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TWO NOTES ON CÉILE CRÍST FROM THE COMMENTARY TO THE *FÉLIRE ÓENGUSO*

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the glosses in the Commentary to the *Félire Óengusso* on the rather obscure saint Céile Críst from Killeel, County Kildare, whose feastday is marked in a number of medieval Irish martyrologies on the third of March. An edition and translation of two previously unedited glosses, one from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B512 (R2) and one from Dublin, UCD-OFM A7 (F), are provided.

INTRODUCTION

Frequently, when the late eighth- or early ninth-century *Félire Óengusso* refers to a saint,¹ such a reference is accompanied in the glosses and notes of the Commentary to the *Félire* (hereafter CFÓ) by an abundance of material to supplement the often meagre information provided by the main text. The CFÓ has little to say, however, in the case of the saint called *Céile Críst*, who appears in the quatrain for the third of March and who, according to the Annals of Ulster, died in 727 (*dormitatio Ceili Crist AU 727*). The quatrain in the *Félire Óengusso* runs as follows:

Hí pais Floriáni	At the passion of Florianus
feil dí rétglainn remáin,	there are two preëminent stars,
Céile Críst, cáin eráil,	Céile Críst—fair injunction!—
mo Macru macc Senáin. ²	my Macru son of Senan (Stokes 1905, 80).

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¹ On the dating of the *Félire*, see Stokes (1880, 1, 6–11): before the end of the tenth century; Strachan (1894, 110–112): no later than the ninth century; Stokes (1905: xxviii–xxxviii): about the year 800; Thurneysen (1907, 6–8): between 797 and 808; Ó Riain (1990, 21–38; later also in 2006, 80–118): between 829 and 833; Breatnach (1996, 74–75): critiquing Ó Riain's methodology and following Thurneysen; Dumville (2002): between 797 and 900.

² Stokes's edition reads *remain* and *Senain*. In his *corrigenda*, he states that 'long vowels in the text, on which the mark of length has been accidentally omitted, will be found correctly spelt in the Glossarial Index' (1905, 474). While this is true for *Senán* and *cáin* (now rather *caín*, see *eDIL* s.v. 1 *caín*, *dil.ie/7787*), he did not note the long vowel in the second syllable of *remain*. I have supplied length marks for both words.

Two of the nine manuscripts that contain the CFÓ, or fragments thereof, do not contain any glosses or notes at all on Céile Críst: Brussels, KBR 5100–4 (B1) and Brussels, KBR 5057–5059 (B2). In B1, the month of March is located on f. 70v, on which the name of *Céile Críst* has been underlined, as is common for saints' names in this manuscript, but no further information is provided. In the notes and verse extracts relating to the *Félire Óengusso* that occur in a different section of that manuscript, and that may have been taken from a different source,³ I have not noted any glosses on the third of March or on *Céile Críst*. In B2, only fragments of verse from the CFÓ have been collected, none of which deals with Céile Críst.⁴

SHORT GLOSSES ON CÉILE CRÍST

The remaining seven manuscripts that contain the *Félire Óengusso* and its Commentary generally provide only one short gloss for Céile Christ:⁵

Laud 610 (L) i. ð *Chill Chēile Crīst ind hŪaib Dúinchada i*
n-airter Laigen (f. 63rb21 IL)⁶
 'i.e. from Cell Chéili Chríst in Uí Dúinchada in the
 East of Leinster'

³ Liam Breatnach, who drew attention to the fact that the colophon on f. 93a (= f. 65r Van den Gheyn 1901) relates to the marginal verses rather than to the *Félire* proper, states that '[i]t seems reasonable to assume, as did Stokes (1905, p. viii), that the same manuscript was the source of both the *Félire* and the marginal verses' (2007, 34n6). While Stokes only refers to the *Félire* proper, starting on f. 94a (= f. 66r Van den Gheyn 1901), and makes no mention of the Commentary, which starts on f. 70a (= f. 43r Van den Gheyn 1901), or the Verse Extracts, which start on f. 86a (= f. 58r Van den Gheyn 1901), he took this colophon on f. 93a to relate to the *Félire* proper when he stated that 'The copy of the Martyrology of Oengus ... was transcribed from a book written by Siodrach Ua Maelconaire in the year 1533' (Stokes 1905, viii). However, Pádraig Breatnach (2013, 145) has drawn attention to the fact that the first folio of the *Félire* proper is 'darkened owing to exposure, showing that the section of the manuscript that follows to the end of the *Félire* was originally separate from what precedes', as well as to the new foliation starting on that folio running from 1 to 51. I have pointed out another foliation that applies solely to the Verse Extracts (Stam 2017, 465), and in Stam (2020), I argue that most of the satellite texts of the *Félire* (texts associated with it and often appearing together with it) had been collected as separate entities for B1 and also B2, based on the order of the texts in these manuscripts and their foliation, all of which hints at their individual circulation. All in all, there is a strong possibility that the Commentary and the Verse Extracts in B1 may have been taken from a different exemplar than the *Félire* proper in this manuscript.

⁴ I am preparing an index of these fragments for publication; images of both manuscripts are available through ISOS (isos.dias.ie).

⁵ In my transcription capital letters have been supplied for proper names and modern word separation has been introduced. I have used <...> to denote letters or words that were difficult to read in the manuscripts. I use 'IL' to denote interlinear glosses, and 'BM/TM/LM/RM' to denote bottom margin, top margin, left margin, and right margin. The shelf marks of the manuscripts are: Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud 610 (early fifteenth century); Dublin, University College Dublin, Franciscan OFM-A7 (1490); Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 16 (*Leabhar Breac* 1408–11); Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 3 (1467–70); Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 10 (sixteenth century); Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B 505 (early fifteenth century); Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B 512 (1500).

⁶ Stokes (1905, 86.14) provides a single gloss with variant readings: i. o Cill Celi [Críst L.] i n-Uib Dunchada il-Laignib. [i n-airther Laigen L. ind iarthar Laigen F.]; 'i.e. of Cell Céili Chríst in Húi Dunchada in Leinster'.

UCD-OFM A7 (F)	.i. <i>ō Chill Cēile Crīst i n-hl̃b Dūnchada i Laīgis</i> (f. 11va27)
23 P 16 (Lb)	.i. <i>ō Chill Céili Crīst i nUīb Dūnchada i Laignib</i> (p. 83 l. 6 IL; Stokes 1880, lx)
23 P 3 (P)	<i>Cēli Crīst</i> .i. <i>ō Chill Chēli Crīst i nUīb Dūncadha i n-airter Laighen</i> (f. 3r5 IL)
G10 (C)	.i. <i>ō Cill Cēili Crīst i nUīb Dūnchada</i> . .i. <i>i lLaignib</i> (p. 33, l. 12 IL)
Rawl. B505 (R1)	.i. <i>fil <i> Laignib</i> (f. 212v16 IL); .i. <i>Cēle ō Chill Chēle Crīst i n-hUī Dūnchada</i> . (f. 213r14); <.i. C>ēle <i nUī>b Dūn<chada> <i n->iarter <Laigen> (f. 212v16 LM) ⁷
Rawl. B512 (R2)	<i>Cēle Crīst < 7 r̃l. i.> Cill Cēli i nUīb Dūnchada i lLaignib a celi</i> ⁸ (f. 58vb28)

All of these glosses share the information that Céile Críst must be associated with Cell Chéili Chríst in the territory of the Uí Dúinchada. The majority of the glosses also agree that this place is to be found in Leinster. Glosses that stand out are those in F and R1, as they present conflicting information: the gloss in F is the only gloss that places Cell Chéili Chríst in *Laīgis* rather than in Leinster (*i lLaignib*); however, a localisation of Cell Chéili in Laígis is too far west to be considered Uí Dúinchada territory. Perhaps we are dealing with a copying error, since the abbreviation used in the manuscript is somewhat unclear: it could be the apostrophe-like symbol that is sometimes used for an -s, but it might also represent a miscopied suspension stroke.⁹ Alternatively, the scribe could have been influenced by the next gloss, which deals with Mo Shagra, who was in fact from Laígis (Stokes 1905, 86–87).

The other gloss that stands out, R1, seems to read *íarthar Laigen*, ‘the west of Leinster’ rather than *airther Laigen*, ‘the east of Leinster’. Given the proposed identification of Cell Chéili Chríst with Kilteel in County Kildare (see below), west Leinster is unlikely to have been the intended reading. Unfortunately, however, due to the cutting of the edges of the vellum, most of the gloss is illegible, and it is therefore difficult to be certain of the text. The reading *íarthar* rather than *airther*, however, is clear enough, and this

⁷ The first gloss is presented interlinearly to the quatrain of the main text; the slightly longer gloss is presented in the notes collected at the end of the month of March; the third gloss occurs in the left margin around line 16 in the manuscript and is likely to have been linked to the name *Céile Críst* in the main text by means of a symbol attached to the name there (./), which cannot now be found in the margin because it was cut.

⁸ Ignore the dot under the *a*, and read *cell* for *celi*. Note as well the loss of the word *Críst* in the placename, which is also reflected in the anglicised Kilteel.

⁹ There is an example on *Tionscadal na Nod* ([https://www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Apostrophe_\(superscript\)](https://www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Apostrophe_(superscript))) and in Bischoff (1990, 166). There also seems to be a suspension-like symbol over the -g-, which might be an extension of the -s symbol as it occurs very close to it. It does not have the appearance of the scribe’s usual suspension stroke or spiritus asper.

may perhaps be explained by a misreading of the *air* compendium at an earlier stage in the transmission.¹⁰

Besides these glosses localising the saint, only two other glosses are found for this quatrain, both of which explain the phrase that follows the name of Céile Chríst in the martyrology. This is the phrase *caín eráil*, which is translated by Stokes as ‘fair injunction!’:

- Lb** do erāil neich for Dīa (p. 83, l. 6 IL; Stokes 1880, lix)
C .i. do erāil neich for Dīa. (p. 33, l. 12 IL)
 ‘i.e. [it is fair] to commend anything to God’

KILTEEL

The place name Cell Chéili Chríst has been identified with Kilteel (Cell Chéili), now in County Kildare (*OG* 7036 Cell Céili Críst; *OG* 7193 Cell Críst; *OG* 8261 Cell tShíle; Ó Riain 2011, 165; Nicholls 1984, 554–5; Nicholls 1986, 413n1). Its location in present-day County Kildare sits well with the information provided in most of the glosses, namely that Cell Chéili is to be located in Leinster (L, Lb, P, C, R1, R2) or, more specifically, in the east of Leinster (*airther Laigen* L, P).¹¹ For a brief period, some doubt was cast on this identification by Kenneth Nicholls, who stated:

While the name of Kilteel, Co Kildare, does appear as Cill tShíle in a late sixteenth-century praise-poem to one of the O Byrnes (Seán Mac Airt (ed), *Leabhar Branach* (Dublin: DIAS 1944) 70), this seems a mere guess at reconstruction; the oldest recorded form (1212) is Kilheile (*Pontificia Hib*, i p 149) and similar forms are recorded down to the seventeenth century, the *-t-* being a later intrusion. It is certainly the Tehcheli of the earliest bull to the diocese of Glendalough (*Crede Mihi* 7), and probably represents Cell *Chéile (Teach Chéile), though it is only doubtfully identical with the Cell Céili Chríst of earlier sources, which was in Uí Dúinchada (Onom Goed 181). Kilteel, on the other hand, lay in Uí Mailerubae (see my note ‘Omolrou: Uí Mailerubae’, to be published in *Peritia* 4).¹² (Nicholls 1984, 555)

¹⁰ The *ar* compendium, which took the shape of a q with a line through the down stroke, would have had a superscript i above it (qⁱ), which may have accidentally been placed before the *ar* (*iar-*) rather than into the compendium (*air*).

¹¹ The medieval shape of Leinster has been described by Francis Byrne as follows: ‘The Province of Leinster (*Cóiced Laigen*) was a well-defined unit centred on the basins of the rivers Liffey, Barrow and Slaney, cut off from the midlands by the vast bogs of Offaly and by a zone of forest north of the Liffey, and from Munster by the uplands of Osraige rising west of the Barrow’ (Byrne 2001, 130).

¹² Nicholls states that the place name *Cill tShíle* was ‘a mere guess at reconstruction’, illustrating a back-formation by a sixteenth-century Irish speaker, based on the Anglicised placename Kiltaly/Kilteel (which would have to have taken place after the Great Vowel Shift in English). The development of the original Irish *Cell Chéili* included the confusion *ch-* and *sh-* (before a front vowel), which in turn allowed the place name to use *ts* for *sh*, a phenomenon briefly documented by Ó Cuív (1973, 124–5 and n. 28). Ó Cuív lists other anglicised place

However, this was soon dispelled by Nicholls himself in 1986:

[Professor F.J. Byrne] ... suggests that the Uí Maíleruba, to whom belonged the mother of Diarmaid Mac Murchada, may have been twelfth-century immigrants into this territory. If this was so, and if their territory had formerly belonged to the Uí Dúinchada, this would remove the doubt as to the identity of Killeel with Cell Céili Críst which I expressed in *Peritia* 3 (Nicholls 1986, 413n1).¹³

This then suggests that the gloss is likely to have been written prior to the twelfth century, when this area would still be considered Uí Dúinchada territory rather than Uí Maíle Ruba territory.

The Uí Dúinchada, a sub-dynasty of the Uí Dúnlainge,¹⁴ had spread from the Uí Dúnlainge homeland around Mullaghmast in south Kildare to the north-east as far as the outskirts of Dublin, where ‘the district of Dolphin’s Barn is said to be a corruption of ‘Dunphy’s Cairn’ (*Carn Ua nDúinchada*). Their royal seat was at Liamain (Castlelyons on the Dublin-Kildare border)’ (Byrne 2001, 150–1), which is not far from Killeel.

Killeel itself still harbours the remains of a church site, which was partly excavated for conservation purposes in two seasons between 1977 and 1978 (Manning 1982, 1992–3). During the excavations, an Early Christian grave slab as well as early medieval foundations were found, which fits well with the fact that *cill* in placenames is often indicative of Early Christian church sites (Manning 1982, 175, 184, 207–9). Based on his findings, Manning concludes that ‘Cell Céile Críst must have been a pre-Norman foundation of some importance’, despite the fact that there are no historical records referring to the site before the twelfth century (Manning 1982, 207). It is therefore plausible that Céile Críst himself founded this site towards the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth (Manning 1982, 176).

Unfortunately, other than the location of this church founded by him, little else is known of Céile Críst himself. He appears ‘in native sources, but also,

names showing *ts* for *sh*, such as Carnteel (*Carn tSiadhail*), Clontullagh (*Cluain tSalach*), and Killeashin (*Cill tSeisinn*). I thank Mícheál Hoyne for this reference.

Manning (1982, 176) also includes a discussion of the name Killeel and adds the evidence of a papal letter sent in 1179 to Malchus the bishop of Glendalough (to which diocese Killeel belonged), which refers to the town as Cehcheli. Manning takes this to be a corruption of ‘*Cell Céili*, a shortened version of *Cell céili críst* and an intermediate between the latter and the medieval forms, Kilhele, etc.’

¹³ See Byrne (2008, 24): ‘The Uí Dúinchada, having lost ecclesiastical office at Kildare in the late 10th century, turned their attention eastward and took over the kingdom of Cuala in south Dublin and the adjoining Wicklow coast from the Uí Máil dynasties of Uí Chellaig Cualann and Uí Théig, but held on to their ancestral fort at Liamain (Castlelyons) in Kildare’, and Byrne (1987, 27): ‘His own mother’s family [Diarmaid Mac Murchada] was Ua Bráenán, of lowly origin, the Fothairt Airthir Life, whose territory of Uí Máel Ruba (the *terra de Omolrov* that puzzled Orpen) stretched from Laraghbryan and Maynooth to the Dublin mountains, where the romanesque ruins of Killeel probably mark their stronghold, whose strategic position was later appreciated by the Knights Templar’.

¹⁴ The sub-dynasties of the Uí Dúnlainge are named after the brothers Dúinchad († 728), Fáelán († 738) and Muiredach († 760), and they must have formed separate branches in the course of the ninth century (Byrne 2001, 289).

under the guise of Kelanus, in some post-Conquest liturgical manuscripts' (Ó Riain 2011, 165). For example, he appears among those commemorated in the Martyrology of Tallaght for the third of March,¹⁵ as well as in the Martyrology of Gorman with the same gloss as in the CFÓ,¹⁶ and in the Martyrology of Donegal.¹⁷ As for his family, he and his brother Comgall (of Culdaff in Donegal) are described as sons of Echu who belong to the Cenél nÉogain of mid-Ulster.¹⁸

UNPUBLISHED GLOSSES ON CÉILE CRÍST—RAWLINSON B512

In addition to these sparse references, there is some material on Céile Críst in the CFÓ that has so far gone unpublished. The gloss from R2 that Stokes used in his 1905 edition, for example, is longer in the manuscript than it is in his edition:

Cēle Crīst¹⁹ <7r1 .i.> Cill Cēli i n-Uīb Dūnchada i Llaighnib a celi²⁰ .i. cēli Xpīst cach <næm...> Dé l.Cēile.Crīst .i. caīn do erāil neich for Xpīst .i. amail erāiles ace<...> for fer l is ē Mo Tacra is cēli Xpīst ann l comad é Cēle mac <...>ail no rāitea tūas fer eli Mo Thacra sed hoc non uerum est quia in tempore <Nēil> Glūnduib buí Cēli mac Seanāin i n-aimsir Āda Oirdnighi .himmorro.²¹ buí Āng<us> mac Āngobann. (f. 58vb l.28—34)

¹⁵ Mošacru mac Senain i Tigh Thacru. Connae uirginis. Ereclach. Foilend. Fachtna ó Chrae-baig. Cilline Inse Domle. Mochua Clúana Dobtha. Conaill sancti. Deochain Reat. Modíomoc epscopi. Concrada. Celi Crist. (Best and Lawlor 1931, 20).

¹⁶ Mo-Šaccra cáid, Conna / Ereclach mo n-fadamm, Conill, Cillein caemseng, / mo-Dimmóc in degdos, deochain Reat rigínd, / Mo-Chua, Fachtna, Faelend, epscop Conchraidh, Cele, / al-lerc nar laedend. GLOSS: Céile: .i. Céle Críst epscop o Chill Cele Críst in-Uibh Dunchadha il-Laighnibh. 'My holy Sacru, Conna, Ereclach round whom we close: Conill, dear-slender Cilléin, my Dimmóc, the goodly bush. Deacon Reat, royal-fair: my Cua, Fachtna: Faelenn, bishop Conchraid, Céle, their piety incites us' (Stokes 1895, 46—7).

¹⁷ Mohsaccra, abb Cluana hEidhneach ilLaoigis, acus o Tigh Sacra i fail Tam lacta, acus ó Fionn-maigh i fFothartaibh.

Cele Críst, epscop, o Chill Cele Críst i nUibh Dunchadha i fFothartaibh i Laighnibh. Do chenel Eoghain mic Néill dó (O'Donovan, Todd and Reeves 1864, 62—3).

¹⁸ CGSH §279: Comgall oc both Chonais et Cele Críst da mac Echach m. Cormaic m. Eogain. See also Irish Texts iii 46 §34; Gen reg. 45 §7 Mon Tall March 3. Furthermore, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach* (Ó Muraíle 2003, vol. 2):

702.7 Céle Críost (easpog o Chill Críost in Uibh Donnchaidh i fFothartuib isin 3 la Marta) agus Comgall Boithe <Conais> da derbhrathair iadsin do shíol Chormaic mec Eogain.

'Céile Críost (a bishop from Ceall Chríost in Uí Dhonnchaidh in Fotharta on the 3rd day of March) and Comghall of Both Chonais: those were two brothers of the seed of Cormac s. Eóghan.'

702.8 <Slíocht sain:> <Comghall agus Cele Críost ag Boith Chonais da mac Eachach mc Cormaic mc Eoguin.>

'A different version: Comghall and Céile Críost at Both Chonais two sons of Eochaidh s. Cormac s. Eóghan.'

¹⁹ The name *Cele Críst* is preceded by a symbol, presumably used to link the gloss back to the lemma in the main text. As it stands, however, Rawlinson B 512 does not contain the martyrology proper, but only preserves the commentary (ff 57ra1–64rb33). Either this manuscript originally did contain the metrical body of the text to which the symbol refers, or the symbol was simply copied along with the gloss from the exemplar.

²⁰ Leg. *a cell*. Note that there is a dot placed under the *a*.

²¹ This abbreviation could also be solved as *.hautem*, due to the bilingual nature of the syntax. On the importance of visual diamorphs in bilingual texts, see Stam (2017, 328–60) and Ter Horst and Stam (2018).

Céile Críst etc., i.e. Cell Chéili in Uí Dúinchada in Leinster is his church, i.e. every saint of God is a companion of Christ, or *Céile Críst*, i.e. [it is] fair to commend anything to Christ, i.e. as his companion urges someone [to do something],²² or it is Mo Shagra²³ who is the companion of Christ here, or it may be Céile son of <...>ail who was mentioned above [and] Mo Thacra [is] another man, but that is not true because Céile mac Senáin lived in the time of Níall Glúndub; Óengus mac Óengobann, however, lived in the time of Áed Oirdnide.

Linguistically, there is nothing to contradict a Middle Irish date for this gloss, which is the period to which the composition or compilation of the CFÓ is usually assigned (Ó Riain 2011, 173–203), although it may of course represent updated older material. The gloss combines material that is present in the other manuscripts,²⁴ like the location of Céile Críst's church, but also includes some speculation as to the interpretation of the phrase *céile Críst*: the glossator seems unsure whether the phrase should be considered a name (Céile Críst) or a general designation referring to the next saint, Mo Shagra, who would then be a companion (*céile*) of Christ. After this suggestion, an entirely new Céile is introduced as a potential candidate for the name. The first time his full name appears, it is impossible to read the patronym due to the state of the manuscript. The second time this person is referred to, however, he is called Céile mac Senáin. This possibility is in turn quickly refuted since, as the glossator states, he lived in the time of Níall Glúndub (d. 919), while the composer of the martyrology (Óengus mac Óengobann) lived in the time of Áed Oirdnide (d. 819), as is mentioned in the preface to the *Félire* (Stokes 1905, 2–5).

While the gloss provides no new information on Céile Críst per se, it shows that the saint was not particularly well known by the time this gloss was composed and was thought deserving of further investigation and interpretation. As such, it provides a fascinating glimpse of the way in which the glossators of the *Félire* went about interpreting the text they had in front of them and of their quest to fully understand the quatrain and the saints mentioned therein.

UNPUBLISHED GLOSSES ON CÉILE CRÍST—UCD-OFM A7 AND ACTA SANCTORUM

An anecdote from the CFÓ preserved in manuscript F contains unpublished material on Céile Críst that does provide us with some new information. The gloss follows material similar to that in the other manuscripts, and its

²² Mícheál Hoyne has suggested the reading *a chéile* here.

²³ While the name appears as Mo Thacra in this gloss, the earlier form is, in fact, Mo Shacra; see *Dictionary of Irish Saints (DIS)*, Moshagra of Saggart, where variants Moagra, Momhagra, and Tagra are given.

²⁴ The phrase *caín do eráil neich for xp̄ist* is echoed in the two glosses mentioned above: *do erail neich for dia* (Lb, Stokes 1880, lix) and *i. do eráil neich for dia* (C).

existence was previously noted by Ó Riain in his *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, in which he states that the fragment ‘credits him [Céile Críst] with giving good advice to his companions on how to gain release from a temple in Rome’ (Ó Riain 2011, 165).²⁵ The vellum is somewhat damaged along the margins but is clearly legible for the most part:

Céile Crīst, caín erāin²⁶ .i. caín a comurle do grēs. IS dō ēmh do-rala in comurle errdairc, .i. fecht do-chōidh do Rōim 7 drong mōr imaillē fris, co tard araile duine lebaidh dōibh amail bidh ar Dhīa 7 nīrbh eadh iar fīr chena acht dia n-ēc [11vb] 7 do fhācbāil an<...usa>²⁷ occo-som 7 īadais forra co solamh ōendorus an tighe feib is dēine <co²⁸ tām>gadar. IMrāidhit 7 lūaidhit trā mōr neice 7 nī fhedadar cidh do-ghēndais conidh ann as-bert Céile friū: ‘Atā leam-sa,’ ar sē ‘degchomurle dūibh, .i. lēicid dam-sa ordugud for lōin uile co ndernar cugain aire 7 dofor-ficfa an fer ucut,’ for sē, ‘an tan is dōigh leis for n-ēc 7 osluicfidh an tempal 7 dia cāemaisti-si ēirgidh amach ann sin cebē ūaibh bus beō ann 7 <is sē> si<n>,’ ar sē ‘erāilim do dēnamh.’ ‘Is caín in erāil’ ol(?) <...> 7 do-gnīther amlaid 7 tērnōit-sim uile triasan comairli-sin 7 hinc ‘Céile Crīst caín erāil’ dictus est † Céile caíncomairlech; .i. ō Cill oc²⁹ a nUīb Dūinchada i nd-īart<h>ar Laigen’, atā-side do Céile Crīst. (f. 11va32–11vb14)

²⁵ The gloss was added to the canonical material of the CFÓ by the scribe of F, Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín, as was much other material. As a source for his additions, Ruaidhrí used the Martyrology of Gorman, but also sources that are as yet unknown, as is the case for this fragment. A study is in preparation on the particular strategy employed by Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín to add new material while copying the *Féire Óengusso* and its Commentary. Catalogue information (Dillon, Mooney, and De Brún 1969) is accessible through www.isos.dias.ie; see also the brief description in Stokes (1905, xii–xiii).

²⁶ Throughout this gloss the confusion between *erāil* ‘enjoining, request, commending’ and *erāin* (originally ‘excess’) is visible, which is noted in *eDIL* s.v. *airāin*, dil.ie/1590. While for this quatrain the confusion is only apparent in manuscript F (Stokes 1905, 80), it also appears in the variant readings for *Fél. Jan. 1* *ard erāil* ‘high the requirement’: *nard nerain* R1; *ard erāin* E (Stokes 1905, 33). Note that in the text *erāin* is equated with *comurle*, pointing to its use in the sense of *erāil*.

²⁷ It appears that there are two words in the manuscript here but the section is difficult to read both in the digital images and in the manuscript itself. Based on the Latin translation by Colgan (see below), which reads *mammonae obtinendae* ‘to obtain lucre’, I follow Damian McManus’s suggestion that we are perhaps to read *a n-immusa* ‘their wealth’.

²⁸ The manuscript is difficult to read at this point, but it seems that the verb is here preceded by *co*; however, this would be atypical for the construction *feb is déine*. O’Rahilly (1981, 2) has collected 12 examples of the construction *feb is X*, which is generally used with the superlative *dech* ‘best’. Only three of her examples use a different adjective: *feb is sia thiagait uiss[eóca]* ‘as high as larks soar’ from the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Rec. II; *febh as onóroighe ro righadh riamh* ‘as splendidly as any King was ever inaugurated’, *Annals of the Four Masters* ii 1160.3–4; *feb is daingne ro boi riam* ‘as strong as ever’, from IMN (1926, p. 9, II 504–5). The example in the fragment on Céile Críst is the only example known so far to be followed by *co*. *DIL* provides two other examples not mentioned in O’Rahilly’s article, one of which also uses the superlative *déiniu* ‘swiftest’: *ro ling ... feib as déiniu nolingfedh in leoman*, CCath. 3609 ‘and nimbly sprang with the vehemence of the lion springing’; *fessaiter feib is aibne 7 anordha batar riam remi* ‘lay ... in as pleasant and honourable a manner as ever before’ MacCongl. 107.24 (*eDIL* s.v. *feb*, dil.ie/21378 3a). Perhaps we should read *con-tángadar* here (see *eDIL* s.v. *con-ticc*, dil.ie/12360).

²⁹ The end of the anecdote here cites earlier material from the Commentary twice: first, it cites the lemma in the *Féire* (7 hinc ‘Céile Críst caín erāil’ dictus est), then it cites the earlier gloss from the Commentary relating to the lemma (‘i. ō Cill oc a nUīb Dūinchada i nd-īart<h>ar Laigen’, atā-side do Céile Críst; the original gloss reads .i. ō Chill Céile Críst i n-hlb Dūinchada

“Céile Críst, fair injunction,” that is, his counsel is always fair. It is to him truly that the famous counsel came, that is, once he went to Rome and a great crowd [went] together with him, and a certain person gave them lodging as if it were for the sake of God, and it was not so, moreover, but so that they would die and leave <their wealth> with him, and he closed the only door of the house upon them suddenly as quickly as they had come. They then consider and discuss a great number of things and they did not know what they should do, and it is then that Céile said to them: “I have,” he said, “some good advice for you, that is, allow me to arrange all your provisions so that I may ration them, and that man will come to you,” he said, “when he thinks it is likely that you are dead, and he will open the temple and, if you can, whoever of you is alive, go out then, and that is” he said, “what I commend to be done.” “The commending is noble,” [they said(?)] and it is done thus, and they all escape because of that advice, and from that “Céile Críst, a fair commending” is said, or *Céile cáinchomair-lech* “Céile, fair counsellor”; “i.e. from Cell [Céile Chríst] in Uí Dúinchada in the west of Leinster,” that [i.e. the gloss] refers to Céile Críst.³⁰

The anecdote is Middle Irish and contains a short phrase towards the end explaining the link between the cheville *caín eráil* and the saint *Céile Críst* in Latin.³¹ It tells us something new about Céile Críst: that he travelled to Rome with a group of companions and that, while on the road, they were ambushed by a man who intended to let them die by starvation and, presumably, to take their possessions. However, Céile Críst’s excellent advice saved his companions and himself, and that is used to explain the phrase *caín eráil/eráin* ‘a fair commending’ in the Martyrology. This is more than we knew before, but it also feels like we are dealing with the bare bones of a story, which itself was likely inspired by the cheville that it explains.

i Laígis (f. 11va27) (see discussion above)). The place name as it stands in the cited material is somewhat unclear. The manuscript shows a clear *oc* as well as a clear spacing between the preceding *Cill* and *oc*. This is not a name listed in *OG*. Additionally, in this case a dative *-óic* would be expected. I suggest that *ó Cill oc* might be an error for *ó Cill cē*, an abbreviated version of *Cell Chéile Christ*, which is how the place name occurs in the gloss that it cites from the Commentary.

³⁰ I am grateful to Chantal Kobel, Mícheál Hoyne, and Andrea Palandri for discussing this anecdote with me at an early stage, and to Liam Breatnach for his suggestions and advice regarding its translation.

³¹ Linguistically, this anecdote seems somewhat later than the previous one, perhaps belonging to the late Middle Irish period. As regards verbs, for example, the text contains various simple verbs that were formerly compound verbs (3pl pres. ind. *imrāidhit* of *imm-rādi*, 3sg. fut. ind. *oslúicfidh* of *as-oilgi*, 3pl pres. ind. *tērnō it-sim* of *do-ērnī*; *SNG* III 11.16). There are several verbs that do appear as compound verbs (*do-rala*; *do-chōidh*; *do-ghēndais*; *as-bert*; *atā*; *do-for-ficfa*; *do-gnīther*), but these are all verbs that continue to appear as compound verbs in Early Modern Irish (*SNG* IV 72; Mac Gearailt 2012, 68). The form *do-for-ficfa*, contains the new Middle Irish infix pronoun *-for-* (*eDIL* s.v. 2 *for*, *far*, *bar*, *uar* II (b), *dil.ie/23273*; *SNG* III 10.5, p. 267). The perfect *do-rala* of *do-cuirethar* is used in the Middle Irish sense of ‘to happen, to befall’ (*eDIL* s.v. *do-cuirethar*, *dil.ie/17442* III). The construction in which *feb* ‘excellence’ is followed by the superlative of an adjective, as in *feib is dēine co tāngadar* ‘as quickly as they had come’ (*eDIL* s.v. *feb*, *dil.ie/21378* 2, 3a) ‘is common in the later language’ (O’Rahilly 1981, 2). Unsurprisingly, the orthography of the anecdote shows many Early Modern Irish characteristics besides the Middle Irish features.

While F is the only manuscript of the *Félire* known to contain this anecdote, it is found in at least one other place: Manning (1982, 176) notes that ‘[John] Colgan relates a short anecdote concerning him [Céile Críst] and his companions on their journey to Rome’. This sounds suspiciously similar to the anecdote we find in manuscript F, despite the fact that Manning goes on to state that this anecdote may be ‘a remnant from a *vita* which no longer survives’ (1982, 176). This is unlikely, however, since Colgan clearly states his source when relating the anecdote on Céile Críst (rendered as Christicola):

Rem gestam in obseruationibus Festilogii Aengussiani, explicans illud cognomentum ab Aengussio memoratum, Maguir his verbis refert.

‘[Cathal Mac Maghnusa] Még Uidhir recounts the deed in these words in the notes to the *Félire Óengusso*, explaining that epithet mentioned by Óengus.’³² (Colgan 1645, 455)

He thus explicitly names the *Félire Óengusso* as his source, and in particular the copy written by or belonging to Cathal Mac Maghnusa Még Uidhir. This must be manuscript F, which was written by Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín but dedicated to Cathal Mac Maghnusa Még Uidhir.³³ That an anecdote from F would appear in John Colgan’s *Acta Sanctorum* is not surprising, since it is well known that this manuscript was an important source for him (Dillon, Mooney and De Brún 1969, 15).³⁴

The anecdote as recounted by Colgan fleshes out the narrative a little more. For example, in his introduction to the anecdote Colgan tells us that Céile Críst went to Rome because he had received a ‘high position of episcopal dignity’ which he wanted to reject, since it was a burden to his soul and he wanted to conclude his life contemplating God. Colgan states that, alternatively, Céile Críst might have imposed the trip upon himself as an exile. Furthermore, the motives of the evil man—*sed reuera mortis inferendae animo & mammonae obtinendae quam suspicabatur*

³² The full text from Colgan’s *Acta Sanctorum* on Céile Críst and my translation of it may be found in the appendix to this article. I am very much indebted to Els Rose, Damian McManus and Daniel Watson for their suggestions and improvements.

³³ F, fol. 48v: Finit amen finit. Misi Ruaidhrí.hÚa. Luinín, i. mac Matha meic Piar[uis ...].hUí. Luinín, do sgríbh in féilire-si do Mac Mag[nus]a Még Uidhir, i. do Chathal Ócc mac Cathail meic Cathail meic Gilla Patraic, i. do bhíatach in tSenaigh. ‘Finit amen finit. I am Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín, that is son of Matha, son of Piarus ... Ó Luinín, who wrote this *Félire* for Mac Maghnusa Még Uidhir, that is for Cathal Óg, son of Cathal, son of Cathal, son of Gilla Patrick, that is for the hospitaller of Senead (now Bellisle).’

³⁴ Two readings in the *Acta Sanctorum* provide further confirmation of this: first, Colgan writes ‘Cell-oc’ in his translation of the gloss *i. ó Cill oc a nUib Dúchada i nd-íart<h>ar Laigen*, following the error in F (see fn. 29). Second, Colgan also uses *eráin* in the cheville-turned-epithet *caín eráil/eráin*, a reading only found in manuscript F (see fn. 26). For the full anecdote as related by Colgan, see the Appendix below. Other sources used by Colgan are the Annals of the Four Masters (see his note 7: *Ita ad eundem annum Quator Magistri in Annalibus*) and the Martyrology of Gorman and its scholia, as well as the Martyrology of Donegal (see his note 8).

eos possidere ‘a lust to inflict death, and out of the desire to obtain the riches which he suspected they possessed’—are somewhat more explicit than the Irish *dia n-ēc 7 do fhācbāil an<...usa> occo-som* ‘so that they would die and leave their wealth with him’, and the text here provides us with a reference point for the words that are illegible in the Irish version. Similarly, where the Irish text states that *īadais forra co solamh ōendorus an tigh feib is dēine co tāngadar* ‘and he closed the only door of the house upon them suddenly as quickly as they had come’, the Latin text specifies this by using two verbs to translate Irish *īadaid* ‘closes, locks’ as well as an additional adverb to illustrate that all this happened from the outside: *deforis obserat & obturat ostium* ‘from the outside he bolts and closes the door’. It is unclear whether these details come from information to which Colgan had access but which is lost to us, or whether they stem from Colgan’s own interpretation of the source. The latter option seems the more plausible at present.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Much like the commentators to the *Félire*, we see the saint Céile Críst through something of a mist: despite having had a church named after him that still exists today, he has left very few traces in the historical sources, and his generic name posed a problem even for the glossators of the CFÓ. Indeed, the confusion between Cell Chéile and Cell Shíle for anglicised Kiltel is unlikely to have occurred if Céile Críst had been a better known saint in the area with a—perhaps—more distinctive name.³⁵

We see the uncertainty about Céile Críst, caused by this lack of sources and the generic nature of his name, reflected in both notes discussed above. In R2, it prompted a careful analysis of the name along the line of the general meaning ‘servant or companion of Christ’, when the commentators state *.i. cēli Xpīst cach <næm.> Dé* ‘every saint of God is a companion of Christ’ and when they wonder whether this phrase is meant to describe Mo Shacra instead. We also see it in their hesitation to identify Céile either as the saint from Uí Dúinchada, or as a different Céile altogether who was apparently better known to them: Céile mac Senáin.

In F, it seems likely that the anecdote concerning Céile Críst’s crucial role as advisor in Rome was devised in an attempt to provide this saint with a

³⁵ Although the use of the element *Céile* ‘companion, servant’ was uncommon in the formation of personal names, it was common enough as a generic description of saints, for example in the well-known *céile Dé* ‘servant of God’, and of *religiosi* in general, for example in the *Félire* (*do Chríst ciaptar cēli* ‘though they were servants of Christ’s’, Epilogue 14; *cēli ind Ríg flaithgil* ‘the servants of the bright-realm King’, Epilogue 239; *á Chríst dianda chéle* ‘O Christ, whose servant I am’, Epilogue 307, 426; *ol is duít am céle* ‘for I am a servant of Thine’, Epilogue 554. To make matters even more confusing, the element *Críst* is dropped in some instances. We see this, for example, in the name of Céile Críst’s foundation (Kiltel), but also in the short gloss on Céile Críst in R1 (<.i. C>ēle <i nUī >b Dūn<chada> <i n->iarter <Laigen>) and in R2 (*Cēle Críst* <7rt. i.> *Cill Cēli i n-Uīb Dūinchada i Llaighnib a celi*), as well as in the Martyrology of Donegal (*epscop Conchraidh, Cele, / al-lere nar laedend* ‘bishop Conchraid, Céle, their piety incites us’ (see fn. 16)).

distinguishable *cognomen* and backstory, inspired by the cheville from the *Félire* (*caín eráil* ‘fair injunction’).³⁶ Colgan then takes the use of the cheville one step further, when he elevates it from something that was said of Céile Críst (in F: 7 *hinc* ‘*Cēile Crīst caín eráil*’ *dictus est*) to something that Céile Críst is called (*appellatus*) as a *cognomen* (epithet).

These anecdotes and their attempts at identifying the saint do not necessarily bring us any closer to the saint himself; they do, however, provide a fascinating window on the ways in which various commentators of the *Félire* dealt with the obscurity of certain saints and the linguistic interpretation of the text. More importantly still, perhaps, these two notes also remind us that much more remains to be explored in the various unedited versions of the Commentary to the *Félire Óengusso*.

ABBREVIATIONS

CGSH	Ó Riain, P., <i>Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae</i> . (Dublin 1985).
DIS	Ó Riain, P., <i>A dictionary of Irish saints</i> . (Dublin 2011).
EIV	McCone, K., <i>The Early Irish verb</i> (2nd edn revised with index). (Maynooth 1997).
OG	Hogan, E., ‘Onomasticon Goedelicum’; digitised and revised version of Hogan’s <i>Onomasticon Goedelicum</i> by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, available at: https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/onomasticon-goedelicum/ .

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³⁶ Even Colgan notes that he has not been able to find any further deeds of this saint (*quia tamen acta eius nundum [sic] vidimus, his vteriora de eo observare non possumus nisi*; see Appendix).

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APPENDIX

Acta Sanctorum Céile Críst, pp 454–55*Eodem die iii. Martii.**De S. Christicola Episcopo et Confessore**Ex Variis.*

Natus est in partibus Ultoniae eximius Christi cultor, Cele-Christus .i. Christicola appellatus ex re tale nomen, vel cognomentum nominis loco usurpatum adeptus. Fuit hic generis quod ex magnis traxit Principibus nobilitate clarus, sed virtutum splendore & mundi contemptu longè clarior. Pater illi fuit Euchodius ex inclyta Eugenii filii Nielli Magni Hiberniae Regis stirpe oriundus. Euchodio patrem extitisse Corbmacum praedicti Eugenii filium quidam ferunt: alii Euchodium ex semine huius Corbmaci prodiisse solum tradunt: quos & sequendos arbitramur; cùm annus mortis S. Christicolae eum pluribus genealogiae gradibus ab Eugenio distare satis indicet.

Habuit hic alium fratrem germanum nomine Coemgallum, non illum magnum Monasterii Benchorensis Antistitem, sed caenobii Both Consensus in ea regione Ultoniae quae vulgo Inis-eoguin appellatur Abbatem: suo fratri in sanctitatis aemulatione parem: qui proinde Sanctorum albo adscriptus caelestes promeruit honores.

[455] Hic éximius numinis cultor Christicola, ut vita nomini responderet, indicto sibi voluntario exilio ex patria contulit se ad partes Lageniae: & Oratorium extruxit in regione priscis Hidonchadha appellata, quod posteritas ex eius nomine Kill-chele-chriost .i. cellam Christicolae appellauit.

Statuit ibi vir deuotus mundo ut putabat, ignotus, dies vitae in caelestium contemplatione & honorum fuga, claudere. Sed honores fugientem sequuti sunt. Inuitus enim ad Pontificalis dignitatis apicem rapitur. Sed honor ille onus apparebat animo mundum spernanti, & sola caelestia sitiendi.

Mundi igitur eximius contemptor siue honoris declinandi causa, siue pia peregrinationis amore, aliud sibi indicit exilium: Romam tendit cum aliquot sociorum catherua [sic]. in eo itinere constitutus, ad cuiusdam maligni hominis aedem hospitii causa diuertit: in qua pio actu & consilio caelitus inspirato paratas mortis insidias declinauit; unde & aliud adeptus est cognomentum, Caoín-erain .i. boni consilii appellatus. Rem gestam in obseruationibus Festilogii Aengussiani, explicans illud cognomentum ab Aengussio memoratum, Maguir his verbis refert. *Cele Christus Caoín-erain¹ .i. boni consilii semper appellatus Ei enim aliquando visum est memorabile consilium: nam cum Romam cum magna sociorum catherua profectus esset, quidam eis hospitium quasi pro Dei amore, sed reuera mortis inferendae animo & mammonae obtinendae quam suspicabatur eos possidere, cupidine obtulit. Unde mox ac ingressi sunt; deforis obserat & obturat ostium. Ipsi imminetis mortis periculum aduertentes, de consilio cogitabant ac disceptant, nescii quid agendum. Ad eos autem ait Christicola, occurrit mihi bonum, quod sequamini,*

¹ At this stage, Colgan switches from italics to normal script to denote that he is citing the anecdote.

consilium: permittite vt ego de vestro disponam viatico, & in vnum colligatur sarcinam: quando autem superuenerit ille, & mortem vobis illaturus ostium templi aperiet, quilibet ex vobis illicò egrediatur, qui viuus euadere poterit. Alii inquiunt Caoin-erain.i. bonum consilium inuenisti. Ita fecerunt, & omnes virtute illius consilii euaserunt incolumes. Et hinc Cele-Christus, Coin-erael dictus: Et in Cella-oc in Hi-donchadha in Occidentali parte Lageniae Cele-Christus iacet. Haec ibi

Et licet celebris sit huius sancti in domesticis festilogiis & hystoriis memoria, quia tamen acta eius nundum [sic] vidimus, his vltiora de eo observare non possumus nisi quod in patriam reuersurus decesserit anno salutis 721 eiusque natalis celebretur die tertia Martii, in praedicta Ecclesia eius nomini dicata.

ON THE SAME DAY, MARCH 3RD

*Of Saint Christicola, bishop and confessor
From various sources.*

A distinguished follower of Christ was born in the territory of the Ulstermen, Cele-Christus² i.e. Christicola, having been called such a name based on his qualities,³ or having received it as a name in place of his proper name. He was distinguished because of the nobility of his family, which descended from great rulers, but even more brilliant because of the splendour of his virtues and his great contempt of the world. His father was Echuid, of the illustrious lineage of Éogan son of the great Níall, King of Ireland. Some people maintain that Cormac, son of the previously mentioned Éogan, was the father of Echuid, others maintain only that he was of Cormac's line; we agree with the latter, since the year of the death of Saint Céile Críst indicates sufficiently that he is at a remove of many generations from Éogan.

He had another full brother by the name of Coemgall, not the famous bishop of the monastery of Bangor, but the abbot of the convent⁴ of Both Conais in that area of Ulster which in the vernacular is called Inis Éoguin; (he was) equal in the striving for holiness to his brother who, having been enrolled in the list of saints, accordingly was deserving of heavenly honours.

[455] This distinguished follower of God, Christicola, in order that life echo his name, imposed a voluntary exile from his native place on himself and set out for Leinster where he built an oratory in the ancient region called Uí Dúnochada, which future generations called Kill Chéile Chríost⁵ from his name, i.e. Cella Christicolae.

² Damian McManus has drawn my attention to the fact that the expected form here would be Céile-Christi for the Irish *Céile Críst*, with indeclinable *Críst* functioning as a genitive (Companion of Christ). The fact that we find *Céile-Christus* with *Christus* in the nominative points to the fact that this name was seen as a compound (*Céile-Christ*).

³ Els Rose has pointed out to me that the intention here is to show that—following Isidore *De etymologia* I. xxxix.—in the case of *Christicola/Céile Críst* the name has come 'out of the matter' (*ex re*), i.e. out of Céile Críst's reverence for Christ.

⁴ The text here seems to distinguish between *monasterium* and *coenobium*.

⁵ Note Colgan's use of lenition after *Cill* and his use of the *k*-.

The devout man, inexperienced in the ways of the world, set up there, as he supposed, to live out the days of his life in heavenly contemplation and fleeing public office, but honours followed the fleeing man, for he was forced into a high position of episcopal dignity. But that honour seemed a burden to the soul for one who rejected the world and thirsted only for heavenly things.

Thus the excellent contemner of the world, whether with a view to declining the honour, or out of his love for pious pilgrimage, imposed on himself another exile. He set out for Rome with a group of companions. On that journey, he stopped at the house of a certain wicked man looking for lodging. There, through a devout act and inspired counsel from heaven, he avoided lethal traps that had been prepared [for him and his companions]. From that he also obtained another epithet, *Caín-eráin*, i.e. he was called ‘of good counsel’.⁶ [Cathal Mac Maghnusa] Még Uidhir recounts the deed in these words in the notes to the *Félire Óengusso*, explaining that epithet mentioned by Óengus:

Céile Críst was called Caín Eráin,⁷ i.e. ‘always of good counsel’,⁸ because to him a memorable counsel occurred, when he set off for Rome with a great group of companions, some person offered them hospitality as if for the love of God, but in truth out of a desire to inflict death and driven by lust to obtain the lucre which he suspected they possessed. And as soon as they went in, from the outside he bolts and closes the door. They, realising the danger of their impending death, were considering counsel and debating, not knowing what to do. To them, however, Christicola said: ‘A good counsel has come to me, which you should follow. Allow me to manage your provisions, and let them be collected in one bundle. When he arrives and opens the door of the temple, with a view to killing you,’⁹ let whosoever of you who will be able to escape alive go out immediately.’ The others said ‘*Caoin-erain*’, i.e. ‘you have contrived a good counsel’. They acted accordingly, and all escaped unharmed through the virtue of that counsel.¹⁰ And thence comes [the line] ‘*Céile Críst Caín-eráin*’; ‘and Céile Críst lies in Celloc¹¹ in Uí Dúinchada in the western part of Leinster’.¹² *These things took place there.*

⁶ Note here how the cheville in the *Félire* changes from something that is said of Céile Críst in F (‘*hinc ‘Céile Críst caín eráil’ dictus est t Céile caíncomairlech*’), to something that Céile Críst is called (*appelatus*) as a *cognomen* (epithet) in Colgan. See also discussion above.

⁷ The use of *eráin* is further confirmation that manuscript F was Colgan’s source (see discussion above, fn. 26, as well as Stokes (1905, 80)).

⁸ While the place of *semper* in the Latin syntax might be ambiguous, the Irish reads *Céile Críst caín eráin* .i. *caín a comurle do grēs*, which has led me to place *semper* within the explanation following the *id est*.

⁹ Note that the Irish reads *an tan is dōigh leis for n-ēc*.

¹⁰ It is also possible to translate this as ‘his counsel’ but based on the Irish ‘*tērnōit-sim uile triasan comairli-sin*’ I have opted to translate ‘that counsel’.

¹¹ Colgan clearly reads *Cella-oc* here, following the error in F (see fn. 29 above), for which should be read *Cella CC/Cill CC: Cella Christicolae* or *Cill Chéile Chríst*.

¹² I have assumed that, as in the Irish, the phrase *Cele-Christus*, *Coin-erael* and *Et in cella-oc in Hi-donchadha in Occidentali parte Lageniae Cele-Christus iacet* are citations from the Martyrology and the Commentary, although the second quotation is slightly different owing to the

And although the commemoration of this celebrated saint is in the native Festilogia and histories, because we nevertheless have not seen accounts of his deeds, we are not able to note further deeds of his than these, except that he died on his way home in the year of salvation 721.¹³ And his feastday is celebrated on the third day of March, in the aforementioned church dedicated to his name.

use of Latin *iacet* 'lies'. The following *haec ibi* is somewhat vague and seems quite different from the Irish in F: *atā-side do Céile Críst*.

¹³ While the Annals of Ulster list the 'falling asleep of Céile Críst' at the year 727, the Annals of the Four Masters list it at the year 721, which is the source used by Colgan as stated in his note 7. Here *patriam* is translated in the literal sense of returning to his fatherland, but it may be intended to evoke an echo of returning to the heavenly fatherland as well.