LIBRI EPISTOLARUM SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI

BY

LUDWIG BIELER

PART II

COMMENTARY

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LIBRI EPISTOLARUM
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INTRODUCTION TEXT AND COMMENTARY

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CONTENTS

PART II: COMMENTARY

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This commentary aims at nothing more than a study of St. Patrick's Latin against the background of his time and his models. Such a study, it is hoped, will not only add to our knowledge of late Latin, but also serve as a starting-point for further historical research.

The language of Patricius has never been studied systematically. Of general works, Bury's Life of St. Patrick (1905), MacNeill's St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland (1934), the commentary included in Newport White's Libri Sancti Patricii (1905), and the same author's St. Patrick: his writings and life (1920) have been most helpful. Other important contributions have been made by Mario Esposito and F. R. M. Hitchcock. The vast modern literature on late, vulgar, biblical and patristic Latin has been utilized as far as it was accessible. My references are necessarily selective. Earlier works are as a rule not quoted if their contents have been incorporated in the Thesaurus and Leumann-Hofmann respectively. Neither do I refer to the Patristic and Medieval Studies published by the Catholic University of America for mere summaries of the status quaestionis; original contributions will be acknowledged by reference to the author's name, and to volume and page of the series.

The frequency of my parallels from sixth and seventh century texts is deliberate. I wish to call attention to the fact that the language of the Libri Epistolarum as we have them is in certain respects more advanced than the average Latin of the fifth century. At present I refrain from drawing any conclusions.

For considerations of space, I have been careful to avoid unnecessary repetition. In particular, I shall not present again the

materials brought together in the Apparatus biblicus and the Index grammaticus of Part I. Neither is there room for dwelling on obvious inferences from these collections. Together with the commentary, they are to provide the basis for a comprehensive interpretation of the text.

A synthetic study of Patrick's latinity, which was to conclude this commentary, will be reserved for separate publication.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB . . . . Analecta Bollandiana

ALL . . . . Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik

Balmus . . . . C. I. Balmus Etude sur le style de s. Augustin dans les Confessions et dans la Cité de Dieu. 1930

Bernhard . . . . Max Bernhard Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura. 1927.

Bieler . . . . L. Bieler The Life and Legend of St. Patrick. 1949.

Billen . . . . A. V. Billen Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch. 1927.

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Bonnet . . . . M. Bonnet Le latin de Grégoire de Tours. 1890.

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HAUSSLEITER . . . . I. HAUSSLEITER Des Primasius Kommentar zur Apokapypse. 1891 (FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN KANONS IV 80—175).

HOFMANN . . . . J. B. HOFMANN Lateinische Umgangssprache. 1926.

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IF . . . . Indogermanische Forschungen.

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KAULEN . . . . F. KAULEN Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata. 2. ed. 1904.

LEO Alex. . . . . Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo, untersucht und herausg. von F. Pfister. 1913 (Sammlung mittellat. Texte 6).

LESSING . . . . C. LESSING Scriptorum Historiae Augustae lexicon. 1901—6.

LEUMANN-HOFMANN . . . . M. LEUMANN AND J. B. HOFMANN Lateinische Grammatik. 1928 (HANDBUCH DER ALTERTUMSWISSENSCHAFT II.2).

LINDERBAUER . . . . B. LINDERBAUER Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum. 1922.

LÖFSTEDT Apologeticum . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT, Tertullians Apologeticum textkritisch untersucht. 1915 (LUNDS UNIVERSITETS ÅRSSKRIFT, N.F. Avd. 1, XI.6).

LÖFSTEDT Arnobiana . . . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Arnobiana. 1917. (LUNDS UNIV. ÅRSSKRIFT XII.5).

LÖFSTEDT Beiträge . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität. 1907.

LÖFSTEDT Krit. Bem. . . . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Kritische Bemerkungen zu Tertullians Apologeticum. 1918 (LUNDS UNIV. ÅRSSKRIFT XIV/2.24).

LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae. 1911.

LÖFSTEDT Spätl. Stud. . . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Spätlateinische Studien. 1908.

LÖFSTEDT Stud. Synt. . . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Vermischte Studien zur lateinischen Sprachkunde und Syntax. 1936.

LÖFSTEDT Syntactica . . . . . . E. LÖFSTEDT Syntactica. I 1928. II 1933.

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Schrijnen-Mohrmann . . . . . J. Schrijnen and Ch. Mohrmann Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian. 1936—7 (Latinitas Christiana Primaeva 5—6).

Segebade-Lommatzsch . . . . . J. Segebade and E. Lommatzsch Lexicon Petronianum. 1898.

SOUTER Ambr. . . . . A. SOUTER A study of Ambrosiaster. 1905.

SUESS . . . . W. SUESS Augustins *Locutiones* und das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache. 1932 (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis. B. XXIX.4).

SVENNUNG Orosiana . . . . . . J. SVENNUNG Orosiana. 1932.

SVENNUNG Palládius . . . . . . J. SVENNUNG Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache. 1922 (UPPSALA UNIV. ÅRSSKRIFT 1922,5).

TEEUWEN . . . . ST. W. TEEUWEN Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian. 1926.

TRAGER . . . . G. L. TRAGER The use of the Latin demonstratives up to 600 A.D. 1932.

VÄÄNÄNEN . . . . } . . . . . . VEIKKO VÄÄNÄNEN Le latin vulgaire dans les inscriptions pompéiennes. 1937 (Annales Academiae Fennicae, B XL.2).

VITAE PATRUM . . . . The *Vitae Patrum* as printed in Migne, PL 73—74; with *uitae patrum* I refer to the work of Gregory of Tours.

VOSSLER . . . . K. VOSSLER New forms of thought in Vulgar Latin. 1932 (The spirit of language in civilization. Transl. by O. Oeser. Pp. 51—75).

WATSON . . . . E. W. WATSON The style and language of St. Cyprian. 1896 (STUDIA BIBLICA ET ECCLESIASTICA IV. 189—324).

WHITE St. Patrick . . . . N. J. D. WHITE St. Patrick: his writings and life. 1920.

ZIEGLER Bibelübers. . . . . . . L. ZIEGLER Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus. 1879.

ZIEGLER Pentateuch . . . . . . L. ZIEGLER Bruchstücke einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des Pentateuchs. 1883.

CONFESSIO

was probably the title intended by the author (C 61.62, cf the Incipit of FΔ₂). It is a translation of LXX ἐξομολόγησις 'acknowledgment', 'praise with thanksgiving'; *confiteri* = ἐξομολογεῖσθαι 'to praise' occurs in Patrick's biblical text. Both are familiar words of early patristic Latin. Patrick, however, seems to understand by *confessio*

not merely a grateful acknowledgment of God's graces[1]), but also a self-defence and a confession of sins; these three ideas are implied simultaneously in the title of the Confessions of St. Augustine[2]), a book which Patrick might well have known.

1.   With the opening words (cf E 1) the author introduces himself to his readers. By the literary conventions of the time, Confessio and Epistola are thus marked as 'open letters'.

The self-depreciating *peccator* recurs in C 62 and E 1. In Patrick's time epithets of modesty were becoming an element of episcopal style: White St Patrick 110; G. F. Hamilton St Patrick and his age (1932) 20 f.; P. Grosjean AB 54 (1936) 407. *Peccator,* however, is rarely used as a conventional expression of modesty; even the two instances which I have on record—*Paulinus et Theresia peccatores* (in the heading of a letter to St. Augustine, Epist. 25, p. 78,6 Goldb.: O'Brien Patr. Stud. XXI. 86), and Orientius Common. I 611 *ergo mei similis peccator, me minor imo* (F. R. M. Hitchcock Hermathena 47 [1932] 224)—need not be so interpreted[3]). Thus Patrick's words might, after all, betray a sincere feeling of sinfulness.

Is *rusticissimus* a genuine acknowledgment of stylistic inferiority? Bonnet 76-80 has asked the same question with regard to

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[1]) So Bury 197—9; N. J. D. White History of the Church of Ireland I (1933), 105; J. E. L. Oulton The credal statements of St. Patrick (1940) 8.

[2]) P. Grosjean AB 63 (1945) 107. On the various meanings of *confessio, confiteri* see Teeuwen 74 ff.; Janssen 150 f., 178—84; Chr. Mohrmann in Miscellanea Mercati I (1946) 446—8; Vigil. Christ. 1 (1947) 125 ff., and esp. C. L. Hrdlicka A study of the late Latin vocabulary ... in the Confessions of St. Augustine: Patr. Stud. 31 (1931) 102—7; M. Verheyen Eloquentia pedisequa, 1949 (Latinitas Christ. Primaeva 10). By the fifth century the technical notion of confessing sins had won out so completely that others would call for special comment, cf Eucherius Lugd. Instruct. I p. 103,3—5 Wotke *non semper paenitentiam uidetur significare confessio, nam confitebor interdum ponitur pro laudabo uel gratias agam uel pro glorificabo Dominum.* For Augustine, to be sure, the *confessio peccati* includes the *confessio laudis* (in Psalm. 105,2; 91,3; 94,4; Sermo 67,1); in Cyprian, the dominating idea is that of *confessio fidei. Confessio* 'praise' was never the notion most commonly accepted (Mohrmann). Patrick is clearly under some literary influence (Cyprian, Augustine).

[3]) The *Mauchtheus peccator* in the Epistle of St. Mochta (Annals of Ulster under 534, from the Book of Cuana) is an imitation of our *Patricius peccator.*

Gregory of Tours, who in all his prefaces accuses himself of
'rusticity'. Bonnet believed that Gregory really wished to excuse
his grammatical defects; L. TRAUBE Einleitung in die lateinische
Philologie des Mittelalters (1911) 54, and K. STRECKER Einführung
in das Mittellatein[2] (1929) 17[1] regard such excuses as purely
rhetorical. This would no doubt be true of a Jerome; Patrick and
Gregory would have some reason to justify their writing in spite
of literary shortcomings. Gregory's *per meam rusticitatem uestram
prudentiam exercebo* (In gloria conf., praef. p. 748,10-11) is as
characteristic as Patrick's rebuke of the *rethorici* (C 9-13) who
scorn his rustic language (C 12.46).—The comparative and super-
lative of *rusticus* are rare; of the latter no earlier instance is on
record than ours.

Minimus omnium fidelium is conventional: CYPR. De hab. uirg. 3
extremi et minimi et humilitatis nostrae admodum conscii; more
parallels in Sr. A. E. KEENAN PATR. STUD. 34,94.

With *contemptibilissimus* compare E 1 ex. *etsi contempnor ali-
quibus*. The contrast between the contempt in which Patrick is held
by many and the glory manifested by God in his election (cf C 13)
has a closer parallel in AMBROSIASTER ad Rom 10,11 *aspicient ...
inter ceteros se solos gloriosos et prudentes qui aestimati fuerant
contemptibiles et stulti.*

Patrem habui Calpornium (235,3-4) differs from classical usage
(V. BULHART, ThLL VI 2398,19 ff.; 2423,30 ff.), but agrees with
that of the Bible (1 Par 4,42 *habentes principes Phaltiam et Naariam;*
cf 5,7). The words simply mean 'my father was Calpornius', 'I am
a son of Calpornius'.—Calpurnius (Καλπόρνιος, as in the better MSS
of the Confessio, only CIA III 601. 607,44) is a frequent name (E.
DIEHL Inscr. Lat. Christ. III, Index s.v.; ThLL, Onom. II 104,12 ff.);
seven Calpurnii and one Calpurnia are reported from Roman Britain.
The *Q. Calpurnius Concessinius praefectus equitum* of CIL VII
481 is possibly a relative of Patrick (E. MACNEILL, Proc. R. I. A. 37
C 140; differently, P. GROSJEAN, AB 63,72).—*Diaconum* (DP) seems
to be better attested than the equally common (ThLL V 943,81-
944,4) *diaconem* (VΔ). The latter gave rise to MacNeill's conjecture
(St Patrick 6) *decurionem* (cf E 10), which was endorsed by P.

Grosjean. In my opinion no change is necessary; the statements of
C 1 and E 10 may stand together: Bury 19 f.—The name Potitus is
found in Dessau (6427 a.b; 7293; 7483; 7497 a, a.o.) and also in
Diehl. The marginal note in D *filii Odissi* derives perhaps from the
well-known pedigree of St. Patrick, which according to A. Anscombe
(Eriu VI 117-20) contains a fairly ancient nucleus. The name
Odissus is not classical; for Inscr. Lat. Christ. 514 *Fl. Odiscus* (from
the soldiers' cemetery, Concordia) the editor suggests to read *Fl.
Discus.*

Qui fuit uico †bannauem taburniae†: In late Latin, prepositions
are frequently suppressed: Cypr. ad Donat. 12 *epulis marcidum
corpus torus mollior alto sinu condidit*; Commodian Instr. II 9, tit.
qui apostatauerunt Deo (a favourite construction of this author);
cf Blatt 182 f. The preposition to be understood here is *de* rather
than (with Δ₂) *in*. On the various endeavours to identify *bannauem
taburniae* see Bieler 51-3, 133 f.

Villula need not convey an idea of smallness; in E 10 Patrick
suggests that the place was run by a whole *familia* of male and
female servants. The use of diminutives, always more common in
colloquial language, is ever increasing in late Latin, see e.g. the long
list from Augustine (Balmus 77-9). Quite often the proper diminu-
tive notions of smallness, depreciation, tenderness, pity, etc. are
fading out. Patrick's diminutives are few in number and mostly
strike a particular note: C 15 *seruulus* 'His unworthy servant',
C 17 *paululum* 'a little while', C 41, E 12 *reguli* 'petty kings', E 19
mulierculae 'poor ladies'; the diminutive function is lost only in the
time-honoured technical expressions *pusillus* (C *13*. 62) and *latrun-
culi* (E 12), further in *uillula* here and *tegoriolum* C 18 (objects of
daily use)[4].

For *enim* as a mere 'link' (= δέ: 235,5.7; 240,23; 258,23) cf
ThLL V/2. 589,65-591,71; Löfstedt Peregrinatio 34 f.; Salonius
342 f.

Ubi ego capturam dedi is an instance of 'analytical' conjugation
(Grandgent § 60). Whereas *ego* is thus used by Patrick about 20

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[4] There is as yet no distinction between the strong diminutive notion of
the suffix *-ello/a̯* and the fading one of *-(c)ulo/a̯* (Väänänen 170 ff.).

times, the nominative of other personal pronouns is added to the
verb almost exclusively for the sake of emphasis. See commentary
on C 9 (237,19).—*Capturam dedi* (also C 10,21) is difficult to inter-
pret. All references for *captura* in ThLL imply the active notion
'act of capturing' (esp. fishing or hunting). Passive meaning is
possible in the gloss *captura detentio* (CORP. GLOSS. LAT. V 626,44;
deceptio ibid. 595,68) and certain in MUIRCHÚ, Capitula, LA fol
20r*α*31 f. *de secunda captura quam senis diebus ab inimicis per-
tulerat;* c. 3 *et iterum ... capturam ab alienigenis pertulit*—but
Muirchú is dependent on Patrick (C 21). W. STOKES The Tripartite
Life of Patrick II 357, suggested that the phrase might be the
equivalent of some Old Irish idiom; in Latin, it may be linked up
with VL Ps 123,6 (Hil) *benedictus Dominus qui non dedit nos in
capturam* (*captionem* VULG) *dentibus eorum,* and such expressions
as *dare ruinas* (Lucret. II 1145; V 347; VI 801), *saltum dare*
(ThLL V 1686,64 ff.), *exitum dedit* (FLAVIUS VOPISCUS Carus 13,2),
occursum dare = occurrere (VITA SOLLEMNIS, saec. VII-VIII: MGH
SS rer Merov VII 316,16).

The variant *quindecim* (235.7: R) is explained by WHITE 282 f.
as an attempt at harmonization with C 27. I merely note that two
famous patristic texts contain the number fifteen in almost identical
contexts: HIERON. Vita Hilarionis 3 *erat autem tunc annorum quin-
decim*; AUG. Conf. IX 6,14 *annorum erat ferme quindecim.*

Hiberione (indeclinable)[5]) is a close transliteration of Old Irish
Īverijū (gen. *Īverijonos*); another is *Iuerione,* ITINER. ANTONINI W.
509 Parthey-Pinder: PAULY-WISSOWA VIII. 1389; T. F. O'RAHILLY,
Eriu 14 (1943) 9 f., 28. For the Irish, Patrick has two names:
Hiberionaci (C 23, and, if my emendation is accepted, E 16)[6]) and
Scotti.

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[5]) Patrick does not seem to know another name for Ireland. For *Hiberia
nati* E 16 (questioned by M. ESPOSITO JOURN. THEOL. STUD. 19 [1918] 345) I read
Hiberionaci.

[6]) The same form is used in Liber Angueli (LA fol. 21r*α*11). MAC NEILL
Phases of Irish History (1920), 152 quotes an interesting parallel from Orosius
(Hist. VII 40, 7.9), who, speaking of the barbarian forces of Honorius, substitutes
the Celtic form *Honoriaci* for the Latin *Honoriani*. Cf *Victoricus* (C 23)—*Vic-
torinus.*

Hiberione in captiuitate adductus sum: The late Latin fusion of accusative and ablative, and especially of the notions of 'where' and 'whither', is a problem of great complexity ('*Grenzphänomen*' BLATT 19[r]). A vast material, critically sifted, is presented by V. BULHART and J. B. HOFMANN in ThLL VII 794-9; of recent discussions I mention HOPPE 23-30; PEI 105 f.; SAS 65; VÄÄNÄNEN 124-35, 202-6; NORBERG 26 ff. Apart from palaeography (omission or wrong application of *m*-strokes in the MSS of a text)[8]), the causes may be phonetical, morphological or syntactical. It stands to reason that the ultimate cause was syntactical (psychological)—a disturbance of, or indifference to, *Richtungsempfinden*—and that the others were merely contributory. Our earliest instances, and most of the later ones, are of a noun with preposition, esp. *in*[9]); from early Latin onwards, and more often in late Latin, we find 'confusion' of *apud* and *ad, ibi* and *eo, ubi* and *quo, domi* and *domum*, a.o., which cannot be explained by phonology[10]); finally, the same substitution (esp. εἰς + accusative for ἐν + dative or vice versa) is widespread in the Greek Koine: RADERMACHER Koine 4[r]).—In our text, such instances as *apostolo dicente* C 25, *teste Deo* C 31, *dimidio scriptulae* C 50, *in numero* E 2 would appear to be mainly phonetical or morphological,

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[7]) Cf CASSIODORUS Inst. diu. 15, 9 *situm motumque diligenter obserua, quoniam librarii grammaticae artis expertes ibi maxime probantur errare. Nam si m litteram inconuenienter addas aut demas, dictio tota confusa est* (quoted by SUESS 28).

[8]) See e.g. SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I 72 f., 115, 171; LINDERBAUER 123—6.

[9]) See GRANDGENT § 73; BONNET 522—31. *Ubi for quo:* C 51 (250, 27), cf ROENSCH 408, ACTA ANDREAE 106, 25 BLATT; there are thirteen instances in the Peregrinatio Aetheriae, where, as in the Patriciana, *quo* is never found; the substitution has occasionally been admitted by Gregory of Tours, but the correct usage prevails: BONNET 579.—*Ubique* for *quocumque:* C 51 (250, 25), cf ACTA ANDREAE 73, 3 BLATT.—*Foris* for *foras* E 18 (misinterpretation of Apoc 22, 15), cf PLATER 69, Dombart's index to Commodian s.v., and Oder's index to the Mulomedicina, p. 373. Similar substitutions are common in the Vulgate: KAULEN 232; PLATER 61.

[10]) In the language of the Bible this phenomenon may be classed with Hebraisms—but only in the sense that the ambiguity of Hebrew *bejadam* ('where' and 'whither') strengthened a tendency which already existed in Greek and Latin: SUESS 88, 127.

but *pergens in Brittanniis* C 43 is clearly syntactic[11]). I accept even the inconcinnity *in labe et in obprobrium* C 26 on the strength of the unequivocal *in mensuras et in ponderibus* VL Lev 19,35 (Mon). For more parallels see commentary on C 26.

Adductus, where we should expect *abductus*, might be written under the impression of VULG Esth 2,8 *cum ... multae pulchrae uirgines adducerentur Susan;* Dan 3,13 *adducti sunt in conspectu regis.*—In *cum tot milia* here and E 14 uninflected *milia* seems to have been 'attracted' by the indeclinable *tot*. A further step on this road is LEO Alex. I.46 (p. 73,12 PFISTER) *praecepit iterum duo milia militibus suis* (more in Pfister's glossary).

Non oboedientes fuimus has biblical models, esp Phil 2,8 *factus oboediens usque ad mortem*, with the same transition from the category of participle to that of adjective. For the variant *inobedientes* (Φ) cf Rom 1,30 *parentibus non oboedientes: inoboedientes* g Gild (ἀπειθεῖς GR); 2 Tim 3,2 *parentibus inoboedientes* e g ABDF* GΘKMSVZc cum GR: *non oboedientes* c d dem diu f m Lucif Opt Hier Aug Pel Vig Cassd CFcLNOPRTUWZ* vg. As a periphrastic conjugation (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 245-9; LINDERBAUER 168 f.), the present participle with *esse* is frequent in the Bible[12]), but rare outside it[13]). Patrick has it only once more (*eram dormiens* C 20).

Qui ⟨nos⟩ nostram salutem admonebant 'who used to remind us of our salvation'. Cf VL Ex 18,16 (Mon) *moneo eos legem* (συμβιβάξω αὐτοὺς νόμον); Ioh 14,26 (e) *admonebit uos* (*suggeret uobis* VULG)

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[11]) Iordanis consistently writes *accipere in matrimonio, mittere in exilio, reuerti in regno* (Romana 54), *in Epiro ... transierat* (Romana 252); cf MOMMSEN's index p. 176. The agreement with Patrick is obvious; should *Hiberione*, after all, be an ablative?

[12]) It is a Graecism rather than a Hebraism (KAULEN 277); in Greek, the participle with εἶναι is found in early poetry and gains popularity in the Koine: RADERMACHER Neutestamentliche Grammatik[2] (1925) 205 and index under "Konjugatio periphrastica".

[13]) My files do not bear out Plater's statement (p. 109) that this construction 'came to be freely employed in popular speech to form a finite tense'. Apart from Lucifer and Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, it seems to occur but sporadically; even Iordanis yields not more than four instances. An early Latin example is SC de Bacchanalibus 23 *senatuosque sententiam utei scientes esetis*—typically legal.

omnia quae dixero (ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα); TERT. adu. Marcionem
IV.34, p. 538,1 Kroymann *(futuri imago) admonens quoque uos*
haereticos ... Moysen et prophetas (defended by HOPPE 18). For
modern literature see NORBERG 110.—Patrick's effusion seems to
echo Dan 9,4-6 (VULG; the VL variants are unimportant) *et oraui*
Dominum Deum meum et confessus sum et dixi: Obsecro Domine
Deus magne et terribilis, custodiens pactum et misericordiam dili-
gentibus te et custodientibus mandata tua. Peccauimus, iniquitatem
fecimus, impie egimus et recessimus et declinauimus a mandatis
tuis ac iudiciis (cf 9 *quia recessimus a te*). *Non oboediuimus seruis*
tuis prophetis qui locuti sunt in nomine tuo.

In gentibus multis: Patrick's use of the synonyms *gens, natio,*
plebs, populus deserves some attention. In Christian literature the
gentes (heathens) or *nationes* ('nations') are often contrasted with
the *populus Christianus* as in secular literature the *exterae gentes*
are contrasted with the *populus Romanus; plebs*, according to LÖF-
STEDT Syntactica II 464-70, often designates the laity in contrast to
the clergy, whereas in the opinion of the Nijmegen school (SCHRIJ-
NEN-MOHRMANN I.59; JANSSEN 55-72) *plebs*, synonymously with
populus, means '(Christian) community', in which the clergy may
or may not be included[14]). Patrick has *natio, nationes* only twice
in biblical quotations (C 3, E 19). *Plebs* clearly means 'layfolk' in
some places (C 38; *plebem Domini* E 5 = *gregem Domini* E 12),
whereas no distinction between clergy and laity is apparent in others
(C 41.58; *coram cunctis plebibus* E 21)[15]). *Gens (gentes)* and *popu-*
lus are used not only with their specifically Christian notions, but, in
accordance with tradition, also of Romans and barbarians: *genti*
exterae E 10.14 is a synonym of *barbaras gentes* E 1; the would-be
Roman Coroticus is blamed for selling Christians (in Patrick's time
identical with Romans) to the 'barbarians'; the Irish are always
referred to as a *gens* or *gentes,* even where there is no question of
a contrast between pagans and Christians.

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[14]) A good summary of the problem is given by GARVIN 375 f.
[15]) For the rare plural see LUCIFER p. 83, 22 Hartel.

Paruitas mea (cf German *meine Wenigkeit*) must have had a wide circulation. The earliest instance known to me is VALERIUS MAXIMUS I praef. (p. 1,19 Kempf) *mea paruitas ... ad fauorem tuum decucurrit.* Of the numerous instances of later times (eleven in Ennodius alone) I mention VICTOR VITENSIS II 41; ANASTASIUS Epist. 1,5; HIL. AREL. Sermo de s. Honorato 36; VIRGILIUS MARO GRAMMATICUS p. 109,10 HUEMER; Vita I s. Samsonis prol. 3, p. 97,3-4 Fawtier. *Parua nostra mediocritas* is found in CYPRIAN Epist. 69,17; see the indexes to Cyprian (Hartel p. 455) and Sidonius (Grupe, s.v. *humilitas, mediocritas, paruitas*). On the whole question of Christian titles of address see now Sr. M. BRIDGET O'BRIEN PATR. STUD. 21, 72 ff., esp 76 f.

Esse uidetur here, and *esse uidentur* C 41, is virtually a periphrasis of the simple verb; the usage was fully developed as early as Cyprian (SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN II 49 f.).—*Alienigena,* though quoted from all periods of Latin, seems to have found little favour with Jerome; it is certainly less frequent in the Vulgate than in the Old Latin version, and least so in those books which were most thoroughly revised (WATSON 288). In Christian Latin *alienigena* often means a pagan (AMBR. Epist. 19,7; LEO M. Sermo 32,2), which would be quite suitable here.

2. *Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae:* D. S. NERNEY I. E. R. 5. ser., 72 (1949) 23, compares canon 5 of the Sixteenth Council of Carthage (a. 418) *quia per ipsam* (i.e. *gratiam*) *reuelatur et aperitur intelligentia mandatorum*—a text which Patrick almost certainly knew (see at C 10).

Rememorarem, conuerterem (*-er* Δ. *confirmarem* D): In late Latin the active is often used passively, reflexively, or with a 'middle voice' function: BONNET 628-32; the distinction between transitive and intransitive, which never existed in Greek, is also weakened. *Rememorare aliquid* might thus stand for *memor esse alicuius rei.* Reflexive *rememorari* is found in VL Marc 14,72 *rememoratus est* (om ff₂) *Petrus uerbum* (a c ff₂: ἀνεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τὸ ῥῆμα).— *Conuertere* for *conuerti* or *se conuertere* existed at all times. ThLL IV 858,35-40 lists over twenty instances from Plautus to Fronto; it

is common also in the Vulgate (KAULEN 186) and in ecclesiastical literature[16]). Patrick's use of the active is, however, noteworthy because his model, Ioel 2,12, reads *conuertimini* (both VL and VULG). In fact, *conuerterem* is the reading of PV only. Further, the D-variant *confirmarem* cannot be a corruption of *conuerterem*. Intransitive *confirmare* (not in ThLL!) occurs in the Mulomedicina (*uulnus, cicatrix confirmat* 'the wound recovers, heals', cf ODER p. 345), and, possibly, once in a letter of CICERO Ad Quintum fratrem I 3,5 *nunc, si potes id quod ego . . . non possum, erige te et confirma* ('lift yourself up and recover'), *si qua subeunda dimicatio erit*—although *te* might stand here ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. *Confirmare ad Deum*, to be sure, makes no sense. Should we not read *ut . . . rememorarem delicta mea et confirmarem ut conuerterer* 'that I became aware of my sins and recovered so as to return to my Lord'? *Conuerterem* in PV would then be a 'conflate' reading of *conuerterer* and superscript *confirmarem*.

Misertus est adolescentiae etc.: The case governed by *misereri* here is probably the dative, cf C 46 *misertus est mihi* (*mei* V) *Dominus;* it should be remembered, however, that in the formula *miserere mei* the genitive is preserved in 14 out of 15 instances even in so late a text as the Vitae Patrum, and that in the Vulgate *miserere mei* scores a big majority over *miserere mihi* (SALONIUS 151-3).

The subjunctive after *antequam*, recorded from many Latin authors beginning with Cato, is particularly frequent in ecclesiastical literature. Some authors, among them Aetheria and Patrick, entirely avoid the indicative. Here, as in the case of *donec, dum, priusquam*, the spread of the subjunctive construction possibly reflects a fundamental change in the conception of Time—a problem for the philosopher of language.

Saperem uel distinguerem: Patrick employs copulative *uel* (HOPPE 119; LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 197-201; N. GROEN Lexicon

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[16]) Cf CYPR. ad Vigil 6; PsCYPR. De singul. cler. 24; De Iudaeor. incredulitate 6; ACTA ANDREAE 87,23 Blatt; (uar. lect.) TERT. De uirg. ueland. 7.

Anthimeum, 1926, s.v.) freely, but hardly ever in purely affirmative clauses.

3.   *Vnde autem*, Patrick's favourite formula of transition, is frequent also in the Latin Irenaeus; elsewhere it seems to be rare[17]). Morphologically it corresponds to ὅθεν δή, but not in usage. In Attic, ὅθεν δή normally means 'from wherever'. Similar, if not strictly analogous, to our *unde autem* is PLATO Cratylus 401 D τὸ οὖν αἴτιον καὶ ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῶν (τῶν πάντων) εἶναι τὸ ὠθοῦν, ὅθεν δὴ καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸ ὠσίαν ὠνομάσθαι or XENOPHON Hell. VI 5,33 ἔτυχον παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς, ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὠκύλλος ... ἔλεγον. In late Greek ὅθεν and ἔνθεν are common particles of transition, e.g. in ONASANDER Strateg. Prol., 4 ex, 9 ex, 42; ὅθεν δήπου 42 ex.

Non expedit quidem = 2 Cor 12,1 (*quidem* om D d e Ambrst Sed cum [DcEKL]gr).

With *tantam gratiam quam mihi Dominus praestare dignatus est* compare AETHERIA 23,8 *agens Christo ... gratias, quod mihi ... praestare dignatus est tantam gratiam*. Is this a traditional formula? LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 204 remarks that in Aetheria *praestare* is always combined with *dignari;* subject is, with the exception of 13,2, *Deus* or *Christus*. Elsewhere, however, the two verbs do not appear to be combined in a set formula[18]). Even in liturgy, where *dignari* and *praesta* (*da, concede*) *quaesumus* are both frequent (cf H. A. WILSON A classified index to the Leonian, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, 1892, s.v.), the formula *praestare digneris* is never used.

For *retributio* 'thanksgiving to God' cf Ps 115,12 (quoted in C 57) and 1 Thess 3,9 *quam enim gratiarum actionem possumus Deo retribuere pro uobis?*

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[17]) As a particle of conclusion, *unde* is common in Tertullian (HOPPE Syntax 112), though never followed by *autem;* as a formula of transition, *unde etiam* is used by AUG. De doctr. christ. IV. 7,15 (GOELZER Jérôme 424); an isolated *unde uero* I have noted from the Romance of Alexander (LEO II 9, p. 85,13 PFISTER).

[18]) In the two instances outside the works of Patrick and Aetheria that I have noted, COLLECTIO AVELLANA 25,3 = 27,2 *ut ... te praestare digneris* (both times concluding an imperial invitation to a bishop), *praestare* has a different meaning.

The idea of *correptio Dei* is common in Christian literature (cf ThLL IV 1044,84 ff.). *Agnitio Dei* could be an echo of VL Luc 11,33 (Iren); the expression is found also in the Latin version of Origines in Matthaeum and in the Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum. *Dei* depends on *correptio* as genitivus subjectivus, and, by a harsh zeugma, on *agnitio* as genitivus obiectivus.

Haec est retributio nostra ut ... exaltare et confiteri may be understood as a mixture of two possible constructions. Anomalies of this type (extension of the infinitive to finite clauses), which are common in the MS tradition of late Latin texts, are now beginning to be recognized as something more than scribal blunders[19]). That some of them became standardized in the Romance languages[20]) whilst others did not is in no way surprising; periods of disintegration always abound in abortive growth beside healthy new shoots. *Vt* with the infinitive is as early as the Vetus Latina (ROENSCH Itala 445 f.; Tertullian 686 f.) and as late as the middle of the eighth century (PEI 284). Its heyday seems to have been the sixth century (REGULA BENEDICTI 2,26-28, cf LINDERBAUER 168; ORIBASIUS Synopsis 9,37 ex; esp. Gregory the Great: NORBERG 256 ff.). For material, see also BLATT 168, SVENNUNG Palladius 440 f.; for a general discussion, LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 250 f., and especially NORBERG 252-65. After consecutive *ut*, as here, the infinitive was almost bound to appear in translations from Greek. Of this Roensch gives instructive examples, esp. from Codex Bezae (Marc 4,1; Ioh 8,9); cf also the Latin version of the Gesta Ephesena 22 (SCHWARTZ Acta Conciliorum I/2, p. 35,9) *ut cum consequentia et nunc admonere* (ὥστε ... ὑπομνῆσαι). Löfstedt is reluctant to recognise contamination except where either construction would be possible; but I think we should make some allowance for analogical extension as perhaps in C 14 *ut ... exagaellias relinquere*[21]).

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[19]) They can be explained away only where the finite verb would stand in the first person sing. of the subjunctive imperfect.

[20]) E.g. *unde* with infinitive—see my note on C 18.

[21]) On C 35 (246,6 f.) *ut me pauperculum pupillum ideo tamen responsum diuinum creber admonere* I dare not dogmatize; the text is too uncertain, the meaning too obscure.

4.   The 'creed' of St. Patrick has often been studied, but not, as
will be done here, from a linguistic point of view. However, the
work of historians and theologians must not be ignored; on the
other hand, philology will contribute to the clarification of theo-
logical and historical problems[22]).

This is not a formal creed. Its 'articles' are incomplete[23]); besides,
a regular symbolum would be strange in the context. By *quia* (236,8)
the 'creed' is attached, however loosely, to the theme of thanksgiving
(C 3), which is resumed by the *enim* of C 5 in such a way as if C 4
did not exist. If at this point Patrick inserts a long trinitarian creed
he obviously strikes with it a key-note, a motto of the whole work;
he wants us to see the experiences of his life and the fulfilment of
his mission in the light of his belief in the Holy Trinity.

Non alius praeter is a common formula of Christian (and Old
Testament) monotheism, cf VL Ex 20,2 (Tert. Scorp. 2) *non erunt
tibi dii alii praeter me*; Arnobius Iunior, PL 53, 241 *quod ipse sit
Deus et non sit alius praeter ipsum;* sim. Iren. I 22,1; II 30,9; more
material in Oulton 17 f. The closest parallel (overlooked by Hitch-
cock and Oulton) is Tob 13,4 *quia non est alius Deus omnipotens
praeter eum* (VULG: *quia,* or *quoniam, ipse est Dominus Deus
noster* Monac Regin Sang).—Patrick (as does Gregory of Tours:
Bonnet 592) uses *praeter* only with the typically late Latin meaning
'except' and its logical development 'not to mention', 'in addition to'
(C 35.42—cf Hist. Aug., Lessing p. 471; Bede Hest. eccl. I 1).

In *nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec* the double *nec*

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[22]) Literature: F. R. M. Hitchcock The creeds of SS. Irenaeus and Patrick, in
Hermathena 14 (1907) 168—82; Irenaeus of Lugdunum (1914) 340 ff.; Herma-
thena 47 (1932) 232—7; F. Kattenbusch Das apostolische Symbol I (1894), 188,
212 f., 395; J. Haussleiter Der Aufbau der altchristliche Literatur (1898) 36 f.;
Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1898, 369—71; J. E. L. Oulton The credal state-
ments of St. Patrick (1940); L. Bieler The 'creeds' of St. Victorinus and St.
Patrick, in Theological Studies 9 (Woodstock Md., 1949), 121—4. Important for
general theological and stylistic interpretation are E. Norden Agnostos Theos
(1913) 263—76, and A. E. Burn Facsimiles of the Creeds (Henry Bradshaw
Society 36), 1909.

[23]) Oulton 31 (against Hitchcock Hermathena XIV 171).

was possibly caused by some latent idea of a double contrast: *fuit — erit, ante — post haec*. The similar repetition of *uel* in C 50 is emphatic. Such pleonasms are colloquial: PLAUTUS (GLOTTA VI 351), CATULLUS (10,9 f. *nihil neque ipsis nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti*, cf KROLL's commentary; LÖFSTEDT Beiträge 38); ANTHIMUS 77 *sed buter ipsum sale nec penitus non habeat;* TERT. de oratione 22 p. 194,9 Reiff. *sicut nec uiri nec uelandi;* REG. BENEDICTI 2, 75 f. Lind. *ante omnia ne dissimulans aut paruipendens salutem animarum sibi commissarum ne plus gerat sollicitudinum de rebus transitoriis* (cf LINDERBAUER 182). More material in LÖFSTEDT Tert. 40 f.; Syntactica II 228 f. (pleonasm of *et*); LINDERBAUER 138. In vulgar inscriptions even 'full' words are sometimes (carelessly) repeated, e.g. DIEHL 1153 *si quis autem uoluerit super hec trea corpora ponere uoluerit.*

Ante—post haec: Patrick never expresses 'before' and 'after' by *antea* and *postea*; he always uses the unpretending *ante*[24]), and *post-modum* (five times) or *post haec*[25]).

Ingenitus ἀγέννητος (CORP. GLOSS. LAT. III 278,23) 'unbegotten' is a technical term of trinitarian theology, cf RUFINUS (Origenes) De principiis I 2,6 *quia nihil ingenitum, id est innatum, praeter solum Deum Patrem fatentur,* and OULTON 18 f.

Sine principio, a quo est omne principium is an expansion of ἄναρχος ἀρχή (CLEMENS Strom. VII 829); similarly ORIENTIUS Carm. appendix 3,11 expands ἀγέννητος γέννησις to *quem genuit nullus, per quem gignentia cuncta.* Of Oulton's parallels (19 f.) only ARNOBIUS IUNIOR PL 53,257 and HILARIUS De synodis 60 are telling.

Omnia tenentem (commoner *omnitenentem:* OULTON 20 f.) is hardy πάντα χωροῦντα (HITCHCOCK HERMATHENA 14,170 f.), but rather παντοκράτορα (WHITE 283). OULTON 27 f. objects that παντοκράτωρ is never rendered as *omnitenens* in a formal creed, and suggests to write *omnipotentem,* which occurs in a parallel

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[24]) See LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 74. In late Latin, *antea* is exclusively classicistic: SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I 132.

[25]) *Post haec* is frequent in Ennodius and Gregory of Tours, *postmodum* in Aetheria (22 instances).

passage in Victorinus[26]). I think the lectio difficilior *omnia tenentem* can be defended. First of all, this is no formal creed. Secondly, *omnia tenens* 'Lord of the universe' (cf SEDULIUS Carm. pasch. II.64 *qui caelum terramque tenet*) is a correct translation of παντοκράτωρ (πάντων κρατῶν). This frequent epithet of God (Old Testament from 2 Reg 5,10 onwards, Apocalypse) is by no means always rendered as *omnipotens*. It is so regularly in the Apocalypse, but, as far as I can see, only twice in the Old Testament (Iudith 16,7: Monac, VULG; Esth 13,9 = 4,17 LXX), where it is often left untranslated[27]). In one of these passages, Iob 5,8, the LXX variant τὸν παντοκράτορα A: τὸν πάντων δεσπότην BS gives substance to Dr. White's equation. I should consider, however, the possibility that Patrick wrote: *omnipotentem, omnia tenentem*.

Vt didicimus 'as we have been taught' is the reading of Victorinus (see Testimonia); Jerome, to be sure, has *dicimus*, but in a slightly different phrase. *Dicimus* 'we affirm' (OULTON 27[31]) would be strange in parenthesis (cf the variant *diximus* in RF)[28]). In a similar context the SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM (p. 53 Wilson) has *quod uobis sicut accepimus tradimus*; cf LACT. in Psalmos 13,1 *loquentibus nobis ea quae didicimus et legimus ... honor est reddendus auctori*.

The plural *didicimus* is continued by *testamur* (line 11), *quem credimus et expectamus* (17), *quem confitemur et adoramus* (22); cf the Latin version of the Nicaenum in Cod. Tolos. 364,4r-v *credimus ... confitemur ... expectamus*. Verbs in the plural are a feature of eastern creeds as against the *credo* of the west (HITCHCOCK HERMATHENA 14,173; OULTON 32).

Huius (Φ: *eius* D) *filium* is lectio difficilior. On the comparative

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[26]) See Testimonia. The two expressions are sometimes combined: AUG. Conf. XI 13; De genesi ad litt. 8,26; PsAUG. Quaest. I 1, p. 13, 22 f. SOUTER (OULTON l.c.).

[27]) Where Jerome translates from the Hebrew he has *Deus exercituum*.

[28]) Hymn 12 in the Antiphonary of Bangor (13v) reads; (ix) *Persona unigeniti / Et primogeniti / Qui est totus a toto / Diximus lux de lumine. Respice /(x) Et Deum uerum a Deo / uero sese* (sic) *confitemur*. Warren in his edition (II. 48) merely remarks: '*Diximus* hardly makes sense'. He did not think of the Confessio. I am content with stating the coincidence and pointing out the credal character of both passages.

frequency and the indifferent use in late Latin of the pronouns *hic iste ille is ipse idem* see a.o. LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 46-8; PATR. STUD. XXXI 226-54 (HRDLICKA); MED. STUD. XVIII 57-68 (BAGAN); XIX 55-60 (GARVIN). Patrick follows the practice of his time[29]), especially as regards the monosyllabic forms *hic is id* (SALONIUS 229-31; WÖLFFLIN-MEADER ALL XI 338); *hic* (always adverb) is even confined to the recurring phrases *hic et in aeternum, hic et in futurum*.

Scilicet (seven instances)[30]), always enclitic (= γέ) is used by Patrick merely for emphasis.

Ante originem saeculi (= Victorinus) 'before the beginning of the world'. Whereas in Patrick's biblical quotations and liturgical formulae (C 40.55.—C 60. E 19) *saeculum* stands for αἰών, it means κόσμος where, as here and E 17 (*de saeculo recessistis ad paradisum*) he speaks in his own person. In the New Testament, however, αἰών sometimes approaches the meaning 'world' (cf Gal 1,4), and the equations of κόσμος αἰών *saeculum mundus* vary in different versions of certain biblical books: F. C. BURKITT The Old Latin and the Itala (1896) 43-5; ZIEGLER Bibelübersetzungen 53. In order to avoid ambiguity, the *ante omnia saecula* of the following 'article' is replaced by *ante omne principium* (= πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς). Both expressions are linked in HILARIUS Contra Auxentium 14 (PL X 617) *Iesum Christum ante omnia saecula et ante omne principium natum ex Patre* (OULTON 22)[31]).

Spiritaliter: Spiritalis is the consistent spelling of ancient MSS; the forms *spiritualis, spiritualiter* are rare before 1100 A.D.[32]). That the MS spelling must be genuine was proved indirectly by BONNET 140: if *spiritualis* had existed in Christian antiquity it was bound to

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[29]) For comparison with the statistics of Bagan and Garvin I give here the corresponding figures for Patrick in percentage: *hic* 20.7, *iste* 1.8, *ille* 38.8, *is* 19.8, *ipse* 18, *idem* 0.9. The ratio *is: ille* is ca 1: 2, which seems moderate, considering that in the Latin Book of Wisdom and the Acta Andreae it is 1: 9.

[30]) Here, and C 12 (bis). 17.23.62. E 1.

[31]) Equivalent formulas in the singular are also *ante omnem constitutionem* (*conditionem*) IREN. IV. 20,3; V. 1,1.

[32]) LINDERBAUER 194. In AETHERIA 46,2.3 the ancient spelling should be restored (the codex unicus is of saec. XI!). The earliest instances of *spiritualis* so far recorded occur in the ninth century Guelferbytanus of the Sermons of St. Augustine.

occur in dactylic verse, where *spiritalis* is impossible. The anomalous formation is, I think, a case of 'contrast analogy': σαρχιχός:
πνευματιχός = *carnalis: spiritalis*[33]). The morphologically correct
form *spiritualis* was perhaps first introduced by some Carolingian
scholar (Cf the modern restitution of *eleemosyna* for ancient *elimosina.*)

Apud Patrem (= Victorinus) is perhaps a mistranslation of
παρὰ τοῦ πατρός —another trace of eastern influence.

Inenarrabiliter: Inenarrabilis, and even more so the adverb, are
rare. The latter seems to be used specifically of the relation between
the Father and the Son: HILARIUS Damnatio Arianae hereseos (PL
X 698) *si quis filium Dei non uere inenarrabiliter de Deo Patre
natum ... dixerit;* EUSEBIUS VERC. Epist. 2,5 (PL XII.950) *nouit et
eius unigenitus inenarrabiliter de ipso filius;* FAUSTINUS De Trin. 3,5
(PL XIII. 66 D) *de Deo Patre natus est, sed inenarrabiliter* (MOHR
MANN 190 f.). Being difficult to pronounce, the word is constantly
misspelled in MSS.[34]).

Et per ipsum facta sunt uisibilia et inuisibilia: cf IREN. III 11,1
(*Deus*) *qui per uerbum suum omnia fecit et uisibilia et inuisibilia.* More parallels in OULTON 23. The creation through Christ as
δημιουργός is an element of Pauline theology: 1 Cor 8,6; Col 1,16.17;
Heb 1,2.

Hominem factum (cf *homo factus* IREN. V 1,1) keeps closer to
the Greek text of the Nicaenum (ἐνανθρωπήσαντα) than the official
Latin version (*et homo factus est*); the passive (*homo factus* =
ἐνανθρωπηθείς) is typically 'western'.

Morte deuicta (*deuicta morte*) is a frequent Christian formula:
TERT. adu. Praxean 23; IREN. III 18,7; VICTORINUS (see Testimonia);
Antiphonary of Bangor, no. 85; cf *deuicto mortis aculeo* Te Deum
17; further OULTON 23 f. *Mortem deuincere* is a favourite phrase

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[33]) On the allegory of σάρξ and πνεῦμα and the semantic character of *carnalis*
—*spiritalis* as 'Bedeutungslehnwörter' see MOHRMANN 87—90, 155—7; MISC. G.
MERCATI I (1946) 441. If, as Dr. Mohrmann plausibly suggests, *carnalis* succeeded
in ousting *carneus* because it had the support of *spiritalis,* the two words would
have interacted.

[34]) Ferdomnach (LA) persistently writes *inerrabilis, inerrabiliter.*

of Victorinus (1,2; 4,4; 5,1.2). The formula has, of course, its root in 1 Cor 15,55.—The ablative absolute consisting of a past participle and a common noun is found only here, in a traditional formula, and in the set phrase *effusis lacrimis* E 7[35]); all other instances in Confessio and Epistola are of a present participle followed by a name (*iubente Corotico* E 12), in particular the name of God (*fauente Deo* E 5, sim.)[36]). This was already the practice of Cyprian (Schrijnen-Mohrmann I 35-7). In its classical form the ablative absolute was never popular; even in the Vulgate it is probably an element of literary style[37]).

In caelis ad Patrem receptum: Cf Victorinus (Testimonia); Tert. De uirg. uel. 1 *receptum in caelis;* Oulton 24. *Ascendere in caelis* sim. are common in Victorinus, In Apoc. (2,1; 4,1.4; 5,3; 12,3); cf the Creed of Auxentius (Hil. c. Auxent. 14) *ascendisse in caelis;* PsAug. Serm. 242 (Burn Facsimiles of the Creeds, p. 8) *ascendit in caelo.*

E. Norden Agnostos Theos 263-76, points out that in the statements concerning the Second Person the (accusative) participles of the earliest western symbols were afterwards largely replaced by relative clauses, reflecting the change (for the sake of dogmatic formulation) from passive to active in the Greek originals (ἀναστάντα ἀναβάντα for ἐγερθέντα ἀναλημφθέντα). Patrick (as also Victorinus) has the accusative of the participle throughout.

A comparison of the long scriptural quotation (236,15-17) with the original is revealing.

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[35]) Livy XXVII 19,12; PsQuintil., Decl. 9,7; Tac. Hist. I 69; Val. Flacc. IV 51 (cf Verg. Aen. VI. 686; Sil. IX. 257); *effusis ... fletibus* VII. 410. I cannot trace the phrase in Christian writing.

[36]) Cf Peregr. Aetheria 3,2 *iubente Christo Deo nostro;* Irenaeus: *donante Deo,* sim. (Hitchcock Hermathena 47,206). This pattern was widely adopted by Christian writers in the place of classical *dis propitiis, deo auctore,* etc.

[37]) It is rare in the Old Latin Heptateuch: Billen 149; its almost complete absence from the Gospels may be due to Syriac influence: H. C. Hoskier The Golden Latin Gospels, p. lxx.

New Testament:	Patricius:
et dedit (donauit VLP¹. VULG) illi nomen ⟨quod est *m* TEST VULG⟩ super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur ⟨ei *Iren*⟩ quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.	et dedit illi omnem potestatem (cf Matth 28,18) super omne nomen caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et (ut PVR Δ₂) omnis lingua confiteatur ei (*om* Φ) quia Dominus et Deus (cf Ioh 20,28) est Iesus Christus (quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris V).

Patrick's text is contaminated at the beginning and end, and abridged in the middle. As a result, *nomen* comes to mean 'person' 'being' (cf SALONIUS 416), and the subjunctive *confiteatur* is independent[38]).—*Ei* after *confiteatur* is remarkable as a singular agreement with IRENAEUS (I 10,1)[39]).—*Confiteatur ei, quia* etc: Of the vast literature on the accusative and infinitive and its substitutes I mention PLATER 42,119 ff.; LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 116 ff.; SALONIUS 22 ff.; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 270 f., 726 f., 753 (literature!); SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN II 92 ff. In this respect Patrick's Latin ranks very low indeed. There are only four instances of the accusative and infinitive (two of them, C 43, E 6, not of the classical type); even the subjunctive after *quod* (SALONIUS 299-310; HAAG 95) is found only once (C 62).

Quem credimus et expectamus aduentum ipsius: For this type of syntactical contamination Patrick has a weakness; it is, however, not quite unparalleled: HEGESIPP. prol. 3 *sed manserit in eo cui reposita manebant omnia et ipse erat spes gentium* (here, as in C 4, 235,13, the anacoluthon was caused by the introduction of a biblical phrase); LEO Alex. prol. p. 45,20-4 Pfister *dominantibus Iohanne et Marino . . ., quibus quaedam necessitas accidit transmittendi mis-*

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[38]) The lost *ut* is substituted for *et* before *omnis lingua* in most MSS of Φ.

[39]) This, however, does not prove closer affinity as was assumed by HITCHCOCK Hermathena XIV 173. In particular, I can see no connection between Patrick's *potestatem super omne nomen* and Eph 1,21 whether in Irenaeus' quotation (IV 19,2) or in any other. In Irenaeus *nomen* means 'name', even though some notion of personality may be implied; in Eph 1,21 *potestatem* and *nomen* are coordinated.

sum suum usque Constantinopolim ... et tunc miserunt illuc Leonem archipresbiterum[40]) ; I 36 (p. 65,7-9 Pf.) *quapropter precipio tibi turnare gressum et redi ad matrem tuam et requiesce in sinu illius;* al.

Expectamus aduentum ipsius mox futurum: Here, and in the similar instances C 34.55 we find the typically ecclesiastical (SALONIUS 323 ff.) substitution of participium or adiectiuum coniunctum for the accusative and infinitive. It is frequent in TERTULLIAN (e.g. Apol. 16,6 *qui crucis nos religiosos putat;* 45,6) ; in Filastrius it has become a real mannerism (JURET 182).—With the phrase in C 4 compare AELIUS SPARTIANUS Vita Hadr. 2,9 *habuit autem praesumptionem imperii mox futuri.*

Iudex uiuorum atque mortuorum is not a grammatical blunder (so OULTON 10 f.) ; here, as in similar instances of apposition, the nominative is casus absolutus[41]). This construction is widespread: VULG Apoc 2,13 *in diebus Antipas, testis meus fidelis;* IORDANIS Getica 293 *castra componit tertio fere miliario ab urbe, locus qui* (for *in loco qui* or *qui locus*) *appellatur Pineta* (note also the attractio inuersa: NORBERG 84) ; ACTA ANDREAE p. 87,33 Blatt *in Beelzebub princeps demoniorum ... eicere demonia* (nominative preceded by an indeclinable proper name, cf Apoc 2,13) ; DEFIXIONUM TABELLAE p. 270,12 Audollent *anima et cor uratur Sextili, Dionysiae filius;* in the Antiphonary of Bangor (13vβ), the hymn *Audite omnes* is headed: *Ymnum sancti Patricii magister Scottorum.* See LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 50 f.; LINDERBAUER 133 f.; PLATER 19; BLATT 151; NORBERG 64 ff. ('most frequent in the transition period, saec. VI-IX'). The same freedom existed in the archaic period: CIL I²/2.9,3 *Luciom Scipione filios Barbati* (cf SVENNUNG Palladius 175 f.)[42]).—

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[40]) This passage *might* be explained as a zeugma; similarly Iudith 7,2 *illorum uirorum quos occupauerat ciuitas et abducti fuerant de prouinciis et urbibus.*

[41]) According to NORBERG 64 ff., the construction originated as an exclamatory nominal clause, which was but loosely connected with the surrounding context.

[42]) Dom J. CHAPMAN Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels (1908) 21 quotes from the prologue of Codex Amiatinus (penned probably by Cassiodorus): *In hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum.* Dom Chapman's 'correc-

In Patrick's 'Creed' the nominative construction may have been suggested either by the formal symbolum of which he was thinking (cf *unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos* Symb. Apost.; *et iterum uenturus est cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos* Symb. Nicaen.; *inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos* Symb. Athan.; *iudicaturus aduenit* Sacr. Gallic.; PsAug. Sermo 243, p. 6 Burn) or by the Te Deum (19 *iudex crederis esse uenturus,* which would account also for Patrick's *credimus,* so strangely repeated in the middle of the creed).

Facta, a rare biblical variant in both Rom 2,6 and its source, Matth 16,27, is found in one MS (Veronensis LX, cf CSEL LXV 71) of the Creed of Philippopolis a. 343, and in the Symbolum Athanasianum: *et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.*

Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua: The 'indirect reflexive' *sua* is here a biblical variant, but reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns are mutually substituted also in a number of non-biblical passages. Late Latin parallels are too abundant to be quoted[43]). It is often hard to do justice to an author's choice. Patrick's *sermones illorum* (C 9) and *patrum earum* (C 42) are justifiable, because he gives his own view and not that of the respective subjects[44]). Late authors often use both sets of pronouns indiscriminately (cf Lessing 295,638,640; Bonnet 694-7). Personally I feel that even these writers distinguish somehow between reflexive and non-reflexive (cf Iul. Capit. Gord. 30,2 *cum illum incusasset quod immemor beneficii eius sibi minus gratus exsisteret;* Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. IV 12 *rogat ut ei chartas daret sibique possessionem subderet*), but the nature of the distinction is not always as easy

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tion' *praesagatum* misses the point; foreshadowed is not *utrumque testamentum,* but *septuagenarius numerus.* Strict concinnity would demand *praesagato;* but even Cassiodorus might for once have been a little casual.

[43]) A complete reversal of classical syntax is Commodian Carm. apol. 948 *nec moritur filius suus ante parentes.*

[44]) For similar reasons, even classical writers break the strict rules occasionally; no wonder that the author of the Bellum Africum, striving for clarity rather than elegance, has no scruples to write: (8,5) *ipse* (Caesar) ... *cognitis condicionibus Scipionis et qui cum eo bellum contra se* (Caesarem) *gerebant, mirari* etc.

to explain as in IORDANIS Getica 131 *Vesegothae ... legatos ...
direxerunt ad Valentem imperatorem ..., ut, partem Thraciae ...
si illis traderet, eius se legibus ... subderentur et, ut fides uberior
illis haberetur, promittunt se ... fieri Christianos* (the reflexive is
used where the subject is the same as in the main clause, viz
Vesegothae; the demonstrative *illis,* where the subject is different).
—It is perhaps not accidental that in the non-biblical passages of
the Confessio the reflexive pronoun is invariably singular (the
subject, either grammatical or logical, being always God), whereas
the non-reflexive pronoun, with one exception, stands in the plural.
Scanty as is our material, it conforms with PEI's observation
(p. 202-6) that the scribes of Merovingian charters, so far from
distinguishing between reflexive and non-reflexive meaning, are
consistent in using *suus* of a single proprietor, *eorum illorum
ipsorum* of several persons. Patrick's usage, though still within
the terms of Latin syntax, might foreshadow the later Romanic
development.

With *donum et pignus inmortalitatis* (= Victorinus-Jerome)
compare IREN. IV 13,4 *amicitia Dei inmortalitatis est condonatrix;*
HILARIUS De trin. I 36 (PL X 48) *immortalitatis pignus* (= ἀρρα-
βῶνα τῆς ἀθανασίας: HAUSSLEITER CSEL 49, p. 96,9).

236,21-22: *Quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in trinitate
sacri nominis.* Quem has been referred to Christ by HITCHCOCK
HERMATHENA XIV 175, on the authority of IREN. III 18,3 *in Christi
enim nomine subauditur qui unxit et ipse qui unctus est et ipsa
unctio ... et unxit quidem Pater, unctus est uero Filius in Spiritu,
qui est unctio*[45]). OULTON 11, more plausibly, refers *quem* to *Deum*
(line 9). To me it would rather seem that the object of adoration
is the *Deus trinus et unus* of this very phrase, which thus binds
Patrick's creed together as a single whole, cf SYMB. Athan. 3 *ut
unum Deum in trinitate ... ueneremur;* COLUMBANUS Epist. 3
(p. 165,15 f. Gundlach) *corde credimus et ore confitemur unum
Deum esse in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate.*

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[45]) Against this interpretation see D. S. NERNEY I. E. R., 5. ser., 72,99, note 1;
Nerney's own interpretation (reference to the Third Person only) is perhaps too
narrow.

The fourth chapter of the Confessio is a whole not only in con-
cept but also in structure. As far as possible I have endeavoured
to make this clear by my punctuation; more illuminating would
have been a division *secundum cola et commata*. Even without this
device the creedlike structure of the whole is obvious. We must,
then, conclude that, whatever reason Patrick may have had for
making these statements here, they were based on a formal sym-
bolum. This is my main objection to the view of some scholars,
and in particular to Dr. Oulton's, viz that Patrick derived his
'creed' from the Commentary on the Apocalypse of Victorinus of
Pettau. The difficulties inherent in this theory have been discussed
in my paper 'The "Creeds" of St. Victorinus and St. Patrick' (see
above, at the beginning of this chapter). In my opinion, Patrick
draws on a Gallican creed that he had learnt in his youth. This
creed was partly based on the original text of Victorinus; it was,
perhaps, used later by St. Jerome in his revision of Victorinus'
work.

5.   *Ipse enim dixit per prophetam:* Patrick's quotations[46]) are
normally introduced by *Deus* (*Dominus*, etc) *dicit, inquit, pollicetur,*
sim., often specified by *in euangelio, per prophetam, in psalmo*
(24 instances). Impersonal *scriptum est* (cf 1 Cor 3,19) occurs four
times. The author of a sacred book is named but rarely: C 25
apostolo dicente, C 55 *sicut propheta dicit*, E 18 *ait apostolus*[47]).
In a string of quotations, various links are used: *et iterum* (four
times; cf 1 Cor 3,20; Heb 2,13; 10,30), *ideoque* (E 8), *uel* (E 8.9).
In the absence of a comprehensive study on ancient Christian
formulae of quotation, Patrick's practice cannot be seen against its
background; the essential identity of his formulae with those of
Cyprian (C. H. Turner Journ. Theol. Stud. VI 246-69; Hitchcock
Hermathena 47,219) and of the Regula Benedicti (Linderbauer 123,
and passim) suggests a common tradition.—The use of *ipse* refer-
ring to God ('He', cf emphatic αὐτός) begins with the Vetus Latina

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[46]) L. Bieler Der Bibeltext des heiligen Patrick, in Biblica 28 (1947) 240—3.
[47]) At C 9, where Newport White reads *quia inquit Sapiens: Per linguam* etc.,
I punctuate *quia, inquit, sapiens per linguam* etc.

(e.g. Rom 11,36) and extends far into the Middle Ages.—The 'prophet' here and in C 55 is David. For *propheta = psalmista* cf REG. BENED. 7,35 and LINDERBAUER 215. The use of common nouns for definite persons is attested in late antiquity[48]. Patrick's usage is still comparatively vague: his *propheta* is sometimes David, sometimes Isaiah or Jeremiah; *apostolus* refers to St. Peter in E 18, to St. Paul in C 25.—The type *Deus dicit per prophetam* prevails over *propheta dicit* (4:1)[49]; *Deus dicit per apostolum* is never found. *Deus dicit per prophetam* recalls the *haec dicit Dominus* of Old Testament prophecies. The expressions *Deus dicit per prophetam, Dominus dicit in euangelio* (always introducing words of the Lord), and *apostolus dicit* are deliberately applied to different mediators of the divine message.

The θλῖψις of Ps 49,15 is rendered here by the common *tribulatio,* in C 20—a mere allusion, probably via Cyprian (BIBLICA 28,255 f.)— by the archaic, and more literal, *pressura.*

236,24 f.: *Et iterum inquit: Opera autem Dei* etc: To introduce a second quotation by *et iterum dicit* is biblical style: Rom 15,10; Ioh 19,37.—*Inquit* precedes a quotation as early as APULEIUS (Met. VIII 18, cf Hildebrand ad loc.); it occurs also in Tertullian, Victorinus and other ecclesiastics[50].—Subject of *inquit* may be the preceding *ipse*—a common ellipsis, in Patrick as elsewhere. At 237,20; 238,10; 255,20, however, *inquit* is impersonal (= *scriptum est*); on this 'intransitive' *inquit* (*ait, dicit*) see LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 319 f.; Stud. Synt. 130-6[51]). A model was provided by Rom 15,9.10 (VL = VULG) *sicut scriptum est: Propter hoc ... Et iterum dicit: Laetamini* etc. Patrick may have thought of it when writing

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[48] IUSTINIANUS Institutiones I 2,2 *sed quotiens non addimus cuius sit ciuitatis nostrum ius significamus: sicuti cum poetam dicimus nec addimus nomen subauditur apud Graecos egregius Homerus, apud nos Vergilius.*

[49] With *propheta dicit* C 55 Patrick quotes words of the psalmist, not of the Lord.

[50] Common in this position is *inquiens* after a finite verb of saying, e.g. Marc 12,26 *quomodo dixerit ... Dominus inquiens* (*dicens* VLalq): *Ego* etc. (*inquiens* om b aur VULGF).

[51] Comparable is φησί as a reference to philosophical authorities (Plato, Aristotle) in PLOTINUS (e.g. Enneades I 1,4.8; 2,1 a. o.).

(C 11, 238,9-11) *scriptum est enim: Linguae balbutientes ... Quanto magis nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus, inquit, epistola Christi.*

6.   *Opto fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam:* This fusion of classical *opto alicui aliquid* and the early and late Latin infinitive construction seems unparalleled. Is the dative here a vague reminiscence of *fratribus et cognatis* (ablative!) Luc 21,16?

For *qualitas* 'type, sort, character' cf IREN. V 9,3 *qualitatem autem Spiritus assumens* (HITCHCOCK HERMATHENA 14,177); CYPR. De lapsis 28 *qualitas delicti.*

With *possint perspicere* compare *esse uide(n)tur* (C 1.41), and periphrastic *coepi* (C 18, 240,13) and *merere, -ri* (C 32; E 21). All this is characteristically late Latin: LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 207-11.

Votum animae meae is modelled on biblical expressions: Ier 2,24 *in desiderio animae suae;* Apoc 18,14 *desiderii animae ⟨tuae* D vg⟩.

7.   *Verbum otiosum* etc: See Part I, p. 35. The nominatiuus pendens, as also in C 18 (Part I, p. 33) and C 42 (248,18), though common in late Latin, especially in technical works, is in our text probably a biblical element: RADERMACHER Neutest. Gramm. 21 ff.; W. HAVERS IF 43 (1925) 207 ff.; Glotta 16,94 ff.; PLATER 19; SVENNUNG Orosiana 178 ff.; CHR. MOHRMANN Glotta 21,20 ff.; E. H. STURTEVANT Introduction to linguistic science, 1947,114[52]).

Locuti fuerint is the first instance in our text of the late Latin 'tense shifts': *fui* for *sum* in the perfect passive; pluperfect for imperfect, future perfect for future in both active and passive: BONNET 641-5; M. LEUMANN GLOTTA 11,192 ff.; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 561-5; HOPPE 60 f.; MULLER Chronology 78; SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN II 35 ff.; MERKX 106 ff. I deliberately refrain from a discussion of the phenomenon and merely present the evidence of Patrick's text. We count seven instances (two of them biblical) of the type *locuti fuerint* (4 pluperfect, 3 future perfect); in the active, pluperfect for imperfect is restricted to *debueram*[53]). Among 22 instances (ten

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[52]) In passing I note some late instances from the biographers of St. Patrick: Muirchú I. 15 (LA fol. 3v*β*4—9); Tírechán, LA fol. 11r*α*40—*β*2; 14r*β*24—7.

[53]) Pluperfect for imperfect seems on the whole to be less frequent than Future II for Future I: ROBERT, p. lxxi; HAUSSLEITER 180,14; 183,15; BONNET 641 ff.; BLATT 194. A large portion of the future perfect forms is provided by the auxiliaries *esse habere posse uelle:* JURET 298 f.; H. BLASE ALL X 317 ff.

biblical) of Future II for Future I, 6 are forms of *esse*, 5 of *uelle*, and 11 of other verbs (for non-biblical passages the ratio is 4: 4: 4); eight instances occur in conditional clauses, five (all non-biblical) in generalizing relative clauses, in which for Patrick this 'shift' is a strict rule.

8.   *Debueram* = *debebam* 'I ought to' was used but occasionally by Cicero (HOPPE 39 f.). Ovid introduced it into dactylic verse, which, in its stricter form, has little room for *debebam*. In prose the substitution is rare before Tertullian (TAC. Ann. XIII 36; FRONTO p. 15,15 Naber). It gains ground in late Latin: TERT. Apol. 25,16 *et ab hostibus ergo suis* (dii Romanorum) *sustinent adorari et illis 'imperium sine fine' decernunt, quorum magis iniurias quam adulationes remunerasse debuerant* (more in HOPPE 39 f.)[54]); COMMODIAN Instruct. I 11,10 f. *torruit hunc* (Apollinem) *uirgo specie, quam ille deberet. illa prior utique debuerat deum amasse;* II 9,6; later GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. I 47; II 3[55]).—*Debueram* is again so used in C 46, 249,28 f., *nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram;* elsewhere in our text (C 10.12.44.46,249,17) it seems to stand always for the simple imperfect *debebam* 'it was my duty'.

Cum timore et tremore: Duplication of synonyms is either rhetorical or pathetic. It is a feature of the language of Cicero (LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 175 f.) as well as of Tertullian (LÖFSTEDT Tert. 69-72) and Augustine (BALMUS 207-20); but even a popular preacher or writer would use it almost instinctively. There is a score of instances in the writings of St. Patrick; significantly enough, only two (the present one and E 18 *peccator et impius*) are biblical.

The phrase *in illa die ubi* has parallels in the Pentateuch of Lyons, and in the Vetus Latina of Cyprian and Augustine (BILLEN 160). See also LÖFSTEDT Stud. Synt. 11-13.

With *nemo se poterit subtrahere uel abscondere* compare VL

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[54]) On *oportuerat* = *oportebat*, ibid. note 3.

[55]) Under the influence of Greek, the indicative of *any* verb can stand in the apodosis of the irrealis (HOPPE Syntax 68 f.; ADAMS Patr. Stud. XII. 82). Even Boethius writes once (Phil. Cons. II. 7,20) *intellexeram si tacuisses* (= ἔγνων ἂν εἰ ἐσίγας). FREDEGARIUS III. 20, p. 101,12) produces the monstrosity *in nomine deorum meorum puer fuisset, uixerat* (HAAG 93).

Act 20,27 (IREN. III 14,2) *non enim subtraxi* (= d) *uti non annun-*
tiarem (*non enim subterfugi* [= e; ὑπεστειλάμην] *quominus annun-*
tiarem VULG); AUG. Conf. II 6,13 *cuius potestati ... subtrahi quid*
... potest? VL Ier 23,24 *si absconditur* (so Iren: *abscondetur*
HierLXX. *absconditus fuerit* m Cypr) *homo* (VULG: *occultabitur*).
Se subtrahere, which seems unparalleled, is probably a zeugmatic
prolepsis of the second element.

Omnis omnino is a set phrase of wide circulation[56]). It is only
in this phrase, with its impressive assonance, that Patrick knows
omnino.—Reddituri sumus (Patrick's model, Rom 14,12, has
reddet!) here and the same periphrasis in C 39 *ab omni mundo*
uenturi sunt credentes convey the idea of something that is bound
to take place.

9.   *Quapropter olim cogitaui scribere, sed et* (om Φ) *usque nunc*
haesitaui. Against White², I have decided for *sed et* (D). It is the
peculiar late Latin use of *et* as a mere particle of correspondence:
MINUCIUS FELIX Oct. 25,6 *tot de diis spolia quot de gentibus et*
tropaea; TERT. Apol. 40,12 *illius rea est cuius et ingrata;* cf Iordanis
ed. Mommsen p. 187; LÖFSTEDT Krit. Bem. 94; Peregrinatio 43;
HOPPE 119. We may translate here 'but, on the other hand'. So I
understand Luc 24,21-22 *nos autem sperabamus quia ipse esset*
redempturus Israhel; et nunc super haec omnia, tertia dies hodie
quod haec (the crucifixion) *facta sunt. sed et* (*sed* om a b c ff₂ r₁;
et om Q ἀλλὰ καί GR) *mulieres quaedam ex nostris terruerunt nos*
(saying that Christ was alive). The two unenlightened disciples,
stulti et tardi corde ad credendum (24,25), stand bewildered be-
tween their depressing experience on the one side and the incredible
news on the other—until 'their eyes are opened'.

Vsque nunc (for classical *usque adhuc*) is known from the
Vetus Latina (cf Marc 13,19: k; Matth 24,21: d e Cypr Iren), the
Vulgate *(usque nunc* Marc 13,19, but *usque modo* Matth 24,21; cf
PLATER 62) and other late Latin literature, e.g. AMBROSIASTER (ex-

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[56]) In Christian literature a.o. TERT. De orat. 12; CYPR. Epist. 56,1; VICT. VIT.
II 19.73; IREN. V 12,5; COMMOD. Instr. I 35,23; II 20,16; SIDONIUS Epist. VIII 1,3.
—Not in Vulgate.

plaining the *usque adhuc* of 1 Cor 4,13); Filastrius 111,4; Cassian
Conlat. X 5,1; Ruricius Epist. II 9,1; Iordanis (three times); Vitae
Patrum (see Salonius 227); Gregory of Tours (frequent, beside
usque hodie). The inversion *nunc usque* is recorded a.o. from
Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, PsAugustine's Quaestiones, Cassian, Ior-
danis.

Ne incederem in linguam hominum—translated correctly by Sir
Samuel Ferguson (Trans R.I.A. 27, 1885, 72) 'lest I should fall in
censure of men's tongues'—is difficult to explain. Cicero writes
(with a tinge of colloquialism) *insermonem incidemus* Epist. IX
3,1; *in uarios sermones incidebam* Ad Attic. XVI 2,4; cf in Verrem
III 15,38 (*in calumnias incidere*)[57]). The metaphor *lingua = obtrec-
tatio* is also of long standing. Patrick's double metaphor is possibly
modelled on Eccli 28,27 *qui relinquunt Deum incident in illam* (i.e.
linguam nequam).—On similar grounds Sulpicius Severus excuses
his hesitation to publish a Life of St. Martin (1,1): *iudicia humana
uitabam, ne ... sermo incultior legentibus displiceret.*

Sicut et ceteri (also C 11.44.57; *sicut et* C 46) is biblical (1 Thess
5,6, where *et* is omitted in VULG [ACHRT al] as in the leading
Greek uncials ℵ* AB). For *sicut et,* where *et* is again a 'particle of
correspondence', see Löfstedt Beiträge 94[1]; Peregrinatio 43.

Qui optime itaque etc: With the possible exception of C 14,
itaque is always enclitic—some sort of 'relief' for the preceding
word. Here it seems to give *optime* an ironical undertone.

What follows has been a stumbling block to all interpreters—
beginning with the scribe of V, who boldly wrote *qui optime sacris
litteris imbuti sunt et studium suum ex infantia numquam
mutauerunt.* It is largely a problem of textual criticism. As locus
infectus I regard *iure,* which was corrected to *iura* by Dr. J. Gwynn;
utroque (D) must, then, be a secondary alteration. *Iura et sacras
litteras* stands for the whole of secular and religious learning, see
this commentary on C 13 *sapientes et legis periti. Vtraque* for
utrumque in apposition after a pair of nouns (frequent in the
Vulgate: Kaulen 173, in Irenaeus: Hitchcock Hermathena 51, 1938,

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[57]) Different is *in mentionem incidere,* Laelius 1,2; cf *incidere in homines*
'to come across (certain) people': Aug. De beata uita 1,4; Conf. III 6,10.

66 f., a.o.) seems to be an element of *Volkssprache:* LINDERBAUER 162; *utrisque* = *utrique* in Pompei: CIL IV 2457.

The metaphor *qui iura et sacras litteras ... combiberunt* has a surprisingly close parallel in CICERO De fin. III 2,9 *quas* (artes) *si dum est tener* (puer) *combiberit, ad maiora ueniet paratior*[58]). This is perhaps no accident. In pleading his case against those who despise him as unlearned, Patrick makes use of certain elements of literary prose: here alone in the Confessio (except in the 'creed') we find *atque* (237,20); here alone he writes *uidentur esse* (*esse uidetur, -ntur* C 1.41); here alone, as far as I can see, Patrick deliberately employs clausulae: C 9 *usque nunc haesitaui* $-\smile-|-\smile--$; *(sicut et ceteri* $-\smile-|-\smile-$)[59]; *pari modo combiberunt* $\smile|-\smile-|-\smile--$; *numquam mutarunt* $\measuredangle-\measuredangle|\measuredangle-$; *semper addiderunt* $-\smile|-\smile--$; *instructus atque eruditus* $-|-\smile-|-\smile-\smile$; C 10 *in iuuen* | *tute non comparaui* $-\smile-|-\smile--$; *(ante perlegeram* $-\smile-|-\smile-$; *ante praefatus sum* $-\smile-|\measuredangle-$)[60]. Stylistic parody is an essential element of ancient polemics and satire. However poor its effect, the tendency is obvious. Is this isolated Ciceronian phrase—an echo, maybe, of Patrick's schooldays—part of the scheme?

Sed magis (where *magis* = *potius*, cf German *vielmehr*) is found in Latin poetry since the first century B.C. (LUTATIUS, Epigr. 1,4; CATUL. 66,87; LUCR. I 481); it was avoided by Virgil, Horace, the classical and early post-classical prose writers, but became frequent again in ecclesiastical and late Latin: LEUMANN-HOFMANN 672; in ACTA ANDREAE 75,19 f., 89,24 f. Blatt it is preferred to the simple ἀλλά of the original. Patrick has *sed magis* several times, once even *sed magis potius* (E 21).

Ad perfectum semper addiderunt must mean 'they made a steady progress towards perfection'. Comparable is FLAVIUS VOPISCUS Aurel. 9,5 *nihil praeterea possum addere tanto uiro ad muneris gratiam.* With Patrick's absolute *addere* one may compare

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[58]) Augustine always uses the commoner *imbibere:* Conf. VII 5,7; 20,26.

[59]) Recurrent biblical formula, see above.

[60]) Similar commata, of analogous rhythmical structure, occur in C 34 (*ante praedixerat*), C 52 (*ante praeuidimus*), E 11 *ante praenuntiauit*. It is the frequency of metrical cadences here that indicates deliberate intention.

VULG Os 13,2 *addiderunt ad peccandum* (προσέθεντο τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν)
—perhaps a variety of the Hebraism found in 1 Reg 3,21; Luc
20,11.12: PLATER 23.—*Ad perfectum* implies finality: Heb 7,19
nihil enim ad perfectum adduxit (*adtulit* L. *consummauit* d e) *lex*
(οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος); IREN. IV 39,2 *ascendes ad perfectum.*
Cf also EUAGRIUS (Athanasius) Vita S. Antonii 66 *quotidie ad
meliora crescebat;* AUG. Ciu. Dei XX 16 *mundus in melius innouatus;*
XXI 27,2.

The words *sermo et loquela nostra,* a reference to either Ps 18,4
or Ioh 8,43, obviously mean 'what we are saying', 'our writing'.
The 'pluralis modestiae' is used most frequently in an author's
references to his work. Gregory of Tours, e.g., refers to himself
as author in the plural, but otherwise always in the singular
(BONNET 497 f.)[61]). Patrick refers to himself in the plural again in
E 9 *per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae,* where he thinks in the
first place of preaching, but possibly also of pastoral letters, and in
C 32 *doleo cur hoc meruimus,* perhaps an echo of St. Jerome. In
all other instances—even, I think in C 33, 245,8, where *nobis* is
continued by *in terra captiuitatis meae* (biblical!), the plural in-
cludes Patrick and his fellow-workers. If, as would appear, the
sermo et loquela nostra is the text of the Confessio, Patrick admits
here that it was not natural for him to talk or write Latin, and,
consequently, that the Confessio was conceived (not necessarily
drafted) in a different language. This is suggested also by E 20
non mea uerba, sed Dei . . ., quod ego Latinum exposui. For Patrick,
to write Latin always meant some effort. To use his own words:
'it can be proved from the savour of my writing (*ex saliua scrip-
turae meae*—a unique expression) what my liberal education is
like'. In order to write Latin well it would have been necessary for
Patrick to study it intensely—from which, unlike his opponents,
he was prevented by the circumstances of his life.

The inversion *sum ego* is frequent in the Bible. From the Psalms
alone I note[62]):

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[61]) In the early ecclesiastics this plural is explained differently by SCHRIJNEN-
MOHRMANN I 65—8 ('altchristlicher Kurialstil').

[62]) Variants are given only for the words *sum ego.*

24, 16   quia unicus et pauper sum ego (ego sum Rgr. lat. H)
85, 1   quoniam inops et pauper sum ego (ego sum Rlat Aug)
108, 22 quia egenus et pauper sum ego (Rom MozOL Medman [AR Luk]gr: ego sum
         . PsVcett Gall)
118, 63 particeps sum ego (Hil Rom G C MozLG Medman: ego sum PsVcett Gall
         . Heb GR)
118, 94 tuus sum ego (ego sum Heb)
118,125 seruus tuus sum ego (ego sum Aug)
118,141 adulescentulus sum ego (ego sum [AR Luk]gr R Aug A Heb MozLG Med)
140,10   singulariter sum ego (ego sum Rgr. lat Aug).

From other parts of the Bible I quote at random Gen 4,9 (VULG.
LXX); Ex 4,10 (Lugd Ambr Aug and 6 Greek minuscules: *ego* om
VULG); 2 Reg 7,18 (LXX: *ego sum* Ambr Patr VULG); Ioh 14,3
(*sum ego* dim h δ VULGpl GR-om: *ego sum* a-d f ff₂ q aur VULGEΦJ);
17,24 (*sum ego* dim δ vg GR-om: *ego sum* VLpl VULG); 18,37 (*rex
sum ego* VL VULG-om GR: *ego rex sum* ϱ=)[63]). Outside the Bible, we
read e.g. VITAE PATRUM V 15,66 *scis quis sum ego* (oblique question,
as in Confessio). None of these passages, however, furnishes a
parallel to *sum ego* as part of a composite verbal form.

In sermonibus instructus atque eruditus.: Instrumental ablative
with *in* is a biblical hebraism (LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 452-6;
ROENSCH 396 f.; KAULEN 240 f.; PLATER 20) that has spread widely
among ecclesiastics; the weaker the classical tradition the greater
has been its success, hence its frequency in such authors as Patrick
or Gregory of Tours (BONNET 616 ff.).—For the phrase compare
2 Tim 3,16-17 *ad erudiendum in iustitia* (*ad iustitiam* d e) ... *ad
omne opus bonum instructus;* AETHERIA Peregr. 25,1 *ut ... erudia-
tur populus in scripturis.*

*Quia, inquit, sapiens per linguam dinoscetur et sensus et scientia
et doctrina ueritatis:* According to the traditional punctuation *quia
inquit Sapiens: Per linguam* etc, Patrick would testify to the litur-
gical practice of quoting all didactic books of the Old Testament as
Liber Sapientiae (*Salomonis*)—of which there seems to exist no

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[63]) The biblical usage has some antecedent in vulgar Latin of earlier times,
cf PLAUT. Asin. 220 *auceps sum ego*, and the frequent postposition of *ego* after
verbs (but not after *esse*) in Petronius (SEGEBADE-LOMMATZSCH 58).

other record of such early date[64]).—To me, however, it seems more likely that *inquit* is used intransitively (see C 5, 236,24), and *sapiens* opens the quotation.

The Old Latin text of Eccli 4,29 is almost uniform. *Dinoscetur* (D), if more than a phonetic spelling, would be a remarkable agreement with LXX against all Latin versions. In other respects, Patrick's quotation, apparently made from memory, is not quite exact, cf *per linguam* (*in lingua* all Latin texts, with LXX) and the omission of *in uerbo* (or *-is*) before *ueritatis*. It may thus be permissible to assume that Patrick—unconsciously—replaced *sapientia* by *sapiens*, all the more so as he applies the biblical text to his own person.

10. *Iuxta ueritatem* '(even) in accordance with truth'. *Iuxta* 'according to' is exclusively late Latin: GRANDGENT § 80; PLATER 85.

Praesumptio meaning 'audacity, impudence' is typically ecclesiastical: TERT. De cultu fem. 2 *praesumptio impedimentum timoris;* SULPICIUS SEVERUS Chron. I 33,4 *illicita praesumptione;* AUG. Conf. VII 20 *quid interesset inter praesumptionem et confessionem;* cf Salonius 422 f. (semantic development of *praesumere*). Patrick's *praesumptio* is his decision to write the Confessio.

Quatenus (on the spelling see GEORGES) might be used here with its classical meaning 'in so far as', and not as a synonym of *quia*[65]). —*Modo = nunc* (as always in our text): LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 240 f.—*Comparare* is here almost 'to learn', cf Italian *imparare.*— Patrick's words are probably an echo of Eccli 25,5 (AMBR. De consol. Valent. 12, sim. VULG) *quae in iuuentute tua non congregasti, quomodo inuenies in senetute ⟨tua Spec⟩?*

Quod obstiterunt peccata mea ut confirmarem quod ante perlegeram: Quod (*quia* P Δ; 'because' Newport White) is probably the accusative neuter of the relative pronoun, as in C 20 *quod*

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[64]) The earliest witness known to me is MS Würzburg Mp. theol. f. 62, saec. VII—VIII, of Irish provenance: CABRIOL-LECLERCQ Dict. de l'archéologie chrét. et de liturgie VIII 2285, note 4. In the Schlettstadt fragments of a Merovingian lectionary, Proverbs are quoted as *lictio prouerbiae salomonis* (fol. 8v): G. MORIN Etudes, textes, découvertes I (1913) 441.

[65]) On *quatenus = ut, quia, quomodo* see WÖLFFLIN ALL V 399—414; SALONIUS 354—6; BONNET 328, and ACTA APOSTOLORUM APOCRYPHA index.

(*cuius* G') *memor ero;* C 32 *quod* (*quo* v) *non eram dignus.* As
often in late vulgar Latin, indeclinable *quod* is here used as a
'relative symbol'[66]). With this *quod* (= *cui rei*), which is explained
by the epexegesis *ut ... perlegeram,* Patrick refers loosely to the
contents of the preceding clause[67]).—For *confirmare* 'to consolidate',
'to master' (Newport White), cf IULIUS VALERIUS I 32 *recoltis uerbis
et memoriae confirmatis.* By his captivity, which he regards as a
punishment for his sins (C 1), Patrick was prevented from the
most essential part of learning—from digesting what he had read
only perfunctorily[68]).

Quis me credit perhaps foreshadows the unstressed pre-verbal
pronoun of Romance (*Qui est-ce qui me croit?*)[69]). An isolated early
instance seems to be VARRO Rer. rust. III 16,2 *a quo* (Lucullo)
hereditate me cessa. The construction is rare in texts before the
seventh century (NORBERG 171 f.), but may have been much older
in the spoken language. Patrick has it so often that we might
accept it also at 241,17.

Pleonasms of the type *ante praefatus sum* (cf C 34.52. E 11)
are frequent, especially in late authors (Tertullian: LÖFSTEDT Tert.
88 f.; Cyprian: WATSON 237; SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I 23-5; Cassian,
see Petschenig's index; Historia Augusta, see LESSING 31). With
ante ... praedixerat (C 34) in particular, compare TAC. Dial. 18,2
ante praedixero (cf 28,3); PLINY Epist. X 67,2 *ut ante praedixi;*
HIST. AUG. Clodius Albinus 9,4; HIER. Vita Hilarionis 27; SULPIC.

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[66]) Cf ROBERT, p. lxviii; E. RANKE Par palimpsestorum Virceburgensium (1871)
415; ZIEGLER Pentateuch, p. xiii; the indices to Cassian, Iordanis, Gregory of
Tours; BONNET 390—7, 509; HAAG 51; PEI 175—80. In some of the biblical in-
stances the neuter may be explained by the different gender of Greek and Latin
equivalents.

[67]) Cf PLAUTUS Epid. 130—2 *quod ad me attinuit ego curaui, quod mandauisti
mihi / impetratumst: empta ancillast, quod tute ad me litteras / missiculabas.*

[68]) *Perlegere,* which in classical Latin means 'to read from one end to the
other', is used to render ἐντυγχάνειν 'to read' in the Collectio Casinensis 305,1
(ACTA CONCILIORUM I/4. 232,31 = I/5. 295,28).

[69]) Explained by analogy (after *sectari*) by M. REGULA Glotta 31 (1951) 184.
Regula's article (Besonderheiten der lat. Syntax und Stilistik als Vorspiele
romanischer Ausdrucksweisen) came into my hands too late for continuous
reference.

Sev. Vita s. Martini 3,4; ThLL II 136,47 ff. It is an element of early Christian curial and pastoral style (Schrijnen-Mohrmann), for which it was recommended as a clausula; note that most of the instances referred to scan either $-\smile-|-\smile$ or $-\smile-|-\smile-$.

Inuerbis (D: *in uerbis* Φ) might be a vulgar spelling of *imberbis* 'beardless' (substituted by Ware), which, beside earlier *imberbus,* was current since the time of Cicero: ThLL VII 424,63 ff. It seems possible, however, that Patrick coined *inuerbis* 'speechless' after the analogy of *imbellis iniugis.*

The D-reading *quid peterum uel quid adpeterem*[70]), disproved by Patrick's obvious model (see Testimonia; D. S. Nerney I. E. R., 5. ser., 72, 1949, 23), might represent an undeleted scribal mistake with its subsequent correction.

Vnde ergo hodie erubesco et uehementer pertimeo denudare imperitiam meam: Hodie in the wider sense of 'now, at present' is specifically biblical: ThLL VI 2849,56 ff., and so is *timere* with infinitive: Gen 19,30 *timuit enim manere* (*sedere* Hier. *habitare* Aug) *in Segor;* Matth 1,20 *noli timere accipere* (*assumere, suscipere* VL) *Mariam;* cf Cypr. de mortalitate 12 *nec amittere filium timuit.* —Metaphorical *denudare* is rare in non-Christian Latin: ThLL V 550,42 ff. gives only three references: Varro Ling. Lat. IX 112 *suam inscientiam denudat;* Livy XLIV 38,1; Seneca dial. IX 17,1. Patrick's agreement with Varro is noteworthy.

The following passage is difficult to interpret. Our MSS read *quia desertis breuitate sermone explicare nequeo. Sermone⟨m⟩ explicare* (White) has some support in C 61 *breuiter exponam uerba confessionis meae.* The classical phrase is just the opposite: *sermo explicat,* Cicero Cato 3; C. Iulius Victor Ars rhet. 27, p. 447,41 Halm. On the other hand, we read in Ecclesiastes, 1,8 (A vg; VL differs) *cunctae res difficiles: non potest eas homo explicare sermone.* Instrumental *uerbo* (-is) is often added to a verb of saying in late Latin: Amm. Marc. XVI 12,28 *Caesar . . . agmina peditum . . . uerbis hortabatur;* Matth 8,8 *sed tantum dic uerbo* (Löfstedt Syntactica II 186 f.); cf 25 *uerbis exprimere* (biblical); E 14

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[70]) In its support M. Hitchcock quotes Iren. IV 28,2 *aucta est . . . adaucta est* (Hermathena 54,101).

qui te communicat uerbis adulationis. If *sermone explicare* means
'to explain in words', *breuitate* must be connected with *desertis*[71])
'versed in breviloquy'. Recommendations of brevity are a common-
place in ancient textbooks of rhetoric[72]). Patrick implies that, unlike
his opponents, he lacks the art of saying much in few words.
The sequence of the two ablatives *breuitate sermone*, awkward as
it is, was probably caused by Patrick's desire to ridicule the
elaborate style of his critics. He accumulates phrases which he
considers elegant, because they differ from his usual manner of
speech[73]); the result would rather have confirmed those critics in
their opinion.—The object of *explicare* can be supplied from the
context.

The words *sicut enim spiritus gestit et animus, et sensus mon-
strat adfectus* must, I think, be connected with those preceding.
'For this reason, then, I am now ashamed and much afraid to reveal
my inexperience, because I am unable to explain (it all) in words
to those expert in breviloquy—in such a way, I mean, as my spirit
and mind longs and the meaning (of my words) shows forth my
feelings'.—*Sicut enim:* Some late authors, adopting a Greek practice,
insert *enim, ut* and other determinative conjunctions and particles
in clauses where they are not really needed. This construction has
perhaps its roots in the literal translation of Greek conjunctions
with participles[74]); once established, it was imitated in original

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[71]) This spelling (cf C 11,238,11) is well attested by MSS, e.g. at Cic. epist.
III 11,5; Seneca epist. 45,3 (pL): ThLL V 1377,20 f. On the other hand, we get
diserto at Verg. Aen. XII 664 (Mediceus, first hand). The phonetic fluctuation
was utilized for a lusus uerborum by Augustine Conf. II 3,5 *cum ... non sata-
geret ... pater qualis crescerem tibi ..., dummodo essem disertus uel desertus
potius a cultura tua.*—D has *disertum* for *desertum*, C 19.22.

[72]) It is characteristic that in the Bible *breuitas* is found only twice—in
2 Macc 2,29 *breuitati studentes* (τῆς ἐπιτομῆς διαπονοῦντες) and 2,32 *breuitatem
... dictionis sectari* (τὸ .. σύντομον τῆς λέξεως μεταδιώκειν).

[73]) Cf the hyper-urbanisms of Trimalchio and his guests in Petronius. The
'refined' language of the parvenu belongs to the stock-in-trade of comedy.
Patrick, of course, is in full earnest.

[74]) The translator of Cyrillus Epist. ad Nestorium 3,6 (Acta Conciliorum I/2,
p. 48,19 f.) (Filius) *cum utique secundum naturam suam existens impassibilis,
carne passus est pro nobis* contaminates the two ways of rendering the καίτο
ὑπάρχων of his original, *cum existeret* and *utique existens.*

Latin. It is frequent in TERTULLIAN, e.g. ad nationes I 7 (68,25) *oro uos, extraneis unde notitia, cum enim (etiam* Rigaltius) *iusta et licita mysteria omnem arbitrum extraneum caueant?* (HARTEL III 70 f.). Cf E 20, 259,2-4 *uerba ... Dei et apostolorum atque prophetarum, qui numquam enim mentiti sunt* (where V has altered).— *Spiritus gestit et animus* recalls a Ciceronian phrase, *animus gestit* (ad Att. II 7,4). *Spiritus et animus* = πνεῦμα καὶ νοῦς. Similarly Cassian distinguishes between *mens* and *spiritus*, Conlat. IX 15,2 *mens solet ineffabiles ad Deum preces effundere, quas ipse spiritus emittit ad Deum, tanta ... profundens quanta ne ipsa quidem mente ualeat alio tempore recordari.* Patrick never speaks of his mind as his *mens;* the word occurs only twice, in the formula *mens hominum* C 12, and the almost adverbial phrase *hostili mente* E 12[75]).— What Patrick's mind, and the spirit within him, is longing for can be guessed from the *sensus* (the 'meaning', viz of his words)[76]), if not always from his *sermo*. The meaning of Patrick's Confessio reveals his *adfectus* (i.e. *adfectus animi* 'mental dispositions', 'longings', cf De duodecim abusiuis saeculi p. 41,13 Hellmann *corporis habitu ... et animi affectu interno;* p. 50,17 *mentis affectu; affectus = uoluntas* is frequent in patristic literature, see Hartel's index to Paulinus of Nola; AUG. de catechizandis rudibus 2,3; al.).

11.   *Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et ceteris, uerumtamen non silerem propter retributionem* suffers from an overflow of particles. Bury's suggestion (see WHITE 321) to begin a new sentence with *uerumtamen* only adds to the difficulties already existing. In my opinion, *sed* and *uerumtamen* form together one (pleonastic) conjunction (cf C 18 *sed uerumtamen*) and *itaque* emphasizes the conditional force of *si:* 'if indeed'. Patrick says: 'However, if indeed

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[75]) In late and mediaeval Latin *mens*—apart from quasi-adverbial *mente*— always means 'organ of thinking': VOSSLER 73.—Does Patrick distinguish ψυχή νοῦς πνεῦμα? At any rate, *anima* occurs twice in a context where it cannot mean 'soul' as a term of theology: C 6 *uotum animae meae* 'my heart's desire', and C 32 *cui ego credidi etiam animam* 'to whom I entrusted even the secret of my heart'.

[76]) There can be no thought here of the conventional contrast *animus-sensus* as e.g. in AUG. Conf. X 6,9.

it had been givn to me as it was to others, then I would not be
silent in my desire of giving thanks, and if some people think me
arrogant for doing so even in the absence of this gift, I am justified
by the word of Scripture"[77]).—*Propter retributionem*, which in its
original context (Ps 118,112) means 'on account of the reward', is
given here the meaning 'praise of God in acknowledgment of His
graces', cf *ad retribuendum* C 12, *unde autem retribuam* C 57; CYPR.
epist. 76,3 *ad retributionem praemiorum caelestium.*

Forte 'by accident' has become a synonym of *fortasse* 'perhaps'
by some sort of re-interpretation. We see the process at work in
HORACE Epod. 16, 15 ff. *forte, quod expediat, communiter aut melior
pars / malis carere quaeritis laboribus: / nulla sit hac potior sen-
tentia*, where *forte*, in an asyndetic structure, corresponds to *si forte*
('if, by any chance') in subordination; characteristically, Porphyrio
paraphrases it with *fortasse*. An intermediate stage is elliptic *si
forte = fortasse*, e.g. TERT. de corona 5 *coronam si forte fascem
existimas florum;* AGRIMENSORES I 241,11-13 Blume-Lachmann-Ru-
dorff *ubi duo fines cuneati se iungunt, si forte* ('for instance, sup-
posing') *in campestribus locis:* ROENSCH Tert. 602-4. *Forte = for-
tasse* occurs first in VITRUVIUS de arch. V 5,7; VI praef. 4; it is fre-
quent in Victor Vitensis (PETSCHENIG p. 157), Commodian (eleven
times), Aetheria (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 47-9), Gregory of Tours
(BONNET 306 f.)—all admittedly 'low' authors. Patrick uses always
forte or (once: C 33) *forsitan*, but never the 'highbrow' *fortasse*[78]).

Videtur ... me praeponere, if correct, would be an unusual,
though not unparalleled (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 46) contamination
of *uideor me praeponere* and *uidetur quod me praepono.*

Aliquanti = aliquot, quidam (so always in our text, as often
in late Latin, though not in the Vulgate) is a development of *quanti
tanti = quot tot* (ROENSCH 336 ff.; LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 147;

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[77]) A closer translation is possible in German: 'Wäre es mir aber gegeben
gewesen wie den andern, dann hätte ich *doch* nicht geschwiegen'. For *tamen*
with a similar meaning as *uerumtamen* here see LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 30 f.

[78]) So LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 47. It is, however, not more than a tendency.
Jerome, e.g., prefers *forsitan* (LUNDSTRÖM 119 f.); in the Historia Augusta *forsitan*
is not found at all, *forte fortasse fortassis* are equally frequent.

ThLL I 1605,35 ff.)[79]). The *aliquanti* here are probably identical
with the *aliqui* of E 1 and the *rethorici* of C 13, are included in the
plurimi of C 1, but are different from the *aliquanti seniores* of C 26
and those of C 37[80]).—*Se praeponere* 'to thrust oneself forward' is,
to all appearances, a solecism.

In the apodosis, the conglomeration of particles *sed etiam scrip-
tum est enim* should perhaps, with P. Grosjean, be read *sed etiam
(scriptum est enim) ...* Restrictive *sed*, occasionally *sed et* (cf
ἀλλά, ἀλλὰ καί), is frequent in Tertullian (16 instances in Oehler's
index; HOPPE Syntax 108; Beiträge 127 f.) and other late authors
(LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 203), e.g. TERT. de corona 13 *etsi libertas
uidetur, sed et seruitus uidebitur;* de spect. 8 ex. *et si loca nos non
contaminant per se, sed quaeque in locis fiunt* (so Hoppe, with B);
ENNODIUS epist. IX 11,2 *etsi sit spes nostra adhuc caeca, sed quod
conueniens esse nouerat ... promeruit.* Some lines below in our text
(238,11-12) we read *et si non deserta, sed ... scripta in cordibus
uestris.* The whole structure: negative statement, objection intro-
duced by *et si* and destroyed by restrictive *sed*, has a parallel in
2 Cor 5,16 *itaque nos ex hoc neminem nouimus secundum carnem:
et si cognouimus secundum carnem Christum, sed nunc non
nouimus*[81]).—*Etiam* (quoted with this function only from Plautus:
ThLL V 941,8-11) is more emphatic than the commoner *et*: 'there
may be the obstacle of my *tardior lingua;* but there is *also* the
consoling prophecy given to the *linguae balbutientes*'.—If the
formula *scriptum est enim* (Matth 4,6 a.o.) does not stand in
parenthesis, *enim* might indicate a subconscious argument: 'I need
not be ashamed of my lack of learning, *because* it is written that ...'.
Under the strain of self-defence, different lines of argument tend

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[79]) With C 32 *ab aliquantis fratribus* cf PEREGR. AETHERIAE 10,3 *fratribus ali-
quantis;* HIER. in Marc p. 328,3 Morin *aliquanti fratres.* Though hardly a set
formula, the two words would often be used together.

[80]) These two references cannot, in my opinion, be to the same persons: BIELER
67 f., 77,135—7.

[81]) Patrick seems to have consciously modelled his Confessio on St. Paul's
defence before the Corinthians: D. S. NERNEY I. E. R., 5. ser., 71,497—507; 72,
14—21.

to interfere with each other—as is to be expected of a person un-
trained in the art of self-expression.

The formula *quanto magis* is frequent in the Bible (31 instances
in VULG).—*Adpetere debemus* without object may pass as a
reference to C 10, 237,23; 238,2 (cf WHITE 285).

What follows is a contamination of Act 13,47 and 2 Cor 3,2.3,
with some change of meaning. For St. Paul, the Corinthians are
epistola Christi and also his 'letter of introduction'; St. Patrick,
justifying his 'confession' by his vocation, calls *himself* 'a letter of
Christ, for salvation, to the boundaries of the world'. This new
application of the biblical metaphor makes it difficult for us to
decide between *uestris* (D, with ℵ and some other Greek MSS) and
nostris (Φ, with all Latins). Personally, I am inclined to prefer
uestris as lectio difficilior, and even to claim it for Patrick's biblical
text (cf BIBLICA 28,51).

The expression *non deserta* (epistola) recalls CICERO ad Att.
VII 2,8 *tuae disertissumae epistulae*—perhaps another ironical al-
lusion to the classicism of Patrick's *obtrectatores*.

Ratum et fortissimum (*ratum fortissimum* D) defies inter-
pretation[82]). The words are perhaps remnants of an early gloss.

Et iterum Spiritus testatur et rusticationem ab Altissimo creatam
(*creata est* Ω): Assuming that *est* represents a mistaken *m*-stroke,
we can vindicate the *rusticationem* of DP. Patrick, then, quotes
verbatim Eccli 7,16 (A.LXX), but apparently mistakes *rusticatio*
(γεωργία) for *rusticitas* (ἀγροικία). A correction (or gloss?) to this
effect might account for the hybrid *rusticitatio* in Δ_2.

12. Vnde = *itaque* is late and rare; see LIPSIUS-BONNET Acta
Apost. Apocr. II 2, 391; Sidonius (Grupe's index s.v.); BONNET 328.

Ego primus rusticus: Perhaps an imitation of 1 Tim 1,13 *qui
prius* (*primus* r D F) *fui blasphemus*. If correct, *primus* would
be a double substitution: superlative for comparative, and adjective
for adverb. Superlative for comparative occurs also in C 53 *non
minimum quam pretium quindecim hominum*, cf VULG Matth 13,32

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[82]) In my opinion neither *ratum fortissimum* (D) 'a most powerful decree'
(White, 1905) nor ⟨*minist*⟩*rata fortissime* (White²) conveys any acceptable idea.

minimum quidem est omnibus seminibus (KAULEN 162); FILASTRIUS
122,1 *sub Deucalione Pyrrha diluuium fuisse antiquissimum quam
quod sub Noe ... factum est;* ACTA ANDREAE p. 67,34 f. Blatt *etiam
et plurima⌜m⌝* (= *plura*) *propter uos sustinui,* cf p. 168. The
nature of this phenomenon is disputed ('Spezialfälle' LÖFSTEDT
Syntactica II 439; 'umgekehrte Bildungen' SALONIUS 202; the pos-
sibility of Graecisms is considered by SVENNUNG Palladius 277,284).
—On the 'adverbial' adjective see C 16.—There is, however, reason
for believing that Patrick wrote *prius* (cf the correction at 1 Tim
1,13 in D).—*Profuga* (D) for *perfuga,* after the analogy of *profugus,*
seems unique[83]). One might be tempted to write *perfuga* with Φ,
were it not for E 1 *proselitus et profuga* (*perfuga* v), where *profuga*
is supported not only by the majority of MSS, but also by allitera-
tion.

Scio certissime has biblical models: VL 1 Thess 5,2 (Tert)
certissime scitis (*diligenter* VULG. *diligenter uel*—not ⟨e⟩*t,* as quoted
in ThLL—*certissime* g); Act 2,36 *certissime ergo sciat* (g VULG:
pro certo d. *diligenter* e. *firmissime* Tert); ACTA ANDREAE 17, p. 65,6
Blatt *certissime scitote;* cf VULG 1 Reg 24,21 *scio quod certissime
regnaturus sis.*—*Vtique* 'indeed' is a pet-word of late authors (BLATT
44, with bibliographical references). In our text it is, as a rule,
enclitic.

In sua misericordia: In with causal ablative is biblical: PLATER
21.—With *adleuauit ... me* cf Act 3,7 *adprehensa eius manu dextera
adleuauit eum* (VULG: *eleuauit, excitauit, erexit,* al VL).

Fortiter debueram exclamare: cf C 18 *fortiter exclamabat post
me;* C 23 *exclamauerunt quasi ex uno ore. Fortiter* here means 'loud',
cf VULG Dan 5,7 *exclamauit itaque rex fortiter;* Ier. 4,5 *clamate
fortiter;* HIER. in Ierem I 71, p. 53,15 Reiter *clamat fortiter;* APUL.
met. VII.13 *rudiui fortiter* (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 161 f.).—*Quoque*
correlates the *beneficia Dei* and the *retributio Patricii*—another
instance of 'over-determination'. A similar effect is achieved by
different means in CYPR. Epist. 76,4 *laetus in quo aliquid et ipse
Domino suo retribuat.*

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[83]) J. GWYNN Liber Ardmachanus (1913), p. cclxxxix. De-Vit quotes APULEIUS
metam. VI 4, but the leading MS (F) reads *p(er)fugas.*

13.   *Dominicati rethorici* (for the place of the aspiration cf *rethoricis* GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. II 31): *Dominicatus* stands in the same relation to *dominicum* 'demesne' as *praediatus* 'owning estates' > 'wealthy' (APUL. Flor. 22; MARTIANUS CAPELLA I 46) to *praedium*. *Rhetoricus* need not necessarily be a teacher of rhetoric; in the language of the time, it may simply denote a man of letters (M. ROGER L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin [1905] 220). Thus *dominicati rethorici* probably means 'learned land-owners', 'wealthy men of letters'—an appropriate description of such people as Sidonius Apollinaris and his correspondents (M. TIERNEY STUDIES XXI 208 ff.). Similar formations are *amoratus* 'loving' (CIL VI 10185)[84]) and the common *timoratus* 'fearing (God)'. —*Audite et scrutamini* is probably an echo of Ioh 5,39.

The words *qui uidentur esse sapientes et legis periti et potentes in sermone et in omni re* obviously refer to the same persons who have been termed *dominicati rethorici* some lines above, and, in C 10, *deserti breuitate*—persons who (C 9) *optime iura et sacras litteras utraque pari modo combiberunt. Legis periti* probably means 'experts of law'[85]). *Legis peritus* (for classical *iuris peritus*) is found in RUFINUS Recognitiones IX 5 *nunquid omnes ... oportebat esse in hoc mundo aut reges ... aut paedagogos aut legis peritos aut geometras aut aurifices ...? Omnia tamen haec officia ... praesens uita hominum requirit* (PG I 1402), where ecclesiastical learning is out of question. Cf the expression *legum prudentes* in Codex Iustinianus VIII 25,11. Since in late antiquity bishops had often to take over the administration of civil law, candidates for the episcopate would be expected to possess some legal knowledge. An elementary study of Law seems to have been provided by the curriculum of higher education in fifth century Gaul[86]). In what country, then, are these *rethorici* to be sought? Certainly not in Ireland,

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[84]) ThLL gives no meaning, and the inscription is our sole witness. My translation is suggested by the context: *sodaliciarius bonus amoratus filetius*, and by the analogy of *timoratus*. The two words are obviously pendants.

[85]) The biblical term *legis peritus* 'teacher of the (Mosaic) law' (in Tit 3,13 'teacher of the Christian religion') would here be pointless.

[86]) See TH. HAARHOFF Schools of Gaul (1920), 83,153; C. E. STEVENS Sidonius Apollinaris and his age (1933) 8,216—21.

where such traditions never existed. Fifth century Britain was anything but a place for mandarins. The famous schools of Wales
seem to be of slightly later date, and the monastic character of
their learning would not answer to Patrick's description. A tradition
of secular learning continued only in Gaul, even under Visigothic
rule, as is proved by the correspondence of Patrick's contemporary
Sidonius. An attack on St. Patrick by a fraction of the clergy in
Gaul would explain some at least of the puzzles in the Confessio.
Ireland certainly kept in touch with the Continent during Patrick's
lifetime.

Et in omni re: The last colon of an enumeration, especially in
non-literary language, is often a general term covering all that
remains unspecified; thus Patrick writes *inter uos et ubique pergebam* C 51; *quia cottidie spero aut internicionem aut circumueniri
aut redigi in seruitutem siue occasio cuiuslibet* C 55; *mittunt uiros
sanctos . . . ad Francos et ceteras gentes* E 14.

*Et me quidem, detestabilis huius mundi, prae ceteris inspirauit
si talis essem—dummodo autem—ut* etc: At this point the long
sentence changes from a rhetorical question to an emphatic statement. *Detestabilis* (D: -em Φ) *huius mundi* is a parenthesis of
similar type as *iudex uiuorum atque mortuorum* (236,18). With
the rare genitive construction compare GREG. TUR. In gloria mart.
88, p. 547,15 *omnium hominum odibilem* (BONNET 553). This is
a bold extension of the 'genitiuus relationis'; all earlier instances
(e.g. GELLIUS XVI 19,12 *carmen casus . . . consolabile,* or the long
list in HOPPE Syntax 21-4) are fundamentally genitiui obiectiui:
Leumann-Hofmann 406.—Interrogative *si* (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 697)
is sometimes used after verbs that are not strictly interrogative, cf
CAESAR bell. ciu. I 5,5 *exspectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis
responsa, si . . . res ad otium deduci posset.* As Caesar is wondering
whether his proposals will be accepted, so God is 'wondering'
whether Patrick will answer His call.—*Dummodo* introducing a
primary clause, though rare, is classical: ThLL V 2232,69 ff. The
words *dummodo autem* are best taken as an aposiopesis: 'if only
(I were such a man)'.

Genti ad quam caritas Christi transtulit et donauit me: Did

Patrick use *ad* with accusative for the dative? A tendency towards
this equation, growing steadily in strength, can be felt throughout
the post-classical period (LESSING s.v.; JURET 212; GRANDGENT § 90),
but the regular substitution is not reached before the Romance
stage, and in each language separately (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 410);
even in Merovingian Latin the victory of *ad* is not yet complete
(HAAG 72; PEI 237; SAS 123). At the transitional stage we often find
both constructions side by side, e.g. CIL VIII 9998 (Diehl 1472) 5 ff.
hic locus pertinebit at libertos libertabusque posterisque eorum;
thus often after verbs of saying, cf TERT. adu. Praxean 7 *ad quem
deinceps gaudens proinde gaudenti in persona illius* (LÖFSTEDT Syn-
tactica I 159 f.)[87]). Analogical extension may be assumed for Victo-
rinus-Jerome in Apoc. 21,1 *ad Noe praecipitur* or VL Num 25,2
(Lugd) *adorauerunt ad idola* (τοῖς εἰδώλοις LXX). Patrick's practice
stands halfway between classical Latin and Romance. E 13 *uenenum
letale cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos* might be understood
as merely emphasizing the notion of movement in *porrigere;* the
present instance is a sort of zeugma (*transferre ad* is a normal con-
struction!); most advanced are the two instances C 38 and 48,
where *ad* with the accusative of a noun corresponds to the dative
of the pronoun (*illis*)—a normal distinction in Merovingian Latin
and the Romance languages.

With *denique ut ... deseruirem illis* compare E 10 *denique
seruus sum in Christo genti exterae.* Both times the particle, placed
emphatically at the beginning of a clause, expresses finality—
Patrick's irrevocable destination as apostle of the Irish.

By way of contrast, this chapter may be compared with AUG.
conf. V 6,10 *Iam ergo abs te didiceram nec eo debere uideri aliquid
uerum dici quia eloquenter dicitur nec eo falsum quia incomposite
sonant signa labiorum; rursus nec ideo uerum quia inpolite enun-
tiatur nec ideo falsum quia splendidus sermo est, sed perinde esse
sapientiam et stultitiam sicut sunt cibi utiles et inutiles, uerbis
autem ornatis et inornatis sicut uasis urbanis et rusticanis utrosque
cibos posse ministrari.* Such an objective view was alien to Patrick,

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[87]) This, I think, is more than a 'zufällige Freiheit': the plyptoton *gaudens
gaudenti* is sought for rhetorical effect.

who in this as in other respects echoes the voice of primitive
Christianity.

14.   Dr. OULTON (The credal statements of St. Patrick 11) main-
tains that *mensura fidei* means 'rule of faith'; M. HITCHCOCK (St.
Patrick and his Gallic friends, 1916, 131; HERMATHENA 47,206)
interprets *distinguere* as 'to make doctrinal distinctions' (IREN. I 8,1;
HIL. Arel. Sermo de s. Honorato 38). The issue, however, is not
dogmatic. Patrick merely sums up his argument: 'Therefore it is
necessary to make known the gift of God without fear'. *Distinguere*
recalls C 2 *antequam ... distinguerem inter bonum et malum* (with
the object to be understood as at 238,10). This choice must be made
by Patrick not in fear of men, which might deter him from writing,
but in the light of his faith, which compels him to praise God openly
before all. Thus *mensura fidei* cannot be a rule or standard of ortho-
doxy; it is Faith as the measure, or standard, of all things[88]). The
description of this faith as *fides Trinitatis* is an echo of C 4.
Patrick's *mensura fidei* differs from St. Paul's (Rom 12,3 'pro-
portion of faith in the individual members of the Church') as much
as from that of Victorinus ('the rule of our faith is the teaching
of Christ'); it is an independent adaptation of the biblical model.

If *sine reprehensione* is a reminiscence of Phil 2,15 (c f m
VULG-om), it is purely verbal. The meaning of Patrick's *sine
reprehensione periculi* must be 'regardless of danger'; but what
is it literally? One can only guess. I understand 'without blaming
a (possible) danger (for failing to give God His due)'. With a
brevity that borders on obscurity Patrick resumes here the reason
for his long silence (C 9): *timui enim ne incederem in linguam
hominum.*

Dei nomen expandere obviously means 'to spread the name of
God'[89]). It will be spread by Patrick's praise, if sung without fear.—
Fiducialiter (a vox Christiana: E. FRAENKEL ThLL VI 702,13 ff.;

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[88]) In terms of grammar: *fidei* is genitiuus identitatis: 'the measure which
is the belief in the Trinity'.

[89]) Montgomery HITCHCOCK (JOURN. THEOL. STUD. VIII 94; HERMATHENA 51,70)
compares—not very plausibly—IREN. II 28,7 *uti pandamus* ('expound') *Deum et
quae nondum inuenta sunt.*

BARRY Patr. Stud. X 176) is synonymous with *sine timore*, cf VULG
Is 12,2 *fiducialiter agam et non timebo*. In the Confessio Patrick
does speak with that frankness which he owes to God and men. His
lasting monument of gratitude will spread the name of God every-
where, because it will be read not only in Ireland, but also abroad,
not only in his lifetime, but also after his death. He leaves the Con-
fessio to posterity as his spiritual bequest (*exagellia*).

The word *exagellia* (spelled in the archetype either *exagaellia*
or *exagallia*—the latter possibly a phonetic variant) is known only
from a small number of texts ranging in date from the late fifth
to the eighth century[90]). Patrick is our earliest witness. The fact
that *exagellia* (and *exagiliarius*) have survived only in set phrases
as object of the verb *relinquere*[91]) bears out the correctness of Sir
Samuel Ferguson's (and Dr. Newport White's) translation 'bequest'.
Patrick, as most of the other authorities, uses *exagellia* meta-
phorically of a 'last word' that is to be regarded as his spiritual
legacy. The plural probably means that in this 'legacy' each and
every of his 'brothers and sons in God' shall have a share.

15.   *Post aerumnas et tantas moles: Aerumna* is rare outside the
Bible (except in Plautus, Seneca Trag., Apuleius Met., Ammianus).
It is often combined with various synonyms, cf *in aerumna atque
tristitia* VULG Eccle 5,16; *in labore et aerumna* 2 Cor 11,27 (VULG
and VLpl). The singular is far more common than the (individualiz-

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[90]) See my note 'Exagellia', AM. JOURN. PHIL. 69 (1948) 309—12. As regards
the Regula Magistri, quoted as an authority for *exagiliarius*, I add here that
recent studies on the MSS of this text (by A. GÉNESTOUT SCRIPTORIUM I 1946—7,
129—42 [with bibliography] and Dom H. VANDERHOVEN ibid. 193—212) favour
a date prior to the Rule of St. Benedict.—The interpretation of the D-reading as
exangellias = ἐξαγγελίας 'confessiones' (E. HOGAN I. E. R., 3. ser., 8 [1887] 231—3;
M. HITCHCOCK JOURN. THEOL. STUD. VIII. 95) is palaeographically doubtful and
philologically questionable.

[91]) To Dr. F. MASAI (Brussels) I am indebted for a reference that escaped me:
Acta SS Iuliani et Basilissae, Preface (ASS Ian. I 575) *Beati martyres saeculum
et tormenta superantes hoc nobis exagiliarum munus titulo* (so MS Velseri:
hoc nobis muneris cett) *reliquerunt quod gesta passionum suarum secum ferre
non possunt sed luctantibus firmum reliquerunt exemplum*. Is this an echo of
exagiliario munus titulo in the Regula Magistri? Note also the plural (only
here and in the Confessio).

ing) plural, especially in ecclesiastics.—Patrick does not employ the plural of abstracts excessively (as do Tertullian, Augustine, and other late authors with a vein of rhetoric: Balmus 29-33); where he does he seldom strays from common usage. Interesting is C 34 *seruauit me ab omnibus angustiis meis*. For Charisius and Diomedes *angustiae* is 'plurale tantum', and so it is, with rare exceptions, in secular literature. The singular has spread from the Bible, where it prevails, to ecclesiastical writing. Both singular and plural, however, express normally the collective idea of calamity or distress. C 34 (cf Ps 33,5.7 in M C m Heb Moz Arnob) is peculiar because *angustiae* is used as plural of individualizing *angustia* 'a case of calamity'.—Only in biblical quotations is found the singular of *tribulatio* (C 5) and *pressura* (C 20); elsewhere we read *post tantas tribulationes* (C 23) and *nec non in secundis sed etiam in pressuris* (C 34, with attraction of number: *in pressuris* is an emphatic *in aduersis*).—Uncertain is C 28 *ut ego curam* (P: *curas* vδ) *haberem*.

Aliquando, with reference to the past, is here silently (as more often expressly) opposed to *nunc* or *hodie* (ThLL I 1600,26 ff.).

The construction of the whole paragraph is rather loose. Bury (see WHITE 285) would read *concederet ⟨et⟩*. I prefer to recognise in *post aerumnas—donaret* a paratactical explanation.

16.   The autobiographical theme, dropped as far back as C 2, is now at last taken up. C 16-19 are one protracted λέξις εἰρομένη; the main clauses, which tell the basic events, are linked by *et ... et ... et*, with occasional interruptions by subordinate or paratactical clauses of various types, which supply the details. With this structure, typical of primitive story-telling, modern punctuation is not quite able to cope.

Debatable is even the point where the narrative begins. I make it start with the words *Sed postquam Hiberione deueneram* (as did Newport White), but regard *cotidie itaque pecora pascebam et frequens in die orabam* as a parenthesis; *magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei* etc would thus link up closely with the end of C 15: 'I was not worthy to receive such graces, of which I never thought

in my youth. However, after I had come to Ireland as a slave, the love and fear of God came to me"[92]).

Deuenire (rare in classical Latin) sometimes, as here, evokes the idea of falling into distress, cf COMMODIAN Carm. apol. 243 (Iudaei)*in exilium deuenerunt;* more often so when used metaphorically, cf C 26 *in labe et in obprobrium ... deueni;* C 60 *in poenam ... deuenient;* TERT. De anima 11, p. 315,8 Reiff. (*in delictum et mox in interitum*); VL Iob 17,6 (Aug) *in risum illis deueni;* DICTYS VI 5 (*in tantas miserias*); PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS Sermo 27, p. 278 A (*in scandalum*); Merovingian Charter Tardif 86 (a. 787) *in magnam tribulationem.*

In the conservative language of the countryside, *pecora* always meant sheep; the Patrick legend, perhaps as an allusion to the prodigal son, substituted swine (GWYNN Liber Ardmachanus p. lxxxii, note 1; WHITE 285 f.).

Frequens in die orabam: Of the 'adverbial' adjective (SALONIUS 27; BERNHARD 109 f.; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 467 f.) Patrick has several well-attested instances; controversial is only *creber admonere* C 35. Once an adverb and adjective are co-ordinated: *sponte et laetus indulserat* C 32[93]). Adverbial *frequens* is common Latin, but never, as here, does it mean 'many times within a day'.

Magis ac magis, first recorded from Lucretius, is preferred in late Latin to the classical *magis magisque* (ThLL VIII 69,19 f.)[94]). *Ac* is used by Patrick only in this set phrase.

Accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius: For the absolute use of *accedere* compare Cato in ISIDORE diff. I 5 *accessit ilico alter* (amor) *ubi alter* (cupido) *recessit.*

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[92]) Sir Samuel FERGUSON's punctuation (Proc. RIA 16, 1879, 15 f.) *quod ego aliquando in iuuentute mea numquam speraui neque cogitaui, sed postquam Hiberione deueneram. Cotidie igitur* etc. rests entirely on his unconvincing interpretation of a palaeographical detail (tall *c*) in D.

[93]) For parallels from early and classical Latin see Leumann-Hofmann 468; for late Latin cf OROSIUS VII 32,13 *quamuis ... blande mansuete innocentesque uiuant,* with the comment of SVENNUNG Orosiana 56.

[94]) In the Vulgate *magis ac magis* is never found, *magis magisque* only once —in the prologue of Ecclesiasticus (no OL variant in Sabatier).

Spiritus agebatur: The expression *animus* (*mens, spiritus*) *agitur* is rare; of the few references in ThLL I 1372,41-6 only Tert. Adu. nationes II 12 is comparable: *nihil allego de statu antiquitatis, qu⟨a ita ru⟩des tunc agebantur et oculi et mentes hominum.*

Vt in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter: Vsque ad centum orationes is a complement of *spiritus agebatur; ut* is explicative: 'my spirit was moved, namely to as much as a hundred prayers every day, and nearly as much during the night'.—The clause *ut etiam in siluis et monte manebam* is probably explicative shading off into concessive (cf German *wie ich auch weilte* > *mochte ich auch weilen*). For late Latin *manere = pernoctare* see C 19, 241,6.

With *et ante lucem excitabar* the author returns to his copulative pattern. Mediopassive *excitari* is rare, cf Ps 34,23 (M) *excitare* (ἐξεγέρθητι LXX; VULG *exsurge*); Paula (Hier. Epist. 46, 3,2), quoting Eph 5,14, *excitare* (ἔγειρε; VULG *surge*) *qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis;* PETRUS CHRYSOL. Sermo 24, p. 269 B *annus excitatur et euigilat mundus;* CAES. AREL. Sermo (REV. BÉNÉD. XXIII 42,61 ff.)*excitemus* (read -mur?) *itaque in quantum .. praeualemus et .√. uigilemus.*

Per niuem per gelu per pluuiam: Per is here almost = *in*, but with more *Anschaulichkeit.* Similar, though nearer to normal, is C 53 *qui iudicabant per .. regiones.* Cf BONNET 590 f.—Between *niuem* and *pluuiam, gelu* must have the concrete meaning 'ice'.

With *nihil mali sentiebam* compare TERT. De orat. 29, p. 199,21 *nihil mali uoluit operari*—a periphrasis of which this author is fond, cf HARTEL III 11.—*Sicut modo uideo, quia ... feruebat* is probably another parenthesis, explaining why Patrick never felt tired or lazy. *Spiritus in me feruebat* recalls AUG. Sermo 86,4 Mai (p. 326,26 f. Morin) *sancti Stephani spiritus ... feruebat* rather than the biblical expressions *feruens spiritu* (Act 18,25), *spiritu feruentes* (Rom 12,11), quoted by WHITE 304.—*Spiritus in me* is 'the spirit within me'. This construction, which implies a shift of relationship, is common in early and late Latin; in classical Latin its use is restricted. See Part I, Index grammaticus; HARTEL I 33 f.;

LEUMANN-HOFMANN 467,629. With Patrick's words compare PsCYPR. De rebaptismate 8 *Spiritus Sancti .. super eum mansione*.

17.   *Bene ieiunas = bene est quod ieiunas:* 'it is well that thou fastest'. The adverb is qualifying, not modifying, cf C 29 *male uidimus* 'we have seen with displeasure'; VITAE PATRUM III 166 *bene miraris*. This *Prägnanztypus* (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 845) is classical as well as post-classical. In C 42, 248,14 *optime et auidissime arripuit illud* the action is qualified by *optime*, modified by *auidissime*.

Iturus: On *ire* and its substitutes see a.o. ALL XII 269 f.; GRANDGENT p. 169; BILLEN 187; LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 287 f.; Syntactica II 37-41; ThLL V 627,65. Patrick has no finite form of *ire;* of substitutes, we miss *uadere*[95]).

Audiui responsum dicentem mihi: Cf *responsum diuinum* C 21. 29.35; *responsum accepisse a nuntio Dei* C 42; *cur. .meruimus audire tale responsum* C 32. In all these instances *responsum* means 'message', 'word'. *Respondere = dicere* is biblical: Is 21,9; Matth 11,25 (= GR, no O.L. variants); *responsum* is thus used 2 Macc 2,4 *diuino responso* (χρηματισμοῦ) *ad se facto;* Matth 2,12 *responso accepto* (VULG. *responso moniti* k: *admoniti*, om *responso*, VLpl, cf χρηματισθέντες); Luc 2,26 (VLpl.VULG) *responsum acceperat ab Spiritu Sancto* (ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον [κεχρηματισμένος δ'ἦν D]); cf CORP. GLOSS. LAT. II 173,39 *responsum* λόγιον[96]).—The 'sense construction' *responsum dicentum* (three times) makes the participle refer to the speaker, not to the utterance[97]); similar is C 23 *legi principium epistolae continentem* ... Cf also CASSIAN Conl. I 20,3 *philosophorum dogmatibus inlecti, quae ... miseros reddiderunt uel ad saeculi eos strepitum reuocantes uel ad haereticos errores ...*

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[95]) In the Vulgate, the ratio (in terms of columns of DUTRIPON's Concordance) of *ire ambulare uadere pergere* is 4½ : 4½ : 3½ : 2½.

[96]) Pagan oracles normally answered questions. For the semantic development of *responsum* compare also CIL III 6265 (Diehl 746) *deo sancto Endouellico Ann. Q. f. Mariana ... ex responsu a(nimo) l(ibens) p(osuit)* with CIL VI 377 add., p. 3005 (Diehl 777) *aram Ioui fulgeratoris ex praecepto deorum montensium: responsum* and *praeceptum* are synonyms.

[97]) In C 17, but not in C 21.29, *responsum dicentem* might echo the preceding *uocem dicentem*.

pertrahentes, al.; FILASTRIUS 132,7 *exceptis octo animis quae fuerant editi.*—Another sense construction, frequent in late Latin, is *erga gentem illam qui me .. ceperunt* E 10; cf VL Marc 9,15 (k) *omnis turba* (*populus* VULG) ... *salutabant eum;* after *populus,* in particular, the plural of the verb is common: BONNET 499. Formal congruence was, of course, never a rule without exception; the late period differs mainly in degree (LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II, chapter 7): 'substance triumphs over form' (VOSSLER 63).

Et non erat prope, sed forte habebat ducenta milia passus: Forte 'perhaps' (see C 11) is here, as sometimes before figures, almost = *fere,* cf Greek μάλιστα[98]).—Impersonal *habet* 'il y a', frequent in late Latin (LÖFSTEDT Stud. Synt. 136; Peregrinatio 43-6; SVENNUNG Palladius 475; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 622; MULLER Chronology 92; the earliest instance on record is FLAUIUS VOPISCUS Tacitus 8,1 *habet in bibliotheca Ulpiana ... librum elephantinum*), indicates distance in itineraries, cf AETHERIA 23,2 *inde ad sanctam Teclam ... habebat de ciuitate forsitan mille quingentos passus;* V. BULHART ThLL VI 2462,5-9. The preceding *et non erat prope* is probably also impersonal.—With *ducenta milia passus* compare VL Num 31,5 (Lugd) *duodecim milia armatos;* LEO Alex. III 17, 11 (111,27 f. Pfister) *habebat ipse mons grados duo milia quingenti;* more material in Linderbauer 322 f. A frequent formula is IORDANIS Romana 217 *mille milia spatia,* cf ANON. RAVENN. 1,16 (p. 37,4) *medio propositis multis milibus spatiis,* VENANT. FORT. Vita Paterni 18,52 *tria milia spatia:* SVENNUNG Palladius 197 f.

Nec ibi notum quemquam de hominibus habebam: On partitive *de* see GRANDGENT § 88; ROENSCH 396; PLATER 100; BILLEN 147; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 392. It is well established in late Latin, although some authors (significantly, Porphyrio and the Scholion Bobbiense in Ciceronem) avoid it; a *de*-construction in the O.L. is often replaced by a genitive in the Vulgate: A. GUDEMAN ThLL V 43,76 ff. Patrick has partitive *de* and genitive in equal proportion (eleven times each); his most advanced instances are C 22 *de cibo uero*

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[98]) For Aetheria see LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 47.

nihil habuimus, and C 42 *de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt nescimus numerum eorum.*

Deinde postmodum occurs also in the Mulomedicina Chironis 76.91; for similar pleonasms see Oder p. 311; Löfstedt Syntactica II 220 (*deinde postea* in the Digests); Ioh 11,7 *deinde post haec* (*hoc* VLdδ); Cassian Instit. XII 27,5; 33,2; *dein post* Aug. Ciu. Dei II 9; Sulpic. Sever. Chronica II 23,6; Collectio Avellana p. 760,20.— Medio-passive *conuersus sum in fugam* seems unique.—An ἅπαξ λεγόμενον is also *intermisi hominem*. In Latin, *intermittere* with a personal object invariably means 'to suspend from office', cf Caesar bell. Gall. VII 33,2 *intermissis magistratibus;* only with a non-personal object can it mean 'to abandon for a while', as M. Hitchcock (Hermathena 47,237) interprets here. Patrick has either misapplied a Latin phrase or rendered literally some Irish idiom[99]).

Cum quo fueram sex annis: On the late Latin ablative of duration, especially with an adjective or numeral indicating time, see Kaulen 274; Billen 145; Plater 96 f.; Blatt 196; Med. Stud. III 51 (B. H. Skahill); VI 23 (F. A. Bieter); especially Salonius 12-32; Löfstedt Syntactica II 447 f.[100]). It is characteristic of St. Jerome that he replaces the ablative of Victorinus in Apoc 12,4 *ut nutriantur ibi triennio et mensibus sex* by the accusative, but leaves it untouched in the sacred text (Apoc 12,6 *diebus mille ducentis sexaginta*) to which Victorinus refers. Patrick has the accusative and ablative of duration three times each, with specifications of time in either construction. A fourth instance, C 21 *ea nocte prima .. mansi cum illis,* is phonetically and palaeographically ambiguous.

Qui uiam meam ad bonum dirigebat: Such phrases as *Dominus ... diriget uiam tuam* (Gen 24,40) and *uiam* (*iter*) *dirigere ad* are frequent in the Bible. *Ad bonum* probably means 'towards a good end'[101]); cf Lucifer p. 145,3-4 Hartel *in bonis dirigetur iter tuum.*

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[99] Sir Samuel Ferguson (Proc. R. I. A. XVI 205) tentatively equates *intermitto* with O. I. *etar-scaraim 'I part with'.

[100]) A parallel, and perhaps a model, is the dative of duration in Koine Greek, cf Radermacher Koine 44.

[101]) Less significant would be the interpretation *ad bonum* = *bene* = Ir. *co*

The clause *donec perueni ad nauem illam* probably links up
with 240,1-2 *et ueni in uirtute Dei:* 'and I went in the strength of
God until I came to that ship'; the intervening passage would, then,
be an imitation of 'biblical parataxis': 'Who directed my way to-
wards a good end and (= so that) I feared nothing' (for the idea
cf Ps 26,1 *Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo?*).
18.   *Profecta est nauis de loco suo* 'the ship was (moved from
the beach and) set afloat': MacNeill 23.—*Locutus sum ut haberem
unde nauigare cum illis.* 'I said that I had the means to sail with
them'. This, in substance, is the translation of T. Olden (Epistles
and hymns of St. Patrick, 1889, 67 f.), John Gwynn, and Newport
White. An *ut*-clause depending on a *uerbum dicendi* or *sentiendi*
(cf C 25.32) is found occasionally in late Latin (Tert. adu. Marc.
III 18 = adu. Lud. 10; Ambrose: M. A. Martin Patr. Stud. XX 110 f.;
Vulgate: Kaulen 293) and more often in the 'pre-Romance' period
(Fredegar: Haag 95)[102]), especially after such verbs as *promittere,
conligi, uideri,* and impersonal expressions.—*Vnde* has already
developed the meaning of French *dont* (Grandgent § 70; Salonius
212; Löfstedt Syntactica II 273 f.); *habeo unde* is a common phrase
(Ael. Lamprid. Alex. Seuer. 45,5; Cypr. Epist. 5,1), used in particular
of the means of subsistance: Ambr. De Nabuthe 31 *non habeo
fructus unde uiuendum est;* Commod. Instruct. II 30,8 *mitte numos ei
unde se resumere possit;* cf colloquial *habet unde* 'he has the means'
(French *il a de quoi*), Petronius 45,6 (Segebade-Lommatzsch
s.v. *unde;* Hofmann 170).—The infinitive *nauigare* (Φ: *nauigarem*
D) is lectio difficilior. This 'mixed construction' of Greek and Latin
has been much discussed: Radermacher Koine 63; G. Björck Eranos
47 (1949) 13-9; Löfstedt Syntactica II 171 f.; Svennung Palladius
439 f.; Norberg 259 f.; Muller Epoque mér. 194; K. Mras Wiener
Studien 61-62 (1943-7) 100. It would be easy enough to explain
away the infinitive here, but the construction is too frequent in

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maith (Sir Samuel Ferguson l.c. 206; E. Hogan Documenta de S. Patricio, 1884,
124).

[102]) An interesting contamination is Fredegar I 7, p. 24,11 *necessarium ...
putaui ut in habitationes gentium et cognominationes declarari* (u 1 *declarare,
-em*).

vulgar Latin to be ignored and in most instances no such 'explanation' is possible. *Vnde* (ὅθεν, πόθεν) + infinitive is older and commoner after negative than after positive verbs, especially after negative *habere* (ἔχειν), cf SCHOL. Aeschines 2,161; APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM 92 D; ACTA PAULI ET THECLAE p. 251,7 Lipsius (LJUNGVIK Uppsala Universitets Aarsskrift 1926, 40); VL Luc 14,14 (a c f ff₁ l r aur Cypr, with some VULG MSS); Matth 18,25 (VULGF). In the affirmative, it is at least as early as Arnobius Iunior, in Ps 123, p. 526 A *habes unde uincere;* cf also ACTA ANDREAE p. 43,12 f. Blatt. Patrick probably offered to pay for his passage by service; having been a shepherd for six years, he might well hope to be employed on a ship with a cargo of race-hounds (BURY 31).

The *gubernator* of this ship was probably also its master as was the rule with smaller vessels, cf CICERO de inuent. II 154 *dominus nauis cum idem gubernator esset.*—With *acriter respondit* compare Eccli 18,18 *stultus acriter improperabit.*—*Adpetes* (D) agrees better with biblical usage (cf PLATER 104) than *adpetas* (V Δ).—The shipmaster apparently refused Patrick's offer because he suspected him to be a fugitive slave (Olden). The situation was misunderstood by PROBUS (I 4) who says that Patrick was refused because he could not pay.

Separaui me ab illis is another unusual expression for 'I went away from them', cf *intermisi hominem* (C 17).

Tegoriolum (D) occurs five times in the Schaffhausen MS of Adamnán's Vita s. Columbae; cf *tegorium* CONCHUBRANUS Vita s. Monennae III 6. *Tegoriolum* is a phonetic variant of *teguriolum* (VEGETIUS IV 26; Vita prima s. Samsonis I 52, p. 147,21 Fawtier [MSS A and B; the vulgate has *tuguriolum*]; ADAMNÁN De locis sanctis I 2; *tegurium* for *tugurium:* C.I.L. V 5005; SCHOL. Bernense in Verg. Georg. III 231; ten times in ADAMNÁN De locis sanctis)[103]). *Tuguriolum* (ΦΨ) is a 'normalization'.

Hospitabam: Active forms of *hospitari* (Petronius and late

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[103]) The *o* for *u* is hardly an individual spelling of D—a manuscript in which the opposite tendency prevails, cf *consulatus* 236,2; *inductus* 238,15; *consulationem* 239,6; *idula* 248,7.

Latin) are exceedingly rare; GEORGES 325 gives only one reference (*hospitabat*, Aug. serm. 160,3 Mai).

Consummare 'to terminate' is frequent in the Bible and in late Latin; cf in particular CYPR. de domin. orat. 27 *in consummatione orationis*. On the specific Christian notion of *consummare* (τελειοῦν) see C 38.

With *exclamabat post me* compare Matth 15,23 (a b d f VULG) *dimitte eam quia clamat post nos;* Aug. Epist. 35,4, p. 30,15 f. Goldb. *uoce impudentissima post nos clamauit;* ACTA APOST. APOCR. I 43,12 *illi uero post eos clamauerunt dicentes* (biblical imitations).

Reuersus sum: Patrick's sole instance of *reuertor* is evidence of the form which, after an isolated occurrence in NEPOS (Them. 5,2) was used increasingly by post-classical, especially Christian authors until it entirely replaced classical *reuerti* in the time of Gregory of Tours (ROENSCH 289; BONNET 402; ACTA ANDREAE p. 95,4.15 Blatt).

In *coeperunt mihi dicere* (cf C 19; E 17) periphrastic *coepi* (LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 450-2) perhaps emphasizes the ingressive (aoristic) aspect of the verb: SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN II 10-12, 21 f.

Ex fide begins to take the place of *cum fide* in 'Silver' Latin (E. FRAENKEL ThLL VI 677,25 ff.). Profane authors seem to have used the phrase always objectively, cf TAC. hist. II 9 *cuncta ex fide nuntiata;* SUETON. Iulius 74,2 *quamuis omnia ex fide rettulissent;* TRYPHONIUS Digest. 23,2; 67,6. Subjective interpretation of *ex fide* ('sincerely') is specifically Christian (cf TERT. Apol. 2,17 *ne compulsus negare non ex fide negarit* and Oehler ad loc.; 35,8 *religiosi ex fide*). Needless to say, this is also Patrick's usage.

Fac nobiscum amicitiam is classical; Patrick, however, is generally fond of the popular circumlocutions with *facere* that are so characteristic of late Latin (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 164 f.).

Quo modo uolueris: All MSS and previous editors give *quomodo*. It seems to me, however, that we have to acknowledge here a simple relative pronoun in generalizing function (= *quoquo, quocumque*)[104]. This is a point of Latin syntax still under discussion (HOPPE

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[104]) This could be maintained even if it were certain that Patrick modelled his phrase on Tob 4,8 *quo modo potueris* (*poteris* AugSpec. *habueris* Cypr) *ita*

113 f.). The earliest instances known to me occur in the famous inscription commemorating the Ludi Saeculares of Augustus (Dessau 5050), 105 (= 117.121.141) *quarumque rerum ergo quodque melius siet p.R. Quiritibus*[105]); 125 *ast quid est quod melius siet p.R.Q.* I am inclined to assume generalizing *quo modo = quoquo (quocumque) modo* also in TERT. ad uxorem II 2, p. 686,6 ff. *quo sono et modo enuntiaueris dictum illud, onerosum est,* but to acknowledge enclitic *quo = aliquo* in de pudicitia 14, p. 248,19 f. *ut quo modo auferatur de medio* (as did the editors, Reifferscheid and Wissowa) and in Adu. Marcionem IV 36, p. 545,24 *qui quo modo ignoti habebantur.* In C 45 *rideat autem et insultet qui uoluerit* and COMMOD. instruct. II 9,3 *infelix autem erit qui fuerit captus ab illis, qui* doubtless means 'whoever', but grammatically it may be a 'conditional' relative (= *si qui*).—On the mood of *uolueris* see Part I Index gramm. p. 135,144; Part II p. 110.

Reppuli sugere mammellas eorum: For the infinitive construction *reppuli sugere* I can find no parallel; there exists, of course, the analogy of *recusare.*

The words *sugere mammellas*[106]) *eorum* have, at long last, revealed their secret. The biblical problem, which puzzled Newport White (231,287,321), viz whether Patrick knew the Vulgate Old Testament, does not exist at all. Patrick did not think of VULG Is 60,16 *suges lac gentium et mamilla regum lactaberis,* but of VL Os 14,1 (k) *sugentes mamillas illorum,* cf Luc 11,27 (d) *mamillae quas (ubera quae* VULG) *suxisti*[107]). The rite of admission into friendship to which Patrick alludes has been explained independently by Rev.

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esto misericors (sic fac Cypr), where *quo modo (quomodo) = ut* is a pendant of *ita (sic).* Patrick would then have 're-interpreted' a biblical pattern.

[105]) Dessau II 1, 285 explains *quarumque* as *quarumcumque;* I prefer to take *-que ... -que* as correlative, and *quarum = quarumcumque.* Alternatively, one might explain *quarumque = et quarumque,* cf LÖFSTEDT Stud. Synt. 44—6.

[106]) The spelling *mam(m)ella* is recorded from GREG. TUR. In gloria mart. III 51; Hist. Franc. IV 39 (uar. lect.); ORIBASIUS Synopsis V 6, and from the Glosses.

[107]) In Isaiah, to be sure, *sugere* and *mamilla* are metaphors, whilst in Osee they are not. However, this is not a quotation, and in the adaptation of biblical phraseology Patrick goes very far.

J. RYAN (I.E.R. 5. ser. 52, 1938, 293-9) and M. A. O'BRIEN (Etudes celtiques 3, 1938, 382 f.) ; it was common in ancient Ireland. Being a pagan ceremony, Patrick refused to perform it *propter timorem Dei.* Here for once we have an indisputable equation: *sugere mammellas eorum* ~ *dide a ciche-som.* Patrick consciously or unconsciously availed himself of the biblical phrase in order to render the Irish one.

Speraui ab illis uenire in fidem Iesu Christi: The simple infinitive can replace the accusative and infinitive in both early and late Latin: LEUMANN-HOFMANN 586 f.; the construction *sperare ab aliquo* + infinitive, however, has no parallels.

Ob hoc obtinui cum illis: Obtinere cum aliquo = *impetrare ab aliquo* is common in GREGORY OF TOURS, e.g. Hist. Franc. V.25, p. 220,14 *quod uitam illius cum rege obteniret* (cf KRUSCH p. 939; BONNET 605 and note 3). The object of *obtinere* (e.g. *nauigationem,* or, more exactly, *ut me reciperent*)[108] may be supplied from the context. *Ob hoc* cannot refer to either Patrick's refusal of the pagan rite or his hope for the conversion of the crew; it must stand for *ob amicitiam.* The words *et in illa die . . . quia gentes erant* are thus an epexegesis to *fac nobiscum amicitiam.* One might expect the author to state expressly that he accepted the offer of friendship even though he did not agree to perform the ceremony that he was supposed to undergo, but this is not Patrick's way of telling a story. Patrick's refusal of a certain rite did not, of course, make void the offer of the sailors, who had left the formalities to Patrick's choice.

19.   For *terram cepimus* 'we reached land' see the references in ThLL III 320,60 ff., esp. VERG. Aen. I 395 f. (*cycni*) *terras ordine longo aut capere aut captas iam despectare uidentur;* BELL. ALEX. 47,4 *Octauium . . . regionem Graeciae petisse, inde ut Siciliam, deinde Africam caperet.* In the present passage, as often, there seems to be implied some notion of effort.

Viginti octo: So here and C 22 (*uiginti et octo*). The type *duodeuiginti* was definitely abandoned in the days of Gregory of

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[108] P. Grosjean would go as far as to insert *obtinui ⟨nauigare⟩ cum illis,* cf 240,5.

Tours (Bonnet 449); the new way of counting, however, begins as early as Caesar (bell. Gall. IV 19,4; Hirtius b. G. VIII 4,3). Counting by deduction seems to have never been popular (Svennung Palladius 289); that Patrick avoids it is typical.

Tu dicis Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est: Parataxis is collo-quial. Patrick has it frequently after *credo, opinor, puto,* verbs of saying, and their synonyms[109]), which is in accordance with early Latin: Hofmann 106 f. His paratactical clauses after *scit Deus* (twice) and *Deo gratias* (several times) are best explained by the semi-parenthetical character of these pious ejaculations[110]). Contrary to common practice, which in such clauses demands the subjunctive (Commodian Instruct. I 27,11 *qui putas post funera non sis;* Gregory of Tours: Bonnet 669-71), Patrick always employs the indicative.—Another type of parataxis (C 59 *peto illi det mihi*) is as old as Latin itself: Leumann-Hofmann 689 (patristic material: Hartel III 87). Instructive is VL Heb 13,19 (d) *hoc peto faciatis* (altered in VULG to *deprecor uos hoc facere*), and especially Liberati Breuiarium 13,88 (Acta Conciliorum II/5.121,5-7) *clericis uero Alexandrinis mandauit concilium iam eum* (Dioscorum) *non putare esse episcopum, sed omnino cognoscerent eum de gradu suo esse deiectum,* with its significant change of construction in the parallel cola.

A fame periclitamur (so, later, Vita Colmani 21 *periclitabatur cella ab aquis*) might be understood as an extension of the type *uapulo, male audio, ueneo ab aliquo* (cf Bell. Afr. 51,6 *dum haec opera ... fiebant a legionibus;* Petron. 114 *a diis meruimus;* 116 *a uilico cognouimus;* Nepos de regibus 3,3 *periit a morbo*), were it not for the fact that the same construction is found after the passive: C 27 *castigatus sum ... a fame et nuditate;* Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. V 10 *in. ab inedia uexabatur* (Bonnet 598 f.); Acta Andreae p. 136,15 f. Blatt *necati a clade pessima, de igne et aqua* (observe the change from *a* to instrumental *de*). In its most general function,

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[109]) E.g. *spero* C 44, cf Commod. Carm. apol. 81 *spero reus non est.*

[110]) *Deo gratias* becomes virtually an adverb in Merovingian Latin, cf Muller Epoque mér. 217.

the preposition *a ab* expresses separation from a given point; such is not only the agent in relation to his action, but any efficient cause in relation to the effect produced. The ablative of the personal agent with the passive verb is only a special case sanctioned by convention. These narrow limits, however, are freely transgressed in vulgar and late Latin.

Vsque dum, referring to the future ('until'), is rarely followed by the indicative: VL Apoc 2,25 (Prim) *quod habetis tenete usque dum uenio (donec ueniam* VULG); 4 Esdr 2,32 *amplectere notos tuos usque dum uenio.* Thus the D-reading *satiamini* is clearly lectio difficilior.

Quia ubique habundat illi: cf Marc 12,44 *omnes enim ex eo quod abundabat* (b q r₂ VULG: *abundat* d) *illis miserunt.* Cf this commentary on E 15.

Ita factum est = C 21; cf *et factum est ita* Gen 1,7.9.11.15.24. —The omission of *apparuit* (with Φ) would result in a nominal clause of biblical type: VL Ez 40,3 (w) *induxit me illic et ecce uir ibi* (cf LXX); VULG Ioh 19,14 *ecce rex uester;* cf PLATER 30. However, the DΨ-reading *ecce—apparuit* is also biblical, cf Matth 1,20 (b d k q VULG); 2,13.19; al.

Et ibi duas noctes manserunt 'they stayed two nights'; C 21 *ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis:* LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 76.

Canes eorum repleti sunt: Celtic hounds are praised by ancient writers (STRABO IV 2,200; ARRIAN Cyneg. chapters 1-3). JEROME alludes to them, in Ierem. III 1,3, p. 151,13 ff. Reiter *ipseque* (diabolus) *mutus latrat per Alpinum canem ... habet enim progeniem Scotticae gentis de Brittannorum uicinia* (K. MÜLLER Der heilige Patrick [1931] 92 f., 113 ff.—The unexpected perfect tense *(defecerunt, relicti sunt)* is partly explained by the biblical model (Luc 10,30).—*Secus* ('*et nouum et sordidum est*' CHARISIUS Gramm. Lat. I p. 80,19 Keil) *uiam* occurs in VULG Tob 11,5 (*in uia* Regin Sang).

Sub oculis eorum has biblical flavour, but, to my knowledge, no exact parallel; *in oculis alicuius* is, of course, frequent.—*Cibum habundanter habuerunt:* The spelling *habundanter* (PVF) and the word-order in V (D missing) are recommended by the alliteration;

cf ACTA ANDREAE p. 97,11 Blatt *horationis hora,* and for the phrase, Acta Andreae (C-text) c. 21 (p. 71,34) *abundanter in ea* (ficulnea) *inuenietis uictum.*

Etiam mel siluestre inuenerunt et mihi partem obtulerunt: The offering of honey to Patrick doubtless meant divine honour (*immolaticium est*): MACNEILL 28. For this reason (*exinde*) Patrick refused to taste it.—The words *nihil* and *gustare* are often connected in one phrase (ThLL VI 2367,43-5), cf Act 23,14 *deuouimus nos nihil, gustaturos.*

20.   *Eadem uero nocte: Vero* is here purely copulative (see commentary on C 3), as in ACTA ANDREAE p. 73,14 Blatt (and twice more in the same text).—*Temptauit me satanas* is a common biblical phrase, but *temptare* here and in C 26 *temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis* means 'to assail' rather than 'to tempt' (WHITE St. Patrick 115)—a meaning of which there is little or no evidence in the Bible. In C 34,245,14, Patrick refers to C 26 with the biblical *in die temptationis meae* (cf Ps 94,9), where *temptatio* apparently means 'temptation'.—*Quod memor ero:* See commentary on C 10, 237,24. VULG 1 Thess 2,9 (AF) *memores . . estis . . laborem nostrum* (a literal translation of μνημονεύετε . . τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν) is not really a parallel.—In punctuation and interpretation I follow M. ESPOSITO (JOURN. THEOL. STUD. 19,345): 'He (Satan) fell upon me like a huge rock'.—*Cadere super* is biblical: Ps 139,11 *cadent (decident* R) *super eos carbones;* Matth 21,44 *qui ceciderit super lapidem istum* (f g₁ q VULG: om VLpl)'; Amos 9,9; Eccli 27,28; Luc 20,18 (f r₁.₂ CHΘT vg: *supra* [VL.VULG]pl).—*Nihil membrorum meorum* is best understood as an 'accusative of relation'.

Praeualeo = ualeo (late Latin) is especially common in the phrase *non* (*nihil*) *praeualere:* ENNODIUS Opusc. 3,63; IORDANIS Romana 308 (cf Mommsen, p. 195); CASSIODORUS hist. trip. IX.21, 1139 C.

Praeualens (D) must be genuine because (1) it is lectio difficilior, (2) it forms a homoioteleuton with *ingens,* (3) it is attested indirectly by Muirchú I 2 *quasi comminuens iam omnia membra eius.* A past participle is coupled with a finite form in C 43 *sed alligatus spiritu* (biblical!) *. . . et timeo perdere laborem.* Both types

of inconcinnity are frequent in Commodian, cf Dombart's index, p. 229 f. Here are some instances of a present participle standing for a finite form. COMMODIAN Instruct. I 34,16 f. *gratiam ... non requiris eam, sed sic quasi besteus errans:* FILASTRIUS 103,2 *qui numerat multitudinem stellarum et omnibus eis nomina uocans* (Ps 146,4 [*uocat* VULG]; Filastrius has this construction only in quotations from the Bible: JURET 254); IORDANIS Getica 296 *quam ille .. concessit suosque filios ... credens sociari;* CIL VI 32808 (Diehl 1205), 6-7 *postea cum sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam* (sic) / *ante diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton;* GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. VIII 40, p. 353,1-3 *ut ... exanimes reliquerit causasque qualiter ecclesiae ... damna intenderit inquirens;* uitae patr. 6,7, p. 686,15 f. *a typo quartano corripitur ac per multos dies in magna defectione laborans* (BONNET 651); ACTA ANDREAE p. 55,2 f. Blatt *quia gaudet anima mea et exultans spiritus meus;* see also VICTOR VITENSIS ed. Petschenig p. 165; KAULEN 283; PLATER 30 f. LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 249 regards this as a development of the present participle with *esse* (cf *oboedientes fuimus* C 1). It is perhaps no accident that the participle stands normally in the se-cond colon. The construction is typical of 'low' Latin.

The reconstruction of the text *sed unde me uenit ignaro in spiritu,* which I offer with great reserve (see Part I, p. 33), would result in a phrase modelled on the classical *uenit mihi in mentem ut ...;* on *spiritus* for *mens* see C 10, 238,5; on the ablative for the accusative, C 1, 235,8; with *me = mihi* cf *quis me credit* C 10.

Inter haec (*in hoc* D) is one of Patrick's recurrent formulae; it begins with Livy and is a favourite of Priscillian and Cassiodorus[111]). —*Dum clamarem: Dum* 'whilst' with the subjunctive is first re-corded from BELL. AFR. 25,1; BELL. HISP. 23,2. See ROENSCH 400; KAULEN 297; PLATER 130,132; SALONIUS 316; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 743.—*Clamare = exclamare* regularly introduces the actual words of an exclamation: LÖFSTEDT Tert. 79, note 1.

Patrick evidently regarded the rising of the sun that put an end

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[111]) For Hist. Trip. see BIETER, MED. STUD. VI 113.

to his nocturnal experience as an answer to his call 'Helia, Helia'. He himself interprets this cry as an invocation of the prophet Elijah (*unde me uenit .. in spiritu ut Heliam uocarem?*)[112]), but implicitly identifies Helias with Helios (WHITE 288; St. Patrick 114). This substitution, a result partly of *Anklang* in their Greek name-forms, partly of the prophet's assumption in a fiery chariot, was common among the ancient Christians. Thus John Chrysostom maintains (Homil. 3,27) that the pagans modelled their Helios after Elijah; early Christian representations of the prophet's assumption deliberately imitate pagan works of art representing the son-god in his chariot (F. CABRIOL-H. LECLERCQ, Dict. d'archeologie chrét. IV 2670 ff.; VI 2148; the fusion is complete in the early Byzantine 'Apocalypse of St. Anastasia' (cf L. RADERMACHER Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen [1903] 54[1]). An important witness is SEDULIUS (ca 450), in whose Carmen paschale I 184 ff. we read:

> Quam bene fulminei praelucens semita caeli
> Conuenit Heliae! meritoque et nomine fulgens
> Hac ope dignus erat, nam si sermonis Achiui
> Vna per accentum mutetur littera, sol est.

Cf Opus paschale 1.14 *cui si Graio sermone queat una per accentum littera commutari, sol specialiter uidetur expromi,* and the Expositio of REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE (saec. IX): *Helias, si mutetur a in o et accentus in ultima* (!) *sit, helios .i. sol est.* Of this identification Patrick does not seem to be fully aware; there is merely some vague connection between the two names at the back of his mind. Patrick was not in the habit of invoking Elijah; he wonders why he did so in that moment of anxiety (M. CUSACK Life of St. Patrick, 1870, 113[7]). In a half-conscious state of mind he might have remembered some pictorial representation of Elijah seen in his childhood, but

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[112]) The explanation of Patrick's cry as an echo of Marc 15,34 *Heloi Heloi* (J. H. TODD St. Patrick apostle of Ireland [1864] 371-3; T. OLDEN Epistles and hymns of St. Patrick, 1889, 47; T. R. GLOVER CLASS. REV. X.39; R. A. S. MACALISTER, Ancient Ireland [1935] 170) is purely arbitrary; so is the compromise of M. HITCHCOCK (HERMATHENA 51,72), viz that Patrick substituted the name of the prophet from the words of the mockers under the cross: *ecce Heliam uocat.*

its memory vanished again before he came back to consciousness (BIELER 61 f.).

The instrumental ablative *uiribus meis* (cf German *aus Leibeskräften*) for *totis uiribus meis* (so v V₄) is, I think, without parallel.

Splendor solis illius decidit super me is also unusual. *Decidere super* occurs in the O. L. Bible, e.g. Ex 15,16 (Lucif) *decidat super eos timor* (*irruat super eos formido* VULG); *decidere* denotes the sunset in Gen 28,11 (Lib. iubil. 27,19); it is often used not only of the *occasus siderum*, but of all sorts of *ignes caelestes*. All this, however, does not account for Patrick's phrase.

Discutere (*febrem, dolorem, grauitatem auditus,* sim) is a medical term: ThLL V 1373,47 ff. Cf *fatigationem ... discuterem* APUL. met. I 2. A phrase similar to Patrick's occurs in the Stowe Missal fol 39v (= LEO MAGNUS Sermo 12, PL LIV 169) *discute a nobis tenebras ignorantiae.*

Grauitudo = grauedo 'bodily pain, sickness' is found since VITRUUIUS (De archit. I.6,3); of a satanic illusion it is used by TÍRECHÁN (LA 11vα18 f.) *et discessit omnis grauitudo magica tenebrarum a campo Ai*—perhaps under the influence of either Patrick or Leo.

The change of tense (*credo quod a Christo .. subuentus sum et spiritus eius iam tunc clamabat pro me*) might be deliberate: *subuentus sum* is a detached statement of a past event, but the 'spirit' has never since ceased to 'claim' for Patrick.

In die pressurae meae: Pressura is the normal translation of θλῖψις in O.L., but has often been altered in the Vulgate, e.g. Matth 24,21 *erit .. pressura* (e Cypr Iren: *tribulatio* VULG) *magna.* Cf ROENSCH 320 f.; GOELZER La latinité de S. Jérôme 252; BIELER BIBLICA 28,37. Cf C 5.

In the introduction of Matth 10,19-20 the impersonal character of *inquit* is borne out by the subsequent insertion of *Dominus testatur* into the biblical text.

21. *Adhuc* ἔτι (so here and C 23.53, but not E 15 *quos adhuc gladius nondum interfecit*) is used in the Latin Irenaeus (M. HITCH-COCK HERMATHENA 54,107); *adhuc = etiam, etiamnunc* occurs ten times in the Peregrinatio Aetheriae.

22.   After the digression of C 20.21[113]), the account of Patrick's journey is now, I think, resumed. *Etiam* would, then, refer to 241,10 *et ex hac die cibum habundanter habuerunt*. Thus all speculations concerning the relative chronology of C 21 (BIELER 62 f.) may be dismissed. Long parentheses, often caused by vague associations, and an abrupt and unexpected return to the point at which the main subject was abandoned are characteristic of Patrick's style.

Praeuidit = prouidit: cf NEPOS Hannibal 9,2 (*uidit*) *in magno se fore periculo nisi quid praeuidisset* (so Monacensis a. 1482: *prouidisset* all other MSS); VULG Eccle 4,13 *qui nescit praeuidere* (*prouidere* Hier) *in posterum* (cf C 12, 238,15 f.); AMBROSE Epist. 34,5; CORP. GLOSS. LAT. V 350,40 *consulens praeuidens,* cf 282,2.

Siccitatem (probably) 'dry weather', cf CAESAR bell. Gall. V 24,1 *frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius prouenerat*, and LÖFSTEDT Syntactica I 31; travelling through deserted land often means sleeping in the open field, where dry weather is a blessing, cf MUIRCHÚ II 3 (LA fol 7vβ38-8rα3) *sed cum grauis pluia in tota patria populata est, in loco ubi sanctus episcopus pernoctabat siccitas erat sicut in conca et in uellere Gedeon.*

Peruenimus homines: See Part I, p. 33. Dr. J. GWYNN (Liber Ardmachanus p. cclxxxix) observes that *homines* refers back to C 19, 240,23 *ut aliquem hominem umquam uideamus*. In late Latin, the terminus of a movement is sometimes expressed by the accusative alone (BONNET 535; LÖFSTEDT Syntactica I 187 f.)[114]), but the 'terminus' is always a place, not a person. The sole exception are two passages in the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae: VITA BOECII 29 *quedam monialis quendam de monachis ... adueniens* and VITA DECLANI 25 *simulque uenerunt* ⟨*ad* Plummer, but the text of the MS is defended by Most 31⟩ *Declanum*. I am inclined to accept

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[113]) C 21 is probably an epexegesis of C 20, 241,20 f. *et credo quod a Christo Domino meo subuentus sum*. In order to prove his assumption that it was Christ, the *sol uerus* (C 60), who saved him, Patrick refers to some event of his later life (*post multos annos*) when he fell again into captivity. That C 21 is part of an argument, and not of a narrative, was first realized by MACNEILL St. Patrick. A fifteenth centenary memorial book (1932) 28.

[114]) BAXTER's reference '*peruenio* (trans.) to reach 7th century' is probably to MUIRCHÚ, LA fol 2r β21 f. *peruenit Britannias*.

Most's theory (p. 287) that this accusative imitates the identical construction of Old Irish, and to claim the same model for the passage of Patrick's Confessio.

Patrick uses *insinuare* always with the extenuated notion of a verb of saying (= προσοικειοῦν, cf IREN. I 8,2 and CORP. GLOSS. LAT. IV 250,42 *insinuat indicat nuntiat*); once (E 9) he has *discutere uel insinuare*. Cf CYPR. Epist. 14,3; 76,6 *insinuate (insinuastis) fratribus* ∼ C 47; VULG Act 17,3 *insinuans (confirmans* d gig. *commendans* e) *quia Christum oportuit pati;* AUG. de catech. rud. 2 *ea quae credenda insinuantur;* PATR. STUD. VIII 326 (Christopher); X 138 (Barry); XXXI 77 (Hrdlicka).

In describing his journey through the 'desert', Patrick probably borrows from Ps 106,4-7: *errauerunt in solitudine in siccitate* (R A G C Moz⁰, cf Rom: *in inaquoso* VULG): *uiam ciuitatis habitaculi non inuenerunt, esurientes et sitientes: anima eorum in ipsis defecit. et clamauerunt ad Dominum cum tribularentur: et de necessitatibus eorum eripuit eos. et deduxit eos in uiam rectam: ut irent in ciuitatem habitationis.*

Patrick tells us neither how long he joined the crew of the ship, nor where or on what occasion he parted with them, nor how he managed to return home. He does not give a diary, but enumerates briefly the decisive incidents of his spiritual development, leading up, as to a climax, to his dream of vocation (C 23), by which his divine call to the Irish mission was manifested; at the height of his argumentation (C 25), he suddenly turns to an account of the obstacles that were thrown in his way, and how, with divine assistance, he overcame them (C 26-32).

23. *Cum parentibus meis:* It is impossible for us to decide whether Patrick is speaking here of his parents or of some other relatives (Ital. *parenti;* cf GRANDGENT p. 7). He nowhere says or implies that the raiders who made him prisoner did any harm to his parents; the place where they lived might not have been raided at all (BIELER 63). The words *qui me ut filium susceperunt* could be so interpreted as to suit either case.

The phrase *post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli* anticipates a periphrasis of the ablative absolute that is common in GREGORY

OF TOURS, cf Hist. Franc. I 7, p. 37,23 f. *hunc Abraham Deus post adiectam nomini sillabam patrem multarum gentium nuncupauit.*

For the rest of this chapter compare my paper 'The problem of *Silva Focluti*' in IRISH HISTORICAL STUDIES III (1943) 351-64.

Cui nomen Victoricus[115]) is Patrick's unique instance of the phrase *est mihi aliquid*. In late Latin this idiom is preserved mainly in the formula *est mihi nomen*. The explanation, I think, is that any writer would remember Ioh 1,6 *fuit homo ... cui nomen erat Iohannes.—Victoricus* seems to be a 'celticizing' pendant to *Victorinus*. The Victoricus here mentioned is not known from any source independent of the Confessio.

Recitabam is used here as a synonym of *legebam*. The practice of reading aloud to oneself continued far into the Middle Ages, see H. J. CHAYTOR The medieval reader and textual criticism: BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIBR. 26 (1941-2) 49-56; P. GROSJEAN AB 62 (1944), 68[1]; EUGENE S. MACCARTHY CLASS. PHILOL. 43 (1948) 184-7.

Putabam audire uocem ipsorum: The reflexive pronoun before the infinitive is omitted, cf C 42.55. Originally a colloquialism, this construction has spread in late Latin: BONNET 710; LÖFSTEDT Tert. 52-6; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 592.

Ipsorum = Hiberionacum. All previous editors have connected *ipsorum* with *qui*. This would imply that Patrick was called merely to a particular district in Ireland, Silua Vocluti, and that he used *ipse = is* as the mere antecedent of a genuinely defining relative clause. The former implication militates against the probabilities of history, the latter against those of philology. An historical interpretation of this passage was given by me in the above-mentioned paper and in The Life and Legend of St. Patrick 63 f. On the philological question I can speak now with greater authority than in 1943. However freely late Latin writers may use *ipse* for *is* (especially in the genitive singular or plural)[116]), *ipse* does not seem to have become the mere antecedent of a defining relative clause (i.e. *ipse*

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[115]) So D: *Victoricius nomen* PΔ. Appositive *nomen* is common in Fredegar: Haag 45.

[116]) As most Christian authors, Patrick always uses *ipse* when referring to the Lord ('He'). Hence I have written ⟨*ipso*⟩*iubente* in C 60,252,23 (*illo* v).

qui = is qui) before the end of the sixth century[117]). In all instances
of earlier date either *ipse* is emphatic or the relative clause has not
a purely attributive function. Of the former, we have an instance
in C 24, 243,6 f. *qui dedit animam suam pro te, ipse est qui loquitur
in te* (note that the relative clause preceding *ipse .. qui* is a biblical
quotation, *ipse* identifies the speaker with Christ); of the latter, in
C 39, 347,3 *et ibi uolo expectare promissum ipsius* (i.e. *Domini*, cf
246,26), *qui utique numquam fallit* (epexegetic, note *utique* $= \gamma \dot{\epsilon}$)[118]).

Mare occidentale may denote any part of the sea to the north-
west of Europe; Patrick probably thinks of the Atlantic coast of
Ireland, cf BIELER IR. HIST. STUD. III 360-2.

Following R. A. S. Macalister, I have deleted *sancte* before *puer*
(here = *seruus*, 'boy', cf $\pi \alpha \tilde{\iota} \varsigma$)[119]). The insertion of *sanctus* is pro-
bably the first trace of the process by which the 'Voice of the Irish'
became a liturgical acclamation.

Vt uenias et adhuc ambulas inter nos: Adhuc probably means
'still, again' (= $\ddot{\epsilon}\tau\iota$), cf C 21[120]). Similarly, EUGIPPIUS Vita s. Seuerini
16,5 (the saint addresses a person whom he has raised from death)
*uis ... rogemus Dominum ut te adhuc seruis suis in hac uita condo-
nare dignetur?*

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[117]) See the material collected from various periods of Latin by C. L. MEADER
The Latin pronouns *is hic iste ipse* (1901) 184-90, 196, and especially G. L. TRA-
GER, The use of the Latin demonstratives up to 600 A.D. as the source of the
Romance article, New York 1932. The earliest indisputable instance of *ipse qui
= is qui* that is known to me occurs in the seventh century VITAE PATRUM
EMERETENSIUM, V 7,6 *ut ei de ipso quod fenerauerit saltim uel unum tremissem
redderet.* Things are different for *ipse = idem*, cf MEADER 166-8; PEI 196-7;
IORDANIS Getica 106 *quamuis uix biennio in imperio perseuerantes ab hac luce
migrarunt, tamen ipsud (= idem) biennium quod affuerunt ubique pacati ...
regnauerunt;* sim 138. *Ipse = idem* seems to be the norm before defining *qui*:
LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 65.

[118]) I maintain this interpretation against the doubts of a critic (T.F., in
STUDIES 39 [1950] 111) as to whether such accuracy of idiom can be postulated
for Patrick's latinity. It would be time to abandon the current idea of the
general vagueness of Patrick's language. Vague is, to some extent, his phraseo-
logy and style; otherwise, he follows the common usage of his time.

[119]) *Sanctus = timoratus* (C 43. E 2.3.14) would here be pointless.

[120]) Even if Dr. Gwynn's inference from Muirchú, Capitula (LA fol 20rβ2)
ut ueniret adhuc (with transposition mark), viz that Muirchú's exemplar read

Contrary to the view expressed in IR. HIST. STUD. III 360,362, I am now convinced that *ambulas* (D) is genuine. I do not believe, however, that Patrick wrote so under the influence of the Old Irish *a*-subjunctive[121]). *Venias et ambulas* is an instance of *Fernassimilation*, as are 243,10 *stupebam et ammirabam et cogitabam;* 247,13 *qui baptizarent et exhortarent;* 249,13 *non silebo neque abscondo;* 256,25 *laniantur atque depraedantur*[122]). This seems to be all the more probable because *uenias et ambulas* imitates the well-known biblical type of *ueni et ..., uade et ...*

Amplius 'further' is frequent in VL (often = *plus* in a c d f r gat, cf Wordsworth-White, index s.v.); for late examples, see Acta Andreae ed. F. Blatt, index s.v.

Expertus (D) here and in C 24 (D). 25 (DΔ)[123]) must be the perfect participle of *expergiscor*. Dr. Gwynn considered it a solecism (Liber Ardmachanus, p. ccxc), but there is some independent evidence of its existence: CORP. GLOSS. LAT. V 292,40 *expertus uel euigilauit;* cf IV 511,27 *exper* (sic) *euigilans;* V 291,47 *expers ignarus ... uel euigilans;* VULG Is 29,8 *expertus* is the reading of A (*expergefactus* vg). Morphologically, *expertus* is a syncope of *expergitus* (attested by PAULUS-FESTUS p. 70 Lindsay *expergitus ab alio excitatus, quem solemus dicere expergefactum*) as *postus* (Ital. *posto*) is a syncope of *positus*[124]); the subsequent phonetic change *experctus > expertus* has a parallel in *absortus* for *absorptus*, cf VULG Num 11,2 (all leading MSS); 1 Cor 15,54 (ACFT a.o.); Cassian (ed. Petschenig, index s.v.); Irenaeus Latinus (LUNDSTRÖM 19 f.), a.o.

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ut uenias adhuc et ambulas (cf Liber Ardmachanus p. cclxxxix), were certain, it would not necessarily follow that in the Confessio *adhuc* means 'hither'.

[121]) P. GROSJEAN AB 54, 122 f. As a parallel, Père Grosjean quotes a hymn in honour of Aed mac Bricc from a Reichenaus MS saec. VIII (ASS Nov. IV 503). In that poem, all subjunctives of verbs in-*are* (there are more than half a dozen in the short text) have *a* in the termination, and none stands in the vicinity of a genuine Latin *a*-subjunctive.

[122]) I shall discuss this phenomenon more fully in an article, 'Fernassimilation und Reimzwang', which will appear in this review.

[123]) Its preservation in Δ is probably due to misunderstanding as a form of *experior* (WHITE 291).

[124]) E.g. CIL VI 10458 (Diehl 73), 5.

With *Deo gratias quia* compare Greg. Tur. uitae patrum 17,3
uiuit Dominus meus, quia numquam te derelinquam and similar
instances quoted by BONNET 664 f.

24.   *Verbis peritissime quos ego audiui:* See Part I, p. 24, and
apparatus criticus. As regards my conjecture *apertissime,* cf FAU-
STINUS de trin. 1,12 (PL XIII 46 D) *apertissime et plene dictum est;*
aperte often qualifies *prophetare* and similar verbs: ThLL II 224,84;
225,1.

Ad postremum (*posterum* D) *orationis* 'at the end of my prayer':
Ad posterum looks like a hybrid of *in posterum* and *ad postremum;*
it might, possibly, be genuine, but one hesitates to assume this be-
cause of *ad postremum* (Ω) in the same phrase C 25. Unusual is,
in any event, the genitive by which this adverbial expression is
followed.

Effitiatus, here and C 25, was probably coined by Patrick as a
pendant to *infitior* (Dr. GWYNN Liber Ardmachanus, p. ccxc; M.
ESPOSITO JOURN. THEOL. STUD. XIX 345).

With *ipse est qui loquitur in te* compare Iren. II 30,7 *poterat*
qui est intus homo eius, qui et loquebatur in eo (M. HITCHCOCK
HERMATHENA 54,97).—Patrick's experience can perhaps be thus
reconstructed: some other night he heard clearly the same voices
as before; he wondered what it had to mean (*non potui intellegere*
= *stupebam et ammirabam et cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat*
C 25); he prayed for light, and at the end of his prayer received the
assurance that it was Christ who called him.

25.   *Et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus* 'and there he prayed loudly
(cf C 12) with groanings' anticipates the following quotation from
Rom 8,26.

Stupebam et ammirabam et cogitabam: In these surroundings
ammirabam is probably due to *Reimzwang;* cf, however, active
ammirare in VL Marc 7,37 (1) *admirabant* (after *praedicabant!*);
GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. VII 22; uitae patr. 8,3.

Spiritus (243,12) is proved correct by Patrick's authority, Rom
8,26. The defence of *episcopus* (DRFC) as a reference to 1 Petr 2,25
episcopus animarum uestrarum (Sir SAMUEL FERGUSON TRANS.

R.I.A. XXVII 78; C. H. H. Wright The writings of St. Patrick, 1902, 116) seems far-fetched.

26. *Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis.:* For *seniores* as a noun cf Tert. Apol. 39,5 *praesident probati quique seniores. Beati, sancti seniores.* are frequent expressions in the Vitae Patrum (Salonius 198).

Et peccata mea (for which v, that is probably Papebroch, conjectures *ob peccata mea*) is an emphatic epexegesis: 'they came— and my sins—against my episcopate' = 'they came, bringing forth my sins against my episcopate'.

Proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum: Cf C 59 *cum illis proselitis et captiuis. pro nomine suo;* E 1 *proselitus et profuga ob amorem Dei.* The three passages are of similar structure: *proselitus* + a synonym, followed by a *commation* of identical pattern and meaning. The phrase *proselyti et peregrini* is biblical: VL Leu 25,23 (Lugd), cf *proselyti et incolae* Aug. Quaest. de Heptateucho III.90 (*aduenae et coloni* VULG), *aduena . . . et peregrinus* Ps 38,13, *proselytis et aduenis* Tob 1,7. *Propter nomen suum* is Ps 22,3 (R G Gall) = 105,8; on the biblical question see White 306.

In conculcationem, a common biblical phrase, is seldom used metaphorically, cf 4 Esdr 16,70 *erint illis in derisum et in improperium et in conculcationem;* Gildas De excidio 108, p. 84,13 Mommsen *o horrenda praeceptorum caelestium conculcatio.* The verb is used metaphorically since Cicero (ThLL IV 102,6 ff.).

Quod in labe et in obprobrium non male deueni is best taken for an independent exclamation (implying aposiopesis); cf E 1 *non quod optabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere.*—*Labes = ignominia* is ecclesiastical, but, as far as I can see, not biblical; this metaphor is a classical element in Christian Latin. —*Non male* is colloquial; elsewhere, however, it does not seem to be used as an ironical comment on the unpleasantness of an experience[125]).

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[125]) Patrick's use of *non male* has an exact parallel in colloquial German *nicht übel;* e.g. *er hat ihm nicht übel mitgespielt = non male ei illusit.*

With *in labe et in obprobrium compare* CIL X 829 (Pompei) *in
ludos aut in monumento consumere;* ANTHIMUS 54 (asparagi)
perdent uirtute et saporem; CIL III 6122, add. 1336 (Diehl 1267)
4-5 *ex equitibus siculares* (i.e. *singularibus*); VI 10246 (Diehl 19),2
in hac custudiolam Peladiana, 3-4 *qut* (i.e. *quod*) *de frugalitate
meam fabricaui;* VI 28052 (Diehl 1002) 7 (qui inter) *filios nostris
fuit;* VL Leu 19,35 (Mon) *in mensuras et ponderibus;* Merovingian
Charter a. 717 (Tardif 50 = Lauer 38) *ad mercidem uel stabiletate;*
LEO Alex. II 9 (p. 85,23 Pfister) *indutus ueste et arma Macedonica*
(here both constructions are per se possible; on the other hand,
arma could be sing. fem.). On the underlying syntactical problem,
see this commentary on C 1.

27.　*Occasionem post annos triginta inuenerunt me aduersus
uerbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus* 'as an
occasion (pretence), after thirty years, they found against me a
word which I had confessed (i.e. a confession which I had made)
before I was a deacon'. Accepting Dr. White's emendation (p. 291 f.),
I interpret *occasio* as 'pretence' (= πρόφασις), cf VULG Matth 23,14;
VL, VULG^Q Marc 12,40; VL (d e q r s) Luc 20,47; Matth 26,16
(E: *opportunitatem* cett); TERT. Apol. 35,3 *occasio luxuriae;* REG.
BENED. 69,1-2 *ne quauis occasione praesumat alter alium defendere*
(LINDERBAUER 400).—The classical *aduersus* is still the rule with
Tertullian (LÖFSTEDT Krit. Bem. 86, note 2), but in the Vulgate
aduersum is by far more frequent (only six well attested instances
of *aduersus* are quoted from the Octateuch: Vatican ed. IV 403).
Patrick always uses *aduersus* (here and C 49.50). The inversion
(mostly after pronouns) is as old as Plautus, and quite common
in late Latin (ThLL I 851,10 ff.); cf also CIL VI 28598 (Diehl 1508),
3 *se contra,* and the frequent inversions *se contra, se coram, se
inter* in Ionas (B. KRUSCH Ionae Vitae Sanctorum, 1905, 58).—
Verbum quod confessus fueram is probably a periphrasis ('figura
synonymica') of 'a confession' (= *uerbum confessionis*). Thus
uerbum does not denote the sin, but the act of its confession[126]). The

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[126]) The chronological implications of this assumption are discussed in
BIELER 68 f.

nature of Patrick's sin may be guessed from 244,1 f. *quae in pueritia mea una die gesseram, immo in una hora, quia necdum praeualebam.*

In the following, I strongly incline towards *antequod* (PΔ_2), see apparatus criticus. Instances of *antequod* and *postquod* (O. F. *ainz que*, Fr. *puisque*) from the sixth century onwards are quoted by NORBERG 239 f., who explains these conjunctions convincingly as developments of temporal *quod,* cf PLAUT. Amph. 302 *iam diu est quod uentri uictum non datis* ('it is a long time that . . .').

Anxietas occurs in VL Gen 3,16 (HIER Epist. 22,18), but not in the Vulgate.—*Amicissimo meo* (cf C 32): Substantival *amicissimus* with a possessive pronoun is first recorded from GELLIUS XVII 10,7 *a suis amicissimis.*

Vna die: Patrick never uses *unus* in pure article function. Of *unus = quidam* (HOFMANN 102) there are two clear instances in C 42 (*una benedicta Scotta, una causa*). Here, the afterthought *in una hora* retrospectively alters the meaning of *una die:* 'In the anxiety of my troubled mind, I told my best friend what in my boyhood I had done one day—to be exact, in one hour, for I was not yet strong'. Note, however, the differentiation between the ablative of time with and without the preposition.

In *nescio si habebam tunc annos quindecim, nescio si* is almost = *uix* (cf SALONIUS 312). Interrogative *si* with indicative is the rule in Tertullian (HOPPE 34).

A fame et nuditate, et cotidie: Cf Rom 8,35 *an fames an nuditas;* 2 Cor 11,27 *in fame et siti . . . in frigore et nuditate.* The comma *et cotidie* is epexegetic: 'and this daily'; similarly, two lines above, *Deum uiuum non credebam, neque ex infantia mea.*

28.   *Contra, Hiberione non sponte pergebam:* Here, *contra* is an adverb: 'on the contrary'—as often in the Historia Augusta (LESSING s.v.); cf absolute *magis* C 50 ex.[127]).—*Non sponte* 'not of my own accord', cf C 32 *quod ante sponte et laetus indulserat.* Unspecified *sponte* occurs since Silver Latin: T. A. KELLY PATR. STUD. LVIII 71. —*Donec deficiebam* is biblical (Ps 17,38; Iob 27,5; Os 5,15)[128]).

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[127]) Pleonastic is PEREGR. Aetheriae 25,5 *psalmi . . . tam qui nocte dicuntur quam qui contra* ('on the other hand') *mature.*

[128]) Patrick probably wants to say that he resisted his vocation with a tenacity

The words 244,8-9 *sed hoc potius bene mihi fuit, qui ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino* cannot refer to either Patrick's refusal or his giving in; *hoc* must vaguely indicate those hardships which made him mend his ways. For *emendare* compare CYPR. de mortalitate 13, p. 304,26 ff. (Paulus) *post carnis et corporis multa ... tormenta non uexari sed emendari se dicit aduersis.*

Aptare with a personal object is extremely rare, cf SENECA epist. 108,11 *paupertati suae aptatus;* Heb 13,21 (Deus) *aptet uos* (Gloss: *impleat uos*) *in omni bono.* PsLEO Liber sacram. 40,5 (PL 55,148) *ut suscipiendo muneri tuo per ipsum munus aptemur.*

With the phrase *longe a me erat* compare Eccli 16,22 *longe enim est testamentum a quibusdam. Longe esse = abesse* and similar adverbial expressions had a wide circulation not only in ordinary, but even in refined colloquial language: HOFMANN 166. See also this commentary on E 12, 256,26.

Satagere, absolutely, = *laborare* is first recorded from BELL. Afr. 78,7 *Caesar alteram alam mittit qui satagentibus celeriter occurrerent.* Patrick was probably thinking of Luc 10,40 (b ff₂ q r₁.₂ VULG) *Martha autem satagebat circa frequens ministerium,* where the variant *turbabatur* (a) is interesting. Cf also AUG. Conf. V 14,24.

Quando autem: adversative *quando* occurs three times in Commodian. For 'transcendent' (or 'supporting') *autem* cf ACTA ANDREAE p. 45,24 Blatt *cum ita factum fuisset, dixit autem Iesus;* p. 67,36; for *uero* in similar function, BLATT 195.

De me ipso non cogitabam 'I was not concerned about myself', cf HIST. AUG. Trebellius Pollio, Tyranni XXX 12,9 *ut de filiis suis uideretur cogitare;* VL Matth 6,25 (Tert) *nolite cogitare de uictu;* 6,34 (Cypr) *nolite cogitare de crastino* (VULG *ne solliciti sitis, nolite solliciti esse*); on *cogitare* = μεριμνᾶν see ROENSCH Itala 352 f.; Tertullian 600; KAULEN 15.

29. *A memoratis supradictis: Memoratus* 'the (above) mentioned' occurs a.o. in Victor Vitensis (PETSCHENIG 163) and Cassiodorus

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that almost surpassed his strength. The statement comes unexpeced—an association by contrast.

(O. J. ZIMMERMANN MED. STUD. XV 113), but Patrick's 'by the afore-
said mentioned' is very strange indeed.

Vidi in uisu noctis, scriptum erat is a parataxis of unusual
harshness.—The details of Patrick's experience remain obscure. So
much is certain that, as in the dream described in C 23, he saw a
vision and heard a voice—the former referring to his rejection, the
latter expressing displeasure at his humiliation. My tentative inter-
pretation (Life and Legend of St. Patrick 66,69 f.) may have to be
modified along the line opened up recently by REV. D. S. NERNEY
I.E.R., 5. ser., 71,503 f. Since the subject of this paragraph is so
uncertain, it seems idle to comment on the words.

Quasi sibi (D: *ibi* Φ) *se iunxisset:* Whether we follow D or Φ,
or, as I have suggested, reconstruct a reading *quasi s⟨i⟩ ibi*, there
remains the difficulty that the reference to Patrick (*sibi* as well as
ibi would mean '*à lui*': P. Grosjean privately) is made in the third
person. P. Grosjean is probably right in suspecting this passage to
be an ancient gloss.

30.   The main difficulty of this paragraph is its syntactic structure.
Patrick apparently means to say: 'I thank God for not having
frustrated my mission', but the clause *ut non me impediret* is
awkward whether it depends on *gratias ago* or on *confortauit*, and
has a rather inconcinn pendant in the continuation *sed magis ex
eo sensi in me uirtutem* etc. The whole paragraph is anacoluthic.

With the abrupt change of preposition (*a profectione .. et de
mea .. opera*) cf Celerinus (CYPR. Epist. 21,1) *ab eo ex quo te
deduxi numquam litteras tuas accipere potui;* PEREGR. Aetheriae 9,1
notus mihi iam satis de eo tempore a quo ad Thebaidam fueram;
ACTA ANDREAE 136,15 f. Blatt *necati a clade pessima, de igne et aqua.*

Et .. quoque is hardly a pleonasm (as in CYPR. epist. 44,1
*superuenerunt uero Pompeius et Stephanus .., qui et ipsi quoque
... testimonia protulerunt:* HOFMANN 97; LÖFSTEDT Tert. 36 ff.;
SALONIUS 335 f.); here it means 'and also', 'and likewise', 'and conse-
quently'.

Opera = opus (here 'task') is frequent in the O. L. version
(ROENSCH 317 f.) and in ecclesiastical literature, e.g. TERT. de
resurrect. 16, p. 46,2-3 Kr. *non reputabuntur* (carni) *operae malae;*

LUCIFER p. 145, 8.12 Hartel (see BONNET 352; HOPPE 76). The fol-
lowing *quod* is construed as if it were preceded by *opere*[129]). A similar
sense construction is CIL IV 4973 (Pompei) *multa opus sunt quod*
(VÄÄNÄNEN 194, 217).—*Didiceram* echoes Gal 1,11 *neque enim ego
ab homine accepi illud* (euangelium) *neque didici, sed per reuela-
tionem Iesu Christi.*

Ex eo is a very vague expression (cf *hoc, ex hoc* in C 28),
covering a whole complex of events that were connected with
Patrick's election: BURY 318.

Sensi in me uirtutem non paruam does not necessarily reproduce
directly Marc 5,29-30 (so WHITE 306); a closer parallel is certainly
SULP. SEUER. Vita s. Martini 7,3 *cum ... sensisset .. per spiritum
Domini adesse uirtutem.*

Fides mea probata est is biblical phraseology: Eccli 46,17 *et in
fide sua probatus est propheta;* Heb 11,39 *testimonio fidei probati*
(cf 1 Cor 11,19); 1 Petr 1,7 *probatio uestrae fidei*. In the present
context the words seem to mean: 'my faith (confidence) was proved
true'. The Irish annalist who penned the note preserved in the
Annals of Ulster sub a. 441 *Leo ordinatus ... et probatus est in fide
catholica Patricius episcopus* (cf Annals of Innisfallen *probatio
sancti Patricii in fide catholica*) had either this passage in mind or
shaped his phrase on the same models[130]).

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[129]) One could also understand *de mea opera* as an accusative of the plural,
and *quod* as the indeclinable 'relative sign'. Cf REG. BENED. capitula 48 *De opera
manuum cotidiana,* soon followed by *De fratres qui ...* (cap. 50.51): LINDER-
BAUER 150; MEROVINGIAN CHARTER a. 710 (Tardif 45 = Lauer 32) *de pluremum
annorum spacia:* Pei 163-6, 234 f.

[130]) The historical interpretation of this note is problematical. Similar phrases
are found in the ACTA CONCILIORUM, e.g. Gesta Ephesena 16 (I/2. 79,16 Schwartz)
nostram probantes perseuerantiam circa orthodoxam fidem; cf II/1. 44,14
δοκιμασθείϲης ἡμῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως; 243,2 ὧν ἂν δοκιμασθῇ ἡ πίστις —but context
and situation are quite different. As a technical term, *probo* = δοκιμάζω
means the test of orthodoxy applied to candidates for the episcopate. But why
should a bishop, after years of office, be in need of 'approval' by a newly elected
pope? Prof. St. Kuttner, Washington, calls my attention to canon 9 of the
Council of Nicaea: *si qui citra examinationem promoti sunt presbyteri uel
examinati sua peccata confessi sunt, eisque confessis praeter canonem moti*

31.   With *audenter dico* (Act 2,29) cf *audenter loquebantur, lo-quitur* VL Ioh 7,13.26 (e); DIGESTA XXVIII 2,29,14; PORPHYRIO in Hor. Carm. I 12,11; also SECUNDINUS 49 *nomen Domini audenter annuntiat gentibus.*

In sermonibus quos ego retuli uobis must mean 'in the words which I have enounced to you', not 'which I have related' (so *uerbum referre* always in the Vulgate). Patrick wants to emphasize the trustworthiness of his own account (*sermones,* cf C 9).

32.   *Magis* here probably means 'rather'. Patrick, so far from being offended by his friend's behaviour, rather feels sorry for him.—*Doleo cur* is recorded only once, in a phrase resembling Patrick's: HIER. Epist. 52,6,1 *doleo cur meruerimus* (-*uimus* k) *hanc legem.* *Cur = quod, quia,* with the indicative, occurs first in a letter of Verus (FRONTO p. 116,2 Naber) *multum fratrem meum obiurgaui cur me non reuocauit*—possibly an archaism.—*Meruimus:* Patrick treats this verb as active in the perfect, but as a deponent in the present (*mereantur* E 21)—which is also the practice of Gregory of Tours (BONNET 402).

Defensio, apparently an echo of 2 Tim 4,16, must refer to a 'defence' of Patrick's election against certain opponents. For historical interpretation cf BIELER 70. (*Dissensionem* P is rather pointless; it might be a *retouche* of the vulgar spelling *diffensionem*).

Nec a me orie⟨ba⟩tur: Bury's emendation seems absolutely necessary. The phrase is an anticlimax: 'I was not present, nor was I in Britain, nor did I take the initiative'. *Ex te adeo est ortum* is found as early as TERENCE Adelphoe 797.—The clause *ut et ille ... pulsaret pro me* depends on *comperi* 244,27; the construction may have been influenced by *nec a me oriebatur.*—*In mea absentia:* cf Phil 2,12.

Pulsare pro aliquo (after *intercedere pro aliquo*) is unique. The semantic equation has developed from the biblical metaphor

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homines manus imposuerunt, eos canon non admittit. Was the change in the pontificate made an occasion of renewed attacks? Or is the annalistic entry nothing more than a misinterpretation of C 30?

Matth 7,7-8 *pulsate et aperietur uobis* etc, cf Luc 11,9-10[131]), and seems to be exclusively ecclesiastical: TERT. Apol. 20,4 *spiritus pulsat;* PsAug. Quaestiones 109,14 (scriptura) *diu pulsat et clamitat*[132]).

Ecce dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus: Gradus denotes 'rank' within a hierarchy, in pagan mysteries (e.g. those of Mithras) as well as in the Mosaic cult (*Leuiticum gradum* HIER. Epist. 64,8,1) and, especially, in the Christian Church. Cf *ad episcopatus gradum prouehi* CODEX IUSTIN. I 3,30 in.—For the unusual *dare* 'to appoint' compare VL Ios 18,4 (Lugd) *date* (δότε LXX: *eligite* VULG) *ex uobis tres uiros;* 2 Par 25,16 (Lucif) *consiliarium regis dedi* (δέδωκα) *te* (*consiliarius es* VULG); Eph 4,11 *dedit* (ἔδωκεν) *quosdam apostolos* a.o.

Dehonestare is frequent since the O. L. Bible. Cf VULG Prou 25,8 *cum dehonestaueris amicum tuum* (VL is different).—*Quod* stands for some such expression as *in,* or *de, eo quod.*—The subject interpretation depends on the meaning of *indulserat.* It seems best to assume the common meaning 'to give, or grant' (cf C 37. 57. E 3.6)[133]): 'he publicly blamed me in a matter which before spontaneously and gladly he had granted, and not only he, but also the Lord, who is greater than all'.—Adverbial *laetus* occurs in VULG Gen 46,30 *iam laetus moriar* (ἀποθανοῦμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν LXX), and in four other places of the O. T.

33.   Pleonastic *sed tamen* is found also in ACTA ANDREAE p. 129,7

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[131]) At its root is colloquial *pulsare = ostium pulsare* (thus *pulto* in Plautus: Lodge s.v.), cf κρούειν, German *klopfen.* The ellipsis is also biblical: Act 12,16 *perseuerabat pulsans* takes up *pulsante autem eo ostium ianuae* (13) in exactly the same ways as PLAUTUS, Stichus 310 *uide quam dudum hic asto et pulto* takes up 308 *ibo et pultabo fores. Pulsare* alone is so used Luc 12,36 *cum uenerit et pulsauerit* (VLalq. VULG).

[132]) The metaphor becomes quasi-technical in (lapsi) *ad ecclesiam pulsent* CYPR. Epist. 65,5; cf 57,1; 68,1 (JANNSEN 35 f; SCHRIJNEN-MORHMANN I. 131), and fully so in the monastic term *pulsantes* 'postulants' (REG. BENED. 58,4-5; cf M. HITCHCOCK, St. Patrick and his Gallic friends [1916] 134 note 15).

[133]) Differently MacNEILL 45: 'in a matter which before of his own accord CYPR. Epist. 65,5; cf 57,1; 68,1 (JANNSEN 35 f.; SCHRIJNEN-MORHMANN I 131), and gladly he held me pardoned'. The assembly, I think, had not to decide whether Patrick's sin was forgiven, but only whether it made him unworthy of ordination.

Blatt.—With *donum Dei quod largitus est nobis* compare VULG Esth 2,18 *dona largitus est* (the passage is missing in VL).

Quia tunc fortiter inquisiui eum recalls Ps 33,11 *inquirentes Dominum* (R G VULG); Eccli 4,12 *suscipit* (Deus) *inquirentes se;* Prou 28,5 *qui . . . inquirunt Dominum.*

With *seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus* (similarly C 43 *custodierit me ab omni uia mala*) compare Tert. De corona 10 *custodite uos ab idolis;* CYPR. Epist. 62,5 *optamus . . . fratres nostros . . . ab eiusmodi periculis incolumes reseruari,* and the quotation of Ps 33,7 in C 34.

In *sic credo* 'so do I believe' *sic* is a prolepsis of *propter inhabitantem Spiritum eius;* cf VITAE PATRUM III 92 *sic est hic Ioannes quomodo mulier meretrix:* SALONIUS 208 f. Pleonastic *sic ita ideo* is frequent in technical works: SVENNUNG Palladius 400 ff.

Audenter rursus takes up the *audenter dico* of C 31. A stylistic parallel is AUG. Conf. I 11,18 *quanto ergo melius et cito sanarer et id ageretur mecum meorum meaque diligentia ut recepta salus animae meae tuta esset tutela tua, qui dedisses eam. Melius uero.*

Scit Deus (so here and C 43; *Deus scit,* with CYPR. Epist. 22,1, C 48) is probably derived from the *nescio, Deus scit* of St. Paul (cf C 24.27), but with a change of meaning, = *testis est Deus* (cf E 1). It seems to have been a Christian formula, modelled perhaps on O. T. *uiuit Dominus,* 2 Reg 12,5 a.o.

Effor, originally a ritual word, can have a solemn ring even in late Latin, cf PROSPER in Ps 109,1 (p. 318 B) *hoc . . . Dauid ipse . . . effatus est dicens.*—The hypothetical period has a parallel in Ps 54,13 *et si is qui oderat me super me magna locutus fuisset, abscondissem me forsitan* (so VULG: *absconderem me utique* R G C H Rom Moz⁰ TESTᵖ¹) *ab eo. Forsitan* = ἄν with the irrealis is found several times in the Old Latin where the Vulgate has a different construction (ThLL VI 1138,78 ff.).

34.   *Indefessam gratiam* is an instance of the enallage adiectiui, which, as was pointed out by SVENNUNG Palladius 234 ff., is by no means alien to popular speech; cf *ultronea munuscula* C 49. PSCYPR. de laude martyrii 20 *indefessa uertigo,* which M. Hitchcock compares, is a personification.

Ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium ut hostiam uiuentem animam meam Christo Domino meo: This phrase, with its double pleonasm, is difficult to construe. We may interpret *animam meam* as object of *offeram, sacrificium* as 'accusative of the predicate', *ut* (= *utpote*) *hostiam uiuentem* as apposition to *sacrificium,* and *Christo Domino meo* as an epexegesis of *illi*—but such an artificial construction would be entirely illusive. What we have before us is a complex of related notions, not an organized structure, and the words rush forth as the author pours out his heart.

Qui mihi +tanta diuinitate cooperasti+ (P: *coop(er)uisti* δ): I refrain from discussing the emendations listed in the apparatus criticus. *Diuinitas* must mean here 'divine power'; *cooperasti* might, after all, be correct. The following passage deserves consideration: LEO Alex. II 16 (p. 93,13 Pfister) *uidentes eum Perses* (nom. plur.) *dubitabant enim ire super eum eo quod diuinitas* ('divine power': Syriac version) *cooperiebatur eum.*

Vt . . . constanter exaltarem . . nomen tuum: Constanter, modifying a *uerbum dicendi,* normally means 'without fear', cf VL Prou 1,21 (Iren. V 20,1) *constanter loquitur* (θαρροῦσα λέγει); *constanter dicere, loqui* = παρρησιάζεσθαι Act 13,46 (c VULG); 26,26 (VULG). Cf also ROENSCH Tert. 623 f.; HARTEL IV 15.

Vbicumque loco fuero is probably a hybrid construction (*ubicumque locorum—quocumque loco*). Perhaps Patrick thought of 1 Esdr 1,4 *in cunctis locis ubicumque habitant.*

Nec non in secundis sed etiam in pressuris is the result of overstrain. Faced with a choice between *et non solum—sed etiam* and *nec solum—sed etiam,* and perhaps intending to sacrifice both for *in secundis nec non et in pressuris* (*nec non et* three times in Commodian!), the author made of his phrase a mess in which the almost indispensible *solum* or *tantum* got lost.—The opposition of *in secundis* and *in pressuris* (cf C 41 *idola et inmunda*) is unusual: ROGER L'enseignement des lettres classiques, p. 221, note 5.—For the plural in *pressuris* cf Rom 5,3 *gloriamur in pressuris* (Tert Cypr: *in tribulationibus* VL[cett] VULG), and this commentary p. 130.

Vt quicquid mihi euenerit . . . debeo suscipere: Here and in C 43

qui mihi protestatur si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat; C 54 *neque ut sit occasio adulationis .. scripserim uobis neque ut honorem spero* Patrick seems to have used *ut = ut qui,* which, as far as I can see, is a peculiar feature of his individual language. Similar, though slightly different, is his explicative *ut* in C 16 *ut in die una usque ad centum orationes* and C 37 *Deus ... resistit illis omnibus, ut ego ueneram ad Hibernas gentes.*

The cola *qui mihi ostendit ...* and *qui me audierit ...* are pendants, hence *audierit* is almost certainly perfect subjunctive, cf C 62 *si aliquid pusillum egi uel demonstrauerim.* However, *audierit* does not make sense. The theme of this whole section is divine cooperation: *ualde mihi subuenit* C 26; *et aptauit me* C 28; *qui me in omnibus confortauit* C 30; *sensi in me uirtutem non paruam* C 30; *qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me* C 33; *qui mihi tanta diuinitate cooperasti* C 34. Should we not read: *qui me adiuuerit* 'Who must have helped me to dare and face this holy and wondrous task'? Cf *adiuuante* (*adiuante* D!) *Deo* C 19, and the quotation of Rom 8,26 in C 25.

Auderem adgredere: Although passive *adgredior* is frequent, there is but little evidence of the active (IORDANIS Romana 219; Fredegar: HAAG 58; CORP. GLOSS. LAT. IV 9,37).—Active forms of *imitari* (245,24) have, of course, always been frequent: ThLL VII 432,63 f.

Praenuntiaturos (v) must be correct, in spite of the praefix, which retains as little of its original significance here as in *praedicere* C 29.—The pleonasm *ante .. praedixerat* was felt so little by our author that he even added *iam olim.*

Quod ita ergo (*ut* add Δ₂) *uidimus itaque suppletum est* 'thus we have seen it and thus it has been fulfilled' (= we have seen the fulfilment of the prophecy). A similar idea is expressed by TERT. Apol. 20,2 *quicquid agitur praenuntiabatur; quicquid uidetur audiebatur,* which may be an echo of Ps 47,9 *sicut audiuimus ita et* (om G Heb) *uidimus* (*sic uidimus* VULG. οὕτω καὶ εἴδομεν LXX).— *Itaque* is here *ita-que* 'and so'.—For *ita uidimus* cf SULPIC. SEUER. Vita s. Mart. 20,8 *quod quidem ita uidimus.* The *ut* of Δ₂ would result in a normal late Latin construction (cf BOETHIUS Consol. V.3,

p. 112,29 f. Weinberger *si ita uti sunt ita ea futura esse decernit;*
LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 230 f.), but the idea would be strained.—
For *suppleo = impleo* cf CORP. GLOSS. IV 570,15, and 4 Esdr 6,19-20
et quando suppleta fuerit humilitas Sion ... haec signa faciam.

35. *Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum
uel per partes* is a common form of preterition, cf E 9 *longum est
per singula discutere uel insinuare;* SULPIC. SEUER. vita s. Martini
19,5 *sed longum est ire per singula;* HIER. Vita Hilar. 10 *longum est
per diuersa tempora carptim ascensum eius edicere.—Narrabat per
singula* is found VULG Act 21,19 (VL varies but slightly); cf *dicen-
dum per singula* Heb 9,5; *per singula enumerare* IREN. II 30,3; *per
singula* PRISCILL. p. 6,10; 23,9; 38,4 Schepss.—For *per partes,* cf
COLUMELLA IV 24 *haec in uniuersum; illa per partes custodienda
sunt;* IULIUS POMERIUS de uita contempl. I 6,2 *rerum omnium notitia
non per partes, sed simul et tota uidebitur.* Patrick's sentence is
thus a mosaic of current formulae.

The superlative *piissimus,* frowned upon by CICERO (Philipp.
XIII 19,43), is predicated of God in the O. L. Bible (BILLEN 205),
but not in the Vulgate; it is frequent in some Christian writers,
a.o. in Cassian.

Since the third century A.D. *periculum* has often the specific
meaning 'peril of death' (cf LÖFSTEDT Arnobiana 38 f.), which is
very appropriate here.—*De periculis duodecim qua (quibus φ):*
In late Latin, *qua* encroaches not only on *ubi* (cf COMMOD. carm.
apol. 972; PAULINUS NOLANUS Carm. 28,16; VITAE PATRUM V 10,76),
but also on *quando,* cf PEREGR. Aeth. 7,1 *sane licet terram Gesse
iam nossem, id est qua primitus ad Egyptum fueram;* 16,3 *tem-
poribus Achab regis, qua famis fuit* (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 125 f.;
GRANDGENT § 82); in Patrick's *qua* the two notions converge.—
The 'twelve perils' cannot be identified with particular incidents of
Patrick's life; NERNEY I.E.R. 72,269, interprets this phrase as an
allusion to 2 Cor 11,26.—The sentence is anacoluthic, but the object
of *liberauit* is easily understood.

Nec iniuriam legentibus faciam 'I do not want to annoy my
readers'. Similarly, Honorius writes to Paulinus of Nola (a. 419),

COLLECT. AUELLANA 25,1 *cum beatitudo tua, de corporis inaequalitate causata, itineris non potuerit iniuriam* ('hardship') *sustinere.*

Ideo tamen (246,6-7) has been altered by Dr. Newport White to *idiotam tamen* in 1905, and to *idiotam* in 1918. It seems to me that although *idiota* is a common term of self-depreciation in ecclesiastical literature, it does not go well with *pauperculum pupillum*[134]). *Ideo tamen* is certainly not meaningless (so White 293), but is found elsewhere only in the negative (*non ideo tamen* = German *darum doch nicht*) after a concessive clause (ThLL VII 219, 76-220,10): PAPINIANUS Digest. XXXIII 4,7,3 *quamquam ipsa* (mulier) *nondum praecipere dotem possit, non ideo tamen actio filii differtur;* TERT. De pudicitia 7, p. 232,15-17 *cum dico Christianum iam peccatorem in utraque parabola portendi, non tamen ideo eum adfirmandum qui de facinore moechiae et fornicationis restitui per paenitentiam possit*[135]). In the present passage the concessive protasis would be supplied by *pauperculum pupillum* 'although I am only a poor creature', but whether positive *ideo tamen* ('all the same', 'none the less') should be recognized I dare not assert.

A real crux are the last two words: *creuerat monere* P. *creber admoneret* F. *creberrime admoneret* v. *creberrime admonuit* Δ_2 (DR missing). PF testify to ('adverbial') *creber* (cf HIER. Epist. 60,12 *si ianitor creber in porta esset;* SIDONIUS epist. IX 16,3 v. 39 *creber cecini* [in a poem]). A decision between the various forms of the verb is more difficult. As the *ut*-clause cannot possibly depend on *qui nouit omnia etiam antequam fiant,* which is merely an extended attribute (= *praescius futurorum*), it must be governed by *Deum auctorem habeo.* We have thus to choose between explicative *ut* (= *utpote qui*) ... *admonuit* (Δ_2), which makes no sense, consecutive (?) *ut* ... *admoneret* (vF), where the tense is hard to explain,

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[134]) The two alliterating diminutives are obviously a formula. For *pupillus* 'orphan' ⟩ 'poor fellow' cf 4 Esdr 2,20 *uiduam iustifica, pupillo iudica, egenti da, orphanum tuere, nudum uesti;* POMPONIUS Digest. L 16,239; VULG Iob 6,27.

[135]) HARTEL III 5 explains: 'non tamen (dico) ideo eum adfirmandum, etc'; I understand: 'non tamen ideo eum adfirmandum (est portendi) qui'.

and the hybrid construction *ut ... admonere* (P), which has parallels
in C 3 and 14, and might be understood as contamination of an
infinitive construction and an equivalent (declarative) *ut*-clause:
'God is my witness that to me, poor creature that I am, none the
less a divine voice often spoke'. *Responsum diuinum* may be either
subject or object ('inner accusative') of *admonere;* the meaning is
essentially the same.—This acknowledgment of divine assistance
concerns not only the tribulations of the past, but even more so the
dangers of the Irish mission, to which the author now turns[136]).

36.   *Vnde mihi haec sapientia quae in me non erat ...? Vnde mihi
postmodum donum tam magnum tam salubre ...?* Repeated *unde*
(with ellipsis of *uenit,* cf C 20 *unde me uenit .. in spiritum,* C 32
sed unde uenit illi postmodum; similarly, TERT. De test. animae 4,
p. 140,6 *unde animae hodie affectare aliquid quod uelit post
mortem*) is a stylistic pattern: TERT. De anima 19, p. 331,22 ff.
*unde illi iudicium nouitatis et moris, si non sapit? unde illi et of-
fendi et demulceri, si non intellegit?*

Deum sapiebam: One would expect the dative, cf Rom 14,6 *qui
sapit diem, Domino sapit;* SULPIC. SEUER. dial. I 14,6 (Christus)
cui sapit omne quod brutum est. Is Patrick's *Deum sapiebam* an
instance of 'case syncretism'?

Deum agnoscere is a technical term for the knowledge of God
in Tertullian: HOPPE 88 f.

Amittere is always used by Patrick metaphorically, = *relinquere*
(cf C 43.58), as in COMMOD. Instruct. II 9,4 (the apostate) *amittit
et patriam et regem;* similarly, *dimittere* is used by CASSIAN, cf
Conlat. III.7,5 *nulla rursus ad haec quae dimisimus concupiscentia
reuertamur;* cf also AETHERIA 8,5 and LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 189.
An echo of our passage is perhaps VITA S. FURSEI 2 *patriam parentes-
que relinquens.*

37.   *Cum fletu et lacrimis* is a common formula from the imperial
era onwards: ThLL VI 904,54 ff. It occurs also in the Vulgate

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[136]) In particular, I think, it refers to the *pericula* of 246,3. The *responsum
diuinum* is always a promise of help (cf. C 17.21.29).

(2 Macc 11,6); cf Mal 2,13 *operiebatis lacrimis altare Domini, fletu et mugitu.*

Nullo modo eventually becomes almost a negative particle, = *nequaquam,* cf my index to Weinberger's edition of Boethius' Consolatio, p. 224. Patrick has *nullus* only in this conventional expression.

Nullo modo consensi neque adquieui illis: Does *illis* refer to the dissuading *seniores* or to the offended donors? The latter would certainly be more significant, but *illis* is taken up by *illis omnibus* 246,15, where Patrick speaks of clerics, including the *seniores.*

Non mea gratia seems to be coined in contrast to *Dei gratia.* Patrick does not say: 'It was not me, but the grace of God'; with a daring inversion, he says: 'It was not my grace, but God'.

The present tense in *uincit* and *resistit* and the generalizing *illis omnibus* refer to Patrick's life as a whole, before and after his appointment for Ireland (cf my remarks on 246,7); *ut ego ueneram* etc serves to illustrate the general statement.

Veneram praedicare: The infinitiuus finalis, a Greek construction, is frequent in the Bible (O. L.: ROENSCH 447; ROBERT p. lxxi f.; Vulgate: KAULEN 276 ff.; PLATER 38) and in later literature (e.g. Gregory of Tours: BONNET 646-9). See LEUMANN-HOFMANN 579.

Ab incredulis contumelias perferre: Cf *pati a fratribus* CYPR. Epist. 59,2; *afflictionem quam a persecutoribus sustinemus* VICT. VIT. II 54; *periclitari a falsis fratribus* PAULINUS NOL., epist. I 9.— *Contumelias perferre* is a classical phrase (CIC. de off. I 113); its normal late Latin equivalent is *contumeliam (-as) sustinere* (ThLL IV 802,64 ff.).

The words *ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate aliorum* have a close parallel in E 10 *ingenuus fui secundum carnem ... uendidi enim nobilitatem meam ... pro utilitate aliorum.* For this and other striking parallels in the two texts P. Grosjean offers the plausible explanation that before writing his Confessio Patrick re-read the Epistola, which had been addressed to the same circles: AB 63,106.

Me (before *ingenuitatem*) in PF (amplified to *me et* in v) is probably a gloss (of Φ?) on *ingenuitatem meam,* which the glossator

understood as a form of address, cf CORP. GLOSS. LAT. III 639 (Collo-
quium Harleianum 4) *ut decet ingenuitatem tuam* ὡς πρέπει τῇ
εὐγενείᾳ σοῦ(cf German *Euer Wohlgeboren*); cf 109,40-42.

Incunctanter et libentissime: Cf C 51 *diligenter et libentissime.*
The coordination of positive and elative (the latter normally in the
second place) begins in early Latin and becomes frequent in late
Latin: E. WÖLFFLIN Lateinische und romanische Komparation
(1879) 57-63; SALONIUS 195 f.; LINDERBAUER 104-6. Cf BELL. ALEX.
3,1 *ingeniosi atque acutissimi;* FILASTRIUS 113,1 *nomina uanissima
etfriuola* (Juret 167); AUG. ciu. Dei I 19,22 *splendide atque uerissime* (BALMUS 52).

*Vt etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine
eius et ibi opto impendere eam* is slightly anacoluthic. Patrick, I
think, intended to write: *ut etiam animam meam ... impendam,*
but then the idea that it was in Ireland that he wished to sacrifice
his life got hold of him so completely that it interfered with the
original construction.—The irrealis *indulgeret* is used absolutely;
the words *si Dominus mihi indulgeret* are almost an independent
exclamation.

38. *Quia ualde debitor sum Deo: Valde* is used here for the grada-
tion of a nominal clause with verbal function. The adverb has be-
come entirely an attribute in the Liber Angueli (LA fol. 20va31 f.)
per tuam ualde praedicationem.

Consummare, here and C 51 = τελειοῦν (ThLL IV 599,37 ff.),
denotes particularly the sacrament of confirmation: CYPR. Epist.
73,9, p. 785,3-6 *ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur ... per nostram ora-
tionem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur et
signaculo dominico consummentur;* HIL. in Matth 2,4 *baptizatis ...
reliquum consummari igne*[137]).

Credulitas = πίστις cf PsCYPR. De laude mart. 4; Epist. Papae
Caelestini ad synodum Ephesenum (ACTA CONCILIORUM I/5.36,18);
ThLL IV 1151,41 ff.; O. ZIMMERMANN MED. STUD. XV 188.

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[137]) *Consummare* is used also of baptism (CYPR. ad Fortunatum, praef. 4)
and ordination (RUFINUS, Basilii homil. 6,3); for the latter, *ordinare* is preferred
since CYPRIAN (ed. Hartel, p. 441), cf C 38.50.51.

Sicut falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola: Sicut = quam
(LXX ὡς) is the reading of Patrick alone; it has a parallel in VL
Gen 28,17 (Lugd) *sicut* (LXX ὡς: VULG *quam*) *uerendus hic locus*.
39. *Ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes,* Patrick's only non-
biblical instance of *a(b)* = *de* or *ex,* is probably an echo of the
biblical passages immediately preceding, where this substitution
occurs three times within seven lines.
40.   With this paragraph, which consists mainly of quotations from
Scripture[138]), the Confessio reaches its ὀμφαλός : Patrick's preach-
ing to the heathens *in extremis terrae* is the fulfilment of the Old
Testament prophecies and the Gospel.

Idcirco itaque is found also in SALUIANUS III 38; *idcirco igitur*
in AMBROSIASTER in Gal 2,10; *itaque idcirco* (though separated)
occurs even in CICERO pro Balbo 19 (later in the QUEROLUS p. 9,14),
itaque ideo in VARRO Rerum rust. II 4,5[139]), cf *ergo ideo* REG. BENED.
7,55. Se also LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 221.—Patrick's *idcirco itaque*
is not necessarily a pleonasm; *itaque* might be added for emphasis.

Piscare here and SECUNDINUS 14 *ut* (*et* A) *piscaret per doctrinae*
retia are the only active forms of this verb recorded from ancient
literature[140]). MUIRCHÚ I 7 *adesse tempus ut ueniret et euangelico reti*
nationes feras et barbaras . . . ⟨ut A⟩ *piscaret* is an echo of SECUN-
DINUS 13 f. If, as is most likely, there exists some connection be-
tween the hymn and Patrick's Confessio, the hymn, where the
active form is demanded by the metre, would appear to be earlier.
This observation may, then, be added to the arguments of Prof.
MACNEILL (IR. HIST. STUD. II 129-53) supporting the tradition that
the hymn was composed in St. Patrick's lifetime.

Praemonet et docet dicens: cf CYPR. Epist. 63,10, p. 709,9 f.
constantius et fortius docet dicens.

Dicit per prophetas (om D): The plural indicates that in the

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[138]) Biblical quotations are accumulated for argument by GILDAS 38 ff, 76 ff,
cf the edition of HUGH WILLIAMS, p. 88 f.

[139]) On pleonasms, typical of *sermo cotidianus,* in Varro see E. DE SAINTS-DENIS,
REV. DE PHIL. 73,145.

[140]) A gloss on SECUNDINUS 14 (MS B) reads: *pisco secundum ueteres; piscor*
piscaris est hodie. The *ueteres* are, of course, not the ancients.

original there followed more than one prophecy, cf *sicut olim promiserat per prophetas suas* (followed by two prophecies) C 38. The *et cetera* testifies to an omission of uncertain length in Ω. The original must have contained, beside the full text of Ier 16,16, some other prophecy, perhaps Ez 47,10 *et stabunt super illa piscatores* etc.

Qui baptizarent et exhortarent: Although *exhortari* is often used passively, active forms are recorded only from PETRONIUS 76,10 and Ambrose (apud Lanfrancum ad 1 Tim 6,9); Patrick's *exhortarent* is partly the effect of *Reimzwang* as is ACTA ANDREAE p. 97,21 Blatt *confortabat exhortabatque illos.*

Sicut Dominus inquit in euangelio, ammonet et docet dicens is probably genuine, cf 247,23 *per prophetam praenutiat inquit;* E 18 *sicut ipse testatur inquit.* What seems to be an almost intolerable asyndeton is in all three instances the effect of weakening of *inquit,* which, in the neighbourhood of other and weightier verbs of saying, is reduced almost to a quotation mark. Instances of the type *ad Nicodemum dicit: Ita, inquit, dilexit Deus mundum* ... (TERT. adu. Prax. 21, p. 264,22 Kr.) have been collected and discussed by LÖF-STEDT Peregrinatio 229 f.; SALONIUS 26 f. I add the biblical variant Matth 14,8 *dixit:* (g₂ 1 EOg¹TZ*JP: om cett) *da mihi, inquit* and ACTA ANDREAE p. 136,17 Blatt *ait illis inquit sanctus apostolus,* introducing direct speech. Pleonasm of uerba dicendi occurs also in the quotation formulae of Cyprian (e.g. *testatur et docet dicens*): SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I 18-23; it is a common feature of 'pastoral style'.

The rest of C 40 consists entirely of biblical quotations. I remark merely that the biblical pleonasm *omnia quaecumque* (247,16) occurs once in Patrick's own words (C 52, 251,2) and several times in Aetheria (GEYER p. 413).

41. *Notitiam Dei habuerunt* is a classical phrase (CIC. de leg. I 24) adopted by Christian writers: SOUTER Ambr. 121.

Idola et inmunda ... coluerunt: Idola colere is biblical: VULG Deut 29,17; Dan 14,4. With *idola et inmunda* cf TERT. De cor. 10 *nihil .. immundius idolis;* CYPR. De lapsis 10.24; 4 Reg 17,12 *coluerunt immunditias.*

Filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum (= E 12) is a sort of hyperbaton: 'the sons and daughters of Irish kings' (WHITE 294).

42. *Et etiam,* more frequently *etiam et* (BONNET 314; Geyer's index to Aetheria s.v.; LÖFSTEDT Tert. 36 ff.; SALONIUS 335 f.) recalls καὶ δὴ καί, but is not necessarily a Graecism: K. MRAS WIENER STUDIEN 61-62, 102.

Genetiuus = indigena: cf VL Leu 16,29 (Lugd) *genetiuus et proselytus* (ὁ αὐτόχθων καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος: *indigena ... aduena* VULG); 17,15.

Venit ad nos, insinuauit nobis: For similar instances of asyndeton see LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 305 f.; VICTOR VITENSIS ed. Petschenig, p. 148.

Nuntius 'angel' belongs to an early stage of ecclesiastical Latin, when Greek terms were literally translated[141]. This practice was soon abandoned, and Greek terms were borrowed freely. The survival in a fifth century 'Insular' text of the archaic *nuntius* is noteworthy; later still it occurs in GILDAS 1, p. 27,13 f. Mommsen *inter ueridicas rationalis secundae a nuntiis deriuationis creaturas* (reference to VL Heb 2,7?).

Vt esset uirgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret: Proximare = *proximus fieri* is used by APULEIUS met. VI 3 *sacratis fontibus proximat;* VL Luc 15,25 (d) *proximans domui;* cf Leptogenesis 26 (= Gen 27,21) *adproxima mihi* (*accede huc* VULG); metaphorical *(se) proximare = appropinquare* occurs e.g. in Heb 7,19 *proximamus ad Deum* (GR τῷ θεῷ!); cf VITAE PATRUM V 15,28 *quantum se approximat homo Deo;* Iac 4,8 (AugSpec) *adpropiate Deo* (*adpropin-quate Domino* VULG); CORP. GLOSS. LAT. IV 303,21 *appropiat proximat;* E. WÖLFFLIN ALL II 357; ZIMMERMANN MED. STUD. XV 66. Characteristically, VL *proximare* or *approximare* is often altered in the Vulgate.—If the text is correct, *ipsa* stands ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; it might, however, be miscopied from *ipsam* (= *se ipsam*), cf 4 Esdr 8,47 *temet ipsum proximasti iniustis.*

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[141] According to CHR. MOHRMANN (p. 79), the *Bedeutungslehnwort* 'nuntius' was intended as an interpretation of ἄγγελος rather than as a permanent translation; so, at least, it is always employed in the sermons of St. Augustine.

Metaphorical *arripere* is used especially of monasticism and vows of chastity: Euagrius (Athanasius) Vita s. Antonii 3 *asperum atque arduum arripuit institutum;* Reg. Bened. 5 *angustam uiam arripiunt;* cf Hier. Epist. 66,3,2 *ut ... secundum castimoniae gradum* (matrimonial chastity as second to virginity) *arriperet.* Patrick's phrase seems to be modelled on Aug. Conf. VII 21,27 *auidissime arripui* (cf *auide arripui* Cic. Cato 26).

The words *quod etiam omnes uirgines Dei ita hoc faciunt* contain a threefold pleonasm: *quod—hoc, ita hoc,* and *etiam ita.* The accumulation is unique; singly, the first two at least are by no means without parallel.

Redundant demonstratives in relative clauses are a feature of late Vulgar Latin: ThLL VI 2743,21 ff.; Svennung Orosiana 484 f.; Linderbauer 158. Greek offers parallels even from the classical period: Her. IV 44 Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται; Eurip. Androm. 709 f. ἢν ὁ γ᾽ ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγὼς ἐλᾷ δι᾽ οἴκων τήνδ᾽ a.o.: see A. Lesky Anzeiger der Akademie der Wiss. Wien, 1947, 110 f.; Radermacher Neutest. Gramm.² 217. Well-known is the biblical type Iob 3,3 (HierLXX) *pereat dies in quo natus sum in eo* (ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθην ⟨ἐν αὐτῇ A⟩); Ps 121,3 (RG Rom MozLG Medman Gall) *cuius participatio eius in idipsum* (ἧς ἡ μετοχὴ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό); cf Cypr. Epist. 21,4 *quas peto illis eas legere digneris* and Schrijnen-Mohrmann I 26. On the whole question, see Löfstedt Beiträge 94-8.

With *ita hoc* compare Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II 27, p. 89,3 *cum haec ita dixissent;* Cassian Contra Nestorium V 3,2 *ac sic hoc modo cunctos admodum Christo similes ... dicis*[141]).

Improperium is a *uox* Christiana, and typically 'low': Rehm ThLL VII 695,77-9. It is frequent in the O. L. version, but avoided in Jerome's independent translations. *Improperium passa est* is the reading of Iren. IV 33,12 at Ier 15,9 (κατῃσχύνθη καὶ ὠνειδίσθη LXX. *confusa est et erubuit* VULG).

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[142]) In the Regula Benedicti pleonastic *ita* sometimes anticipates a participle, e.g. 7,36 *ita Deum semper praesentem ostendit dicens;* 71,2 f. *sibi inuicem ita oboediant fratres scientes per hanc oboedientiae uiam se ituros ad Deum.* Cf. Linderbauer 216,403.

The phrase *plus augetur numerus* is continued, after a long parenthesis (ending in *numerum eorum!*), with *praeter uiduas et continentes.*

De genere nostro, i.e. *Christiano,* cf ThLL VI 1896,79 ff., and CIL V 8738 (Concordia, Istria) *petimus omnem clerum et cuncta(m) fraternitatem, ut nullus de genere nostro uel aliquis in hac sepultura ponatur.*—*Qui ibi nati sunt* is, then, an allusion to baptism, cf E 2 *quos ... Deo genui;* 16 *quos in Christo genui,* with parallels. The whole phrase *de genere nostro ... nescimus numerum eorum* simply means 'I do not know the number of Christians there baptized'; *eorum* takes up the 'partitive' *de genere nostro,* on which the relative clause *qui ibi nati sunt* is dependent. Cf ACTA ANDREAE p. 73,8 f. Blatt *erat autem qui retrusi fuerunt numerus quasi ducenti quadraginta octo.*

Continentes = ἐγκρατεῖς [143]); the *continentes* were a distinct class of the faithful, cf PsCYPR. De bono pudic. 4 *pudicitia locum primum in uirginibus tenet, secundum in continentibus, tertium in matrimoniis;* F. J. MONE Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2. bis 6. Jahrhundert (1850) 30 *deuotum sibi ac dicatum uirginum pudorem et continentium propositum integrum in omnibus intemeratumque concedat.* On different meanings of *continentes* see TEEUWEN 124.

Ex illis is my tentative emendation of *et illas* (φ). Partitive *ex* (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 528) occurs in C 49 *super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis* and in the biblical quotation Eccli 34,24 in E 8.

Fortiter imitantur 'they strive bravely': *Imitari* = *conari,* cf C 59 *si aliquid boni ... imitatus sum;* VITAE PATRUM VII 36,3 *qui bonum opus imitatur* (ὃς τὸ ἀγαθὸν μιμεῖται: SALONIUS 397).

43.   This paragraph is an anacoluthon from beginning to end. My punctuation merely indicates the entrance of new themes; to attempt a more logical punctuation would mean doing violence to the text. In substance, Patrick says: 'Considering the difficulties of my converts in their pagan surroundings, I feel bound in the Spirit

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[143]) The participle *continens* = ἐγκρατής is as early as Cicero; *continere* = *se continere* is found since Tertullian: LÖFSTEDT Tert. 20 f.

(or perhaps: in my spirit) not to desert them, however much I would like to return home or to visit my brethren in Gaul'. This idea, however, unfolds itself in no logical order, but by mere association. In terms of syntax: the parenthesis *et libentissime paratus eram* etc never comes to an end; after *sanctorum Domini mei*, 248,26, the author begins to feel that he has lost his way, and resumes *libentissime paratus eram* with *scit Deus quod ego ualde optabam*; this statement is contradicted by *sed alligatus Spiritu*. Here we expect the governing verb, but it never comes, because the relative clause depending on *Spiritu* is continued by an independent sentence (*et timeo perdere laborem ...*), followed by an epexegesis that extends to the end of the present paragraph or even to the beginning of the next. Besides, there is frequent change of construction in parallel cola: *etsi uoluero amittere illam et ut pergens; uisitare fratres et ut uiderem; qui mihi protestatur ... ut futurum reum me esse designat et timeo perdere laborem.*

Non id solum sed etiam: This cumbrous transition has a parallel (and model?) in the prologue of Eccli (A): *nam deficiunt uerba Hebraica quando translata fuerint ad alteram linguam. non solum autem* (*non autem solum* vg) *haec sed et ipsa lex et prophetae ceteraque librorum non paruam habent differentiam;* cf ACTA ANDREAE p. 55,3 f. Blatt *non solum ego tantum sed et omnes animae que audierunt eius mirabilia.*

Faciem sanctorum Domini mei: In Christian antiquity, the adjectives *sanctus* and *beatus* commonly refer to the just on earth —so, a.o., in the letters of St. Ambrose (ADAMS PATR. STUD. XII 114); the practice is expressly acknowledged by ST. AUGUSTINE (Ciu. Dei XI 12). During the fifth century, *sanctus* was even prefixed as a title to the names of saintly persons still living: H. DELEHAYE Sanctus (Brussels 1927) 38-42.

Vt futurum reum me esse designat: Designare as a verb of saying, constructed with accusative and infinitive, is typically late Latin: ThLL V 719,57 ff. It is one of the new developments by which this construction makes up for some of its losses in other spheres: SALONIUS 320 ff. Cf E 6 *dedit illis ... potestatem quos ligarent super terram esse ligatos et in caelis.*

Qui me imperauit: Me is probably *mihi* (see this Commentary on 237,25); however, *imperare* with accusative occurs in DRACONTIUS (De laudibus Dei I.570) and three times in the ACTA ANDREAE (V-text: Blatt 163), and the personal passive *imperor,* though denounced by the grammarians, was used at all times.

Residuum aetatis meae: cf SUETON Aug. 101,4 *in uectigaliorum residuis;* VULG Is 38,10 (LXX and VL differ) *residuum annorum meorum; spei residuum* occurs three times in Ennodius.

Custodierit me ab omni uia mala echoes 1 Reg 25,39 *seruum suum custodiuit* (περιεποιήσατο) *a malo;* Ps 118,101 *ab omni uia mala (maligni* R. *maligna* Aug) *prohibui (-isti* G) *pedes meos, ut custodiam uerba tua* (R G Rom Hil MozLG Gall).

44. *Spero autem hoc debueram: Spero,* which for Patrick normally means 'I expect', is here extenuated to the meaning 'I presume'.—*Hoc* refers immediately to *ut non peccem coram illo* (249,2); in Patrick's eyes it would be a sin to desert his flock in order to satisfy his desire.—*Memet ipsum* (for which F has *memetipso*) is Patrick's sole instance of the accusative standing for the dative of the accentuated personal pronoun. The augmented form followed by *ipse* (both inflected separately) is frequent in the Vulgate: KAULEN 166.

Subuertere me a fide is probably a contamination of *subuertere fidem alicuius* (cf 2 Tim 2,18) and *auertere aliquem (aliquid) ab (de) aliqua re,* cf Ps 80,7 *auertit* (R Aug: *diuertit* G VULG) *ab oneribus dorsum eius.*

Castitas is here 'purity of tradition and discipline' (NERNEY I.E.R., 5 ser., 72,26¹), cf VL Eccli 1,18 (Prisc) *castitas (religiositas* VULG) *custodiet et iustificabit cor;* LUCIFER p. 25,23 f. *a castitate fidei;* INNOCENTIUS I, Letter to Victricius (MANSI III.1033) *extiterunt enim nonnulli qui statutum maiorum non tenentes castitatem ecclesiae sua praesumptione uiolarent.*—With *religionis non fictae* compare 2 Cor 6,6 *in caritate non ficta.*—The whole passage is a good illustration of the way in which Patrick combines and adapts biblical expressions.

The clause *sed caro inimica semper trahit ad mortem,* of which the first half is biblical (Rom 8,7), the second liturgical (cf SACRAM.

GELAS. p. 56 Wilson *ille abiicitur qui traxit ad mortem*), is opposed only to the colon *uitae meae Christo Domino meo:* 'but—although my life is devoted to Christ my Lord—the hostile flesh always drags towards death'.

Ad inlecebras inlicitate perficiendas: Illecebra, more often *illecebrae*, may denote any kind of inducement or allurement; it can be translated here as 'delight': Patrick would not indulge in any delight interfering with his duty.—*Inlicitate* is the adverb of the participle perfect of *inlicitare*[144]). This verb is extremely rare; there is only one certain instance: SOLINUS 7,31 *hoc mendacio (perdices) inlicitant obuios et eludunt.* ENNOD. Vita s. Epiphanii 188, p. 107,40 f. Vogel *licet nos inmanium expensarum pondus illicitet* is obscure[145]). *Illicitare* is a frequentative or intensive of *illicere;* the meaning is clear from its derivatives (most of them late): *illicitatio = illecebra* (CASSIAN Conlat. V 4,2; 6,7; GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. IX 39, p. 395,25)); *illicitamentum* (PALLADIUS Hist. monach. I 1, p. 252 B; I 25, p. 311 A); *illicitator* (= *fictus emptor* CIC. de off. III 61; epist. VII 2,1—both times with the MSS variant *licit-;* SUET. diff. p. 313,29 R.; PAULUS-FESTUS p. 100 Lindsay *inlicitator emptor;* DU CANGE quotes *illicitator = temerator, contemptor* from article 12 of the seventh century Decretum Flauii Eruigii regis pro concilio Toletano). *Inlicitate* thus means 'in a state of infatuation'. With *inlecebras inlicitate* Patrick strives for some rhetorical effect, cf E 2 *sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine.* The combination of two or more words with the same prefix is a conspicuous feature of Cyprian (WATSON 224) and of the Philosophiae Consolatio of Boethius, see my index in CSEL 67,226.

Scio ex parte quare uitam perfectam ego non egi: The main reason why Patrick is afraid of his weakness is his sinful past.— *Quare = quod, quia* (Fr. *car*) is of considerable antiquity, cf the

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[144]) A noun *illicitas* does not seem to exist; HESYCHIUS in Leu 21,5, PG 93. p. 1055 A *neque* (sacerdotem decet) *carnalem ex hoc* (peccatore) *sumere sapientiam ad illicitatem similis iniquitatis* is dubious (read *illicitamentum? illicitationem?*).

[145]) For the status quaestionis see G. M. COOK Med. Stud. XIV 234 f.—*Inlicitant* is a variant for *inliciant* in Cod. Ottob. 66 at Deut 17,17.

Pompeian inscription CIL IV 2421 (VÄÄNÄNEN 213). The instances
in LÖFSTÉDT Beiträge 30, Peregrinatio 323-5 are all of *quare* = causal
or explicative *quod*, but it is only natural that this usage should
have extended to *quod* 'that'.

Sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in conspectu ipsius,
quia non mentior, ex quo etc echoes AUG. Conf. IV 16,31 *nec eru-*
besco, Deus meus, confiteri tibi in me misericordias tuas.—In con-
spectu = ἐνώπιον is biblical (for O. L., see BILLEN 153).—With
fauente Domino compare VL Mich 6,7 (Cypr) *fauet Dominus.*

45.   *Signa et mirabilia* = Dan 6,27 (*signa et prodigia et mirabilia*
Cypr), cf 14,42 (both passages not in LXX); ACTA ANDREAE 53,13
Blatt (the original has only σημεῖα). The Greek synonyms σημεῖα καὶ
τέρατα (Ioh 4,48 a.o.) are usually rendered by *signa et prodigia*
(*signa et portenta* d).

Ante multos annos quam fierent: Among seven occurrences of
antequam this is Patrick's sole instance of tmesis. In late Latin *ante-*
quam is seldom split up: the Vulgate does so once out of 78 occur-
rences (ThLL II 54,49 ff.); Ambrose separates the components of
priusquam over 400 times, those of *antequam* but twice: L. T. PHIL-
LIPS PATR. STUD. 49,85.

46.   This paragraph is full of obscurities. Patrick seems to blame
himself for lack of due[146]) confidence in his time of trial.

Sine cessatione is a common formula in biblical and patristic
Latin (ThLL III 956,61 ff.); cf especially CYPRIAN Epist. 51,1
maximas gratias sine cessatione profitemur Deo.

Et de loco non in uno quoque ut non mihi uehementer irasce-
retur 'and (it was) not (only) on one occasion that He was not
exceedingly wroth with me (as I should have deserved)'. My trans-
lation rests on the following assumptions. *Et ... quoque* (see C 30)
is here almost synonymous with *et ... quidem.—De loco non in*
uno ut ... irasceretur is a periphrasis of the type *magis* (*prius,*
ante) *est, ut* (cf ARNOB. II 28 *magis est, ut .. debeant* = *magis*
debent: LÖFSTEDT Arnobiana 70 f.); unusual is the (partitive?) *de*
loco taken up by *in uno,* but see this Commentary on C 30. The

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146) Cf the repetition of the opening *debueram* at the end of the paragraph.

involved expression simply means: *in plus quam uno loco non irascebatur.*—*Locus* 'occasion' is not too far from the classical notion 'opportunity'; it was perhaps suggested by the biblical idiom *locus paenitentiae, locus ueniae:* Iob 24,23 (VULG; VL = LXX are different); Heb 12,17; sim TERT. De pudic. 18, p. 258,17 ff.; LUCIFER p. 61,7 f.; CASSIAN Conl. XVIII 15,5 a.o.

With *adiutor datus sum* compare C 32 *dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus.* The idea is reminiscent of 1 Cor 3,9 *Dei enim sumus adiutores.*

Secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat: Secundum quod = comparative *ut* is recorded since TERTULLIAN (e.g. Adu. Prax. 7) and the O. L. Heptateuch (BILLEN 156-8); see also NORBERG 232 ff. The phrase as a whole, however, seems to be a verbal echo of Heb 8,5 *omnia facito secundum exemplar quod tibi ostensum est*[147]).

Mihi ... nesciebam: Has *mihi* here any definite meaning? It might mean 'for (by) myself', 'on my own' = 'alone': Salonius 266 ff., cf MUL. CHIR. 502 *qui et sibi quidem* ('by themselves') *post unam horam sani fiunt* (more examples ODER 429); SORTES SANGALLENSES 82,2 Dold *siue* (= *sibi*) *reuertitur* 'he returns on his own'. It might, on the other hand, be merely pleonastic as in PEREGR. Aeth. 4,8 *gustauimus nobis loco in horto* (*loco* is periphrastic); 19,19 *ut epistolas ... acciperem mihi ab ipso;* 36,5 *sedete uobis;* so especially with *uerba putandi et sentiendi:* LUCIFER p. 251,6 *tu tibi arbitraris contumeliam pati;* BOETHIUS Cons. II 1,2 (fortuna) *sicuti tu tibi fingis, mutata;* ANTHIMUS p. 3,6 Liechtenhan *cum male sibi senserint* 'when they do not feel well'. Cf NORBERG 167-70.

Pro his 'in view of this', 'because of this' is a prolepsis of *quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant.* The reading of φ, beyond which we cannot go, was *per his;* but in spite of the recorded instances of *per* with ablative and *per* = *pro* (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 522,534) I hesitate to accept it here because of the parallel E 1 *pro dilectione proximorum*, which lends support to the emendation of G'. *Pro* =

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[147]) Incidentally, the continuation (8,7) includes an instance of *locus* 'occasion': *nam si illud prius* (testamentum) *culpa uacasset, non utique secundi locus inquireretur.*

propter is frequent in late Latin, cf VICTORINUS in Apoc 1,8; VICTOR VITENSIS Passio vii monachorum 4; PEREGR. Aetheriae (five times, see Geyer s.v.); BONNET 615 f.; GRANDGENT § 79.—In Merovingian script, including the *ab*-type, which has been claimed for Φ (Part I, p. 17), the (cursive) *per*-symbol resembles the symbol for *pro:* LINDSAY Notae Latinae 178,184 f.

Classical *inter se* (249,24 *inter se ipsos*) was never completely superseded by *ad inuicem;* for *dicere inter se* cf VL Marc 16,3 (n), ACTA ANDREAE p. 37,24 Blatt.

Pos. tergum: Pos for *post*, common in inscriptions and vulgar texts (ROENSCH 470; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 161,501; VÄÄNÄNEN 123 f.) is most frequent in the idiom *pos tergum* (often written as one word). Out of seven instances in Gregory of Tours, six are *postergum* (BONNET 448); cf also AMBROSE de off. I 29.142; Vita III s. Brigidae 48 (MS Brit. Mus. Addit. 34124, saec. IX med); IONAS Vita s. Columbani I 19 (p. 192,16 Krusch); ACTA ANDREAE p. 57,1 Blatt; LEO Alex. II 16 (p. 93,28 Pf.); III 1 (p. 102,18 Pf.); *posterga* COMMOD. Carm. apol. 604.

Narrabant et dicebant are synonyms here, cf VULG Ioh 12,44 *clamauit et dixit;* VICTOR VITENSIS III 50. On *narrare = dicere* see LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 379.

With *quare se mittit in periculo inter hostes* compare ACTA ss. PERPETUAE ET FELICITATIS 3 *misit se in me ut oculos mihi erueret; mittere = immittere* is late Latin, cf LÖFSTEDT Beiträge 82 f.

Non ut causa malitiae 'not out of malice': Postposition of the genitive depending on *causa* is typically late Latin[148]), cf VL Num 12,1 (Lugd Mon) *causa mulieris;* Matth 5,10 (k) *causa iustitiae;* Eccli 29,10 *causa nequitiae* (VL VULG); CIL 9302 add. p. 2326 (Salona, saec. II) *causa arae;* CASSIAN, Instit. IV 30,3; EUAGRIUS (Athanasius) Vita s. Antonii 39.66. Much rarer, at least in prose, is the postposition of the possessive pronoun (as in C 51 *causa uestra*): ThLL III 684,76-9.—*Malitia* is a favourite word of the Old Latin version in contrast to the Vulgate (ThLL VIII 188,60 ff.).

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[148]) In the O. L. it is considered 'African': BILLEN 188 f.

Non sapiebat illis, cf 249,28 *nunc mihi sapit.* For the impersonal
use of *sapere* I can find no parallel; it falls in line, however, with
a general tendency of late Latin (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 622). Strange
is here also the shift of meaning as we pass from the first instance
to the second: 'they did not like the idea' and 'now I feel that ...'
Patrick makes his limited stock of phrases go a long way.

Intellegi is hardly the archaic first person perfect (cf *intellexit*
E 13) in parataxis with *testor* as is implied in Dr. White's transla-
tion (p. 271) 'as I myself witness that I have understood'. If correct,
it might be the passive infinitive of the present, loosely construed
after the analogy of the infinitive of command: 'to wit'; but there
is much to be said for P. Grosjean's emendation *intellige.*

47.   *Conserui* 'fellow-Christians' is common since Tertullian:
TEEUWEN 127 f.—*Propter quod* = διό, διότι is frequent in the Bible
(PLATER 63), but, as far I can see, never stands for *propter id
quod*[149]). Has Patrick misunderstood 2 Cor 4,13 (Ps 115,10) *credidi,
propter quod locutus sum* 'I have believed, therefore I have spoken'?
—With *roborandam et confirmandam* compare CYPR. Epist. 31,5 *ut
nos .. Dominus ... firmet ac roboret; roborare = confirmare* in
Gregory of Tours: BONNET 298.

Vtinam ut is a pleonasm of the type *etiam et* (common in late
Latin, cf TERT. Adu. Marc. II 14) or *sic sicuti* (GARGILIUS MARTIALIS
p. 194,13).

Hoc erit gloria mea: As a rule, Patrick makes the pronoun agree
with the predicate—against the current usage of his time, but in
accordance with the Bible (Gen 2,23; 5,1 a.o.). *Hoc* may be justified
here as a reference to something already mentioned. For the idea
cf 1 Thess 2,20 *uos enim estis gloria nostra et gaudium;* CYPR. Epist.
13,1 *ecclesiae enim gloria praepositi gloria est.*

48.   *Conuersari conuersatio* referring to a person's conduct is
biblical and patristic; thus *uita et conuersatio* (βίος καὶ πολιτεία) is

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[149]) I connect *qui mihi crediderunt propter quod locutus sum* and understand
as object of *insinuaui* the whole of C 46. Beside *propter quod,* there is the
baffling *praedixi et praedico.* Patrick, I think, wants to say: 'because of what
I have told you before and what I am telling you still'. The prefix in *praedico*
is a mere echo of 2 Cor 13,2.

common as a title for Lives of Saints. M. HITCHCOCK (HERMATHENA 54,94) compares 1 Reg 12,2 *ego conuersatus sum in conspectu uestro a prima aetate usque nunc* (IREN. IV 26,4: *conuersatus sum coram uobis ab adulescentia usque ad hanc diem* VULG). The allusion to Samuel's apology is probably deliberate as it is in C 50.

   In fide ueritatis et in sinceritate cordis: cf 1 Cor 5,8 *in azymis sinceritatis et ueritatis.*

   Praestaui et praestabo: The 'normalized' perfect *praestaui* is comparatively frequent, cf ROENSCH 289; LUNDSTRÖM 41 (Irenaeus Latinus); De duodecim abusiuis saeculi p. 36,9 Hellmann; De-Vit and GEORGES s.v.[150]). WHITE 295 plausibly explains *praestaui et praestabo* as an imitation of St. Paul's *seruaui et seruabo* (2 Cor 11,9); cf C 47 *praedixi et praedico* (2 Cor 13,2).

   Ne excitem ... et ne .. blasphemaretur (-etur V): cf C 59 *etsi caream .. aut comederent.* In both instances the neglect of consecutio temporum is inconcinn rather than incongruous. See also this commentary on C 62.—*Illis et nobis omnibus:* For *omnes = ceteri omnes* see LÖFSTEDT Beiträge 113 f.

49. *Tamen conatus sum quippiam seruare me etiam: Tamen* and *etiam* probably belong together, cf SENECA dial. XI 2,4 (eum) *omnibus amicum habere cum expediat, magis tamen etiam* ('still') *libet;* COLUMELLA XII 21,1 *potest tamen etiam post dies nouem .. adici;* QUINTIL .I 1,4 *morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est, recte tamen etiam* ('yet ... also') *loquantur.*

   Vltronea munuscula: Vltroneus = spontaneus, used passively of objects, is first recorded from APUL. Met. I 19 *ultroneum exilium amplexus;* cf also CYPR. ad Donat. 7 *iuuentes in ultroneum funus ornantur.* The discontented seniors might have quoted Ex 25,2 *ab omni homine qui offeret ultroneus* (-e X) *accipietis eas* (primitias).

   Super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis: Iacere iactare is often used of pious offerings: SENECA benefic. VII 4,6 *dis ... stipem iecimus;* TERT. Apol. 42,8 *stipes quotusquisque iam iactat?* VULG Marc 12,41 *aspiciebat quomodo turba iactaret aes in gazophylacium.*

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[150]) For similar instances of 'normalization' see LINDERBAUER 297.

—With *super altare* compare CANONES Hibernenses XLII 26, p. 129 Wasserschleben *si quid supra remanserit* (de pretio captiui) *ponat super altare et indigentibus detur.*

Iterum reddebam: Iterum emphasizes the notion of the prefix, cf ACTA ANDREAE p. 71,18 f. Blatt *Dominus intulit super eos diluuium et deleuit omnia peccata et Noe iterum recuperauit,* and Blatt 165.

Propter spem perennitatis: Perennitas is rare, especially in Christian letters. One might compare ENNOD. epist. I 6,7 *caelorum .. dominus ... munera sua sub perennitate tueatur;* III 26,2 *Deum precor, ut piam in uobis indolem ... sub perennitate conseruet.* Patrick is anxious to avoid even the appearance of dishonesty in the interest ('with a view to') the lasting success of his mission.— After *perennitas* we have probably to assume ellipsis of *hoc faciebam.*

—*Propterea* resumes *propter spem perennitatis* (cf ACTA ANDREAE p. 65,19 f. Blatt *talia hec cum audisset beatus Andreas, propterea gauisus est*) and, at the same time, anticipates the explanatory *ita ut-*clause (cf TERT. Apol. 16,3 *Gnaeum Pompeium, cum Hierusalem cepisset proptereaque (praetereaque (Φ) Gel.) templum adisset speculandis Iudaicae religionis arcanis, nullum illic repperisse simulacrum*).

Vt ⟨non⟩ me in aliquo titulo infideli (-es V) caperent ... nec ... locum darem: So I write not only on the authority of Pδ, but also in accordance with Patrick's usage. Contrary to St. Paul, (cf 1 Cor 7,12.13.14; 14,22; 2 Cor 6,15) he never expresses the notion of 'unbeliever, infidel' by *infidelis,* but always (as in the very next line) by *incredulus*[151]). *Infidelis* must, then, mean here 'untrustworthy, dishonest'. *Titulus* ('pretence', cf TERT. Apol. 42,1 *sed alio quoque iniuriarum titulo postulamur;* 49,2 *nullo titulo damnari licet omnino quae prosunt*) *infidelis* probably stands for *titulus infidelitatis* 'pretence of dishonesty'.—With *capere* compare IUSTINIANI Nouellae VIII 14 *nisi ... furari capiantur* (εἰ μὴ κλέπτοντες ἁλοῖεν) ; VIII edict. 1 *si quid accipere capiantur* (εἴ τι λαβόντες ἁλοῖεν). Patrick fears that he might be 'caught' by his pagan enemies on some

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[151]) *Fidelis* is opposed to *incredulus* in Ioh 20,27 *noli esse incredulus* (a b c e f q VULG: *infidelis* d) *sed fidelis. Incredulus* is strongly preferred to *infidelis* by Cyprian and the Africans generally: H. SCHMECK Vigil. Christ. 5 (1951) 134[13].

pretence of dishonesty. We must, then, insert *non* before *me*, corresponding to *nec* in 250,17.

Ministerium seruitutis meae: According to SENECA De benefic. III 18,1 *ministerium* is the proper word for the service given by a slave. Here, as in C 50, where the objection of dishonesty is explicitly refuted, *ministerium* denotes the administration of sacraments, especially of baptism and ordination. The Christian concepts of 'divine service' and 'ministry' are closely related.

Nec ... incredulis locum darem infamare siue detractare: The infinitive equivalent to a classical genitiuus gerundii (found since the Bellum Africum: LEUMANN-HOFMANN 579) was known to Patrick from the Bible (PLATER 39). Not so, it seems, was the word *infamare*, which, however, is recorded from Christian writers since Tertullian and Cyprian.—An urbane counterpart of Patrick's statement reads thus (CIC. Flacc. 68): (Pompey) *in tam suspiciosa ac maledica ciuitate* (Jerusalem) *locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit.* Patrick is not *disertus breuitate.*

50. *Sperauerim ab aliquo illorum uel dimidio scriptulae? Scriptulum,* for the commoner *scripulum* or *scrupulum* ($\frac{1}{24}$ of an ounce),

is quoted from Varro by CHARISIUS Instit. I 105,5-8 Keil: *scriptulum, quod nunc uulgus sine t dicit, Varro in Plutotoryne dixit. idem in annali: 'nummum argenteum flatum primum a Seruio Tullio dicunt. is quattuor scriptulis maior fuit quam nunc est';* the feminine *scriptula* seems to have survived only in Patrick's Confessio (M. ESPOSITO JOURN. THEOL. STUD. XIX 345).—In Ireland, the *screpall* was a small silver coin, cf the gloss in the St. Gall Priscian (MS 904, saec. IX), fol. 49b10 *fribolus fere obillo dignus .i. ni ferr lethscripul:* M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE REVUE CELTIQUE 18,114; WHITE 295.

Per modicitatem meam: As an expression of modesty referring to the speaker, *modicitas* is recorded also from VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS (Carm. V 6,7, in the prose dedication to Syagrius) and from the Latin version of Origenes' homilies on St. Matthew (G. MORIN REV. BÉNÉD. 37[1925]247).

Ministerium .. distribui illis: cf PAULINUS MEDIOLANENSIS De

benedictionibus patriarcharum 11,2 *fidelibus ... congrua diuinae alimonia doctrinae distribuit.*

The whole paragraph is an echo of Samuel's apology (1 Reg 12, 2-3) and of St. Paul's address to the elders of Asia Minor (Act 20,18 ff.), upon which Patrick drew largely (see Part I, Index Biblicus).

51. *Vsque ad exteras partes.:* Cf Act 26,11 *in exteras* (*extremas* D) *ciuitates.*—For *partes* ('districts', 'countries') see LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 245; Syntactica II 440 f.; SALONIUS 96 f.; SVENNUNG Palladius 593-5.

Diligenter et libentissime: Diligenter seems here to be synonymous with *amanter;* cf PSAPUL. Asclepius 12 *haec est enim merces pie sub Deo, diligenter cum mundo uiuentibus.*

Omnia ... generaui: My indication of a lacuna rests on the presumed equation *generare = gignere* (of spiritual begetting), as in E 2.16 (C 4); cf AMBR. De consol. Valent. 29 *quem in euangelio eram generaturus* (KELLY Patr. Stud. 58,270); SACR. GELAS. p. 56 Wilson *Sancti Spiritus uirtute generati,* and the VL (Tert Orig) variant *generaui* for *genui* at 1 Cor 4,15. Seeing, however, that *generare* is widely used also = *efficere, parare* (ThLL VI 1796, 73-1797,64), one might understand *omnia generaui = omnia gessi* (as V substitutes and Dr. White translates).

52. *Interim* 'in between', i.e. 'in the course of my missionary work' (White translates 'on occasion').—In *praeter quod dabam mercedem, praeter* is equivalent to *praeterquam;* cf LÖFSTEDT Tert. 108.—In *qui mecum ambulant,* the present tense is correct: the princes of the various *tuatha* seem to have provided safe conduct for Patrick as a regular institution.

The 'sense construction' *omnia quaecumque ... illud* is of a well-known type: PEREGR. Aeth. 36,4 *omnia quaecumque scripta sunt Pilatum ... dixisse ... totum legitur,* cf LÖFSTEDT Peregr. 307-10; VICTORINUS in Apoc 11,6 *omnia quaecumque ⟨cum⟩ illo aduenerunt illud dicit apparuisse* (where Jerome, characteristically, substitutes *omnia bona quae cum illo aduenerint illa dicit apparuisse*). Inconcinnity of number is a freedom of everyday language.

Absoluit me Dominus de potestate eorum: Cf 242,6 f. *Absoluere*

= *liberare,* cf PLINY nat. hist. XI 172; HEGESIPPUS III 17,1, p. 212, 27 f. Ussani *quis animam suam nolit ex isto corpore mortis si liceat absoluere?* GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. V 49, p. 241,2-3 *rex absolutos a uinculo libera custodia reseruat.*

53.   *Qui iudicabant per omnes regiones: Iudicabant* (PV) is not only better attested, but also intrinsically superior to *indicabant* (δ). 'It was not a question of getting guides, but facilities' (WHITE St. Patrick 117 f.). The people here referred to are the local chieftains; see my article 'St. Patrick and the Irish people': REVIEW OF POLITICS 10 (1948) 298. Significant is the distributive *per* (cf AELIUS SPART. Vita Hadr. 19,1 *per Latina oppida dictator . . . fuit;* EUGIPPIUS Vita s. Seuerini 44,7 *per diuersas Italiae regiones uarias . . . sortiti sunt sedes*).

Potens est Dominus ut is a liturgical formula, cf SACR. GELAS. p. 59 Wilson *potens est Dominus Deus noster ut et nos . . . perducat et nos . . . ad regna caelestia faciat peruenire.* Patrick's words are in the nature of a prayer.

54.   *Occasio adulationis uel auaritiae: Occasio* (cf C 27) is here almost = *causa,* as V substitutes.—With *scripserim* (in German: 'möchte ich euch geschrieben haben') compare TERT. Apol. 47,9 *quod ideo suggesserim, ne cui nota uarietas sectae huius in hoc quoque nos philosophis adaequare uideatur.*

Vt sit . . . ut spero: Of the two *ut*-clauses the first is one of purpose, the second explicative shading into causal ('nor as one who expects honour' > 'nor because I except honour').—*Ab aliquo uestro,* though unusual, has parallels: COMMOD. Instruct. II 17,11 *maxima pars uestra;* VITAE PATRUM V 9,7 *pro pigrittia nostra amborum.*

55.   *Supra modum* 'exceedingly' is biblical (e.g. 2 Macc 7,20 *supra modum .. mirabilis;* 2 Cor 1,8; 4,17; 12,11; Gal 1,13).

Dum scio certissime quod mihi melius conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam diuitiae et diliciae: On *dum* with the indicative 'because' (= ἐπειδή) see LEUMANN-HOFMANN 744.—With Patrick's sentiment compare CYPR. ad Fortunatum, capitula 6 *quia . . . ille propter nos mala bonis praetulerit, paupertatem diuitiis . . ., nos contra in passionibus nostris paupertati saeculari paradisi diuitias*

et delicias praeferamus.—Diuitiae et diliciae (thus often spelled in late Latin: ThLL V 445,78-80) has enjoyed great favour: ALL I 383. Originally, it seems, the two words were combined merely for the sake of rhyme: SENECA epist. 120,19 *modo Licinum diuitiis, . . . Maecenatem deliciis prouocant;* TERT. De cultu fem. II.9 *diuitiis atque deliciis;* SIDON. epist. II 13,8 *refugit .. diuitias deliciasque regales;* it is only through vulgar vocalism that the pair was felt to alliterate.

Occasio cuiuslibet is either a contamination of *occasio quaelibet* and *occasio cuiuscemodi (cuiuslibet modi),* or *cuiuslibet,* as genitive of *quodlibet* ('whatever') is used substantivally.

Lines 251,20-26 are difficult to interpret. I regard the words *sed et Christus—iam non habeo* as a parenthesis; *neque me ipsum iudico,* then, refers to *scio certissime* by way of limitation ('I know for certain ...., but not by my own judgment') and the *quia*-clause dwells upon the various forms of that *calamitas* which befits Patrick better than wealth and luxury[152]).

With *ubique dominatur* compare TERT. nat. II 8, p. 108,11 *ubique dominantem*—obviously a Christian formula.

56. *Legationem fungor:* Thus Eph 6,20 is quoted here and in E 5. The accusative, frequent in late Latin ('a popular element, not an archaism': SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I 74) is given by some Vulgate MSS and also in quotations of this verse in De duodecim abusiuis saeculi p. 53,17 f. Hellmann and PsORIGENES Tract. 20, p. 207,6; cf SCHOL. BOBIENSE ad Cic. Sest. p. 141,21 *in ea legatione quam ... functus est;* 2 Cor 5,20 (r); AUG. Sermo 570,34.

Ignobilitas here means 'wretchedness', cf 1 Cor 15,43 *seminatur in ignobilitate* (= ἀτιμία; so c f t VULG: *contumelia* d e m r g. *ignominia* Cypr), *surgit in gloria.—In ignobilitate mea* is opposed to the *sed*-clause.

57. *Scrutator*[153]) is the imperative of the third person: 'He (The

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[152]) For greater clarity, I should have put the closing bracket after *habeo,* not (as I did in my text) after *iudico.*

[153]) *Scrutabor* ɗ is a deliberate alteration. *Scrutatur* P might be a vulgar spelling, cf *scrutatur* for the noun: PRIMASIUS in Apoc 2,23 (A'D'); CYPR. de mortal. 17, p. 307,24 (cod. Floriacensis).

Lord) may search my heart and reins'. Rare as are these imperatives in literature since the classical period, they survive in the language of the people (SVENNUNG Palladius 467-72).

Satis et nimis: In late Latin, *satis* and *nimis* are often mere synonyms of *ualde*[154]); but here *nimis* seems to mark a climax beyond *satis*. The phrase thus corresponds to classical *satis superque*.

58.   *Non contingat mihi a Deo meo ut numquam amittam plebem suam* 'God forbid that I ever forsake His people'. *Contingat mihi ab aliquo* seems characteristic of the Old Latin Bible, cf 1 Reg 24,7 (LUCIFER p. 91,1; AUG. ciu. XVII.6) *non mihi contingat a Domino, si fecero* (μηδαμῶς μοι παρὰ Κυρίου εἰ ποιήσω LXX: *propitius sit mihi Dominus, ne faciam* VULG); Matth 18,19 (e Cypr) *de omni re . . . continget uobis a patre meo* (γενήσεται GR: *fiet* VULG).—With the pleonastic negation *non . . . numquam* (*umquam* P) compare E 21 *nequaquam subtrahatur . . a nemine;* VL 1 Cor 1,7 (r z) *nihil uobis desit in nulla* (*ulla* VULG) *gratia.* See ROENSCH 446 f.; GRANDGENT § 75; LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II. chapter 9.4.

Vt reddam illi testem fidelem is a late Latin breviloquy (cf TERT. adu. Marc. IV.23, p. 498,24 Kroymann *qui tam indiuiduum illi comitem offert;* COMMOD. Instruct. I.23,6 *simplicem fingis* and Dombart's index p. 196), by which the accusative of the predicate is made the immediate object of the verb: LÖFSTEDT Tert. 49-52.

The euphemism *transire transitus* is common in late ecclesiastical literature; *usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum* expresses the same idea as C 44 *usque in finem uitae meae Christo Domino meo.*

59.   *Peto* with a personal object in the dative is rare; it occurs, e.g., in GREG. TUR. glor. mart. 79, p. 541,30 *peto caritati tuae* (BONNET 544); cf CASSIOD. hist. trip. VII 10 (1076 D) *ualere uos optamus Patri et Filio* (after THEODORETUS IV.9,9 εὐχόμεθα τῷ Πατρί: BIETER MED. STUD. VI 46).

Cum illis proselitis et captiuis: Proseliti seems to refer to the Irish, *captiui* to the Britains among Patrick's Christians in Ireland (P. Grosjean).

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[154]) *Satis* was more vulgar (GRANDGENT p. 8), *nimis* a little more elegant (ZIEGLER Pentateuch p. xviii, note 1).

Etsi ipsam etiam caream sepulturam: Etsi with subjunctive is first recorded from the conversation of the freedmen in Petronius, where it is probably a 'hyper-urbanism' (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 781); it is frequent in late Latin, and almost the rule in the Vulgate (PLATER 131). The subjunctive is legitimate here as *potentialis*.— *Carere* with accusative is an early and especially a late Latin construction: ThLL III 454,67-455,11. For the phrase, compare GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. I 41, p. 52,9 *optatam caruit sepulturam* (cf si ... *sepultura careat* VULG Eccle 6,3).

The superlative *miserissimus* occurs twice in inscriptions: CIL III 4480; VI 3557 (DIEHL 1121.1122); similar forms are found in the Mulomedicina (*tenerissimam* 544; *ueterissimam* 891; *ueterissimi* 919) and elsewhere (cf DIEHL p. 100).—With *cadauer diuidatur* compare VULG Ex 21,35 *cadauer autem mortui inter se dispertient;* the O. L. (Lugd Aug) is different.

Si mihi hoc incurrisset lucratus sum animam: Incurrit mihi aliquid seems to be rare: SENECA ben. I 5,2 *imperiti autem id quod oculis incurrit* (N': *occurrit* PS. *inoccurrit* R) ... *solum notant;* VULG Eccli 12,17 (VL similar) *si incurrerint tibi mala.* M. Hitchcock's emendation (HERMATHENA LI 73) *occurrisset* is easy enough, but unnecessary.—With *lucratus sum animam* compare VICT. VIT. I 32 *ut ... adulescens suam animam lucraretur.*—The indicative answering an irrealis is widespread in late Latin (LEUMANN-HOFMANN 566-7); for the perfect, which (apart from *potuit*) is rarely so employed, cf CYPR. Epist. 30,2 *quoniam nec tantas de nobis laudes apostolus protulit ..., nisi iam exinde uigor iste radices fidei de temporibus illis mutuatus fuisset;* ENNOD. opusc. 2,99, p. 62,26 f. Vogel *arcem ..., nisi obsisterem, proposuistis obruere*[155]).

The word *conformis* is exclusively Christian; with one exception, SIDON. epist. IV 12,1, all recorded instances (ThLL IV 247,78 ff.) express the doctrine of Rom 8,29.

60. *Numquam regnabit* (sol) *neque permanebit splendor eius:*

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[155]) CASSIAN Instit. IV 20 *reatus non aliter remissus est nisi eum publica paenitentia diluisset* is different: *nisi* must be connected with *non aliter* 'just as if ...'

Regnare is often predicated of the celestial bodies: cf CLAUDIAN de consulatu Probini et Olybrii 22 *tacitam Luna regnante per Arcton.* Patrick, following a well-established tradition, contrasts the visible sun with the *sol uerus*—Christ—*qui regnat cum Deo Patre* etc (253,2 f.); similarly, *neque permanebit* prepares the decisive contrast *manebit in aeternum* (253,1).

With *miseri male deuenient* compare PLAUTUS Bacch. 934 *misere male mulcabere.* There is, I think, no other instance on record; the expressive idiom *misere* (*miseri*) *male* must have survived in the spoken language.

The paragraph ends with a solemn liturgical 'conclusion'. J. F. KENNEY (THOUGHT 8, 1933, 8[13]) remarks: 'It is not impossible that the Confession was expanded once, or several times, from its first draft. Paragraph 60 may have been an earlier ending[156]). I am not so sure. There exists a remarkable parallelism between the concluding paragraphs of Confessio and Epistola:

C 59-60:	E 18-19:
in ipso regnaturi sumus	uos ergo regnabitis cum apostolis
qui adorant (solem) in poenam miseri male deuenient	Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis ... ubi se uidebunt?
C 60 ex: manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus manet in aeternum, qui regnat ... per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.	E 19 ex: iusti autem epulentur in magna constantia cum Christo ... et ... dominabuntur in saecula saeculorum, Amen.
C 61:	E 20:
Testificor (loose quotation of 1 Tim 5,21) ... quia numquam habui aliquam occasionem praeter euangelium ... ut umquam redirem ad gentem illam (main theme of Confessio).	Testificor (quotation of 1 Tim 5,21) ... quod ita erit sicut intimauit imperitae meae. Non mea uerba sed Dei quod ego Latinum exposui (main theme of Epistola, cf C 61 breuiter exponam uerba confessionis meae).
C 62:	E 21:
Sed precor, etc (peroration referring to prospective readers).	Quaeso plurimum, etc (peroration referring to prospective readers).

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[156]) A similar problem is set by the concluding chapters of the Regula Benedicti, cf LINDERBAUER 395 f.

The 'conclusion' *per omnia* (*in*) *saecula, saeculorum, Amen,* which holds the same place in either document, marks both times the end of the text proper before the epilogue[157]). With the opening words of C 61 *ecce iterum iterumque exponam uerba confessionis meae* 'Lo, again and again I should like to set forth the words of my confession', the author would, then, merely apologize for his constant repetitions when he is going to repeat once more—for the last time —the *uerba confessionis.*

61. *Iterum iterumque* (cf *iterum atque iterum* VULG 2 Par 18,15; FLAUIUS VOPISCUS Aurel. 41,15; C 61 [v]) is among the few instances of Patrick's correct use of *-que.* Did the O. L. of 2 Chronicles read *iterum iterumque?*

With *breuiter exponam uerba confessionis meae* compare PsCYPR. De laude mart. 19 *paucis . . . breuiter exponam.*

In exultatione cordis is an echo of Ps 118,111 *exultatio cordis* (R G Gall), cf also Eccli 31,36 *exultatio animae et cordis* (m VULG, similarly Ambr).

62. With *egi uel demonstrauerim* compare C 34 *qui mihi ostendit . . . et qui me audierit* (*adiuuerit?*), and BOETHIUS Consol. II. carm. 1,1-2 *haec cum superba uerterit uices dextra et aestuantis more fertur Euripi* (where, however, metre comes into play). In the present passage the succession of moods forms an anticlimax: 'if I have achieved (*egi*) something, however unimportant, or, perhaps, shown forth (*demonstrauerim*)[158]) it should not be assumed that this was (the work of) my ignorance, but rather should it be thought and believed, as is perfectly true (*uerissime credatur*), that, if I had done such a thing (which indeed I have not), it would have been the gift of God'. Realis, euentualis and irrealis mark three steps in Patrick's disclaiming of any merit.

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[157]) A similar parallelism exists between C 1 and E 1; finally, both texts centre round a set of biblical quotations which are to prove the author's main assertion. Patrick seems to have copied in the Confessio the pattern of his earlier work. (On the relative chronology of Confessio and Epistola see Part I, p. 6; BIELER 33-41).

[158]) *Demonstrare* seems to be used here equivalent to ἀποδείκνυμαι, ἀποφαίνομαι.

EPISTOLA

The title *Epistola ad milites Corotici* has no MSS authority. It is suggested by Patrick's words (E 2) *uerba ista danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici*. Similarly as in the Confessio, however, the addressees are not clearly defined. As Patrick goes on he addresses not only Coroticus in person (E 14), but, above all, the clergy of Britain (E 10-12) and the Christian subjects of Coroticus at large (E 5.7.13.21); once, rhetorically, even the victims of Coroticus' raid (E 17-18). Cf P. GROSJEAN AB 63,100 ff.; BIELER 37.

1. The opening words are given in my text as vindicated by P. GROSJEAN AB 51,418[159]). *A Deo* (P 254,1) is a doublet of the same words in 254,2.—*Constitutus*, which is usually translated as 'appointed'[160]), is the common late Latin equivalent of ὤν, cf VL Matth 8,9 (Luc 7,8) *sub potestate constitutus* (*constitutus* om VULG); VULG 2 Macc 3,31 *in supremo spiritu .. constitutus*, cf 7,9; 9,21 (*in infirmitate*); TERT. adu. Prax. 7, p. 236,19 Kr. *secundus a Deo constitutus;* ThLL IV 523,45 ff.; SVENNUNG Orosiana 141; SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I 6-10 ('aus der Juristensprache in den altchristlichen Kurialstil übergegangen'), and is best rendered here by 'resident', cf SULPIC. SEUER. Epist. III 3 *ego ... Tolosae positus, tu Treueris constituta*, or the subscriptio of the Basilican Hilary (Archives of St. Peter, D. 182), a. 509 *contuli ... apud Karalis constitutus*. We may, then, translate: 'I Patrick, a sinner, unlearned, resident in Ireland, declare myself to be a bishop. I firmly believe that I have received from God what I am'.

Inter barbaras itaque gentes (v: om Pδ): A masculine noun *barbara* does not exist, but Patrick might possibly be credited with its formation, cf *profuga* C 12. E 1. Such forms belong to the 'hyperliterary' element of his style.

Tam dure et tam aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere: Dure often qualifies a verb of saying, e.g. SENECA RHETOR Controu. X.3,10 *quod*

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[159]) P. Grosjean puts a fall stop after *constitutus;* I prefer to let the sentence run on as in C 1.

[160]) A remarkable exception was J. H. TODD St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland (1864) 350, 385, who rendered the text as he knew it, i.e. *Hiberione constitutum episcopum* 'a bishop in Ireland'.

pater illi tam dure responderit (cf VULG 1 Reg 20,10); TERT. apol.
4,4 *cum dure definitis dicendo:* '*Non licet esse uos*'; Tit 1,13 *increpa
illos dure* (*acriter* d e Orig); so does *aspere,* VULG Gen 31,24 *ne
quicquam aspere loquaris. Durus* and *asper* are old companions:
VERG. Aen. V 730; AUG. ciu. Dei I 1,2; *dura et aspera* is a pet phrase
of early monasticism: CASSIAN Conlat. XXIV 25,2 (hence REG. BEN.
58,14 f., see LINDERBAUER 362); PALLADIUS Hist. Lausiaca 41. The
two adverbs were combined (though in a different context) by
SENECA epist. 82,2 *dure aspere laboriose;* cf Statius Caecilius fr. 42 R.
duriter ... atque asperiter.

254,5-6 we have to connect: *sed cogor zelo Dei pro dilectione
proximorum* (viz *ut tam dure aliquid effundam*); the words *et
ueritas Christi excitauit* (with the object *me* to be understood after
cogor) are an epexegesis.—The loanword *zelus* (biblical and
patristic) is most often used in the phrase *zelus Dei.*

The words *si dignus sum, uiuo Deo meo docere gentes etsi con-
tempnor aliquibus* have a close parallel in C 13, *genti ad quam
caritas Christi transtulit et donauit me in uita mea, si dignus fuero,
denique ut cum humilitate et ueraciter deseruirem illis.* Besides,
C 13 *in uita mea* gives support to *uiuo* (*uoui* v Δ₂) in E 1. *Si dignus
sum* refers to Patrick's vocation, not to his sacrifice.

The form *aliquibus* is rare; ThLL gives no references to ecclesi-
astical texts.—The datiuus auctoris with the passive has spread
widely in late Latin, but is at all times less frequent with simple
than with periphrastic verb-forms: LEUMANN-HOFMANN 417; KAU-
LEN 275.

2.   *Condere,* originally 'to compose poetry', has ended up as a
synonym of *scribere:* PLINY nat. VIII 162 *in libro de iaculatione
equestri condito;* AUG. ciu. Dei XI 3, tit. *canonicae scripturae diuino
spiritu conditae;* PROSPER Contra collatorem 21,3 *quae contra Pela-
gianos* (Augustinus) *condidit.* The pleonasm *scripsi atque condidi*
aims at solemnity as does *atque.*

Danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici, if correct, is
another instance of baroque pleonasm. The pattern of three parallel
cola, of which only the first two are connected (cf TERT. adu. Valen-
tinianos 37 *inexcogitabile et inenarrabile, innominabile;* ARNOBIUS

III 35 *quorum si est uera et fixa, certa sententia;* see LÖFSTEDT Arnobiana 81; Tert. 29 ff.) is aptly employed for singling out Coroticus as the chief culprit. P. Grosjean's suggestive emendation *danda et tradenda militibus, mittenda Corotico* would, I think, imply that Patrick's letter was to be entrusted to the soldiers for dispatch to their master, which is in itself unlikely and seems to be contradicted by E 21.

Coroticus (probably with long *i*) is the consistent spelling of all MSS of the Epistola. The spelling *Coreticus,* which MACNEILL (Yorkshire Celtic Studies II 42, note 1) postulates, has no other authority than the Irish forms *Coirthech, Corictic, Chairtic,* which are known only from texts of much later date (Muirchú, Vita Tripartita, Probus). *Coroticus* might well be a Latinization of some early Welsh form. (I wish to express my thanks to Prof. J. Lloyd-Jones, Dublin, who has kindly put his great knowledge of Old Welsh at my disposal.)

Non dico ciuibus meis etc 'I do not say: "to my fellow-citizens", etc. *Ciuibus meis* and the following datives depend on *mittenda,* and *dico* stands outside the construction. At a slightly later date *dicere* is construed even with a free nominative, cf LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 50; BLATT 166.—Patrick denies the soldiers of Coroticus a title which otherwise they might legitimately claim: *ciues mei.* They, as he, are citizens of the Roman Empire (see WHITE St. Patrick 119)[161]. It does not follow, however, that Patrick was born in the district from which the raiders came.

Ritu hostili: Ritu = modo with an adjective is early and late Latin; for the latter cf GELLIUS XVIII 13,6 *ritu aleatorio;* GILDAS 66 *tyrannico ritu.*

Pictorum apostatarumque sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine

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[161]) The name of *ciuis Romanus* is still a reality for GILDAS, cf De excidio 15 *legio ... cum grauibus hostibus congressa ... subiectos ciues tam atroci dilacerationi ... liberauit;* 20 *recesserunt hostes a ciuibus nec ciues a suis sceleribus;* 26 *ex eo tempore nunc ciues nunc hostes uincebant.* The distinction of Romanized Britains (*ciues*) and barbarians (*hostes*) coincides with that between Christians and pagans. For Patrick, too, the pagans are *hostes* (C 46, 249,25), but Coroticus and his soldieres, though nominal Christians, are not better: they live *ritu hostili* and act *hostili mente* (E 12).

etc is, in substance, the reading of Pδ. *Sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine innocentium Christianorum!*[162]) is a pathetic exclamation with threefold hyperbolical paronomasy. *Sanguilentus,* a vulgar by-form of *sanguinolentus,* occurs in SCRIBONIUS LARGUS 143.182. 186; ADAMNÁN Vita s. Columbae I.36; *sanguilentus* and intransitive *sanguinare* in the MULO. CHIR. (Oder p. 426)[163]) ; instrumental *de* is common late Latin (JURET 225 f:; LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 104 f.; BONNET 612 f.; al). For the figure of speech compare Tertullian's quotation of Ier 4,3 *nouate uobis nouamen nouum* (Adu Marc. IV 11, p. 451, 21 f. Kroymann: *nouate uobis nouales* VULGA, cf νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα LXX)[164]) and especially VIRGILIUS MARO GRAMMATICUS p. 77, 18 f. Huemer *sapiens sapientiae sanguinem sugens sanguissuga.*— There remains the crux *apostatarumque.* Did Patrick write *Scottorum atque apostatarumque Pictorum?*[165]) The pleonasm *et . . . -que* (e.g. Carm. epigr. 656,6 Buecheler *parentibus et famulisque;* AUG. Conf. VII 17 [cod. Sessorianus] *rapiebar ad te decore tuo et moxque diripiebar;* PAPYRUS RAVENNAS a. 572 [G. MARINI I papiri diplomatici, 1805, 183] *a supra scripto uenditore et ab eiusque heredibus;* STOWE MISSAL fol. 18v12-13 *apostolorum et martyrum et omniumque sanctorum:* LÖFSTEDT Beiträge 37 f.; Spätl. Stud. 27 ff.; Syntactica II 223; Stud. Synt. 56-8) is not yet generally acknowledged (cf LEUMANN-HOFMANN 685). It was, in any event, a blind alley that would lead nowhere. To Patrick, an occasional *atque . . . -que* may even have seemed a refinement.—*Apostata* can denote either the apostate or the heretic. We do not know on what grounds St. Patrick applies the term to the Picts. Perhaps he wants to say nothing more than

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[162]) Dr. White, in both editions, writes (with v) *quasi sanguine uolentes saginari.*

[163]) The sole instance of *sanguinare* in the Vulgate (Eccli 42,5 *seruo pessimo latus sanguinare*) is transitive. Intransitive is, however, TAC. dial. 12,2 *sanguinantis eloquentiae,* which has often been 'emended'.

[164]) More instances (mostly in imitation of LXX) are listed by HOPPE, Syntax 16.

[165]) E 15, 257,25 f, is thus given by P δ: *indignissimorum pessimorum apostatarumque Pictorum;* V reads: *indignissimorum pessimorumque atque apostatarum Pictorum.* Was the reading of Φ *indignissimorum pessimorum atque apostatarumque Pictorum?* Seeing how constantly Patrick repeats himself, one might expect the same pleonasm here as in E 2.

that by their deeds they have in actual fact renounced God; thus the murmuring Jews are termed *apostatae* VL Num 14,9 (Lugd = LXX: *rebelles* VULG), see MOHRMANN 81.

Quos ego in numero Deo genui: Similarly, E 16 *quos in Christo genui* (1 Cor 4,15); see ThLL VI 1981,26 ff. *In numero* (P) has a fair claim to authenticity. *Quos ego in numero* ('obiectiuus') *Deo genui* means 'whom I have begotten into the number for God', i.e. into the number of the elect[166]). *In numero esse, in numerum ascribere* are common Latin phrases, cf especially CIL X 808 (Pompei) *in deorum numero relatus* ('l'idée de terme d'arrivée l'emporte sur celle de déplacement': VÄÄNÄNEN 204 f.); VIII 12505b (DIEHL 860) *infernales partibus in numeru tu abias;* REG. BENED. prol. 11 *in numero computare* (with parallels by Linderbauer)[167]).

3.   Patrick's emotion in recalling the unfortunate incident has caused an anacoluthon: the verb to be predicated of *neophyti* ('they were killed') hides in the *dum*-clause of the parenthesis; pathetic is also the (deliberate?) suppression of the copula after *trucidati atque mactati*[168]).

With the description of the ceremony which was brought to such a tragic end (254,16 f.) compare the baptismal rubric in the STOWE MISSAL fol. 57v:

(Patrick:)	(Stowe Missal:)
crismati neophyti in ueste candida— flagrabat in fronte ipsorum	postquam baptizaretur oleatur cresmate in cerebrum in fronte et dat uestem candidam diaconus ... in frontae.

Chrismare has been recorded from Eugenius of Toledo (d. 657) and Gregory of Tours: ThLL III.1028,48 ff. The present instance is thus the earliest known.

The spelling *flagrare* for *fragrare* is very frequent: ThLL VI 1237,68 ff.; Vatican Vulgate IV 429. Subject of *flagrare* is *chrisma,* which must be supplied from *crismati* in 254,16.

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[166]) Thus, more specifically, ARGUM. LUCAE: (Matthias was elected) *ut ... sorte Domini electionis numerus* (the number of the apostles) *compleretur.*

[167]) In PRISCILLIAN 6, 98 I suggest to read: (mortified man) *absolutus diebus temporibus mensibus ⟨in⟩ numerum Dei meretur esse, non saeculi.*

[168]) BURY's alterations (p. 316) are, in my opinion, all unnecessary.

Dum has here the function of '*cum inuersum*'. Of this usage, too, Patrick seems to be the earliest witness. So far, only one instance has been known: FULGENTIUS (ca 500 A.D.), Mythol. I.25, p. 13,18-20 *uersibus delirabam dum subito ... hospita ... fores inrupit*, cf LEUMANN-HOFMANN 744.

Misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero 'semble un passage assez spécial' (P. Grosjean). It is, I think, a deliberate inversion of the normal phrase. What mattered was the message, not the messenger; the priest was merely to give his authority to the letter. 'I sent them a letter, carried by a holy priest'. From E 2 *manu mea scripsi atque condidi uerba ista* we surmise that the earlier letter was not in Patrick's own hand. Both priest and letter were treated with contempt; thus Patrick is sending another letter, in his own, the bishop's, handwriting, a letter intended to be read publicly (E 21), and containing no longer supplications (cf 254,19 *ut nobis aliquid indulgerent de praeda*), but solemn admonitions and sanctions.

Cachinnos fecerunt de illis: Cachinnus ('*risus dissolutus et immoderatus atque perstrepens*' SALONIUS in Eccle, p. 996 D) denotes in particular 'to laugh at somebody': CIC. Brut. 216; SALUIAN. VIII 22; AUG. epist. 102,30, p. 570,17 f. Goldb.—Note the effective asyndeton.

4. The writer's emotion continues. *Quid lugeam* loosely anticipates *qui—quos—quos*, and the auxiliary is again omitted (*an qui interfecti*).

Grauiter = ualde is not uncommon, but as a rule the literal meaning is still felt: EUGIPP. Vita S. Seuerini 24,3 *grauiter doluit;* 31,2 *grauiter turbati.*—*Zabulus*, a common late Latin form of *diabolus* (KAULEN 47), is a feature of the Irish group of Vulgate texts (especially of ꟼP Q R).—Metaphorical *illaqueare*, though not unknown in classical Latin (cf CIC. harusp. resp. 7) is typically ecclesiastical; its subject is mostly either sexual temptation (*libido, mulier*) or, as here, Satan (*diabolus, seductor, inimicus*, sim): ThLL VII/1.338,7 ff.

The classical *perennis* is conspicuously rare in the ecclesiastics; it occurs only once in the Bible: Bar 5,7 (VL. VULG) *rupes perennes*. An occasional 'book-word' figures in many vulgar texts; *perennis,*

e.g., in COMMODIAN Instruct. I 29,13.—*Perenni poena* 'by way of eternal punishment' virtually means 'for eternal punishment'.

Gehennam mancipabunt is not Latin. *Mancipari* with dative or ablative is common, especially of condemnation to Hell: CYPR. de mortal. 14, p. 306,3 *gehennae ignibus mancipatur;* FAUSTUS REIENSIS de gratia II.12, p. 96,6 *aeternis ignibus mancipandos;* hence PRU-DENTIUS Hamartig. 127 f. *gehennae mancipium.* Patrick might have written *gehenna . . . mancipabuntur,* cf ENNOD. Opusc. 2,115, p. 64,22 Vogel *peccatricem animam gehenna mancipari,* but perhaps he misunderstood *mancipare* as *manu capere* (cf White 298) and meant to say 'they will reap Hell'[169]). For the idea, compare CASSIOD. in Ps 51,5 *poena ingens . . . in perpetuis ignibus mancipari.*

5.   *Rescio* = simple *scio* is evidenced by the 'Abacus' gloss (CORP. GLOSS. LAT. IV 386,42): *rescit scit comperit cognoscit.* In the Bible (Num 30,16; 1 Reg 23,9; Act 22,29, with the VL variants *comperto* e, *cognouit* gig), it always means 'to find out'.—*Omnis homo* 'every-body' is frequent in the Vulgate: SALONIUS 76.

Alienus ab occurs once in the Bible (1 Macc 12,10 *ne forte alieni efficiamur a uobis*), and about twenty times in Cassian. Cf also De duodecim abusiuis p. 58,11 f. Hellmann *qui autem contra disci-plinam est alienus est a corpore Christi.*

The asyndeton *patricida, fratricida* recalls CIC. De domo 26 *patricida, fratricida* (om GM), *sororicida.* Such formations, how-ever, become frequent in late Latin.

The relative clause *quam in supremis temporibus . . . plantauerat* etc refers to *plebem* in 255,3 (cf the parallel E 12, 256,28), not to *legem* in 255,4; *sicut ait,* with the following quotation of Ps 118,126, stands almost in parenthesis.

6.   The phrase *partem habere cum* is biblical (Deut 18,1; Ioh 13,8). *Quos aduocauit et praedestinauit: Aduocare* = *uocare* (so Rom 8,30, to which Patrick alludes) is found Act 2,39 *uobis enim est repro-*

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[169]) He would not be a worse offender than the candidate who quoted the 'Senatus consultum ultimum' as *uideant consules ne quid rem publicam detri-menti capiat.* Numerous examples of strange semantic re-interpretation (often on an 'etymological' basis) have been collected and discussed by LÖFSTEDT Stud. Synt. 93-104.

missio ... et omnibus ... quoscumque aduocauerit Dominus; Matth
18,32 *tunc aduocauit* (e, cf *aduocans* d: *uocauit* a b ff₂ g VULG, cf
uocans q. προσκαλεσάμενος GR) *illum dominus.*

With *etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici* M. Hitch-
cock (HERMATHENA 51,74) compares IREN. V 24,3-25,4 (diabolus)
*inuidens homini ... inuidens uitae eius et in sua protestate aposta-
tica uolens concludere eum ... Tempus tyrannidis eius* (antichristi)
significat in quo tempore fugabuntur sancti. However, Patrick does
not speak of a *tyrannis* of Satan or the antichrist.—The term
tyrannis does not necessarily stigmatize Coroticus as a usurper
(so E. MACNEILL, with reference to Gildas 27: YORKSHIRE CELTIC
STUDIES II.43); it may simply mean 'rule', though implying a hard
and cruel one.

Summam diuinam sublimam potestatem might be an echo of
CYPR. Epist. 59,2 *actum est de episcopatus uigore et de ecclesiae
gubernandae sublimi et diuina potestate.*

7.   *Nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis nec elemosinas ipsorum
recipi debeat:* Cf 1 Cor 5,11; the Testimonia under the text; and
GILDAS frg. 7 (WILLIAMS 266).—*Elemosina* is the sole genuine word-
form of antiquity; the Greek spelling was first introduced by
modern editors.

The P-reading *recipi debeat* is recommended by the frequency
in late Latin of impersonal *debet = oportet:* CIL XI 3614 ex. (114
A.D.) *cum tam honesta exempla etiam prouocari honorifica exorna-
tione debeat;* cf BONNET 691-3; LÖFSTEDT Spätl. Stud. 59-61; Stud.
Synt. 136-9. Here, as often in late Latin, the subjunctive *debeat*
(*oporteat* a.o.) results from a sort of 'innere Attraktion' (LÖFSTEDT
Syntactica II 129-32), stressing, as it does, the inherent idea of
obligation.

Crudeliter ⟨per⟩ paenitentiam effusis lacrimis: Crudeliter, over
which most editors and interpreters have stumbled, seems to qualify
the whole phrase: they are to do penance in such a way *ut crudele
sit* (cf SULPIC. SEVER. dial. II [III] 18,3 *numquam a me tam crudeliter
disparatus ignoti pulueris syrte tegeretur*). The Irish penitentials
amply justify the description of a penance as *crudelis.*

I suggest to read ⟨*per*⟩ *paenitentiam* 'by way of penance' >

'repentingly'. Modal *per,* frequent in late Latin (BONNET 590 f.;
LEUMANN-HOFMANN 438), often helps to form an almost adverbial
expression: TREBELLIUS POLLIO Gallienus 4,3 *cum pueri fingunt per
ludibria potestates;* FILASTR. 132,2 *per patientiam* ('patiemment'
JURET 214) *tribuebat bonitatis suae indulgentiam copiosam.*

   The tmesis *satis ... facere* is frequent in late as well as early
Latin: LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 186-8.—*Satis facere* denotes specific-
ally penance: LUCIFER p. 61,9 Hartel *satis pro delicto fecissent Deo;*
cf AMBR. Epist. 71,21.

8.   This paragraph consists entirely of biblical quotations. I am
going to discuss here merely some linguistic difficulties.

   Diuitias .. quas congregauit: On the attractio inuersa, especially
in late Latin, see LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 222-7; Syntactica II 114-6;
BLATT 151; NORBERG 75 ff.

   The reading *ira draconum mulcabitur* (*multabitur* Δ_2. *mulcta-
bitur* v) 'he will be dilacerated by the fury of dragons' (cf ENNOD.
Opusc. 4,33, p. 189,17 Vogel *baculo mulcatus;* Epist. I.4,8 *terga
mulcare* [*multare* CPb]) represents the last step in the progressive
corruption of *mulgebit* (Iob 20,16). See Part I, apparatus biblicus.

   Colubris (PF, cf *coluris* C): Third declension forms of *coluber*
are extremely rare. ThLL III.1727,25 f. quotes only FILASTR. 1,1
colubrem and AMBR. De Noe 24,88 *colubres;* I add *colubrem* Ex 4,3
(cod. Vatic. lat. 10510, saec. XII).

   In *comedit autem* (so PF) *eum ignis* the particle *autem* has no
support in the Latin version of Job, and little in LXX; but it is
difficult to see how it should have intruded, whereas its omission
in v and Δ_2 is easy to explain.

   Ideoque 'hence also' connects the following quotation with the
preceding ones. Cf TERT. Adu. Prax. 10, p. 242,1-3 Kroymann *non
autem, quia omnia potest facere, ideoque credendum est illum
fecisse etiam quod non fecerit.* From here a way leads to late Latin
ideoque = *ideo,* cf LÖFSTEDT Spätl. Stud. 74 ff.; Tert. 96 f.; Stud.
Synt. 36 ff.; SKAHILL MED. STUD. III 188.

   Qui replent se ⟨*his* v⟩ *quae non sunt sua:* The suppression of
the antecedent in other cases than nominative and accusative is
found as early as the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus (186

B.C.) 3-4 *de Bacanalibus quei* (i.e. *eorum qui*) *foideratei esent ita exdeicendum censuere;* Varro admits it freely (E. DE SAINT-DENIS Rev. de Phil. 73,149), and so does the author of the Bellum Africum (8,5 *cognitis condicionibus Scipionis et qui cum eo bellum .. gerebant;* 90,1); it is common in late Latin, especially in its less formal representatives: TERT. adu. Marc. II.6, p. 343,8 Kroymann *libertas ... se potius ream ostendit quod ipsa commisit;* IV.38, p. 549,27 *nisi quod necesse est qui suum denarium non habet;* VL Matth 23,31 (d) *filii estis* ⟨*eorum* VULG⟩ *qui occiderunt* (τῶν φονευσάντων) *prophetas;* Ioh 5,10 (d) *dicebant ergo Iudaei* ⟨*illi* VULG⟩ *qui sanatus erat* (τῷ τεθεραπευμένῳ); COMMOD. Carm. apol. 439 *non est culpa satis una qui credere nolunt;* ANTHIMUS 35, p. 17,6 Liecht. *et qui sic acciperit* (ouum) *nocet* (more instances Liechtenhan p. 39); REG. BENED. 61,6 *si ... contentus est quod inuenerit.* See also LÖFSTEDT Apologeticum 98 f.; Krit. Bem. 70[1]; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 707.

Vt .. lucretur: Vt (not found in any biblical text) is probably used with a vague consecutive meaning (= *quid prodest lucrari*).

9. *Per totam legem carpere testimonia:* Christian writers use *lex* either of the Old Testament alone (cf Rom 3,20) or of Scripture as a whole (cf COMMODIAN ed. Dombart p. 223) as Patrick seems to do here. Similar is PsAUG. Quaestiones 102,9 *igitur semper Dominus per totam legem peccatores ad se conuerti hortatur,* cf 127,9 *tam noua quam uetus lex.*

The term *mortale crimen* 'sin that causes (spiritual) death', 'mortal sin' was probably coined by ST. CYPRIAN, cf de bono patient. 14, p. 407,21 *adulterium fraus homicidium mortale crimen est.*

Adscribitur does not belong to the quotation; it is a word of reference. Cf COLL. AVELLANA p. 392,25 *apostolus dicit* (quotation of Rom 1,32, cf E 14) ... *et qui consentiunt facientibus reos indubitanter adscribi.*

10. *Numquid = num* is informal (HOFMANN 42,162). According to BONNET 324, Gregory of Tours employs it only in independent clauses; so does Patrick—but there are not more than two instances in the whole text.

Deuastauerunt seruos et ancillas domus patris mei: Deuastare with a personal object is late, cf 4 Esdr 16,72 *erint quasi insani neminem parcentes ad diripiendum et deuastandum adhuc timentes Dominum;* HIER. in Is 62, p. 741 *ne aduersarius noster diabolus* ... *occasionem accipiat ad gregem Domini deuastandum;* cf ThLL V 847,56 ff.

With *ingenuus fui secundum carnem* compare CIL XI 137 = Diehl 1493 (Ravenna, saec. I A.D.) *C. Iul. Mygdonius generi Parthus natus ingenuus captus pubis aetate datus in terra Romana.* Mygdonius seems to have had a similar fate as Patrick.

Decorione patre nascor: An occasional present passive for a perfect passive occurs also in GREGORY OF TOURS, e.g. Hist. Franc. I 10, p. 39,3 f. *super ripam eius Babilonica ciutas collocatur* (= *collocata est*); III 34, p. 137,14 f. *fama bonitatis tuae uulgatur* (= *uulgata est*); cf BONNET 400. This may be understood as a 'counter-formation' to the late Latin periphrastic present (*litterae scriptae sunt = litterae scribuntur*).

11. The phrase *non conuenit* occurs a.o. in PsAUG. Quaestiones p. 49,12; 457,11 Souter.—*Vnus—alter* prevails over *alter—alter* in postclassical Latin, e.g. PETRON. 48; HIST. AUG. (LESSING s.v.); VULG. (KAULEN 164); AMBR. De obitu Theod. 47.

The biblical reminiscence *in nouissimis diebus* (Act 2,17) does not quite fit into its new surroundings. One expects either an accusative ('for the last days') or the addition of some words (e.g. *se missurum esse*).

12. Since Patrick was apparently not an eye-witness of the raid (M. HITCHCOCK HERMATHENA 47,207), we must connect *oues tuae circa me* 'Thy sheep around me' = 'my flock'. For the construction compare EUGIPP. Vita s. Seuerini 12,5 *omnium circumquaque sationes* 'the fields of all the people around'; VULG Is 13,5 *uenientibus de terra procul.*

Active *(de)praedare* is common (GEORGES 548: ThLL V 593,84-594,8). *Depraedari = praedam agere aliquem* is exclusively ecclesiastical, cf AUG. Epist. 35,4, p. 30,23 f. Goldbacher *oues uestras* ... *luporum more depraedemur.*

Latrunculus is a term of law (cf Cic. de prou. consul. 15: Kaulen 50). For its non-technical use (= *latro*) cf VULG 4 Reg 5,2; Eugipp. Vita s. Seuer. 4,2.

Hostili mente corresponds morphologically to the Romance adverb. The original notion of *mens,* however, is still felt here as in Cassiodorus (M. G. Ennis Med. Stud. IX 153 f.) and even in Gregory of Tours (Bonnet 467). *Mente = dispositione* preceded by an adjective is rare in Latin texts down to saec. X; even in the Romance languages -*mente* does not become a mere adverbial suffix before the end of the Middle Ages (Vossler 72-4)[170].

Longe est a caritate Dei: Longe a = procul a is used here metaphorically as in Lucifer p. 140,28 Hartel *a iustitia es longe;* Tert. De pudic. 9, p. 237,25 Reiff. *longe a Domino moribus factus* (cf Löfstedt Tert. 94 f.; Hartel IV 25). See also C 28.—*Traditor in manus* follows the construction of *tradere in manus:* ThLL VIII 352,10 ff.

Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini: Cf Tert. pudic. 7 *grex Domini ecclesiae populus,* and in particular Sulpicius Seuerus Epist. 3,10 (deest D!) *inuadent gregem tuum lupi rapaces.*

Enumerare nequeo (= E 16, 258,1-2) is almost *innumeri. Enumerare = numerare,* an all too literal translation of LXX ἐξαριθμεῖν, occurs in VL Leu 15,13 (Hesych: *numerabit* VULG) and Num 23,10 (Lugd: *dinumerare* VULG).

The paragraph is concluded by a loose quotation of Eccli 9,17. *Non te* (= *tibi*) *placeat* was apparently the reading of Φ.

13. *Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare uel conuiuium fruere cum talibus?* Intransitive *iucundare* seems to be unique.—*Frui* with accusative is common in early and late Latin: ThLL VI 1423,66 ff. Active *fruere,* however, is extremely rare. I know only one instance of the personal passive (Greg. Tur. uitae patrum 12 prol. *res ipsa ... tenetur et fruitur*) and one of the active (Vitas Patrum Emeretensium IV 3,1 *cum ... tempora feliciter ... frueret*).—For

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[170]) The comparative independence of the suffix -*mente* survives in modern Spanish. For an interpretation, see E. Lewy Der Bau der europäischen Sprachen (1942) 34 with note 1.

the idea compare Eccli 16,1 *ne iocunderis in filiis impiis* and CYPR.
Epist. 59,20 *nulla cum malis conuiuia . . misceantur.*

257,6 *domos* Pv: *domus* δ. The plural accusative *domos* is com-
mon, especially in late Latin (BONNET 356; ThLL V 1952-3), but
here the regular form is better evidenced; *domus* is probably a
vulgarism peculiar to δ.

In 257,6-8 we have to punctate *Nesciunt miseri uenenum letale
cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos* (cf M. HITCHCOCK HERMA-
THENA 51,75), *sicut Eua non intellexit quod utique mortem tradidit
uiro suo. Sic sunt omnes* etc. The feasting raiders are compared to
Eve who gave death to Adam in the form of food. *Sic* 257,8 is a
prolepsis of *mortem operantur*. M. Hitchcock compares IREN. I 27,3
serpentis uenenum porrigentes eis.—Dedit (P) for *tradidit* is
evidently a scribal correction after the text of Gen 3,6 (VL.
VULG)[171].

For *male agere* compare Dan 13,61 *male egerant aduersum
proximum* (*proximo* Lucif); ACT. ANDREAE p. 106,17 Blatt *agentes
pessime;* ThLL I 1385,39 ff.

14.   *Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum: mittunt
uiros sanctos idoneos ad Francos* etc: Whether P should be followed
in the omission of *Christianorum* I dare not decide. It is not
absolutely necessary because *Romanorum* alone can denote 'Roman
Christians', but Patrick's naive rhetoric tends to accumulate long
words for effect, and *Christianorum* is significant in view of the
contrast: *tu uendis illos genti exterae ignoranti Deum.*

Viros sanctos idoneos: This is the normal position of *sanctus* in
phrases of a similar pattern, cf Ps 10,5 *in templo sancto suo,* or the
Good Friday prayers (Sacr. Gelas. = Missale Romanum): *populus
sanctus Dei* (twice), *ecclesia sancta Dei.*

'The ransoming of captives was one of the chief forms of charity
in Merovingian Gaul': J. N. GARVIN The *Vitas S. Patrum Emereten-
sium,* 1946 (MED. STUD. XIX), 420 f., with ample references.

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[171]) As regards the synonyms *porrigere dare tradere,* Ioh 13,26 is instructive
(the text outside the brackets is that of b ff₂ q VULG): *ille est cui ego intinctum
panem porrexero* (ἐπιδώσω GRpl: *dedero* e f δ . δώσω [BCLMX]gr). *et cum in-
tinxisset panem dedit* (δίδωσιν; *tradidit* a c. *porrexit* d r [1]) *Iudae.*

Quasi in lupanar tradis membra Christi: Cf CYPR. Epist. 62,3 *lupanarium stupra deflenda sunt, ne membra Christo dicata ... foedentur.* The two passages are probably independent developments of 1 Cor 6,14.

Qualem spem habes in Deum uel qui te consentit aut qui te communicat uerbis adulationis? The inconcinn correponsion *uel-aut* (cf P, E 4, 254,21-22) is frequent in late Latin: HOPPE 128.—*Te consentit ... te communicat:* The insertion of *cum* after *te* in either place may seem an easy remedy, but *te* could stand for *tibi;* for *communicare* with dative cf LUCIFER p. 145,10 Hartel *cur non cohaeretico tuo . . communicauerint;* ThLL III 1958,60 ff. The phrase *communicare alicui in aliqua re* is frequent in O. L. and Vulgate.— *Deus iudicabit* is also a common biblical phrase.

15.   *Quos gladius supra modum dure tetigit:* Among the numerous iuncturae in ThLL under 'gladius' I find neither *gladius tangit* nor *gladio tangere.* VULG Iudd 13,5 *filium cuius non tanget caput nouacula* is entirely different in meaning. *Gladius interficit* (257,22) occurs in VULG Thren 1,20; LIBER PONTIFICALIS p. 145,15. I note that the words *quos gladius dure tetigit* have dactylic rhythm.

Ecclesia plorat et plangit filios et filias suas: Cf IREN. I 14,8 *plorans et plangens:* CYPR. de habitu uirg. 20 *ecclesia uirgines suas plangit,* and the variants at Matth 2,18 (Ier 31,15) *Rachel plorans* (*plangens* d) *filios suos.*—*Quas* (257,22) agrees with the nearest object; the feminine gender of the relative possibly indicates Patrick's special concern for the women among the captives, cf E 19.21.

With the pleonasm *adhuc .. nondum* ('not until so far') compare VICT. VIT. II 19 *adhuc .. necdum* (III.21 *necdum adhuc*); TERT. adu. Marc. IV.17 *hucusque adhuc;* ACTA ANDREAE p. 75,7 Blatt *adhuc usque actenus.*

Prolongare would seem to be used here for *elongare* 'to remove', cf Ps 87,19 (R G Gall) *elongasti a me amicum et proximum;* thus it is often found in the O. L. Bible: ThLL V 407,17 ff.—*In longa terrarum* = *in longinquas terras. Longus* = *longinquus* is first recorded from Sallust (SERVIUS ad Aen. XI 544); cf SIL. ITAL. IV 374; VI 628; IUSTINUS XVIII 1.

With *peccatum abundat* compare Matth 24,12 *abundauit* (*abundat* a) *iniquitas*.—*Ibi* resumes *in longa terrarum* (257,23), cf Ps 22,2 *in loco pascuae ibi me collocauit* (PsV. Gall.).

The structure of the phrase is slightly anacoluthic: *Vbi*, which depends on *longa terrarum*, is treated as if it opened a new sentence (*ubi peccatum ... abundat, ibi uenundati*); *filios et filias* had, then, to be resumed by *ingenui homines*.

On the pleonasm *ingenui homines* (cf the common expression *homo Christianus* = 'Christenmensch' in German) see SALONIUS 170. *Ingenui homines* is, of course, more effective than simple *ingenui* (so E 10 *ingenuus fui*).

16. *Cum tristitia et maerore* = CYPR. De mortal. 18.—Active *uociferare* has been recorded from VARRO (rer. rust. III 9,5), Ennodius, and Gregory of Tours.

O speciosissimi atque amantissimi fratres: The apostrophe of the far-away captives is, perhaps, the most obviously rhetorical element in the whole letter.—Passive *amantissimus* (= *maxime amandus*) is common late Latin. *Fratres amantissimi*, in particular, is a regular form of address in Christian antiquity: ThLL I 1959, 13-46; Sr. O'BRIEN PATR. STUD. XXII 90,99,125,127; NORBERG 186 ff. For discussion, see J. B. HOFMANN IF 38,186 ff.; 42,112 ff.; differently LEUMANN IF 31,209 ff.; A. DEBRUNNER Mus. Helvet. 1(1944) 32. The semantic change can perhaps be traced to phrases where passive notion of a present participle in the elative was suggested by analogy as in CIC. Cat. IV.3 *fratris carissimi atque amantissimi*. Comparable is also the 'intransitive participle' of Koine Greek (e.g. GALENIUS VII 676 ἐν τῇ προγεγραφυίᾳ ῥήσει 'in the passage quoted above'): RADERMACHER Neutest. Gramm.² (1925) 23; Koine 36.

Vnum baptismum percepimus: As most of the later ecclesiastics Patrick prefers the Greek word for baptism to the Latin *intinctio*, and always uses the commoner *o*-stem[172]).

Indignum est illis Hiberionaci (*Hiberia nati* φ) *sumus:* Although

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[172]) As far as I can see *baptisma* prevails over *baptismus* (-*um*) only in the Latin text of Codex Bezae (10:6), cf Scrivener's preface, p. xli. Of the *o*-stem, the accusative is by far more frequent than the nominative; outside the Old Latin (ROENSCH 270), the nominative is rare (ThLL II. 1717,73).

Patrick identifies himself with the Irish, to whom 'God has given him', he could not possibly describe himself as Irish-born. Besides, the form *Hiberia,* which is never found in Patrick's text, arouses suspicion (see this commentary on C 1, 235,8). The emendation which I offer is based on *uóx Hiberionacum,* C 23.

17.   *Doleo pro uobis, doleo, carissimi mihi:* Cf CYPR. de lapsis 4 *doleo fratres, doleo uobiscum.* Emphatic repetition, often in augmented form, of the predication after an unstressed word or group of words (e.g. TERT. de Paenit. 8,3 *ille est scilicet, ille est qui misericordiam mauult quam sacrificia*) is a common rhetorical pattern: LÖFSTEDT Tert. 75. If Patrick knew the passage from Cyprian, he deliberately changed its structure in order to lay greater stress on *carissimi mihi.*

Sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum: Sed iterum is a pleonasm; *iterum* is adversative here as in CANONES APOSTOLICI 65,32, p. 95 Hauler *alios quidem corripientes, alios uero obsecrantes, alios autem arguentes; eos iterum qui contemnunt omni modo segregantes.* See also LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 177.—With *gaudeo intra meipsum* compare OVID. Trist. IV 5,17 *intra tua pectora gaude. Dicere, cogitare inter* or *intra se (semet ipsum* sim) is by no means rare in the Bible, cf especially Matth 9,3 *dixerunt intra se* (a b d g₁ q VULG: *intra semet ipsos* f. *apud se ipsi* k).

258,10-12: *Et contigit scelus tam horrendum ineffabile* is best taken for the—paratactical—protasis of *Deo gratias, creduli baptizati, de saeculo recessistis ad paradisum* ('if such a crime did happen, thanks be to God, ye have gone to paradise'). Similar is ACTA ANDREAE p. 69,28 Blatt *nunc autem ita factum est* (= *cum ita factum sit), queso te, frater, ut dicas mihi quid agamus*[173]).—*Creduli baptizati* is probably an asyndeton, cf Tertullian's *benedicti martyres designati* (TEEUWEN 94 f.).

De saeculo recedere, migrare (258,12) are common metaphors for 'to die'; contrary to *migrare ex (de) hac uita,* which is also classical (CIC. Somn. Scip. 1; fin. I 62), the one used by Patrick is

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[173]) From such instances started the use of adverbs as conjunctions: BLATT ad loc.; LÖFSTEDT Stud. Synt. 50.

purely Christian (cf CYPR. Epist. 37,3; 56,1). Similarly as here, with
the notion of going to a place of reward, is the phrase used in CYPR.
Epist. 76,7 *de saeculo recessuri ad martyrum munera.*

With *cerno uos: migrare coepistis* etc we may compare PsCYPR.
de laude martyr. 30 *uideor ... ipse mihi iam cernere ... ut ille uere
nobilis numerus Christi sui gloriam iterque comitetur,* but Patrick's
words have a greater force. *Coepistis* is probably periphrastic, cf
C 18.

18. *Cum apostolis et prophetis atque martyribus:* The unchrono-
logical order *apostoli—prophetae—martyres* (cf E 20 *apostolorum
atque prophetarum*) recalls two well-known passages: CYPR. de
mortalitate 26 and Te Deum 7-9 (quoted after the earliest MS, the
Antiphonary of Bangor):

Cyprian:	Te Deum:
illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus,	Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,
illic prophetarum exultantium numerus,	Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
illic martyrum innumerabilis populus.	Te martyrum candidatus laudet exercitus.

According to DOM G. MORIN REV. BÉNÉD. 11 (1894) 49 ff. and A. E.
BURN Niceta of Remesiana (1905) pp. xcvii-civ; The hymn *Te
Deum* and its author (1926), the Te Deum is a work of Nicetas of
Remesiana (saec. IV-V); it is known mostly from Irish MSS[174]).
E 18 might, then, be the earliest evidence of the Te Deum in Ire-
land (cf also C 4, 236,17 f., with my remarks)[175]).

Aeterna regna capietis: Cf DAMASUS, Epigr. 3,4 *illis capitur feli-
cis gloria uitae;* AUG. Ciu. Dei X 14 *ad aeterna capienda;* ThLL III
328,62 ff.

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[174]) According to C. BLUME, Stimmen aus Maria Laach, 1911, nos. 8-10, Te
Deum 1-13 is of much earlier date than the rest (Cyprian's De mortalitate was
written ca 252).—A later instance of the same order is VEN. FORT. Carm. VIII.
4, 1-2 (p. 192 Leo) *inter apostolicas acies sacrosque prophetas / proxima
martyribus praemia uirgo tenet.*

[175]) In the hymn GENAIR PATRAIC 25 *ymmuin ocus abcolips ... noscanad* ('he
used to sing hymns and the apocalypsis'), *ymmuin* is glossed *.i. Ambrois uel
Audite; Ambrois* might mean the *Te Deum.*

Transgressor legis: These words do not form part of the quotation from 1 Petr 4,18; they may have been inserted from Iac 2,11 (ff 1 VULG).

19. *Rebellatores Christi:* Whilst *rebellatrix* is recorded since Ovid and Livy, its masculine counterpart is an Addendum Lexicis Latinis, cf M. Esposito Journ. Theol. Stud. XIX 345. *Rebellare rebellis* is often used by St. Cyprian for denoting disobedience to the Church, cf M. Hitchcock Hermathena 47,247 f.

Mulierculas baptizatas praemia distribuunt: cf 2 Tim 3,6 *captiuas ducunt mulierculas.*

Ob miserum regnum temporale, quod utique in momento transeat: M. Hitchcock St. Patrick and his Gallic friends 136, compares Hil. Arel. Sermo de s. Honorato 7 *illic ad aeternum regnum Christus inuitat; hic diabolus ad temporale sollicitat. Omne quod in mundo est, uanitas est et concupiscentia oculorum, et mundus transit et concupiscentia eius* (followed by 1 Ioh 2,17 with the interpolation from Ioh 12,34: see apparatus biblicus ad C 60).— *In momento,* referring to death, is biblical (1 Cor 15,52); cf Cypr. ad Fortunatum 13, p. 347,8 f. *cludere in momento oculos quibus homines uidebantur et mundus.—Transire,* perhaps an echo of 1 Ioh 2,17, is found in a loose quotation of 1 Cor 7,31 in the Latin Irenaeus (V 36,1) *figura transit* (for *praeterit*) *mundi huius.—*The present subjunctive *transeat* apparently stands for the future (see Roensch 290 f., 521; Bonnet 417 f.; Blatt 194); but *epulentur* (258,27) is taken over from the Bible, where, in a different context, it is a genuine subjunctive.—A close parallel to Patrick's words exists where it would hardly be expected: Carm. Bur. 39,11-12 *sed ista* (i.e. mundana) *cum uento/transibunt in momento.* Both texts combine St. Paul's *in momento,* St. John's *transit,* and the image of the wind that blows away the smoke (Sap 5,15). To link these texts up seems impossible, but the coincidence is surprising.

Iusti autem epulentur in magna constantia is a strange contamination of *iusti epulentur* (Ps 67,4) and *stabunt iusti in magna constantia* (Sap 5,1).

20. *Sicut intimauit imperitiae meae:* Tertullian uses *intimare* with the two meanings 'to incorporate' and 'to enjoin, to inculcate'

(Hoppe 74) ; the latter often approaches the notion of simple *dicere,*
cf Cypr. Epist. 45,2, p. 600,17 f. *episcopatus tui ordinationem singu-*
lorum auribus intimauimus; Commod. Instruct. II 23,17; Carm. apol.
519. See F. Vogel ALL III 108 ff., esp. 111-3.

    Quod ego Latinum exposui 'what I have set forth in Latin'. Cf
C 61 *exponam uerba confessionis meae.—Latinum exposui* is an
'adverbial accusative', cf CIL IV 4884 (Pompei) *bellissimu*
futuerunt; Tert. de exhort. cast. 6 *innumerum nubere;* Scorpiace
12 *placidum quiescunt;* Iren. III 25,6 *altum sentiunt* a.o. See Leu-
mann-Hofmann 380 f.; Löfstedt Syntactica I 203 ff.; II 419 f.;
Väänänen 196.

    Deus locutus est (Ps 59,8; 107,8) is used here as a phrase of
reference to the quotation from Marc 16,15 f. (259,4 f.).

21.   *Gerulus* denotes in particular the bearer of a letter: ThLL
VI 1952,70-8; *gerulus litterarum* was a common expression in the
fifth and sixth centuries, cf Sidon. epist. II 11,2 a.o.; Ruricius epist.
II 22,51; Cassiod. Var. III 2,4; (*gerulus praesentium*) Ennodius epist.
I 20,6.—This is the sole instance in Patrick's writings of *litterae* =
epistula; even here, the verbs that follow (*subtrahatur, abscondatur,*
legatur) are in the singular as if referring to *epistola.* Patrick uses
the more literary word only in a conventional expression, with the
commoner term always at the back of his mind.

    Sed magis potius is an amplified *sed potius* (= *sed magis* C 9
a.o.), with abundant *magis* before the comparative (Hofmann 99);
cf the examples of *magis potius quam* in Löfstedt Syntactica
II 202.

    Quod si Deus inspirat illos ut ... resipiscant: Hesitatingly, I
construe the *ut*-clause as depending on *inspirat,* and interpret *quod*
si as a mere formula of transition (colloquial: Leumann-Hofmann
718) with aposiopesis: 'However, may God inspire them that they
return to reason'.

    For the idea compare Cypr. Epist. 63,11, p. 710,12 *a sapore isto*
saeculari ad intellectum Dei unusquisque resipiscat (cf Watson
226 ff.); Innocentius (PsAug), Epist. 182,6 *donec* (Pelagiani)
resipiscant de diaboli laqueis; 7 *si umquam ⟨ad m⟩ sanum ...*
resipuerint; 9 *lapsis, cum resipuerint ...;* Martyrium Matthaei 21

(ACT. APOST. APOCR. II 246,24 ff.) *ignis ... imperatorem ... non .. laedat, si forte paeniteat et conuertatur ad Dominum.* These and similar phrases are all inspired by 2 Tim 2,25 f. *Resipiscere Deo* or *ad Deum* is almost equal to *reuerti (conuerti) ad Deum.*

Paeniteant quod .. gesserunt: Finite forms of personal *paenitere* (after the analogy of *dolere?*) are found in early and late Latin (PACUUIUS 31; Cyprian; PsAUG. Quaestiones 126,14; VULG: KAULEN 189; PLATER 59); as a Christian term, *paenitere* denotes especially the act of penance. See LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 46 f.; SALONIUS 258 f.; SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN II 3 f.; LINDERBAUER 189.

Homicida erga fratres Domini is unusual. Nouns governing *erga* denote, as a rule, the agent's attitude towards the object (cf TERT. Apol. 1,4 *odii erga nomen Christianorum*), not the agent himself.

Sani efficiantur is probably an echo of Ioh 5,13 *qui sanus fuerat effectus* (c aur VULG: VL^cett differ), but with the common metaphorical notion of *sanus.*

Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, Amen is a contamination of *Pax uobiscum*—the conventional conclusion of a pastoral letter— and a doxology. Dr. WHITE St. Patrick 120, explains: 'The only persons in the immediate vicinity of Coroticus with whom St. Patrick was at peace were the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; so he sends to them his greeting of peace in the form of a doxology'. I have a simpler explanation to offer. At the point of concluding his letter with the usual *pax uobiscum*, St. Patrick suddenly remembered that Coroticus and his gang were not at peace with God; thus he gave the phrase a different turn: 'Be peace to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost'—viz on the part of the guilty: 'May they make peace with God'. It is, in a more solemn form, a repetition of *ita ut mereantur Deo uiuere.*

FRAGMENTUM 1

With *timorem Dei habui ducem iteneris mei* compare GREG. TUR. De miraculis s. Andreae 1 (words of an angel, in the source probably words of the Lord [cf BLATT 15], to St. Andrew) *ego enim ero dux*

itineris tui.—Etiam in insolis: Etiam here approaches the meaning of *et*—a peculiarity of late Latin, cf LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 136 f.; LEUMANN-HOFMANN 662. This might be a formal indicium of authenticity.

DICTUM 3, 3a.

The authenticity of this Dictum (or Dicta) is disputed, and its interpretation is problematical. A brief discussion of the main problems will be found in BIELER 129. I have suggested there that the passage recommending the Kyrie might be an interpolation. The original text of 3a would then read: *ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis ut decantetur uobiscum oportet omni hora orationis uox illa laudabilis: Deo gratias*—that is to say, Patrick urges the recitation of his favourite *Deo gratias* at all canonical hours (*omni hora orationis*). On the other hand, I note that in the Confessio and Epistola *oportet* is always (three times) construed with the infinitive; that *ecclesia* always means *the* Church in general; and that *sequor* and its compounds are entirely absent (except *consecutam* once in a biblical quotation, C 40).

The words *ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis* probably mean: 'in order that ye may be Christians in the same way as the Romans', but we cannot say whether *Romani* refers to the citizens of the Roman Empire or to the inhabitants of the city of Rome.

LINGUISTIC INDEX
to Commentary[176])

1. Passages

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[176]) Index numbers refer to footnotes.

2. Subjects

3. Words

iniuria 'hardship, nuisance' 164.

inlicitate (adv.) 'in a state of infatuation' 176.

inquit elliptic, impersonal 108. weakened ('quotation mark') 170.

insinuare verb of saying 148.

inuerbis 'speechless'? 118.

ipse 'He' (God) 107 f.

ipse qui = *is qui*? 149 f.

iucundare active 202.

litterae: gerulus litterarum 209.

locus 'occasion' 178.

mancipare gehennam 197.

mente not yet adverbial 202.

nec non — *sed etiam* ('overstrain') 162.

non id solum sed etiam 174.

non male 153.

nuntius 'angel' 171.

obtinere cum aliquo 140.

occasio 'pretence' 154.

per 'by way of' 198.

perennitas 182.

perlegere 'to read' 117[68].

peruenire with simple accusative 147 f.

piscare active 169.

pos tergum 179.

post with accusative for abl. absol. 148 f.

proximare 171.

pulsare pro aliquo 159 f.

pupillus 'poor fellow' 165[134].

quare = *quod* 176 f.

-*que* 163, 190. *et* ... -*que* 194.

quod, indeclinable, 'relative symbol' 117.

responsum 'oracle, divine voice' 133.

rusticatio (erroneously) 'rusticity' 123.

saeculum 100.

sanctus = *timoratus* 174.

satagere = *laborare* 156.

scriptula 'screpall' (coin) 183.

sic proleptic 161.

spero 'I presume' 175.

spiritalis 100 f.

sum ego 114 f.

tegoriolum 137.

tyrannis 'rule' 198.

unde 'dont' 136. *unde autem* 95.

uociferare active 205.

ut with infinitive 96, 136 f.

ut = *ut qui* 163.