The Morrígan: A Trinity United

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“‘Prophet!,' said I, ‘thing of evil! 
-prophet still, if bird or devil! -
Whether tempted sent, or whether tempest 
tossed thee here ashore, 
Desolate yet all undaunted, 
on this desert land enchanted —
On this home by horror haunted —
tell me truly, I implore —
Is there —is there balm in Gilead? 
— tell me — tell me, I implore!’
Quoth the Raven, ‘Nevermore.’”

INTRODUCTION

The eeriness of Poe’s words has echoed down throughout the years to enthrall generation after generation with the verses’ sense of dismay, desperation, and fatality. Yet many have forgotten that, centuries earlier, the Celts were telling their own tales of shadowy ravens and tragic futures foretold. Many remain in the form of legends about their goddess of war—Morrígan. This goddess was a complex, triune character; comprehending the entirety of her power and importance in the Celtic myths requires an in-depth examination of her appearances in the old legends and the impact those tales had on the Celts.

A PROBLEM OF NAMES

Before beginning any look into Morrígan’s character, it is important to recognize an issue of terminology. The Celtic myths offer numerous names and titles for Morrígan, and the distinctions between these names play a vital role in

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understanding her character and role in the myths. Morrígan is so difficult to understand, in part, because she is both one goddess and a trinity of goddesses. The easiest way to comprehend this concept is to think of Morrígan as the representative of war as a whole. However, just as war has many different aspects,\(^2\) so too did the goddess embodying it. To differentiate this multi-faceted part of her character, the Celts gave her a different name depending on which part of her nature she was exemplifying at that point in time. Thus, she was named “Morrígan” when she embodied the totality of war united and “The Morrígan” when she was a trinity of goddesses, each playing different part in the story.\(^3\) Within The Morrígan were three women known as Badb, Macha, and Nemain. When she brought about the savage bloodshed and brutality of fighting, she came as Badb; representing the victory of the survivors and winning armies, she came as Macha; and the woman who introduced terror and insanity into the troops before and during battles, she came as Nemain.

\(^2\) For example, there is defensive fighting and offensive fighting, full-out attacks and minor disagreements.

\(^3\) For an example of Morrígan as an individual goddess, look at Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 98. On the other hand, The Yellow Book of Lecan calls the same woman Badb that the Egerton manuscript calls Morrígan. See The Book of Lecan, Irish Script on Screen (ISOS), http://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html (accessed November 7, 2009). Celtic Literature typically used the article “the” in front of Morrígan when speaking of the triune nature of the goddess and left the article off when speaking of her as a single person. The three individual goddesses were typically called Badb, Macha, and Nemain. Although these were occasionally replaced with names such as Ana and Fea, this not common.
as Nemain. Morrigan, in all her forms, charged through the myths 
starting, fighting, and winning wars in the name of the Celtic 
peoples, her stories passed down orally century after century 
until the Irish priest wrote them down in physical records.

It was only natural that the Celts would depict Morrigan in 
so many different ways. Celtic mythology has many triune or 
triple-natured deities; both literature and archaeological 
artifacts reflect characters with three heads, three faces, or, 
as with the Morrigan and their fertility goddess, three 
seemingly individual people. An example would be the depiction 
of the Celtic god of craftsmanship, also known as the “three 
gods of Danaan.” As with Morrigan, this triune deity appears in 
literature both as a “unified” deity and as a group of three 
individual deities. Another example appears in Carrawburgh, 
Northumberland, where carvings in a stone well reflect the 
triune aspect of Coventina, the area’s patron goddess, via 
depictions of three water nymphs. Tri-spirals carved into the


6 Thomas Francis O’Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), 308; Cath Mag Tuired, 45.

walls of the Brugh na Boinne, one of three prehistoric tombs, further demonstrate the cultural importance placed on the theory of a trinity. Long before the Christians introduced a religion based upon a “holy trinity,” the Celts were worshiping triune deities and associating the number three with religion.

**SEPARATE AND DISTINCT**

Historians traditionally agree that the many names used in reference to Morrigan and The Morrígan are strongly intertwined. This relationship is most clearly laid out in Peter Berresford Ellis’ translation of *The Children of Lir*. Therein, an accused woman explains to the king that she fears, above all things, “Macha, Badb, and Nemain, the three forms of the Mórrígán.” Further examples would include *Lebor Buidhe Lecain’s* assertion that Macha was the “third Morrígan,” the *Book of Leinster’s* association of Annan (another name for Nemain) with Morrigú (a variation of the name Morrigan), and the *Book of Fermoy’s* linking of Macha and Morrigan. Even their histories reflect their interwoven relationships.

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10 See various interpretations of *Lebor Gabala Erren*.

Several stories combined any three of Nemain, Morrigan, Macha, and Badb as the three daughters of Ernmas, a different goddess, while later writings conflict as to whether it was Nemain or Badb who was married to the war god Nét. All four representations of Morrigan (Macha, Badb, Nemain, and Morrigan) appear together at least once, as best seen in Cath Mag Tuired. That book portrayed Morrigan, Badb, and Nemain’s efforts to frighten the enemy to death and called Macha “[t]he Personification of Battle, goddess of warriors.” As the stories continue to weave the tales of The Morrigan together, they slowly depict a woman so powerful and influential that she seems to be three different women, a fact that her many names reflect.

Although The Morrigan is clearly one goddess appearing in three roles, each member of the trinity can stand apart from the others. Over time, separate and distinct stories grew to surround the individual personifications of Morrigan, an important aspect of her development as seemingly both one


According to this legend, Macha is killed with her husband Nuada who was a god, king of Ireland, and the favorite son of The Dagda. Ellis, 33.
goddess and three. Both Badb and Nemain worked with the negative elements of war. On the other hand, Macha became the mother-goddess promoting heroism, loyalty, and bravery during the battles.\textsuperscript{14} As a single entity, Morrigan appears in scenes requiring a mixture of both the good and the bad aspects of fighting or when she served as a prophesier of coming conflicts. Thus, the characteristics of the three distinct smaller war-goddesses combine within the triune goddess, the Morrigan—a trinity united.

\textbf{A. Badb: The Bloodthirsty}

Literature speaks more frequently of Badb than it does of Nemain or Macha, as she served to complete Morrigan’s most important work. Several variations on her name appear in the written tales, including: Badb, Badhbh, Baobh, and Bave.\textsuperscript{15}

Originally, the roots of the name stemmed from the word bodua meaning “fighting lady”; although she was also called “Badb Catha” meaning “battle crow” instead.\textsuperscript{16} This grew into the generic term \textit{badb} as name for supernatural women who often appeared as crows to “hover over the battlefield, foretelling

\textsuperscript{14} Clark, 25.


\textsuperscript{16} MacCullch, 71-72.
the slaughter and later feeding on the slain.”17 The badbs themselves occasionally came in threes; upon meeting such a group, the author of The Destruction of Dá Derga’s Hostel wrote: "I beheld a trio, naked, on the roof-tree of the house: their jets of blood coming through them, and the ropes of their slaughter on their necks. . . . three . . . of awful boding.”18 Badb, the war goddess herself, was a particular type of badb—she appeared as a crow-raven goddess who traditionally brought with her prophesies of foreboding disaster and death.19 In fact, Badb approached mortals more often as a Hooded of Scald Crow than as a woman.20 Celtic legends typically gave the crow or raven a deadly or dangerous nature; they often appear near the bodies of the dead and dying, like vultures waiting to feast.21

As to her personality, Badb was the goddess referenced when the stories spoke of the ravages of battle. Thus, in The Tain, Morrígan speaks of “the Badb / the raven ravenous / among

19 Ibid., 257
20 Clark, 24.
corpses of men."\(^{22}\) In the same writing, CúChulainn, an infamous Celtic hero, builds Badb's "fold" with "walls of human bodies."\(^{23}\) Because the Celts so closely tied the color red with the lands of the dead and their gods of war, Badb was frequently portrayed as a red-mouthed woman due to her thirst for blood and flesh.\(^{24}\) Thus, one sees The Tain mention her "red-mouthed . . . screech" at the scene of combat.\(^{25}\) When she arrived on the battlefield, slaughter would swiftly follow; legends still recall Badb as shrieking her delight at the enemies' death.\(^{26}\) In his encyclopedia of Irish Myths, Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, a professor of Irish Folklore at the University College Dublin, quotes an old prophecy that warns, "The red-mouthed Badhbh will shriek around the house, for corpses she will be solicitous."\(^{27}\) Another legends states that a man who met Badb saw her as a "red woman" who turned the waters red from the gore and blood dripping off her hands as she portended his death.\(^{28}\) Badb was also known as the

\(^{22}\) Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain, 98.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., 148

\(^{24}\) Sjoestedt, 15; Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain, 199.

\(^{25}\) Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain, 199.

\(^{26}\) Ibid.

\(^{27}\) Dáithí Ó hÓgáin is quoting Whitley Stoke's translation of the death of Cormac Conn Loingeas. See The Lore of Ireland: An Encyclopaedia of Myth, Legend and Romance, s.v. "Badhbh" by Dáithí Ó hÓgáin.

\(^{28}\) Ibid.
“Washer at the Ford” whose “presence indicated death to him whose armour or garments she seems to cleanse.”

Badb had several duties in her role as war-goddess, including: prophesying, rousing people towards conflict and war, or weakening the enemy by inciting fear amongst them. She frequently foretold of upcoming deaths, as with CúChulainn in *Compert Con Culainn*. In *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Badb approached CúChulainn in the form of a crow, attempting to lead him into an ambush. Failing at this, she then pretended to be a servant and led him to his death. There are also several records of Badb arriving the night before battle, frightening hundreds of men to death with her piercing shrieks.

**B. Macha: The Regal**

The second most influential of the goddesses was Macha, a goddess of both war and sovereignty, whose legend grew out of three different story-lines. Each separate story told of a different Macha—the wife of Nemed, the wife of Crunnchu, and Macha the Red. They were depicted as different reincarnations

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29 MacCulloch, 73.


31 *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Meamram Páipéar Riomhaire: Irish Script on Screen (ISOS); Thomas Kinsella, trans., *The Tain*, 239.

32 Ibid.

of Macha the goddess, and her attributes and character reflects a mixture of them all. Unlike Badb, who focused on brutality, Macha fit more with the traditional mother-goddesses. As a result, she became the patron goddess of Emain Macha, the capital of Ulster, (the city’s name reflecting her own).\(^{34}\) In two of the stories, where she is linked to the city bearing her name, she reigns as the goddess of sovereignty.\(^{35}\)

Macha upheld her duties through a close relationship with the ideas of fertility, childbirth, war, and kingship. The first of her stories claimed that Macha, mistreated by the Ulstermen, cursed them with labor pains during the heat of battle when it would most dangerously affect them.\(^{36}\) The second tale tells of her becoming a warrior-queen who defended her throne against all rivals, ruled for seven years, and then defeated the sons of her enemies.\(^{37}\) In the third, Macha reigned as a giant-queen who built the fortress of Emain Macha. She also


\(^{35}\) Ibid.


\(^{37}\) Ibid.
served as the goddess Fortune, in that she gave out bad or good luck to whomever she so desired. Macha did not have the giving and nurturing nature of most mother- and earth-goddesses; rather she provided for her people by destroying their enemies and conquering territory for them through warfare. She stole or fought for everything she possessed and destroyed everyone standing in her way. She thus successfully mixed the characteristics found in a sovereignty-goddess, a territory-goddess, and a war-goddess.

C. Nemain: The Terrifying

Nemain proves a difficult figure to examine; she appeared least often in myth. Nevertheless, when she did come, she always brought terror and fear to her enemies with her arrival. There were numerous variations of the name Nemain, including: Nemainn, Menom, Neman, N’emain, Neamhain, and Nemhain. Each meant “frenzy,” “battle fury,” or “war-like frenzy.” In Tain Bo Cuailnge, she first appeared as a war-spirit who later entered the enemy’s camps the night before battle to frighten the opposing troops to death with paralyzing nightmares and

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38 Ibid.
39 Clark, 36.
horrifying screams. The surviving soldiers were left terrified, sleepless, and disconcerted as they marched the next day, leaving them weak and vulnerable to attack. Nemain’s next two appearances in The Tain were as an attacking spirit who roused the armies into confusion. Finally, the night before the last battle, The Tain says Nemain and Badb, the wives of Nét, came together to scare one hundred Irishmen to death. In one of her few appearances in other literation, The Book of Leinster noted that she confused two separate armies such that the warriors fell upon their own weapons, thus killing one hundred men. Consequently Nemain fulfilled her role as war-goddess by cultivating terror and cowardliness in her opposition, which her chosen soldiers then exploited.

D. The Morrígan: Bloodthirsty, Regal, Terrifying

Accordingly, Badb, Macha, and Nemain formed The Morrígan, a trinity of powerful women; nonetheless, each maintained their distinct and individual characteristics. Badb, the violent side of Morrígan, thirsted for blood and wallowed in the bodies of her dead. Macha, Morrígan’s stately representation as a queen,

42 Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain, 68, 141-42, 223, 239.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 The Book of Leinster, Meamram Páipéar Riomhaire: Irish Script on Screen (ISOS).
gained her sovereignty by claiming dominion over her enemies through war and destruction. Nemain, perhaps Morrígan’s most frightening personification, played her part well, symbolizing the frenzy that war invokes within men and driving her opponents insane with terror. These characteristics of The Morrígan would then unite within Morrígan, a separate entity who portrayed the war-goddess in her totality.

E. Morrígan: The All-Powerful

Morrígan was the most powerful of the war-goddesses in that she combined the characteristics, abilities, and motives of all three members of the trinity; whereas they did not necessarily share powers. Morrígan thus became a highly significant Celtic female deity. The spelling of Morrígan’s name varied, and authors sometimes called her Morrighan, Morrígan, Morrigu, Mor-Rioghain, or Morrigna. They translated as “Phantom Queen,” or “Night Queen,” with the English word “nightmare” stemming from her name etymologically. Females in Celtic mythology traditionally presented gorgeous, sexual, and dominant figures who pressured their husbands, sons, and “reluctant warriors”

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into action. Additionally, they were infamously known for not hesitating to promise sexual favors in exchange for benefits when necessary. Fulfilling this role as a seeming femme fatale, Morrígan used her ability to create nightmares to start and win wars to become one of the most dominant and significant female goddesses in Celtic myth.

There is evidence in early manuscripts that suggests that Morrígan began as a sex and fertility goddess. There are suggestions that she married Nét, the war god, and she unquestionably had a sexual relationship with The Dagda, “The Father of the Gods,” in Cath Mag Tuired. Therein, The Dagda came upon Morrigan straddling a river washing the heads and limbs of people she had killed, whereupon the two participated in sexual intercourse. Then, in The Tain, Morrigan first approached CúChulainn as a beautiful young woman offering him sexual favors. In both myths, Morrigan was willing to trade sex for victory over her enemies; she thus added to her nature the


50 Ibid.

51 W. M. Hennessey, 31; Clark, 33; Ellis, 25-26.

52 Clark, 33; MacCana, 66.

53 Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain, 137.
connotation of lust and fertility as it arose in times of war, battles for dominance, and vies for power.

As a female-goddess, Morrígan depicted love as it is corrupted by greed, savagery, and brutality. She commanded the darker side to this powerful emotion in that her kind of love resulted in lust, rage, power-struggles, and a strong demand for justice and revenge. Upon sleeping with The Dagda, she promptly vowed to destroy his enemy by “depriving him of the blood of his heart and the kidneys of his valor.” Thereupon, “Morrígan, the Great Queen of Battles, and her sisters, Badh the Crow, Némain the Venemous, and Fea the Hateful” surrounded the battles “with their wailing cries which drove morals to despair and death.” When The Dagda claimed his victory, Morrígan “proceeded to proclaim that battle . . . to the royal heights of Ireland and to its fairy hosts and its chief waters and its river mouths.”

Morrígan appears in many stories throughout Celtic legends, often as a dark and forboding woman. In the Annals of Tigernach, Morrígan laughingly drowned the prince of Leinster in the Corry-vreckan, a whirlpool in the Hebrides, and this morphed into the legend of the Coire Brecain, where an old woman drowned

54 Clark, 33; MacCana, 66.
55 Fea (like Annan or Ana, which sometimes replaced the name Némain) was used as an alternative for Macha here. It is, however, likely the same character.
56 Ellis, 29.
57 Cross and Slover, 47-48; Ellis, 33.
sailors.\textsuperscript{58} The author notes: “Hateful is the laugh which she laughs today.”\textsuperscript{59} In \textit{Táin Bo Regamna}, CúChulainn awakens upon hearing an eerie and frightening cry. He rushed out to locate the source only to find a red-haired woman wearing a crimson cloak.\textsuperscript{60} Approaching her, CúChulainn watched as she morphed into a crow who warned him that she guarded “thy deathbed, and shall be guarding it henceforth.”\textsuperscript{61} She went on to foretell that his days were numbered, a prophecy that proved only too true.\textsuperscript{62} The Celts deeply revered Morrígan’s powers and always depicted her as a goddess of extreme authority and influence. In \textit{Cath Mag Tuired}, Morrígan claimed to have the power “to pursue what was watched; I will be able to kill; I will be able to destroy those who might be subdued.”\textsuperscript{63} She could “instigate war, give the victory, interfere in combat, eulogize the dead, and predict the future.”\textsuperscript{64}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{58} Dillon and Chadwick, 144; \textit{Annals of Tigernach}, CELT: Corpus Electronic Texts. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/about.html (accessed October 8, 2009).
\item \textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{60} \textit{Táin Bó Regamna}, CELT: Corpus Electronic Texts, http://www.ucc.ie/celt/about.html (accessed October 8, 2009); Cross and Slover, 211-214.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{63} \textit{Cath Mag Tuired}, 53.
\item \textsuperscript{64} Clark, 3-4.
\end{itemize}
As with Badb, Morrígan frequently transformed in various non-human forms, particularly cows and birds. CúChulainn twice saw her as a cow, she used cattle stampedes to hinder and confuse her enemies, and her interaction with the Bull of Cuailnge was a central element of the story in The Tain. At other times, she became a bird, usually a crow, hovering over the battlegrounds. The Celts viewed such birds as carrion animals that fed upon the dead soldiers, and they strongly believed the crows were gods thus reclaiming their chosen heroes. Consequently, the crow became a symbol of war, and the Celt’s helmets often depicted them. It logically followed that the war-goddess herself would come as a crow to gather up her dead when the battles were done.

Although she served as an instigator and fighter of battles, one of Morrigan’s most important jobs involved prophesying. Cath Mag Tuired ended with Morrigan warning of the end of the world and “foretelling every evil that would occur then, and every disease and every vengeance” that would occur as

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65 Thomas Kinsella, trans., The Tain, 98, 137.
66 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
she looked on in the future. Early in *The Tain*, Morrigan approached the Bull of Cuailnge and foretold a coming war, with a future of “[a]ffliction and outcry / And war everlasting / . . . Death death!” The bull heeded her words and moved to Sliab Cuilnn, killing one hundred young boys and destroying the earth in the process. She later prophesied to CúChulainn that he would see her as an eel, a grey she-wolf, and finally as a hornless red heifer. In return, he claimed he would break the ribs of the eel, shoot out the eye of the wolf, and break the leg of the heifer. Nonetheless, when the prophecy unfolded, CúChulainn gained the upper hand only for a time. Morrígan, in the form of a milking cow, tricked him into allowing her to prophesy his death, thus guaranteeing his death later in the story. This ability to foretell death lives on even today in the legends of the banshee and the images of a wailing seer warning about a coming death.

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70 *Cath Mag Tuired*, 72-73. Peter Ellis translates the story to say that Badh the Crow is the goddess offering this prophecy, an example where Morrigan and the names of the trinity are interchangeably used. Ellis, 34.

71 Thomas Kinsella trans., *The Tain*, 98.

72 Ibid., 132-133, 135.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Clark, 24-25.
Morrigan, when appearing as a single entity, thus blended aspects of each member of her trinity. She captures the essence of Badb when she gleefully drowned a prince, prophesied death as a crow, and bathed in the blood, head, and limbs of her conquests. Morrigan reveled in the power of Macha by inciting men to war through offers of sexual favors in exchange as an incentive. Nemain’s characteristics appeared in Morrigan when she brought terror to her enemies via wailing cries and nightmarish prophecies. Badb, Macha, and Nemain, while seemingly powerful women in their own rights, were merely minor reincarnations of Morrigan. Only when the three of them together appeared as The Morrigan or when Morrigan worked as a single entity did the war goddess attain her full power.

**A Trinity United**

It is clear the Celts deliberately portrayed Morrigan as a trinity goddess, sometime united into one woman, sometimes appearing as three. Thus, certain commonalities connect the trinity with one another, as well as with Morrigan. None of the war-goddesses physically fought in battle; rather, they used magic, sexual rewards, loyal warriors and the power of fear to motivate their troops and demoralize their enemies. They frequently changed forms, often moving fluidly between human
bodies and the shape of hooded crows. In the aforementioned speech of the accused woman in Ellis’ *The Children of Lir*, the entire quote reads that she feared “Macha, Badb, and Nemain, the three forms of the Morrigan, the goddess of war, of death and slaughter, and most of all, her blood-drinking raven form.” Here the woman named all three distinct members of the trinity, while uniting the goddess into her singular form with a reference to “her . . . raven form.” Anne Ross, an renown archaeologist, writes that the three goddesses formed a clearly defined group in Celtic literature. Although they were similar to other Celtic deities (i.e. the mother-goddesses), The Morrigan were characterized by their “constant association with war . . . , their influence in this sphere realized by means of magic rather than through physical interference, by their obvious association with crows and ravens, and by their marked sexual characteristics.” Accordingly, Celtic myths portray them working sometimes as individuals, sometimes as a trinity of goddesses, and sometimes as one woman. In any case, this war goddess was obviously a very dynamic and influential woman who

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76 MacCana, 86, 87.
77 Ellis, 64.
78 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
played a great role in defining the Celtic view of war and the associated issues and emotions.

**Impact On The Celts Then and the World At Large Today**

Morrigan thus was a fascinating deity who influenced the world, both as the trinity and as the individual goddesses. She also seems to have embodied the essence of the Celts thoughts in regards to the ravages of war. Badb’s bloodthirstiness was not an unusual concept for the Celts, who were well-used to the horrors of fighting and death. Each soldier could also speak to the paralyzing fear that came before and during battle, and the concept of Nemain could illustrate their memories of the death cries and the fear that came with every battle. Macha, a somewhat more rationale member of the trinity (though she had a dark side of her own), in turn likely made the Celts more accepting of a female, like Boudica, leading them into war. The women of Celtic myths, as with those in real life, were strong and influential. There are several stories of female warrior in Celtic histories, where they sometimes fought alongside their men on the battle-fields.\(^1\) Macha personified this factor of their lives. Then there was Morrigan herself, who encouraged theories of justice, honor, and loyalty within the Celtic

culture, because she fought faithfully for the warriors standing on the side of justice. Morrigan revealed what the Celtic people could become if they were willing to suffer the problems embodied in the trinity. If they could survive the brutality, maintain their dominion, and continue through their fear, then they could enjoy the bravery, courage, power, spirituality, authority, and immortality offered through the heroic deeds of battle.

Since then, she has spawned numerous other legends such as the banshee; the old women of the whirlpool; and the infamous, destructive magician of the Arthurian Legends, Morgan Le Faye. Even the legend of the evil black bird waiting on the sidelines, bringing foreboding and fear to those who see it, continues in horror stories today. Like Poe’s tale of the brooding raven, her legend lives on in the literature and myths of today.

**Conclusion**

One goddess with three natures, Morrigan embodied the causes and results of warfare—a subject that fascinated the Celts and one they never tired of learning about. In the end, Morrígan was one of the last of the Irish deities to engender the faith of the Celts. *The Children of Lir* noted that centuries after mortals abandoned all other Celtic deities and those gods vanished into mere stories, Morrigan remained “the evil demon . . ., goddess of death and battles, that people still kept
alive, for they continued to take pleasure in war and bloodshed."⁸² She survived far longer than her fellow deities only to later pass from generation to generation until the writings of the priests and the culture of the Celtic people immortalized her forever.

⁸² Ellis, 73.
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