179)

Concerning this passage, H. M. Jackson asks: 'What is it exactly about the double vocative, in other words, that leads Eli to suspect that demonic deception might be at work in the initial call occasion?' (1996, 5). Jackson concludes that

'If the call is coming from God, as we know it is, and if its demonic aspect involves deception ... then the logical deduction to draw from this would be that in the double vocative "Samuel! Samuel!" the first comes from God (i.e., is God using Eli's voice) but the second "Samuel!" is—potentially, at least—a demon mimicking God. The idea of demonic imitation is certainly common enough in late antique settings of great cultural diversity, so common as not to need illustration' (1996, 5).

Here we have the notion of demonic speech being doubled or echoing. This passage is particularly intriguing because its mention of a demon that calls by night or at midday recalls the pairing of the so-called 'noonday demon' and the 'terror of night' found in Psalm 91 (90 in the Vulgate), the latter of which Borsje argues may have influenced the *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* poet when he refers to the *úath aidc[h]e* 'terror of the night' (2007, 79–82).

In another passage in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, David is summoned by Saul to banish a demon that is choking the king, a task which he accomplishes by playing a psalm on his harp. The passage elaborates on 1 Samuel 16:14–23, which presents David’s playing as banishing the demon, but does not explain why this is effective. This is the relevant section of David’s song:

‘Et nunc molesta esse noli tamquam secunda creatura. Si quominus, memorare tartari in quo ambulas. Aut non audire tibi sufficit, quoniam per ea que consonant in conspectu tuo multis psallo? Aut inmemor es quoniam de resultatione in chaoma tonata est vestra creatura?’ (60.3; Jacobson, 82)

‘Now do not be troublesome, since you are a secondary creation. Otherwise, remember Tartarus wherein you walk. Or is it not enough for you to hear that by means of what resounds before you, I sing to many? Or do you not remember that your brood was created from a echo in the abyss?’ (Jacobson, 188)

Jackson explains the effect of David’s harp-playing: ‘David’s song enforces its exorcistic will by striking a resonating chord in the demon, a chord to which it cannot fail to respond since resonance, in the form of an echo, was the manner of its conception to begin with’ (1996, 13). Jackson has argued that in a difficult passage from another pseudepigraphical text, the *Testament of Solomon*, the female demon Onoskelis declares that she was begotten ‘[o]f the ill-omened voice known as Echo in a wood, when a call was uttered from a leaden sky’ (Jackson 1988, 37). Given that it is unclear to what extent there was knowledge of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* in medieval Ireland, any speculation about a connection between that specific text and the scribe who added the right marginal notes in TCD MS 1337 must remain tentative; however, these examples demonstrate that several late antique texts associated demons with echoes, and that Irish authors *may* have had access to some of these sources.

This association also occurs in a text which was without question known to medieval Irish *literati*. The *Vita Antonii*’s account of St. Anthony’s temptations in the desert compares the voices of demons repeating scripture to that of an echo, or perhaps, as Alaric Hall interprets the passage, *the Echo*:

Solent etiam cum modulatione nonnunquam apparentes psallere, proh nefas! ad haec et impuro ore sacra Scripturarum eloquia meditantur. Frequenter enim legentibus nobis, quasi Echo ad extrema verba respondent. (Evagrius *VA*, *PL* 1844–64, 139)

They, never appearing, are even wont to sing the psalms in modulation, oh impious act! Beyond this, they rehearse the holy declarations of Scripture with impure mouths. For frequently while we are reading, they answer the last words, as if [they were] Echo.

The *Vita Antonii* is the likely source for the gloss of ‘Echo’ as *wudumær* in several Anglo-Saxon glossaries (Hall 2007b, 308–11). Alaric Hall has argued that ‘*Echo: wudumær* ... hints at the extensive lexicon of monstrous, dangerous and/or martial supernatural females available to Anglo-Saxons’ (2007a, 157), a statement that could apply with equal force to medieval Irish literature. Let us consider more closely the context of the Echo reference in the *Vita Antonii*. Earlier in its discussion of demons, the text states, *Ingens eorum turba istum pervolat aerem, non procul a nobis hostium caterva discurrit*: ‘A great tumult of them fly through the very air, a mob of enemies courses to and fro not far from us’. This conceptualization of the demonic has clear parallels with the assertion that *gudomhuin* are ‘demons of the air’ in the upper margin, as well as with the standard depiction of otherworldly creatures thronging in the air above battles in medieval Irish literature. A detailed examination of the parallels between the demonology of the *Vita Antonii* and native Irish supernatural figures would be out of place in the present study; I shall simply point out that elsewhere the passage is preoccupied with the demons’ seductive, false speech, their ability to foretell future events, and their assumption of a limitless number of forms (138–9), concerns that resonate with the depiction of the supernatural in medieval Irish texts, and more particularly with that in the *gudomhuin* gloss. An Irish scribe familiar with the prophesying Badb and the shapeshifting Morrígain would have found much in this passage that was familiar. The *Vita Antonii* was well-known in Irish circles, and Anthony was among those desert fathers who served as models for the development of Irish monasticism; Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae* borrows phrases directly from the *Vita Antonii* (Herbert 1988, 142). The reference to echoing demonic voices in *Vita Antonii*, then, may have been known to the scribe who added the right-hand marginal notes to *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* in the upper margin.

To conclude, both Irish heroic literature and late antique religious texts portray supernatural beings answering human speech, often in an imitative fashion that is sometimes characterized as an echo. Either corpus could have prompted the note in the right margin. Taken together, the entries in the *BND* glossary and the glosses in the upper margin deal with several categories: ‘native’ Irish supernatural beings, animals with supernatural or demonic associations, and Christian categories of demons. It seems highly possible, if impossible to demonstrate beyond doubt, that both frames of reference, the ‘secular heroic’ and the theological, may have been in the mind of the glossator when he added the notes in the right margin.

*I am indebted to Richard Cole and the editors and anonymous peer-reviewers of Studia Celtica Fennica for their many helpful comments and suggestions. All remaining errors are my own.*

## Bibliography

## Primary Sources

- Acallam na Senórach*. Ed. & transl. W. Stokes 1900. ‘Acallamh na Senórach’. In W. Stokes & E. Windisch (eds.), *Irische Texte* IV.1. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1–224.
- Buile Suibhne*. Ed. & trans. J. G. O’Keeffe 1913. *Buile Suibhne: The Adventures of Suibhne Geilt, A Middle-Irish Romance*. London: Irish Texts Society XII. Repr. 1996, Dublin.
- Binchy, D. A. 1978. *Corpus Iuris Hibernici ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum*. Dublin: DIAS.
- Cath Muige Tuired Cunga*. Ed. & trans. J. Fraser 1916. ‘The First Battle of Moytura’, *Ériu* 8, 1–63.
- Echtrae Chonnlai*. Ed. K. McCone 2000. ‘Echtrae Chonnlai’ and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary. Maynooth: Department of Old and Middle Irish.
- In Cath Catharda*. Ed. & trans. W. Stokes 1909. *In Cath Catharda: The Civil War of the Romans. An Irish Version of Lucan’s Pharsalia*. In E. Windisch & W. Stokes (eds.) *Irische Texte* IV.2. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1–581.
- Commenta Bernensia*. Ed. H. Usener 1869. *Scholia in Lucani Bellum Civile, Commenta Bernensia*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Longes mac nUislenn*. Ed. & transl. V. Hull 1949. *Longes mac n-Uislenn. The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Lucan. *Pharsalia*. Ed. A. E. Housman 1926 (repr. 1927, 1950). *Annaei Lucani Belli civilis libri decem*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. Ed. & transl. H. Jacobson 1996. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, With Latin Text and English Translation*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mythographus Vaticanus Primus. *Le Premier Mythographe Du Vatican*. Ed. N. Zorzetti, trans. J. Berlioz 1995. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- The Vatican Mythographers*. Trans. R. E. Pepin 2008. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Ovid. *Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphosis*. Ed. R. J. Tarrant 2004. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sanas Cormaic*. Ed. K. Meyer 1912. ‘*Sanas Cormaic*: An Old Irish Glossary’. In O. J. Bergin & al. (eds.) *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* IV. Halle: Mac Niemeyer, 1–128.
- Scéla Cairpri Chruimm 7 Ciaráin*. Ed. & trans. J. Carey 2014. ‘The Out-of-Body Adventures of Cairpre Cromm’. In John Carey, Emma Nic Cárthaigh, & Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (eds.), *The End and Beyond: Medieval Irish Eschatology*, Vol. 1. Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 145–51.
- Serglige Con Culainn*. Ed. M. Dillon 1953. *Serglige Con Culainn*. Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 14. Dublin: DIAS.
- Tacitus. *Germania*. Ed. & transl. E. Wolff 1907. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner.
- Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Book of Leinster version. Ed. & transl. C. O’Rahilly 1967 (repr. 1970, 1984). *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster*. Dublin: DIAS.
- Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Recension 1. Ed. & transl. C. O’Rahilly 1976. *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,



*Recension I*. Dublin: DIAS.

Evagrius. *Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis*. 1844–64. In *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*. Paris. Vol. lxxiii.

### Secondary Sources

Abbott, T. K. & E. J. Gwynn 1921. *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co.

Arbuthnot, S. 2015. 'The Phrase *troig mná trogain* in Exhortative Speech'. *Studia Celtica Fennica* 12, 5–20.

Baumgarten, R. 1990. 'Etymological Aetiology in Irish Tradition'. *Ériu* 41, 115–22.

Baumgarten, R. 2004. 'Creative Medieval Etymology and Irish Hagiography (Lasair, Columba, Senán)'. *Ériu* 54, 49–78.

Borsje, J. 1999. 'Omens, Ordeals and Oracles: On Demons and Weapons in Early Irish Texts'. *Peritia* 13, 224–48.

Borsje, J. 2007. 'The "Terror of the Night" and the Morrigan: Shifting Faces of the Supernatural'. In M. Ó Flaithearta (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*. *Studia Celtica Upsaliensia* VI. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 71–98.

Breatnach, L. 1984. 'Canon Law and Secular Law in Early Ireland: The Significance of *Bretha Nemed*'. *Peritia* 3, 439–59.

Breatnach, L. 2005. *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, Early Irish Law Series 5, Dublin: DIAS.

Carey, J. 1990. 'The Ancestry of Fénius Farsaid'. *Celtica* 21, 104–12.

Chadwick, N. K. 1942. 'Geilt'. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 5, 106–53.

Cleasby, R. & Vigfússon, G. 1874. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

*DIL*. *Dictionary of the Irish language and Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*. Dublin, 1913–76, compact edn. 1983.

Dooley, A. 2006. *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gwynn, E. J. 1942. 'An Old-Irish Tract on the Privileges and Responsibilities of Poets'. *Ériu* 13, 13–60.

Hall, A. 2007a. 'Glosses, Gaps and Gender: The Rise of Female Elves in Anglo-Saxon Culture'. In M. Rissanen, M. Hintikka, L. Kahlas-Tarkka & R. McConchie (eds.) *Change in Meaning and the Meaning of Change: Studies in Semantics and Grammar from Old to Present-Day English*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 72. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 139–170.

Hall, A. 2007b. 'The Evidence for *Maran*, the Anglo-Saxon "Nightmares"'. *Neophilologus* 91, 299–317.

Hennessy, W. M., & C. Lottner (postscript), 1870–72. 'The Ancient Irish Goddess of War'. *Revue Celtique* 1, 32–55, 55–57, 501.

Herbert, M. 1988 (repr. 1996). *Iona, Kells, and Derry: the History and Hagiography of the Monastic 'Familia' of Columba*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Repr. 1996, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Jackson, H. M. 1988. 'Notes on the *Testament of Solomon*'. *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 29, 19–60.

Jackson, H. M. 1996. 'Echoes and Demons in the Pseudo-Philonian *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*'. *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and*

- Roman Period* 27, 1–20.
- Miles, B. 2011. *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Mills, K. (forthcoming). ‘*Demnae Aeóir* “Demons of the Air”’. *Éigse* 41.
- Motz, L. 1973–74. ‘Of Elves and Dwarves’. *Arv* 29/30, 93–127.
- O’Hogan, C. 2014. ‘Reading Lucan with Scholia in Medieval Ireland: In *Cath Catharda* and its Sources’. *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 68, 21–49.
- O’Rahilly, T. F. 1942. ‘Notes, Mainly Etymological’. *Ériu* 13, 144–219.
- Remmer, U. 2002–03. ‘Das indogermanische Suffix *-mon-* im Altirischen (1. Teil)’. *Die Sprache: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 43, 171–211.
- Remmer, U. 2011. ‘Agent Noun Polysemy in Celtic: the Suffix *\*-mon-* in Old and Middle Irish and its Proto-Indo-European Origins’. *Language Typology and Universals* 64, 65–74.
- Russell, P. 1999. ‘Laws, Glossaries, and Legal Glossaries in Early Ireland’. *ZCP* 51, 85–115.
- Sayers, W. 1991. ‘*Airdrech*, *Sirite*, and Other Early Irish Battlefield Spirits’. *Éigse* 25, 45–55.
- Stokes, W. 1859. ‘Irish Glosses’. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 6, 168–215.
- Stüber, K. 1998. *The Historical Morphology of N-Stems in Celtic*. Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, National University of Ireland.
- Velasco López, H. 2018. ‘Diarmaid and Gráinne in the Light of Classical Mythology’. In K. Murray (ed.) *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne: Reassessments*. Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series 30. London: Irish Texts Society.