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CLAVIS PATRICII II

LIBRI EPISTOLARUM
SANCTI PATRICII
EPISCOPI

introduction
text and commentary

LUDWIG BIELER

DUBLIN 1993



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FOREWORD

The present volume is the fourth to be published in the Ancillary Series to the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources*. It complements the work that immediately preceded it in that series, *Clavis Patricii I: A Computer-Generated Concordance to the 'Libri Epistolarum' of Saint Patrick*, by Kieran Devine (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1989), by reprinting the edition of St Patrick's surviving works upon which the *Concordance* was based and to which its references are keyed. This edition, by the late Professor Ludwig Bieler, MRIA, was initially published at Copenhagen in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 11 (1950) and 12 (1951), and then reprinted in two volumes by the Irish Manuscripts Commission as *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1952); but even the latter issue has long been out of print. In the meantime, however, it has achieved definitive status, its reliability remaining unchallenged (except in tiny details) through forty often stormy years of burgeoning Patrician scholarship, including the controversies that arose around the time of the celebration of the Patrician Year in 1961. It seems appropriate that the edition should be reissued now on the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of an alternative possible date for the death of the national apostle, 493; the Editorial Board of the *Dictionary* would like to express its appreciation to the Irish Manuscripts Commission and to Mrs Bieler for graciously permitting this to be done.

Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii appears now as a single volume; but to retain compatibility with older references to Bieler's edition, the original pagination has been maintained. Because the page-numbering of Bieler's 'Part I: Introduction and Text' partly overlaps with that of his 'Part II: Commentary', the pages of the former are here distinguished from those of the latter by means of a roman numeral printed on each. Apart from this no change has been made to the edition, though included at the end will be found three pages of 'Addenda'; these were originally published by Bieler in *Analecta Hibernica* 23 (1966), and for permission to reproduce them here the Editorial Board is again indebted to the Irish Manuscripts Commission. The Board hopes that, reappearing, *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii* will both render more useful, and be made more serviceable by, the companion *Concordance* alluded to above.

Foreword

It has been decided to accept the helpful suggestion of Dr David Dumville (of the Cambridge University Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic) that, for convenience of handling, the new, annotated bibliography of St Patrick be issued as a separate, and third, part of the *Clavis Patricii*. The Board also thanks Dr Dumville for providing a clean copy of the Irish Manuscripts Commission's publication to facilitate the present reprint; the fact that it was difficult to locate one is symptomatic of the usefulness that a generation of scholars has found in Professor Bieler's edition, and indicates further the work's worthiness to be placed before the public again.

Anthony Harvey
Editor, DMLCS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the encouragement and support I have been given from many sides during the preparation of this work.

In the first place my thanks are due to the late Professor Eóin MacNeill, whose fine scholarship, enthusiasm, and human understanding have been for years my guide and companion. May this publication be regarded as a humble tribute to his memory!

Of living scholars I owe a special debt of gratitude to Père Paul Grosjean, S.J., Brussels, who, at the draft stage, spontaneously offered and liberally gave me the benefit of his acute criticism. It is these private communications that are indicated whenever I quote Père Grosjean without reference to published work.

The many other friends and colleagues to whom I am indebted in one way or another will, I am sure, kindly accept this summary acknowledgment.

My labours have been greatly eased by the unflinching co-operation of the authorities and staff of the National Library, the libraries of the Royal Irish Academy, of Trinity College, University College, the Franciscan Library, and Marsh's Library, Dublin. From many libraries in England and abroad I have received valuable information, and photos from rare books and manuscripts, which have been utilized, either directly or indirectly, in the present edition. During 1947-48 the librarians of Notre Dame University, Ind., and of the University of Chicago have put me under a great obligation by granting special facilities for the study of late Latin literature not available in this country.

This work was accepted for publication by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1945, but owing to post-war printing conditions, publication had to be indefinitely postponed. I have used this involuntary delay for a thorough revision in the light of manuscript and other material which was inaccessible during the war.

Publication has now been made possible by the great kindness of Professor Franz Blatt, Aarhus, who generously placed at my disposal a large portion of this year's *Classica et Mediaevalia*, and also by the consent of the Irish Manuscripts Commission to hand over my manuscript for the purpose. I wish to express my deep gratitude to both parties for having gone so far to meet me. This first volume contains the introduction and text; a second will contain the commentary and a general index.

A last word of thanks goes to my wife, who spared neither time nor labour in helping me to see the manuscript through the press. Her assistance has been invaluable, and her cheerful companionship has made a dull job bright.

LUDWIG BIELER

DUBLIN, *Easter*, 1951

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PREFACE

Magonus Sucatus Patricius, generally known as Saint Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, has so far been almost completely neglected by students of Latin language and literature. The information available in Schanz — Hosius — Krüger¹) is now badly outdated. Thirty years of intensive research have since elapsed, but its results are not easily accessible to the Latinist²). The name of Patricius is still missing in the list of authors read for the Thesaurus. And yet, a fifth century Latin writer, born in Roman Britain, trained for ecclesiastical office in Gaul, labouring and writing as a missionary bishop in Ireland, outside the pale of Roman civilization, should have attracted students of antiquity as an interesting representative of Late Latin, if for no other reason.

About the author little more is known than what he himself tells us. The accepted (though not unchallenged) chronology of his mission in Ireland is that of the Irish annals, which give 432 as the date of his arrival and 461 (alternatively ca. 492) as the date of his death³). If, as has been suggested, *Confessio* 19 refers to the state of Gaul between 407 and 409⁴), Patrick, then in his twenty-second year, was born ca. 385.

The apostle of the Irish was not a *littérateur*. Whatever he wrote was dictated by the responsibilities of his episcopal office. Most of

¹) IV/2 (1920), 530—533.

²) I have tried to fill the gap as best I could with my book *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick* (Dublin, Clonmore and Reynolds, 1949), which, I hope, will be found to give at least a fair presentation of the *status quaestionis*.

³) The two dates, 461 and ca. 492, are probably the obits of two different persons, see T. F. O'RAHILLY *The two Patricks* (Dublin, Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942), and L. BIELER, *The Mission of Palladius* (*TRADITIO* 6 [1948] 1—32).

⁴) P. GROSJEAN, *AB* 54 (1936), 196—9.

his writings in Latin⁵⁾ seem to have been letters; even his *Confessio* is in both style and content an 'open letter,' addressed to the Church in Ireland and Britain and, perhaps, also to the Church in Gaul. Beside these letters we possess a few *Dicta Patricii* and a set of canons; the latter, though doubtless endorsed by Patricius, may have been drafted by somebody else, possibly by one of the joint signatories Auxilius and Iserninus; they have therefore not been included in the present edition.

A collection of Patrick's letters existed at least as early as the seventh century; its title seems to have been *Libri epistolarum sancti Patricii episcopi*⁶⁾. Of this collection two pieces have survived intact, the 'Confession,' written at a time when Patrick was advanced in years (Conf. 62), and the letter to the soldiers of the British prince Coroticus, which is almost certainly of earlier date⁷⁾. Several other letters are known either from scanty fragments or from references.

The present edition of the *Libri Epistolarum* is based not only on a *recensio codicum*, but also on the indirect tradition of the *Vitae*. Although it has not been my intention to write a fully documented history of the text, I shall touch its problems so far as is necessary for the purpose of *recensio*.

⁵⁾ We are not concerned here with the Old Irish *Lorica* that goes under Patrick's name.

⁶⁾ See Introduction, p. 28.

⁷⁾ P. GROSJEAN, AB 63 (1945) 100—111.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ASS	Acta Sanctorum
I.E.R.	Irish Ecclesiastical Record
LA	Liber Ardmachanus (Book of Armagh)
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin
Z.C.P.	Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie

INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE TEXT¹⁾1. *Description of the Manuscripts*²⁾.

The letters of Patricius are preserved in eight manuscripts of which seven are independent of each other.

1. Dublin, T. C. D. 52 ("Book of Armagh"). Written, at least in part, by Ferdornach, *scriba* of Armagh, ca. 807. Small Irish minuscule. — Contents: Patriciana (Muirchú, Dicta Patricii, Tírechán and Additamenta, Liber Angueli, Confessio with gaps)³⁾; New Testament ("D"); Sulpicius Severus (Vita s. Martini, Dialogi, Epistulae). The Patriciana are undoubtedly in the hand of Ferdornach. At the end of the Confessio, which covers fol 22r-24v, there is this colophon: *Huc usque uolumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua*. — Collated by me from the facsimile edition by E. Gwynn⁴⁾ and checked up with the original in case of doubt. — Symbol: D⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Quotations by page and line from the *Libri Epistolarum* refer to the text of the present edition, which in arrangement follows line by line the edition by NEWPORT J. D. WHITE *Libri Sancti Patricii*, in PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY 25 C 7 (Dublin 1905). Similar quotations from Muirchú, Tírechán, and other texts in the Book of Armagh refer to WHITLEY STOKES The Tripartite Life of Patrick (Rolls Series, 1887). All quotations by page and column refer to JOHN COLGAN Trias Thaumaturga (Lovanii 1647); quotations by line only, to K. MULCHRONE, Bethu Phátraic, R.I.A., 1939.

²⁾ For more detailed descriptions see NEWPORT WHITE Proc. R.I.A. 25 C 7.11 (pp. 203 ff., 542 ff.); L. BIELER Codices Patriciani Latini (Dublin, Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942), nos 1—8.

³⁾ Cf P. GROSJEAN Analyse du Livre d'Armagh, AB 62 (1944) 33—41.

⁴⁾ Book of Armagh. The Patrician Documents. (Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish Manuscripts. 3. Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin 1937).

⁵⁾ NEWPORT WHITE: A. I prefer to use the same *siglum* for the New Testament and the Patrick section.

2. Oxford Rawlinson B 480 (Clarendon 91). Miscellaneous notes and collections of several hands saec. XVII. Fol 79r-81v contain under the heading: *Ex antiquiss^o manuscripto Hib. Incipiunt libri S. Patricii* a text of the *Confessio* as far as 238, 11 *qui sumus nos epistola Christi*, further a note concerning Palladius (from the *Additamenta* to *Tírechán*) and the *Dicta Patricii*. All this has been copied from D⁶), with occasional corrections from Ware's edition and others which appear to be the transcriber's own guesses.

P 3. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 17626 (Compiègne 40^{bis}). Caroline minuscule saec. X. — A collection of Lives of Saints (all but one commemorated in February or March) arranged in the order of the calendar with slight disturbances. Obviously written for some Benedictine house⁷), but, considering the absence of the *Aduentus ss. martyrum Cornelii et Cypriani* (March 15) hardly for Saint-Corneille, Compiègne, whence the MS was transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1802⁸). The fact that the collection includes a Life of St. Vodoald (Vodoalus) would make one think rather of the diocese of Soissons. — The MS contains both *Confessio* and *Epistola* (fol 72r-85v). — Symbol: P.

V 4. Arras, Bibl. munic. 450 (S. Vedasti 1628. F. 2. — S. Vedasti 3, 16). A collection of forty-four Lives of Saints, arranged in the order of the ecclesiastical calendar, from Silvester to Peter and Paul, with occasional disturbances. Written in continental minuscule saec. XII⁹), almost certainly in Northern France^{9a}), but not neces-

⁶) Cf fol 79r24 *pgrem* for *scirem* (D 22rβ5-6).

⁷) Cf the heading on fol 85v *Incipiunt capitula de uita uel miracula (sic) uenerabilis Benedicti conditoris et abbatis*.

⁸) See L. DELISLE *Le cabinet des manuscrits* II 264.

⁹) The main collection is followed by an appendix consisting of four hagiographical texts out of their place in the liturgical calendar, the latest being the visions of Elizabeth of Schonau (1152-1164/5). Fol 52rα1-24 is in a slightly later hand, perhaps that of a 'modernizing' scribe; it is narrower, more pointed, and more advanced in the breaking of shafts. I do not know whether the same hand occurs in other sections of the MS. With the exception of the *Patriciana*, I am dependent for information on the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, Dép. 4 (1872) 176. A more detailed description of this codex would be very welcome.

^{9a}) Among the saints represented are Fursa, Amandus, Medardus, Remigius; the legend of St. Remigius is placed between those of St. Hilary (Jan. 13) and St. Maur (Jan. 15), in accordance with the ecclesiastical calendar of Northern France, where

sarily at or for Saint-Vaast. — The *Confessio* and *Epistola* of St. Patrick are not found under his feastday (March 17)¹⁰; they are inserted after the Life of St. Fursa (January 22), who brought relics of St. Patrick to his foundation *Peronna Scottorum*¹¹). The *Patriciana* occupy fol 50v-53r; two leaves are now missing, one between fol 51 and 52, the other between fol 52 and 53. They were still in their places when a copy was taken from this codex by A. Denis S. J. for the Bollandist Daniel Papebroch, who edited v these texts in 1668¹²). However, Papebroch has taken so great liberties with the text that his evidence, except for variants either explicitly acknowledged or confirmed by other witnesses, must be accepted with reserve. — Symbols: V for the original MS (Newport White: B); v for Papebroch's edition (Newport White: Boll).

5. Rouen, Bibl. munic. 1391. (U. 39. — U. 53. — Jumièges G. 9.) R
Small continental minuscule saec. XI (in?). — A collection of twenty-seven hagiographical texts in no recognizable order. The MS is mutilated at the end; the text of the *Confessio*, which is the last item (fol 157^{bis}v-159v), breaks off at 244, 1 *insinuavi amicissimo meo*. — The codex formerly belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Jumièges, but it is not certain that it was written there. Patrick is the only Irish saint represented in the collection; his *Confessio* is preceded, though not immediately, by the miracles of St. Gertrud (d. on St. Patrick's Day 659). — Symbol: R.

the feast of St. Remigius fell in the middle of January, not, as elsewhere in the Roman Church, on October 1. — The appendix contains a *Vita s. Godehardi* — probably a life of Godehard, bp. of Hildesheim (d. 1028), who was canonized by Innocent II at the synod of Reims in 1132.

¹⁰) The MS contains no Life of a saint whose feast falls in March.

¹¹) Cf L. GOUGAUD *Les saints irlandais hors d'Irlande* (1936), 148.

¹²) ASS Martii 2 (Antwerp 1668), 530 ff. From the heading in ASS it has often been concluded that the editor was Denis. However, as P. GROSJEAN (AB 64, 1948, 284) points out, 1) Denis never belonged to the Bollandists nor did he join in their editorial activities; 2) the words *quam ex vetustissimo . . . codice eruit* imply merely that a copy was taken, or caused to be taken, from the Arras MS by Denis and forwarded to Antwerp; 3) the editor had access to Ussher's *Antiquitates*, which were hardly available at Arras; 4) the draft of an edition of Vita III of St. Patrick in MS Brussels 3196—203, fol 453r-460v, is in the hand of Papebroch; 5) there is some positive evidence to show that the editor of the Patrician texts in ASS was Daniel Papebroch (cf ASS Jul II. 289 E).

- F 6. Oxford, Bodl. Fell 3. Minuscule saec. XII/2¹³). — Thirty-one Lives of Saints, most of whom are commemorated between January and June¹⁴); no clear order. Of local saints, some are distinctly English (Boniface, Wilfrid of York, Cuthbert); Ireland is represented only by St. Patrick's *Confessio* and *Epistola* (fol 7r-13r), which are preceded, as in the Rouen MS, by a text relating to St. Gertrud. — In the middle of the seventeenth century, the MS belonged to Salisbury Cathedral, where it was seen by Sir James Ware. The script is undoubtedly English and resembles certain Salisbury hands¹⁵). For the later history of the MS see Summary Catalogue 1212 f. — Symbol: F (Newport White: F₃).
- C 7. London, Brit. Mus. Cotton Nero E. 1. Written in round minuscule, at Worcester (according to the late Dr. R. Flower, of the British Museum), ca. 1000, with more recent additions at the beginning and end. *Confessio* and *Epistola* are found on fol 169v-174v. — The contents and history of this and the following MS will be discussed in § 2.
- G 8. Oxford, Bodl. Fell 4. Minuscule saec. XII/1 (Ker: XI/2). — Sixty-three Lives of Saints. — *Confessio* and *Epistola* are found on fol 158r-166r. A corrector's hand is visible throughout, but his work is of little importance. In most places the original readings are still ascertainable. — Provenance and history of this MS are the same as of Fell 3¹⁶) — Symbol: G (Newport White: F₄); corrections are noted as G'¹⁷).

MSS 3 to 8 have been newly collated by me from the photos made for the late Dr. Newport White, which are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy and in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

¹³) According to N. R. KER *Mediaeval Libraries of Great Britain* 97: saec. XII in.

¹⁴) Cf Summary Catalogue II/2 (1937), 1211.

¹⁵) For this information I am indebted to Miss Beryl Smalley, late of the Bodleian Library.

¹⁶) See now N. R. KER *Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue*, in *WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY MAGAZINE* (1949), 153—83, esp. 160 f. MS Fell 1+4 has even the D. M. markings so characteristic of early Salisbury MSS (p. 154, note 4).

¹⁷) Newport White gives all 'surface readings' of this MS as F₄ and marks original readings that have been corrected as F₄*; I prefer to use one and the same symbol for the original reading in all instances.

2. *Classification of the Manuscripts.*A. The group Φ .

Where there are variants in the text of the *Confessio*, the issue is generally between D on the one hand and PVRFCG on the other¹). Instances are too frequent to need enumeration. This group, for which I introduce the symbol Φ (*White's reliqui*), has a text tradition Φ distinctly different from that of D. Not only is D an Irish manuscript, whereas all the others are either continental or English; they are also manuscripts of different types. D is a collection of certain standard texts of the Church of Armagh; the other six MSS are passionals intended obviously for use in north western Europe. Contrary to D, Φ contained both *Confessio* and *Epistola*²).

Since R breaks off in the middle of *Confessio* 26, I distinguish between Φ (the complete group) and ϕ (the same group less R). ϕ

V, and to a lesser degree R, betray some "editing" on the part of their scribes, especially in the handling of biblical quotations³); the corrector of G was on the whole content with a revision of spelling and grammar.

The class Φ can be subdivided on the basis of group-readings, which, at one point at least, are confirmed by external evidence⁴).

There is, first of all, considerable agreement of (R)FCG against the rest. These four MSS thus form a subgroup, which I label Δ (in Δ the absence of R: δ)⁵). The more important variants are the following: δ

235, 14 *sensum* DPV: *sensus* Δ

237, 1 *fratribus et cognatis meis* DPV: *fratres et cognatos meos* Δ

238, 5 *gestit* DV. *gestat* P: *gessit* Δ

¹) This fact was first realized, however dimly, by A. W. HADDAN *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* II/2 (1878) 296.

²) The absence of the latter from R is explained by the defective condition of this MS.

³) Cf NEWPORT WHITE 214, 216 ff.

⁴) The lists of group-readings in NEWPORT WHITE 213—6 must be read negatively; White's basis of classification is agreement in primary, not in secondary readings.

⁵) The existence of this group was not quite clearly realized by NEWPORT WHITE. Most of the evidence for it is hidden in his group-readings headed AB (*BOLL.*), p. 213 f., and B (or *BOLL.*) P, p. 545.

- 239,10 *eram* DPV: *etiam* Δ
 241,15 *Iuero* DPV: *fuera* Δ
 244,19 (R deest) *impediret* DPV: *impenderet* FC. *impe*diret* G'. (The reading of δ apparently was *impediret*; F and C have altered independently; in G, the blunder was corrected by the erasure of *n*)
 245,24 (DR desunt) *auderem adgrede* P. *auderem aggredi* v: *audirem adgrederer* F. *adire adgrede* C. *adire aggredere* G. (The reading of PV [Φ?] seems to have been *auderem adgrede*, that of δ *audire(m) aggredere*; some further alteration, whether phonetic or semantic we cannot tell, was introduced in the source of CG, obscured again by a blunder in C.)
 246,17 (D deest) *audirem* PV: *aurem (haurirem* G') δ
 248, 9 *esse* DPV: *ipse* δ
 248,28 (D deest) *sapit* PV: *capit* δ
 249,30 (D deest) *insinuauit* PV: *insuauit* δ
 251, 1 (D deest) *cupiebant* PV: *cupiebam* δ
 251, 7 (D deest) *iudicabant* PV: *indicabant* δ
 251,23 *ego uero* DPV: *uero* om δ
 252, 5 (D deest) *scrutator* V. *scrutatur* P: *scrutabor* δ. (*Scrutator* is the imperative of the third person. The rare form seems to have puzzled the scribes; the readings of P and δ are two different attempts at emendation.)
 253, 1 (D deest) *fecerit* PV: *fecerat* δ
 256,12 (D deest) *decurione* Pv: *decorione* δ
 257,12 (D deest) *baptizatos* Pv: *baptizat* δ
 259,12 (D deest) *mereantur* PV: *mererentur (-eantur* G') δ

In all these instances, except 256,12, the reading of Δ (δ) is "secondary" — either openly faulty or intrinsically inferior, or less probable⁶). Only once — at 237,19 *exaliue* DP. *ex saliuq* V: *ex saliu* Δ — a slight corruption in the archetype was probably corrected by the parent of the group⁷). Contrasted with DPV, the MSS of Δ may be called *deteriores*.

⁶) D, to be sure, is often missing. In the whole Confessio, however, there is but one instance of a common mistake in DΔ: 243,11 *episcopus* for *spiritus* (so PvG'). The DΔ variant can be explained by the misreading of a contraction in the archetype; it should be remembered that two of the witnesses for *spiritus* (vG') are known as correctors.

⁷) In 254,24 (D deest) *seruus est peccati* Pv: *peccati* om δ, the issue is one of biblical criticism.

Within Δ , MSS C and G stand out as twins. Their close kinship Δ_2 is proved by a number of group-readings, e. g.

- 238,24 *rethorici: nethorici* CG
 240, 2 (R deest) *et nihil: ex nihilo* CG
 244, 3 (R deest) *habebam: habeam* CG
 248,12 (DR desunt) *nuntio: nutu* CG
 251,24 (R deest) *spero: sperno* CG
 253,14 (R deest) *secundum: sanctum* CG⁸⁾

More conclusive still is the external evidence⁹⁾. The original portion of C (nos 5-119), continued by MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (CCC) 9 (saec. XII, also of Worcester provenance), p. 61 ff., on the one hand, and MSS Bodl. Fell 4 + 1 (the latter mutilated at the end, cf. the contemporary index on fol 184r), on the other, represent, with few exceptions, the same hagiographical compilation. Their affinity is apparent in a number of identical headings (e. g. C 36 = G 30 *Actus Theophili qui Christum negavit et recuperavit*) and in the occasional misplacing or unusual dating of feasts (the latter partly due to clerical errors). Moreover, the current numbers in the index of MS Fell 1, differing (but not equally) from the numbering in the body of Nero E. 1 + CCC 9 and Fell 4 + 1 respectively, here and there also occur in the headings of MS Cambridge CCC 9 instead of the numbers that should be expected. This also proves that G is not a copy of C, but a brother. The same conclusion must be drawn from the fact that the *Vita Wandregisili* (July 22) is found in its proper place in C, but not in Fell 1, where it is the last but one item in the index; it formed part of an appendix to the original collection in the exemplar, and was inserted under the appropriate day in C only.

For the common exemplar of CG I shall henceforth use the symbol Δ_2 .

R and F are independent not only of Δ_2 , but also of one another. Neither the group-readings labelled F_3R by Newport White (p. 215)

⁸⁾ Cf also Newport White 215 (BF₃; Boll F₃) and 216 (ABF₃).

⁹⁾ Cf W. LEVISON, M. G. H. *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* VII. 545, 601 f.; N. R. KER *Mediaeval Libraries of Great Britain* 116, note 1; M. R. JAMES *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS of CCC Cambridge* I. 13 ff.

nor the two other agreements which I have noted (238, 9; 240, 14-15) are proof of a common parent; and F cannot be a copy of R, because the former MS shares none of the latter's peculiar readings and transpositions¹⁰).

The place of P and V(v) is half-way between D on the one side and Δ on the other. Occasional agreement of PV(v) against the rest is purely accidental; all instances can be explained as either blunders or "corrections" of such type as any scribe was likely to make. Where D is available, P normally agrees with D, and V with Δ ; the better text is almost always found in DP. Some good readings are preserved also in DV (Dv) opposing the rest, but the reading of V (v) is often nothing more than a good guess; Papebroch (v) knew also the quotations from D in Primate Ussher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*¹¹). Where D is missing, PV is normally right against δ , which means merely that δ has strayed from ϕ . Even P alone, opposing v δ , is as a rule to be preferred; there is perhaps some room for doubt where P is opposed by V δ ¹²). In the last analysis each case must be judged on its own merits.

In four places (DR missing) v Δ_2 agree against PF; but three of these agreements (246, 15; 247, 23; 255, 8) are apparently independent alterations, and the fourth (254, 8 *uiuo* PF: *uoui* vG. *noui* C) in its isolation, and in the absence of DR, proves nothing.

Lastly, there are some instances of particular agreement between P and Δ_2 :

238, 15 *rusticus* DVRF: *rusticius* P Δ_2

241, 1 *ex toto corde* VFR (om D): *et ex toto corde* P Δ_2

241, 6 *canes repleti* D. *canes reuelati* VRF. *carnes releuati* P Δ_2

243, 24 (D deest) *antequam* vRFG': *ante quod* P Δ_2

In the first two instances P Δ_2 are clearly wrong, but there is not necessarily a connection between them. In the third instance,

¹⁰ Cf NEWPORT WHITE 213, 318-20.

¹¹ Cf NEWPORT WHITE 209 f.

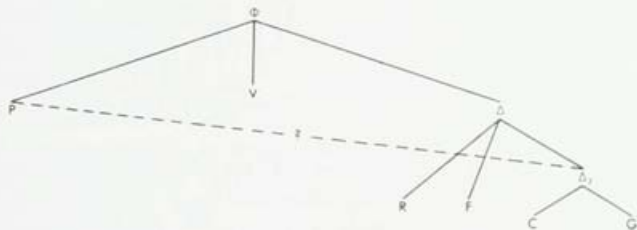
¹² E. g. 249, 25 *in periculo* P: *in periculum* V δ (the ablative with *in* expressing direction is a common construction in the fifth century, but would hardly be introduced into a tenth century MS, if the scribe found the regular construction in his exemplar); 250, 5 *quos* P ("sense construction"): *quas* V δ ; 251, 27 *qui* P: *quia* V δ ; 259, 12 *ut* P: *ita ut* V δ .

Φ probably read *canes releuati*¹³); the unexpected reference to dogs must have puzzled many a reader, and *carnes* for *canes* was suggested by the context. At 243,24 *ante quod* (vulgar for *ante quam*) is possibly genuine, see the Commentary. — A fifth instance is 240,15:

reppuli	sugere	mammellas	eorum	D
reppuli	sugire	mammass	eorum	V
reputi	fugere	manus	illorum	P
repulis	fugire	mammass	illorum	RF
repulsus sum	fugere	amicitias	illorum	Δ ₂

The gradual disintegration of the D-text in Φ is obvious, but the steps are different for each of the four words; *amicitias* Δ₂ might be an interpretation of *manus* (P)¹⁴), but it could just as well be an explanation of *mammass* (see Commentary). Secondary dependence of Δ₂ on P is thus possible, but cannot be positively asserted.

Our study of group-readings would result in the following stemma of Φ:



P has on the whole a purer text than either V or Δ; V, though basically superior to Δ, has been so much handled that the unsophisticated Δ is more reliable. For similar reasons F is preferable to R, and C to G.

Some time after these conclusions had been formulated the late Professor EÓIN MACNEILL communicated to me a note which he had drafted many years ago. I reproduce it in extract, because the great Irish scholar,

¹³) The VRF reading *reuelati* is a typical *uox ecclesiastica*.

¹⁴) So NEWPORT WHITE 544.

by a method entirely different from mine, has come to very similar conclusions. MACNEILL's symbols are of course those of Newport White.

"A stands apart from all the others. None of them is derived directly from A, or from A jointly with another copy. A is at the end of its own pedigree. P has much less readings peculiar to itself and has a larger number in common with others, but does not appear to be in direct line of parentage to any of them. . . . C and F appear to stand in close relation to each other, that is, so far as agreement in the variants is concerned. . . . Beyond that, there is little evidence of affiliated groups, and the promiscuity of common readings in the remainder seems to indicate collation rather than affiliation . . . Collation appears most evident in R . . . It may be noted that, of 29 instances of common variants between R and other MSS, 18 are common to CF. . . . The CF-stem, from which P and B are branches, is older than P and nearest to A. . . . F₄ shows traces of collation of the C-text with other copies, especially with P."

In my terminology, this means the recognition of Φ with its constituents PV Δ ; only, I would be less positive as regards contamination of Δ_2 with P.

Φ was a MS of quite a distinct character, which is recognizable in several of its descendents.

V, a twelfth century MS, still exhibits occasionally such extraordinary word-divisions as *pręsta/nte* (50 v α 16), *respo/ndit* (51 v α 40), *ple/bs* (52 r α 6). Another example is found in F (11 v4): *n/umquam*. Such extravagant syllabification is known as an Insular, and particularly an Irish, symptom¹⁵).

Abbreviations in all the six MSS are, as may be expected, generally of the continental type. Insular abbreviation is altogether absent from V—a legendarium intended for public reading. Misinterpretation of Insular symbols might, however, be at the root of the variant 237,24 *quia* (for *quod*) P Δ , and of the erroneous insertion or omission of *et* before *in* or *i-* at 246,4 (P δ) and 248,3 (PVF); Insular script explains the misreadings in 238,19 *rursum* (for *sursum*) P, 238,24 *nethorici* (for *rethorici*) Δ_2 , and 242,18 *cortinentem* (for *continentem*) P.

Thus Φ presumably was either written in Insular script or copied from an Insular, probably an Irish, exemplar. The second alternative is suggested by the occasional confusion of *cum* and *con-*

¹⁵) Cf E. A. Lowe Codices Latini Antiquiores II p. viii.

(237,16 *cumbiberunt* PΔ, 251,21 *cūuenit* P). Such errors point to a MS in which, as in many MSS of the eighth and early ninth centuries, Insular and Continental abbreviations were employed side by side, and consequently \bar{c} might denote either *con-* or *cum*. This would be the practice of Continental rather than Insular scriptoria. Φ, then, was probably a Continental copy of an Irish exemplar Φ'.

The home and date of Φ can be determined with some probability. An Irish MS imported to Northern France and copied there by a Continental scribe late in the eighth or early in the ninth century would explain the existence of the Franco-Belgian copies PVR; the intimate relations of Norman French and Lotharingian ecclesiastics with their brethren in England during the tenth and eleventh centuries would then account for the eleventh and twelfth century English copies¹⁶).

There is even distinct palaeographical evidence to this effect. At 252,4 (only φ extant) PV read, correctly, *ualeo*, δ *uideo*. The meaningless δ-variant must be due to misreading; there is only one script in which *al* is liable to being read *id* — the "ab-type" of Corbie. This script was practised in parts of Northern France, including the areas of Arras and Soissons, in which P and V have been tentatively located¹⁷).

It seems possible to suggest also an approximate date for Φ'. In V, Confessio and Epistola have been inserted, against the ecclesiastical calendar, after the Life of St. Fursa, an Irish missionary in Northern France who was specially attached to the cult of St. Patrick. Fursa is said to have deposited relics of Patrick and

¹⁶ As has been pointed out by W. LEVISON *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* VII 545, Δ₂ is one of the three surviving copies (a) of an English Passional of the tenth century. The other two copies, MS Oxford Bodl. 354 (b) and the twin MSS Hereford P. VII. 6 and Fell 2 (c), do not contain the writings of St. Patrick. Apparently these texts did not belong to the original compilation, and were inserted into (a) from a different source — probably a single book, not a *Legendarium*. This view is supported by the fact that the other descendents of Δ, R and F, are not the type of a *Legendarium per circulum anni*, of which Δ₂ is an excellent specimen, but represent two different hagiographical collections made on no definite plan.

¹⁷ That the mistake was made in δ, and not in PV, is no objection. We do not know the links by which PVD are related to Φ.

other Irish saints in his foundation Péronne — only some fifteen miles up the Somme from Corbie¹⁸). A poem on St. Patrick by Cellanus, abbot of Péronne (d. 706) seems to betray knowledge of the *Confessio*¹⁹). If this circumstantial evidence is strong enough to suggest that Fursa took with him to the Continent a copy of Patrick's letters, the date of Fursa's departure — ca. 630 — would be the *terminus ad quem* for Φ' .

B. The Book of Armagh (D) and its Relation to Φ .

The Book of Armagh is the earliest MS of the *Confessio* known to exist. It does not contain the *Epistola*, and not even the complete text of the *Confessio*. In the latter, there are the following gaps: 26—29 *uidi* (243, 17—244, 13); 32—34 (244, 26—245, 28); 35 *ut*—37 (246, 6—22); 42—53 (248, 10—251, 13); 55 *sed*—61 (251, 26—253, 9). That the sections missing in D are genuine is proved by an allusion in Tírechán's *Breviarium* (fol 10 v β 34) to Conf. 53, and also by the identity of style and diction in these chapters and in the remainder²⁰).

The cause of their omission is not quite clear. The fact that the missing chapters include most of the author's avowals of his human weaknesses makes one think of deliberate suppression. Yet this motive does not explain the absence of chapters 34 and 55—61; on the other hand, it would be strange that chapters 1, 2, 9, 10 should have escaped the purge. — On grounds of stichometry²¹) it

¹⁸) *Virtutes s. Fursei* 19; cf L. GOUGAUD *Les saints irlandais hors d'Irlande* 148.

¹⁹) P. GROSJEAN AB 63 (1945) 73. — The lines of Cellanus were later at Saint-Wandrille (near Jumièges), whence they travelled to Southern Italy; the writings of Patrick might have gone the same way, see W. LEVISON *Z.C.P.* 20 (1936) 382—90.

²⁰) Cf NEWPORT WHITE 206 ff.

²¹) With negligible odds, both the gaps and the remaining text in D make multiples of 30 letters; the same is true of occasional omissions in some MSS of Φ . It would appear that 30 was the average number of letters to the line in the archetype. As regards the larger gaps in D, the number of "lines" missing and "lines" preserved varies from 13 to 19, or multiples thereof. Considering the habits of Irish scribes, 13—19 would not be too wide a margin for the number of lines to the page in the exemplar of D.

might be argued that the gaps correspond to pages or folios which in the exemplar of D had either been lost or had become illegible. However, none of the breaks leaves the thought incomplete, and there are no certain indications of re-adjustment. — Haste²³) can explain the omission of single words or short phrases, even of one or two lines (as seems to be the case in 242,1-3; 251,15,17-18), and, partly at least, the curtailment of some biblical quotations in Conf. 40²³). But would a scribe, however hasty, suppress whole pages of his exemplar?

The spelling of D is typical of early Hiberno-Latin MSS; it is the same throughout the codex, and has very little to do with the author of the Confessio.

D and Φ differ considerably in textual details. Apart from unintentional blunders in D²⁴) and frequent transposition of words, the two texts often part company in such a way that we have to state real variants, e. g.

- 235, 3 *contemptilibis sum* D: *contemptibilissimus* Φ
 235,10 *non oboedientes* D: *inobedientes* Φ
 237,14 *dedici* D: *legi* Φ
 237,25 *credit* D: *credidit* Φ
 238, 5 *animas* D: *animus* Φ
 238,24 *dominicali* D: *domni* (domini VR) *ignari* (gnari P) Φ
 239,14 *itaque* D: *igitur* Φ
 240,20 *quid, Christiane, tu dicis? Deus tuus etc* D: *quid est, Christiane? Tu dicis Deus tuus etc* Φ
 241, 2 *cui nihil est impossibile* D: *quia nihil est illi impossibile* Φ
 241, 7 *relicti* D: *derelicti* Φ
 241,16 *saxum ingens* D: *saxa ingentia* Φ
 242,17 *cui nomen Victoricus* D: *Victoricus nomen* Φ
 242,21 *Foclutu* D: *uirgulti uelutiqe* P. *uirgulti . . . V. uirgulti ueluti* R. *uirgultiqe* F. *uirgulti uolutiqe* (uolutiqe del G') Δ₂

²³) So Bury Engl. Hist. Rev. 18 (1905) 544—6; Life of St. Patrick 226 f.

²³) 247,15 *reliqua usque dicit saeculi*; 247,20 *reliqua sunt exempla*; 247,10 (both D and Φ) *ecce ego milto piscatores et uenatores dicit Dominus et cetera*. This is, however, a common practice of Irish scribes (cf Columbanus, Epist. 6, p. 178,22 Gundlach); in particular, the formula *reliqua usque dicit* is the normal way of indicating the extent of well-known liturgical texts.

²⁴) E. g. 236,7 *inerrabiliter* (cf 243,15); 237,1 *cognotatis*; 237,2 *perficere* for *perpicere*, etc.

Impressed by the early date of D and its unique place in Patrician literature, generations of scholars believed in the absolute authority of this MS. As late as 1905, Newport White (p. 208) ruled that the readings of Φ , "although at first attractive, are found on mature consideration to be merely plausible emendations". This, I think, is saying too much. For example, 235,3 *contemptibilissimus* Φ is protected by the two preceding superlatives; 238,2 *quid peterem uel quid adpeterem* D looks like a conflate reading, and this suspicion has been strengthened since we know Patrick's model²⁵; at 240,20 there can be no reasonable doubt that the genuine reading is preserved in Φ , which has also the unanimous support of the Lives²⁶. Sometimes a doubt remains, and particularly so where the subject matter is problematical, as in 242,21 (*silua Focluti*).

We conclude that D and Φ are independent of one another.

The colophon of the Confessio in D reads: *Huc usque*²⁷ *uolumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua*. Does this mean that Ferdornach copied the text from the author's autograph? Most scholars have been reluctant to assert this, and with good reason.

Nine times Ferdornach distinctly acknowledges a blunder of D to have been found in his exemplar²⁸:

235,15 (s s and in margin) *serorem orarem*

237,15 (in margin) *utroque* (add: *incertus liber hic*).

237,19 (ss and in margin) *exaliue*.

238, 4 (in margin) \bar{n} *possum de/deeritis* (dots in triangle — the usual mark of deletion — over *possum* and the first *de*)

²⁵ D. S. NERNEY *Ir. Eccles. Rec.* 72 (1949) 23.

²⁶ Even NEWPORT WHITE, who followed D in his earlier edition, accepted the Φ -reading in 1918.

²⁷ Reminiscence of Dan 7,28 *hucusque finis libri*? Cf also Annals of Ulster, under 536 *huc usque perduxit Marcellinus Cronicon suum*; Tigernach, under 1008 (originally a marginal note) *hucusque Tigernach scripsit antequam quieuit*, see Rev. P. WALSH *Ir. Hist. Stud.* 2 (1940—1) 156.

²⁸ He does so by apposing against the text his "mark of query", a peculiarly shaped z. For explanations see NEWPORT WHITE 207, note; P. GROSJEAN AB 51, 122—4; 52, 411. The authentic interpretation ($\zeta\eta\tau\eta\sigma\alpha$) has been vindicated by P. GROSJEAN AB 53, 129—30. The device is characteristic of Insular scriptoria; it occurs, e. g., in MS Vat. Pal. 220 (Lorsch, saec. IX in.), fol 31r (facsimile: LINDSAY *Palaeographia Latina* III, pl. 11).

- 238, 12 (in margin) *ratum fortissimum scriptum*
 238, 13 (in margin) *rusticationem*
 239, 8 (in margin) *exagallias* (add: *incertus liber*)
 242, 1-3 (in margin) *uos estis annos* (a strange omission)
 243, 5 (in margin) *peritissime*

Except for the two passages on which Ferdornach comments with *incertus liber* (*hic*) he does not seem to have doubted the correctness of his reading, but to have been puzzled by the text he had before him. In most instances Φ exhibits either the same or a similar corruption. If these readings were found in Ferdornach's exemplar, it was not Patrick's autograph.

From the heading in D *Incipiunt libri sancti Patricii episcopi* we must conclude that the ultimate source of this MS contained more than the Confessio. In fact, $F\Delta_2$ count the Confessio as *Liber I*, the Epistola as *Liber II*. The colophon in D, however, states explicitly that the book (*uolumen*) which Patrick wrote with his own hand contained the Confessio and nothing more. Bury's remark²⁹) that the colophon "ought, possibly, to have followed the Letter" is at best an escape.

The colophon in D is not an ordinary scribal *explicit*. It is an iambic octonar, with only one violation of prosody under the influence of prose accent³⁰). I am inclined to regard it as a redactor's note, which was copied by Ferdornach from his exemplar.

Originally this note would have its place in a collection of several *Libri Patricii*, and be to the effect that, whereas the Confessio — the first piece of the collection, — was based on the autograph, the text or texts that followed (among them most probably the Epistola³¹) were not. If the ultimate source of Ferdornach contained both the complete Confessio and the Epistola, it may be assumed that the gaps in the former and the loss of the latter were due to the same cause. Ferdornach, who, under the personal supervision of his abbot,

²⁹) Life of St. Patrick 227.

³⁰) The Tigernach entry (note 27) is a hypercatalectic senarius (in pronunciation, *Tigernach* has only two syllables).

³¹) A different interpretation of both heading and colophon of the Confessio in D by P. GROSJEAN AB 62 (1944) 50, will be discussed below, p. 25, note 47.

Torbach, compiled an official corpus of all available Patrician documents, is the last person to be suspect of wilful suppression; besides, we know from his own testimony that one at least of the minor gaps (242,1-3) was already in his exemplar. The loss must D' have occurred in some intermediate copy (D').

3. The Exemplar ω .

In D and Φ we notice a number of identical, or nearly identical, corruptions:

- 237,15 *qui optime itaque iure et sacras litteras utraque (utroque D, in marg. z and incertus liber hic) pari modo combiberunt* DP Δ . (V: *qui optime itaque sacris litteris imbuti sunt* — a ruthless alteration)
- 238,12 *ratum fortissimum scriptum* D (in margin z): *ratum (raptum R, rata G) et fortissimum (-e G') scripta* Φ
- 238,20 *ad retribuendam* (-a ex -um P. -ū ex -a G') all MSS
- 239,8 *exagallias* (in margin z and *incertus liber*) D: *exgallias* VFC. *ex gallicis G', gallias R, exgaleas P.*
- 243, 5 *uerbis peritissime quos ego audiui* D (in margin z): *peritissimi P. peritissimis vF Δ_2 . perterritus R*

To this list may be added the *et cetera* as an abridgment of a biblical quotation (247,10 — all MSS, R missing), and two other passages, where all the available witnesses (DR missing) are evidently at fault:

- 248,20 *sed et illas (illae Ware) maxime laborant*
- 248,22 *nam et (om Δ_2) siue tantum* (read *etsi uelantur*).

The conclusions from these premises are obvious:

- 1) D (D') and Φ have a common parent (noted by me as ω ; in the absence of R, as ω), which is thus the ancestor of all our MSS.
- 2) The colophon of the Confessio in D goes back to ω .
- 3) Since ω was not free from corruption, the text of the Confessio which it contained was not the autograph.

Was ω , then, the original collection which I have postulated? A study of the Lives of St. Patrick will provide the answer.

4. *The Indirect Tradition* (Ψ).

An indirect tradition of *Confessio* 1—2, 16—23, for which I introduce the symbol Ψ , is preserved in the earlier Lives of Ψ St. Patrick: *Muirchú* (Muir), before 700; *Vita II* and *Vita IV* Muir (V_2 , V_4)—companion texts, reflecting an earlier *Vita* (W) of $V_2 V_4$ (W) perhaps eighth century date³²; *Vita III* (V_3), dated as of the ninth century by Bury³³; the Latin-Irish Tripartite Life (Trip), 895—901; Trip(r) the *Vita* by Probus (Prob), tentatively assigned to the middle of the tenth century by Mario Esposito³⁴. Only the Tripartite Life is available in a critical edition³⁵; my text of the others is based on a collation of the MSS³⁶, from which I hope to edit these texts in due course.

This is not the place for discussing the interrelation of these documents, which would require a comparative analysis of the complete texts. So far as they borrow from the *Confessio*, all the *Vitae* reproduce a common source³⁷, to which I shall refer as U. This source, a Life of St. Patrick based largely on his writings, is reflected in varying degrees of fidelity by three independent witnesses—in order of merit: *Bethu Phátraic*³⁸ (BPh, early BPh

³² BURY in HERMATHENA 28 (1902) 186—207; J. F. KENNEY Sources for the early history of Ireland 1 (1929) 341; L. BIELER Life and Legend of St. Patrick 132, note 33.

³³ TRANS. R.I.A. 32 C 3 (1903) 216—8. — In one branch of the text tradition of V_3 (which I label Γ), c. 1—11 of V_2 have been prefixed; readings from this source will be noted as V_{Γ} . — My sigla for MSS of the Ψ -group are given on p. 107.

³⁴ Studies 2 (Dublin, 1913) 508.

³⁵ K. MULCHRONE *Bethu Phátraic*, R.I.A., 1939. The text that can be critically restored (r) reaches back to a date some time before 936.

³⁶ Cf my *Codices Patriciani Latini*, p. 18—37.

³⁷ To prove this formally here would lead us too far. I intend to deal with this problem in a comparative study of the *Vitae S. Patricii*, which I outlined last year in two lectures delivered during the Colloquium of the Celtic School in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Readers of this Introduction are referred to my apparatus of the reconstructed Ψ -text (below, p. 108 ff.), and in particular to my reconstruction of Conf. 19.

³⁸ The independence of BPh, J, and Muir follows primarily from a comparative analysis of contents. Group-readings are neither numerous nor absolutely decisive, because the series of witnesses is hardly ever complete; moreover, where Muir is

eighth century?) — the ancestor of Trip (r) and W; the common J source of the respective chapters in V₃ and Prob ("J", of undetermined date); and Muirchú³⁹). In BPh, Conf. 1, 2, 16, 17 and 20 are quoted in the first person; the remainder has been turned into narrative in the third person. In J, all is in the third person, but the narrative follows its source closely enough for a reconstruction of the underlying text. Muirchú gives for the greater part merely a *regestum* of his *Vorlage*; only bits of Conf. 1, 17, 21, 22, and the beginning of 23 are reproduced more literally. The author of U probably quoted Patrick's statements concerning his spiritual life in the saint's own words, but reported external events in ordinary narrative — a distinction that was maintained only in BPh.

The title of Ψ, to judge from the phrases by which literal quotations are introduced in BPh⁴⁰), was *Libri epistolarum sancti Patricii episcopi*. This collection contained:

- 1) the Confessio, from which all the Lives borrow freely;
- 2) the Epistola⁴¹), which was known, though indirectly, to Muirchú and through Muirchú to V₃ and Probus⁴²);
- 3) a fragment of some letter otherwise unknown (preserved in BPh only)⁴³);

available, Prob depends on him entirely and V₃ is to some extent under his influence. The following group-readings may, however, be of interest: C 16 (239,19) *niuem* ω: *nubem* BPh (J Muir missing); *nihil mali sentiebat* J = ω: *om* BPh (Muir missing); C 17 (239,24) *responsa* Muir (*responsum* ω): *uocem* W, V₃, Prob; C 19 (240,18—19) *post triduum ceperunt (tenuerunt* V₃) *terram et* (Prob differs) *uiginti octo (quator* V₃ *pr gTin) dies ambulauerunt per desertum* J: *post triduum terram ceperunt et uiginti octo dies per desertum iter fecerunt* V₂ = ω (rV₄ not comparable); C 20 (241,16) *saxum ingens* V₄, r^{Colg}, V₃ = Conf^D: *saxa ingentia* Muir (Prob) = ConfΦ. The Ψ-text apparently contained variant readings.

³⁹) Similarly as the Tripartite Life that has survived, BPh must have been a text in which Latin was mixed with Irish — a thing not uncommon in early Irish hagiography; contrary to the later text, the greater part of BPh was probably in Latin.

⁴⁰) See the headings in the reconstructed Ψ-text, pp. 108—11; cf also the title of D *Incipiunt libri sancti Patricii episcopi*. All these headings have been collected by P. GROSJEAN AB 62 (1944) 46, note 5.

⁴¹) P. GROSJEAN l. c.

⁴²) Cf BURY Life of St. Patrick 317.

⁴³) This fragment was used by Papebroch for the supplementation of a lacuna in Conf. 24; but the words of the fragment *audiebam quosdam psallentes in me* cannot well be reconciled with Patrick's avowal (243,4) *nescio, Deus scit, utrum in me an iuxta me*.

- 4) a fragment from Patrick's letter to the bishops of Mag Ái; it is quoted from *Libri Patricii* in MS Cotton Otho E. xiii (saec. X or XI) fol 132b, and preserved also (in a slightly different form) in the Book of Armagh (fol 9r α , p 301,11-17 Stokes)⁴⁴;
- 5) the *Dicta Patricii*, or rather, as P. Grosjean⁴⁵ assumes with good reason, some larger texts from which these Dicta were extracted⁴⁶;
- 6) possibly other letters of which nothing has survived, for example the first letter to the soldiers of Coroticus (mentioned in Epist. 3), which was confused with the existing Epistola by either Muirchú or his source, or the letter to the abess Cecubris of Cruimduchan (referred to by Jocelin, Vita s. Patricii 79 ex); perhaps even the spurious letter quoted by Jocelin earlier in the same chapter⁴⁷.

⁴⁴) P. GROSJEAN AB 62, 44—65.

⁴⁵) Ibid. 50—51.

⁴⁶) Dictum 2 is almost certainly derived from Epist. 17. Dictum 1, according to Tirechán, occurred in *commemoratione laborum*; this was hardly the title of his source, cf Conf. 35 *longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum uel per partes*, and the lemma in Trip (R, fol 124r α) *De labore multa*, referring to a quotation of Conf. 16. The authenticity of the last Dictum (if it is one, and not two) is disputed.

⁴⁷) According to P. GROSJEAN AB 52, 412; 62,46—51, the heading *In libris Patricii* in MS Otho. E. xiii and the same words in a gloss on Trip r1461 bear witness to the existence of a more comprehensive collection of texts concerning St. Patrick (not only his own writings, but also Tirechán, Muirchú, the Additamenta and Notulae of LA, and other items), which was known by that title; the same collection, P. GROSJEAN maintains, is referred to in the heading of the Confessio in D. The *Libri Patricii* in the Cottonian MS and the Tripartite gloss doubtless mean "Books about St. Patrick"; I have assumed the same meaning for Ultan's *Liber Patricii*. More instances of this usage are given by P. Grosjean (AB 62, 48 f.; only in LA fol 21 v β *post uero exitum Patricii sancti alumpni sui ualde eiusdem libros conscripserunt* I guess from the context that the *libri* were canons); I add Nennius 41 *hic est finis Guorthigirni, ut in libro beati Germani* (probably a Life of St. Germanus) *repperi*. Such vague references, however, do not necessarily prove the existence of one identifiable collection; many texts concerning St. Patrick may have been in circulation, either singly or in lots, without leaving a trace. That the heading in D refers to this hypothetical collection is even less demonstrable. This heading occurs in the middle of fol 22r α (the second leaf of a quire!) and is preceded by all the other Patriciana. Whatever may have been the original arrangement of the first three quires of D, there is no evidence to show that the Confessio was to be given the first place; on the other hand, if we assume that Ferdornach copied the heading from his exemplar, and that the latter was the collection of *Libri Patricii* which Père Grosjean postulates, then we have to ask why Ferdornach rearranged his materials in such a strange way. In view of these difficulties I hesitate to accept this suggestive theory.

The date of Ψ remains conjectural. The *Libri Epistolarum* were known to Tírechán from a *Liber Ultani, Liber apud Ultanum* (301,1-3), a book in the possession of Tírechán's master, bishop Ultan of Ardraccan, who died about 657. A slightly earlier *terminus ad quem* is suggested by the variants at Conf. 21 (242,6) *nocte illa sexagesima* D: *sexagesimo (-a) die* Muir (Prob): *nocte illa sexagesimo die* Φ , where Φ seems to be contaminated from D and Ψ . If so, Ψ is earlier than Φ' , which I have tentatively dated as 'before ca 630'.

A tentative reconstruction of Ψ will be given as an Appendix; here I shall merely discuss its affinities with D and Φ .

- C 1(235,10) *non oboedientes* D. Ψ (= $V_{2,31}$): *inobedientes* Φ
 C 2(235,15) *conuerterem (-er Δ)* Φ . Ψ (= V : *conuerteremur* V_2): *confirmarem* D. (*Conuerterem* is probably a conflate reading, see Commentary; *conuerterer* Δ and *conuerteremur* V_2 are secondary emendations)
 (236, 2) *muniuit* D. Ψ (= BPh): *monuit* Φ . (The original had perhaps the vulgar spelling *moniuit*)
 C 19(240,21) *quid est* ($\Phi\Psi$: om D) *Christiane? Tu dicis* <quia Ψ , but om in $V_{2\beta}$ > *deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est; quare ergo non potes pro nobis orare* ($\Phi\Psi$: *pro nobis orare non potes* D)?
 (241, 2) *quia nihil est impossibile illi* V. *quia n. e. illi imp.* P Δ . *quia nihil imp. est illi* Ψ : *cui nihil est impossibile* D.
 (241, 3) *satiimini* D: *satiemini* Φ . Ψ (= W; deest J)
 C 20(241,18) *inter haec* (Φ). Ψ (= V_4): *in hoc* D
 C 21(242, 5) *duobus* <autem D> *mensibus* D. Ψ (= Muir): *duos menses* (Φ)
 C 22(242, 9) *decimo* D. Ψ (= Muir): *quarto decimo* Φ
 C 23(242,14) *nusquam* D: *numquam* $\Phi\Psi$

This list can teach us two important lessons:

- 1) the *same* witnesses for Ψ agree partly with D and partly with Φ ;
- 2) most of the readings supported by Ψ are intrinsically superior.
 Ψ is thus in all probability independent of ω .

The surest proof of independence would be the existence of distinctive Ψ -variants. U has, in fact, not a few readings of its own, but we cannot affirm positively that any of them goes back to Ψ . Quite a number presumably do, and of one, at least, this

is morally certain. At Conf. 19, 240, 23 f., we read: *ego enim euidenter* (ω : *confidenter* V_4 . om rV_2 ; cf *firmiter confisus* r^{Colg} ; *nolite desperare* Prob) *dixi illis: Conuertimini* (Φ J, -*emini* D: *confitemini* V_2 . -*emur* V_4) *ex fide*, etc. *Euidenter* does not suit the situation. It is Patrick's confidence in God that makes him speak so assuredly. *Confidenter*, although preserved in V_4 alone, was apparently the reading of W (cf *confitemini* V_2); traces in r and Prob seem to indicate that it was also the reading of U; and, as *lectio praestantior*, it can be vindicated for Ψ .

Ψ and ω may, then, be regarded as two independent copies of the archetype.

In several places some of the witnesses for Ψ agree with D, the others with Φ :

- C 18(240, 7) *adpetes ire* D. (*ibis* V_2 Prob): *adpetas ire* Φ . V_2^H (variant in Ψ : *appetes* / *l-appetas* / *ire*?)
 C 19(241, 12) *immolaticium* V_2 : *immolaticum* D. Muir (Φ uncertain)
 C 20(241, 16) *saxum ingens* D. V_4 (r^{Colg} V_3): *saxa ingentia* Φ . Muir
 C 23(242, 22) *sancte puer* D: *sanctum puerum* Φ] *sancte puer* (*Patrici* Dg)
 V_3^{π} (*sancte Patrici* V_4): *sanctum puerum* V_2 . (+ *Patricium*)
 V_3^{Γ} . (V_3 took over variants from Ψ)

The explanation, I think, is that Ψ contained a number of variant readings, which were either derived from an earlier exemplar, or entered by the scribe of Ψ from a different copy⁴⁸.

5. The Archetype (Σ).

If, as has been suggested, Ψ and ω are independently derived from the archetype (henceforth symbolized by Σ), we shall, by studying Ψ , be enabled to look behind ω and form some opinion of an earlier document, which is the source of all our evidence, whether direct or indirect.

⁴⁸) This explanation does not seem to apply to C 2 (236, 2) *consulatus est mei* D: *consolatus est me* Φ] *c. est mei* r: *c. est me* V_2^H . V_{10} . (me om V_2^B). Here *mei* is certainly *lectio difficilior*, and possibly genuine; Patrick might, after all, have construed *consolari* with the genitive, after the analogy of *misereri*. The corrections in Φ and V_2 would then be independent.

The archetype Σ must have contained all that was in either Ω or Ψ , that is to say, Confessio, Epistola, the letter to the bishops of Mag Ái, the letter to which belongs Fragment 1, the source or sources of Dicta 1 and 3, and such other letters as were accessible to the editor.

The title of this edition, as that of Ψ , probably was: *Libri epistolarum sancti Patricii episcopi*. Each letter counted as a single book; the Confessio formed Book I, the Epistola ad milites Corotici Book II⁴⁹). The title has survived partly in D and partly in BPh. There seems to have been no title in Φ ; P and R have none, and the *incipits* of the Confessio in V and F Δ_2 are evidently the *impromptus* of scribes.

Ψ would appear to have been an integral copy of Σ . Whether this is true also of Ω we cannot tell; it certainly contained Confessio and Epistola. Φ never contained more than these two pieces, which were not only the first in order, but probably also the longest and most important ones in the collection.

On what sources could the redactor draw? The apostle of Ireland was not a man of letters. He would set himself to write but occasionally and for some actual purpose. Like his great model, St. Paul, he would send letters to remote churches or even abroad, when necessary. Although he never thought of editing his letters, he would keep copies for his own record — all the more so as writing did not come to him easily⁵⁰). It was different only with the Confessio. This work, an "open letter", written in defence of his vocation and mission, was from the beginning intended for wide circulation. A number of copies were probably made simultaneously, and Patrick kept the autograph for himself. The place where these files — autograph of Confessio, copies of the other letters — were kept is probably Armagh, or perhaps Saul⁵¹). Σ is nothing more or less than a publication of these files. It was only natural for the

⁴⁹) Cf the colophon of the Confessio in δ : *Explicit liber primus. Incipit <liber G> secundus.*

⁵⁰) As P. Grosjean points out (AB 63, 106), Patrick seems to have re-read his Epistola before dictating the Confessio.

⁵¹) Bury *Life of St. Patrick* 207, thinks the Confessio was written at Saul in Ulster.

editor to record the fact that the *Confessio* was edited from the autograph, and to indicate clearly the point up to which this autograph extended. This was probably also one of the reasons why the *Confessio*, a work of Patrick's old age, was given pride of place. Thus the colophon of D almost certainly goes back to Σ . The precious note was transmitted in the successive copies of the Church of Armagh; outside the *ciuitas Patricii*, scribes were indifferent to this detail and did not bother to hand it down.

For the date of Σ we must leave a wide margin. If it is correct to say that Φ , and a fortiori Ψ , are of earlier date than ca 630, Σ cannot fall later than in the first third of the seventh century. As a *terminus a quo* we have only the death of Patricius (461, or, according to others, ca 492). There is no definite indication of any particular date within this period.

In reconstructing Σ , we have regained two hundred years or more of textual history and gone back from the time of Ferdornach to a period that precedes the great Armagh movement of the seventh century or, at the latest, coincides with its beginnings.

The text of the *Libri Epistolarum*, and in particular that of the *Confessio*, rests on good authority. Had Ψ come down intact, Σ could be restored almost mechanically. Even the sporadic traces of Ψ that have survived are most important, especially because they allow us to appreciate more fully the value of Φ .

6. *The Later History of the Text.*

The several copies of Σ have had a very different history. Ψ , which seems to have preserved the files complete, recommended itself to Irish hagiographers as an authentic source for their Lives of St. Patrick. Of ω , which was perhaps merely a selection, one branch (Φ), containing *Confessio* and *Epistola*, was, at an early date, taken to the Continent, where these texts, as substitutes for a regular *Vita*, found their way into a number of *Legendaria*⁵²).

⁵² In *V*₄ 16 the *Confessio* is referred to as *liber quem de uita et conuersatione sua ipse composuit*; the hagiographer, who knew no more of the *Confessio* than what was quoted in his source, erred more pardonably than the scribe of *V*, who heads this text *Incipit Vita beati Patricii*.

Of another branch, nothing survived but a defective text of the *Confessio*, which was eventually united with other *Patriciana* in the Book of Armagh (D).

The early medieval biographers of St. Patrick, including William of Malmesbury⁵³), still consulted the *Confessio* occasionally in addition to their main sources, through which they knew of the same document indirectly. Later hagiographers, beginning with Jocelin⁵⁴), merely expand or abridge secondary sources.

Confessio and *Epistola* were rediscovered during the seventeenth century by Ussher and Ware in England, and Denis in France⁵⁵). In 1656, Ware gave the learned world the *editio princeps* of the works (some spurious) of St. Patrick; the Saint-Vaast codex discovered by Denis was edited by Papebroch in 1668.

The eighteenth and nineteenth century editors of *Patricius* were almost entirely dependent on their predecessors. A. W. Haddan's remarks on the *recensio* of these texts⁵⁶), valuable as they are, had no immediate effect; his own edition has been left to us with all the imperfections of a posthumous work.

Textual criticism of the *Libri sancti Patricii* entered a new phase with Dr. Newport White's edition of 1905, which was followed by an *editio minor* in 1918⁵⁷). From the point of criticism as well as of documentation these editions rank high above all that was then in existence. Unfortunately, Newport White in his earlier edition, which was made without knowledge of P, followed D too closely;

⁵³) According to John Leland, the antiquary of Henry VIII, William quoted the *Confessio* frequently, but in Leland's extracts from William's lost *Vita* there is only one such quotation (Conf. 52). See C. H. SLOVER in *MODERN PHILOLOGY* 24 (1926) 5—20; L. BIELER *Codices Patriciani Latini* p. 37.

⁵⁴) Jocelin probably knew neither the *Confessio* nor any other of Patrick's genuine letters; his remarks (185) *unde et in epistolis suis se peccatorem ultimum, minimum, contemptibilem omnium nominare consueuerat* may be merely an echo of the spurious letter quoted by him in 79.

⁵⁵) The exiled Irish Franciscans at Louvain had no knowledge of these text's except for the quotations in the *Lives* and in Ussher. These fragments were printed as an appendix to the *Vitae* of St. Patrick by John Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga* (1647).

⁵⁶) See above, p. 11, note 1.

⁵⁷) S.P.C.K. Texts for Students, No. 4. (London).

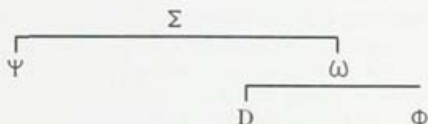
in his later edition, he gave too much credit to the newly discovered P; in neither of them is the indirect tradition systematically exploited. These are the reasons that have called forth the present endeavour.

II. PROBLEMS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

1. Principles.

The *recensio* of the *Libri Epistolarum* is based on the following principles:

- 1) We can never go beyond Σ , and normally not beyond ω ; where D is missing, we can at best establish the text of Φ .
- 2) Σ must be reconstructed from Ψ and ω ; ω , from D and Φ :



- 3) The *consensus* of Ψ and ω gives almost absolute certainty.

Where D and Φ are at variance, the reading supported by Ψ is generally to be preferred. Where Ψ is missing, neither D nor Φ have better claims to be trusted; our judgment depends on internal evidence. Where different groups of Φ disagree, the reading supported by D will, as a rule, be preferable. Where D is missing, and only Φ can be reconstructed, the agreement of PV (and even that of P ν) is a fairly safe guide; the cases P:V(v) δ and V(v):P δ must be decided individually.

Σ was apparently a careful edition, and Ψ a faithful copy of Σ . In ω some blunders slipped in, and some more were made in Φ . Since Ψ and D are not always available there remains a limited scope for conjectural emendation.

2. Individual Cases.

These principles cannot always be applied mechanically. In the following, I am going to discuss some problematical passages.

238,24 *dominicali rethorici* D: *domni (domini VR) ignari (gnari P) rethorici (nethorici Δ₂)* Φ

There is some uncertainty about the reading of Φ. So much is clear that the scribe had *dominicali* before him, and that he understood this to mean *domini cati*. *Domni* is supported by all MSS of Φ except VR — the two that have been "edited"; *gnari* is the reading of P alone. I think Φ wrote *domni ignari rethorici*; *ignari* was the scribe's reaction to *cati*. The *gnari* of P is a mere haplography; one does not gloss a rare word (as *calus* is in Christian literature)⁵⁸) by one that is still rarer. (P. Grosjean points out to me that *domni ignari* and *domini gnari* contain an equal number of minims in succession. However, P reads *domni* (not *domini*) *gnari*.)

239,15—16 *magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius et fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur* D] *timor Dei et timor illius* Φ. (*augebatur*:) *agebatur* P. (*agebatur*:) *augebatur* PF: *magis ac magis accedebat* (V₂^B, cf *accessit* Gielemans: *accendebatur* V₂^H, *acrescebat* r, *cresebant in me* [post *timor*] V₄, deest J) *amor Dei* (in me r) *et timor ipsius* (*timor Dei et amor ipsius* V₃ [ipsius om Π]) *et fides* (om V₂^H) *et spiritus* (r: om W.V₃) *augebatur* (om V₄) (in me V₂^H) (et *fides ipsius augebatur* post paruum interuallum iterum V₃) Ψ

There is much confusion on the surface, but fundamentally, I think, matters are pretty clear. *Amor Dei et timor ipsius* DΨ is evidently right against Φ (where the first *timor* is a sort of regressive assimilation), and *fides et spiritus augebatur* Ψ, which invited tampering, has its root in the confusion of *augebatur* and *agebatur*, of which there is some evidence also in Φ. Most interesting are the variants at *accedebat*: it seems that the unusual expression was glossed in Ψ by (*ac*)*creseba(n)t in me*; from this store the hagiographers helped themselves according to their tastes. Quite of its own order is V₂^H with *accendebatur amor Dei et timor ipsius augebatur in me* — unmistakably a scholar's emendation, and one that would do credit even to a modern editor⁵⁹).

⁵⁸) See D. S. NERNEY *Ir. Eccles. Rec.* 72,268, note 1.

⁵⁹) "Ceci concorde bien avec le caractère général de cet Hubertinus, qui me semble avoir été un ms. revu par un grand érudit de la renaissance carolingienne." P.G.

240,5 *et gubernator (gubernatori D.VFG' [post gub- R mutil]. Ψ) displicuit illi (om VG'.Ψ). (gubernatori autem displicuit V)*

Although *gubernator* has no better authority than PΔ₂ (G a c ?), it is obviously the true reading. Strange as it may seem, the biblical construction of the nominativus pendens has provoked the corrector's zeal. The dative *gubernatori* and the suppression of *illi* are, I think, the work of one hand. The variant must be of considerable antiquity. If it was entered above the original text in Σ, we could understand its erratic distribution as well as the fact that *illi* after *gubernatori* has been retained in the unrelated MSS D and F. I admit, however, that there are other possibilities.

241,17 *sed unde mihi uenit in spiritum ut Heliam uocarem D: sed unde me (mihi G') uenit ignarum (ignoro G') in (et FR) spiritu Heliam uocarem (uocare PG') PΔ. sed unde me uenit ignoro (in spiritu r^{Colg}) ut Heliam uocarem (in- s l) V₂. (sed unde uenit ignoro ut spiritu Heliam inuocarem v, cf inuocato Helia Muir^B. inuocans Heliam Jocelin)*

This is perhaps the most perplexing passage of the whole text. D makes plain reading, but in the original *uenit* must have been followed by *ignarum*, *ignoro*, or something similar — most probably *ignaro*. The text of ΦΨ may then be reconstructed as *sed unde me uenit ignaro in spiritu ut Heliam uocarem?* — and so, I think, Patrick wrote⁶⁰).

242,9—11 *donec decimo die peruenimus homines. sicut superius insinuauit uiginti et octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et ea nocte qua peruenimus homines de cibo uero nihil habuimus] peruenimus (1): praeuenimus v. homines (1) PV: ad homines Δ₂. Muir (Prob). ad omnes R. omnes DF. peruenimus (2): praeuimus v. homines (2) P: ad homines Δ₂. omnes DvR. sicut — homines (2) om F. Ψ deest*

Newport White wrote *omnes* (D) in 1905, *homines* (P) reluctantly in 1918. Although in the second instance evidence is scanty, the problem is both times the same. The 'correction' *ad homines* might occur to any scribe, and *omnes* (DF and DvR respectively) gives some support to *homines*. Thus *peruenire homines* "to reach people" must probably be accepted as Patrician.

⁶⁰) For interpretation, see Commentary.

248,7—8 *quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini* D] *nuper facta* PC. *nuper effecta* V. *nuper perfecta* FG

By some scribal idiosyncrasy the reading of Φ appears to have become *nuperfecta*; from this the alterations in V and FG may have originated.

251,21—22 *quod mihi melius conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam diuitiae et diliciae* D] *dilicię et diuicię* V. *deliciae et diuitiae* G'. *dilitias et diuitias* PF Δ_2 (R deest)

The transposition is common to Φ , the accusative to P Δ . The nominative has been restored by emendation in G', and possibly also in V. D and Φ seem to have read *diuitiae et diliciae* and *dilicias et diuisias* respectively.

252,21—22 *quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso regnaturi sumus* Δ_2 : *quam ex ipso regnaturi sumus* P. om F. *quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia; ipsi est gloria in saecula saeculorum amen. In illo enim regnaturi sumus* v (DR desunt)

Here the true reading has incidentally been preserved in Δ_2 . P has a blunder (misreading of an abbreviation) and an omission by homoioteleuton; similar causes might be responsible for the gap in F. Papebroch (or, possibly, the scribe of V) completed the biblical quotation (Rom 11,36) and added some words as a link with *regnaturi sumus*.

3. Biblical Quotations.

Our principles are least applicable to variants that occur in biblical quotations. Medieval scribes, who knew their Bible largely by heart, were always apt, either consciously or unconsciously, to substitute to the biblical text of their exemplar the one to which they were accustomed. It is often the most intelligent and conscientious scribes that go farthest in biblical standardization. Patrick's bible text was partly Old Latin, partly Vulgate, and partly a transitional version⁶¹), but the earlier elements are not preserved in all

⁶¹) See L. BIELER *Der Bibeltext des heiligen Patrick*, in *BIBLICA* 28 (1947) 31—58, 236—63 (with bibliography).

MSS, and not always in the best ones. As was seen already by Newport White⁶², V (v) and R frequently correct Old Latin quotations according to a standard text (generally the Vulgate); in a lesser degree this is true also of DP; F Δ_2 are almost unaffected. Thus biblical variants in our text must be judged on their own merits; the older and rarer variant will normally have a better claim.

Here are some illustrations⁶³:

Epist. 4, 254,23-24 (DR missing) *qui facit peccatum seruus est* (<peccati Pv>). It is difficult to imagine that the ancient "Western" text of Joh 8,34 (witnessed by *b d D⁶⁷ Clem sy³*) has been restored by the scribe of Δ . The insertion of *peccati* in Pv is most probably a correction.

What, then, are we to say of Conf. 7, 237,6-8? Here Φ must have read (Matth 12,36) *pro eo rationem* (PVF Δ_2), which is the reading of *d g₁ k μ E* (*rationem pro eo* JLQ) and also of Irenaeus and Cyprian. *De eo rationem* (R) has the support of *a f $\Pi_{1,2}$ g₂ h δ gal* and *VULG^R*. D (in both Confessio and New Testament) has the typical Vulgate text *rationem de eo*. R obviously corrects the Φ -text — (imperfectly) after the Vulgate rather than after some other version. Why, then, should D not be corrected after the Gospel text of Armagh?

Again, Conf. 40, 248,5 (DR missing) *dictum est eis* (Rom 9,26) is the reading of P alone; the other MSS omit *eis* (with *w* in Os 1,10). The insertion of *eis* is probably another correction after the Vulgate.

Conf. 54, 251,18 *numquam mentitur* is found in ϕ for the original *non mentitur* of Tit 1,2, which is the reading of D. Quoting from memory, Patrick may well have written the more emphatic *numquam*, which, in turn, has been corrected after the Bible text in D (or D').

In other cases, judgment must be suspended. Did Patrick quote 2 Cor 3,3 (Conf. 11, 238,12) with the rare variant *uestris* (so D, corresponding to \aleph and some other Greek MSS)? The words of the apostle are given a new turn, and Patrick's meaning is not absolutely clear.

⁶²) P. 216—9.

⁶³) My *apparatus biblicus* is explained on pp. 47—53.

Conf. 38, 246, 28, P alone quotes Ier 16, 19 with the O. L. variant *ab extremo*; all the other MSS have *ab extremis*. This, however, is the reading of both the "Hebrew" and the "Septuagint" text in Jerome's commentary on Jeremiah, and the reading is strongly supported by the *ab extremis* of all MSS in a reference to the same verse only two lines above. Here P may have altered the text of Patrick's quotation, perhaps after August. Civ. Dei XVIII. 33.

Conf. 39, 247, 4-5 *uenient ab oriente et occidente* (<*et ab austro et ab aquilone* D) *et* (om δ) *recumbent cum Abraam et Isaac et Iacob* (Matth 8, 11). D is probably interpolated from Luc 13, 29; a similar "conflate" text is found in Irenaeus IV. 8, 1. In Epist. 18, 258, 17-19, where D is missing, the quotation recurs in the same rare form, with *uenient* in the beginning, but the words *et ab austro et ab aquilone* are absent. VULG^D is also uninterpolated. What did Patrick write? We cannot tell. Purging of a conflate text and interpolation of a pure one are equally possible, and D is no absolute authority.

Conf. 40, 247, 8-9 *et faciam uos fieri piscatores hominum* (*fieri* om P δ). In the identical verses Matth 4, 9 and Marc 1, 17, *fieri* is omitted only by a small number of O. L. authorities: by *h m δ Aug Ambr Gaud* in Matthew, by *b* and *r₁* in Mark. In the Greek, γενέσθαι is original in Mark, but has been inserted in Matthew by a number of MSS, including \aleph^b and D. We cannot say which of the passages Patrick had in mind; his Gospel text may have had *fieri* in either place. Perhaps *fieri* should be suspected as a common reading; but its omission may be due to haste and need not necessarily be a biblical variant.

Problematical is Conf. 2, 235, 14 *et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae* (D Ψ : *sensum cordis mei incredulitatis* Φ). The support of *sensum incredulitatis meae* could hardly be stronger. Yet, the phrase is a mosaic of biblical reminiscences: *sensus cordis mei (nostri)* is found in Ier 4, 19 and Bar 1, 22; *aperire sensum* in Luc 24, 45; *aperire cor* in Act 16, 14; finally, in Heb 3, 12 we get *cor malum incredulitatis*. We should thus be inclined to assume that Patrick, combining Luc 24, 45, Bar 1, 22 and Heb 3, 12, coined the phrase as it is in Φ . However, since the genesis of the phrase is a matter of speculation, it seems safer to stick to our principles.

Instructive, if less problematical, are also the following instances:

- 236,7 *quae est sub omni caelo*] *quae sub caelo est* V. *quae est sub caelo* R.
(VULG Act 2,5 *quae sub caelo est*] *quae est sub caelo* D Aug. No
authority for *quae est sub omni caelo*)

Patrick certainly wrote *sub omni caelo*. The "editors" of V and R changed according to their standard texts, V most probably according to the Vulgate.

- 237,5 *perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium*] *perdes qui* C. *perdes omnes qui* VR. (Ps 5,7 *eos qui* PsV^{pl}; *omnes qui* [cum LXX] TEST^{abq}. VULG.)

It is idle to ask what (if anything) has been dropped by C; VR introduce the Vulgate text.

- 241,1 *conuertimini ex fide ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum* RF:
ex fide om V.J. *et ex toto corde* P Δ_2 .V₂. *ex toto corde* om D. (Ioel
2,12 *conuertimini ad me in toto corde uestro* VULG. *ex toto corde uestro* VL^{pl})

Ex fide "sincerely" is one of Patrick's stock phrases, cf Conf. 18. 23; it is no part of the quotation. The original text has survived only in RF; P Δ_2 insert *et* between the two complements, and the scribe of V and the author of J seem to have cancelled what they would regard as an interpolation, although they left the non-vulgate *ex* untouched. The omission in D was caused by homoiotes.

- 241,12 *immolaticium est*] *immolaticum* D. Muir^B. *immolatum* PV. *immolatum* FG'. *im(in-R)molatium* RC. *immolaticium* V₂

Immolaticium (1 Cor 10,28) is preserved in V₂, and only slightly obscured by the blunders of Δ^{64}) and D Muir. The *lectio facilior immolatum* is a biblical variant of somewhat erratic occurrence (*t V W vg Aug^{sem}*). Here, as in the Bible, it seems to be a spontaneous commonsense substitution. There is no reason for assuming any connection between the readings of D and Muir, P and V respectively.

⁶⁴) For *immolatum* RC cf 244,2 *in una: incina* G. — *Immolatum* (FG') was originally written by the first hand in the Amiatinus; it is also the reading of Harl. 1775 (saec. VI/VII).

- 243,6 *qui dedit animam suam pro te* D. *qui dedit pro te animam suam* P.v (not from Ussher). *qui pro te animam suam* RF. *qui pro te animam suam posuit* Δ_2 . (1 Ioh 3,16 VULG and O.L. *ille pro nobis animam suam posuit*, but *animam suam pro nobis* m. Aug^{sem}.vg)

The substantial agreement of DPv leaves no doubt but that ω read *qui dedit*; in the continuation, the D-reading is recommended by the rhyming cadence: *qui dedit animam suam pro te, ipse est qui loquitur in te*. *Dedit* was probably dropped in Δ ; *posuit* was supplied from the Vulgate in Δ_2 .

- 247,9 *ecce mitto piscatore*s DP: *ecce ego mitto piscatore*s v Δ . (Ier. 16,16 *ecce mitto* Ambr in Ps 118. *ecce dismitto* Vire: *ecce ego mittam* Tert. VULG)

By the agreement of DP, the O. L. *ecce mitto* is vindicated for ω ; *ego* v Δ has probably been inserted from the Vulgate, but the correction stopped half-way.

- 253,1—2 *sed manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus manet in aeternum* (*manet* v: *permanet* P. *manebit* F. *permanebit* G. *quomodo — aeternum* om C) DR desunt

Accidentally, the true reading is preserved only in v. The words *quomodo — aeternum* (Ioh 12,34) are inserted in 1 Ioh 2,17 by a small number of O.L. witnesses, all of whom, except Cyprian, support the *manet* of v⁶⁵). The variant elements of the verb, *per-* and the ending, must be treated separately. The compound *permanere* is, perhaps, a reflex of *permanebit* in 252,23; P and G may be independent of one another. The ending *-et* is supported by Pv, *-ebit* by FG (probably Δ); the latter, meaningless in its context, echoes, I think, the *manebit* in 253, 1.

4. Conclusions.

The editor of the *Libri Epistolarum* will do well to face the inevitable limitations of his work.

He must aim at the restoration of the text of Σ —an edition

⁶⁵) For *manebit* (so all MSS of the Confessio) in 1 Ioh 2,17, our biblical texts have the variants *manet*, *permanet* and *permanebit*.

made, perhaps, within 150 years from the author's death. The redactor, it would appear, abstained from interference not only with the contents of Patrick's letters, but also with their style. The endlessly protracted λέξις εἰρομένη (somewhat obscured by the liberal punctuation of modern editors), the capricious, yet always comprehensible progress of ideas, the directness and warmth of expression, all this has unmistakably the personal touch of the extraordinary man. Even grammar and spelling, I think, were hardly touched. The language of *Confessio* and *Epistola*, as we read them to-day, is so typically "pre-Romance" as would be unthinkable in Ireland after the fifth century.

Even though the existing evidence for Σ varies greatly, the text is on the whole reasonably certain. *Cruces editorum* there are, but not more than in many other texts of that period.

Problems arise mostly with regard to minutiae, esp. spelling. The "Hiberno-Latin" spelling of D has little or nothing to do with Patricius. The MSS of Φ and the sources for Ψ generally exhibit the average spelling of the later Middle Ages. Occasionally faint traces appear to be left of a spelling strongly reminiscent of Jordanis or Gregory of Tours⁶⁶); we are hardly mistaken in claiming such details for Σ . Apart from these relics it seems best to resign oneself to the standard spelling of our schools. In this, as in other small matters, the rusticity of which Patrick accuses himself can no longer be fully realized; on the other hand, a solecism in some MS may be merely a slip of the pen. The editor has to make his choice, which must sometimes be subjective; for discussion there will be room in the Commentary.

III. PLAN OF THE PRESENT EDITION

1. *The Text and Apparatus.*

The text of the present edition is based on my *recensio codicum* as outlined in Chapters One and Two. In its external arrangement

⁶⁶) Cf. Conf. 2 *munivit* D Ψ ; *monuit* Φ (*monivit* Σ ?); *consulatus* D (for *consolatus*); Conf. 45 *monstrata* P; *ministrata* V δ (*munstrata* ϕ ?); Conf. 9 *incederem*; 10 *desertis* (for *disertis*), a. o.

it follows line by line the *editio maior* of NEWPORT WHITE (Dublin 1905); White's sometimes erroneous lineation has been silently corrected. The division into paragraphs is also that of Newport White.

The text is accompanied by a threefold *apparatus*.

The first section of the *apparatus* contains *Fontes* and *Testimonia*. Mere *Similia* will find a place in the Commentary. The evidence of Ψ , of which a complete reconstruction is printed as an Appendix, has also been excluded.

The second section is the *apparatus criticus*⁶⁷). It is a negative *apparatus* for DVP $\Delta\Psi$, but not for v (Papebroch), whose readings have been recorded only where they are likely to represent the text of V, or where they deserve mention as *coniecturae*. However, v is always included in (Φ) or (ϕ) after a variant, and in those text readings from which only one MS differs; e.g. at 243,19, where only (Φ) is available, *in aeternum] et internum* R means that *in aeternum* is the reading of P ν F Δ_2 .

The third section is an *apparatus biblicus*. This is, in my opinion, an indispensable instrument for the criticism and interpretation of the text, and for a study of Patrick's quotations as testimony to the Old Latin version of the Bible. For assistance in this matter I am greatly indebted to His Lordship the Abbot of St. Mary's, Buckfast, Devon, and to Mr. F. G. Rendall, of the British Museum. References are strictly limited to quotations and to such allusions as give evidence of a definite version. Mere echoes and biblical phraseology will be discussed in the Commentary.

2. Spelling.

In the MSS of Patricius the following variants of spelling are comparatively frequent:

- 1) *ae* — ξ — *e* (— *oe*)

The spelling *ae* occurs often in DP, occasionally in C, rarely in FRG, never (I think) in V. In most of our MSS *ae*, ξ , *e* and (rarely)

⁶⁷) I have followed as far as possible the recommendations of the Union Académique Internationale (S. BIDEZ and A. B. DRACHMANN *Emploi des signes critiques, disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions de textes grecs et latins* 1938).

oe are interchangeable; oe is more often spelled e (e, ae) than vice versa. Ae for e is frequent only in D, of which it is a feature (*caeteri*, *aepistola*, *aeuangelio*, etc); besides, I have found it once in C (*aeclesia* 257,21). The use of e and e does not seem to imply a phonetic distinction: *etiam*, e. g., is almost the rule in VF, *-que* and the adverbial (rarely the ablative) ending *-e* prevail over *-que*, *-e* in F. The archetype probably distinguished between the diphthong and the simple vowel.

2) e — i

I stands for e 22 times, e for i 18 times. Of these forty instances, 21 are individual readings of D. Among the remainder, some have considerable support, e. g. 237,14 *incederem* PVFΔ₂ (*inciderem* R); 238,4 *desertis* PFC (*deeritis* D): *disertis* VRG; 238,11 *deserta* ω; 251,22 *diliciae* (-e, -as) ω (*deliciae* G'). All these "vulgar" spellings may go back to the archetype⁶⁸). One wonders whether at 237,23 Patrick wrote *quatinus* (with DFΔ₂) or *quatenus* (with PVR)⁶⁹), at 243,7 *gaudibundus* (DV) or *gaudebundus* PΔ; I have decided for the normal spelling in these cases, but for *internicionem* (DΔ₂, cf *internitionem* P) against *internetionem* (VF) at 251,24 f., and (hesitatingly) for the V-readings *percepimus* and *recognoscet* (against Pδ) at 258,4.22. — Interchange of e and i is not confined to unstressed syllables, cf 237,14 *incederem*; 238,1 *adoliscens* (D; *ad[h]u-liscens* FΔ₂); 240,9. 242,8 *itenere* (D); 250,20 *dimedio* (C), etc.

3) o — u

This phonetic change is less frequent. It is found in D or P or Δ (δ), but rarely in more than one of them at a time. Spellings of the archetype seem to be 257,4 *iocundare* (Pδ) and 240,8 *tegoriolum* (D), where the normal form *tuguriolum* may have been restored independently in Φ and Ψ.

⁶⁸) Non-orthographical seem to be the variants 237,21 *dinoscetur* D: *-itur* Φ (γνωσθήσεται LXX); 240,13 *recipimus* D: *recepimus* (-εϕ- V) φ; 243,15 *exp(re)mi* D; 246,4 *exp(re)mere* D; 250,20 *dimedio* C; the last three are possibly instances of recombination.

⁶⁹) Cf K. E. GEORGES *Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen* 579.

4) *y — i*

Hyberione etc is the spelling of V(v) throughout, *cybus* etc the normal spelling of P (joined occasionally by F); all MSS consistently read *proselitus*. For the rest, deviations from standard spelling are neither frequent nor well attested.

5) *Initial h*

There is little uncertainty as regards the aspiration of initial vowels. I count only seven instances of pleonastic *h* and three of an *h* omitted. It seems best to follow the MS evidence: *habunde* DV 236,20; *habundat* DPVR 241,3; *habundanter habuerunt* PVF — D is missing — 241,10. In 257,24 VF *abundat* has been retained against PΔ₂ *habundat*, because there is no intrinsic cause for aspiration.

Most of the spellings listed under (1) to (5) are normal phonetic changes from classical Latin to Romance, and are amply evidenced in Vulgar Latin, particularly in Gallic inscriptions and early Merovingian charters⁷⁰). Spellings that are rare in these sources (e. g. those of the types *cicidit*, *inductus*, *motarunt*) are rare also in the MSS of Patricius, except for the change of accentuated short *i* to *e*, which is fairly frequent in D: *incederem* and *dedici* C 9, *itenerē* C 18, 22, *conuertemini* C 19; it is common, however, in Old Irish loanwords from Latin⁷¹).

6) *Consonants*

Peculiar to D is the duplication of consonants, especially of *s* (*missertus*, *missericordia*, *otiossum*, etc), and a small number of counter-mistakes (*presurae* 241,22; cf *pluiam* 239,19)⁷²); further,

⁷⁰) See MARIO A. PEI *The language of the eighth century texts in Northern France* (New York 1932), Part I.

⁷¹) M. A. PEI l. c. 25—27; J. VENDRYES *De Hibernicis vocabulis quae a lingua Latina originem duxerunt* (Paris 1902) 36—7; cf P. LEHMANN SB Munich, phil-hist Klasse 1918, 38 f.

⁷²) For parallels, see H. SCHUCHARDT *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* II. 472 ff. O. HAAG *Die Latinität Fredegars* (1898) 39 f. — Duplication of consonants is found also in F: 243,5 *perritissimis*; 243,9 *interriorem*; 249,1 *ressiduum*; 252,15 *misserrissime*, and once (242,6 *sexogesimo*) in C. For *euangelium*, etc (always in PVR, once in F) cf SCHUCHARDT II 522 f.; HOSKIER *The Golden Gospels*, p. xiv.

the constant dissimilation in the word *baptizo*⁷³), and one or two unusual spellings that fall in no particular class⁷⁴). Similar spellings are found in all sections of D and also in other Irish MSS⁷⁵); they do not necessarily testify to the original spelling of Σ ⁷⁶).

7) *The following spellings are found only in MSS of Φ :*

a) *ti* for *ci* is frequent in PR, rare in VF, and, as far as I can see, completely absent from Δ_2 . *Ci* for *ti* occurs only in V.

b) *michi* is typical of V⁷⁷) RF; Δ_2 has almost always the ambiguous *m* (C has now and then *mihī*). *Nichil* (*nichilominus*) prevails in V Δ .

c) The assimilated forms *nunquam*, *unquam*, *nunquid* etc are characteristic of VG⁷⁸); they are found but rarely in the other MSS.

d) Forms of the type *inquid*, *uelud*, *aliquit* occur in PRF.

None of the spellings which I have listed, with the possible exception of *ss* for *s* and accentuated short *e* for *i*, can be considered distinctly Hibernian.

It is noteworthy that some spellings on which all, or at least the leading, MSS of the *Libri Epistolarum* agree, are typical of Bible MSS, for ex.

calciamentum (Conf. 50): VL (b). VULG^{om}.

inmunda (Conf. 41): the dissimilation has, as a rule, the better support in the Vulgate Gospels (Wordsworth-White, *Nouum Testamentum* I. 758); it is the normal spelling of most MSS of the Octateuch.

inchoaui (Conf. 43, V δ): VL (*Lugd Aug*); *Argumentum Marci*; cf GEORGES Wortformen 344.

⁷³) Such spellings as *obtimo*, *abtauit*, etc are common in Late Latin, cf SCHUCHARDT I 144 f.

⁷⁴) Cf Newport White's list, 317 f.

⁷⁵) Duplication of *s* is a feature of r_2 (Garland of Howth) and Augiensis 253 (saec. V—VIII).

⁷⁶) It is perhaps no accident that forms of the type *uenierunt*, which are not rare in other parts of D (e. g. in Muirchú), are (with the exception of 241,11) absent from the D-text of the Confessio. (One instance occurs also in F: 245,11 *audienter*.) There are late Latin parallels (SCHUCHARDT I 36; DIEHL *Vulgärlat. Inschr.* 1169, 1; al.) for these, but none for the purely Hibernian spellings of the *uidiarunt* type so characteristic of r_2 .

⁷⁷) 248,27 *mihī* V is written over an erasure by a late imitating hand.

⁷⁸) 248,6 *numquam* V is the second, 'modernizing,' hand.

iocundare (Epist. 13): *iocundor* VL Luc. 12,19 (*c e*); cf Commodian, *Instructiones* II. 17,6.

loquela (Conf. 9, all MSS except *lingua* V): frequent in D Φ PKVW *vg.* (Wordsworth-White I. 759).

uenundo (Epist. 15): normal spelling in VULG.

Octateuch MSS (see the orthographical index in the new Vatican edition, IV. 393-490) give authority to such spellings as *contempnor* (Epist. 1), *dilicias* (Conf. 55), or *obprobrium* (Conf. 26.37). The spellings *deglutio* (Epist. 12) and *inuerbis* (Conf. 10) are also frequently recorded from MSS.

All these forms may be claimed for the archetype.

In the matter of assimilation and dissimilation, and related phenomena, I have, as a rule, followed the better textual evidence, although it may be illusory. If the only instances of *ex-* before *s* *impura* are spelled *expectamus* (236,17: *exspectamus* F), *expectare* (247,3: *aspectare* F), and *inextinguibilis* (255,22, all MSS), it is reasonable to adopt this spelling. On the other hand, 246,26 *sumsit* (D) — the sole form of the perfect stem in our text — may or may not be original. (With this exception, LA consistently reads *sumpsi*, *sumptus*, etc.)

Not all variants of spelling have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus*. Considering the importance of D, I have noted all its spellings except the interchange of *ae* — *e* — *e* — *oe*. Φ -spellings classed under (1) and (7) have been dropped except if they seemed to bear on textual criticism; all the others are fully recorded.

3. Punctuation.

Modern punctuation is rather misleading when applied to ancient or medieval texts. We moderns distinguish units of sense; the ancients and their medieval disciples distinguished units of recitation. The ideal form of presentation for an ancient or medieval text would be a division *per cola et commata*, as in the editio maior of the New Testament by Wordsworth and White, with the medieval punctuation marks instead of ours.

In the case of Patrick neither system can be applied without violence to the vagueness of structure that is so characteristic of his style. I have tried a *via media*, which, though far from ideal, will at least explain how I understand the text.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS CONCERNING THE
APPARATUS BIBLICUS

I.

Biblical texts are quoted from the following editions:

Septuagint: H. B. SWETE *The Old Testament in Greek*, 3. ed., 1901—5; A. RAHLFS' *editio minor*, Stuttgart 1935 (only Psalms and Isaiah from the Septuaginta Göttingensis: Psalmi ed. A. Rahlfs, 1931; Isaias ed. J. Ziegler, 1939); A. E. BROOKE and N. MACLEAN *The Old Testament in Greek* (so far as published until 1940).

Hexapla: ORIGENIS *Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, ed. Fr. Field, Oxford 1875.

Greek New Testament: H. v. SODEN *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* I. 4 (1913); H. J. VOGELS *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 2. ed., 1922. — For Acts, the special editions by F. Blass (1895), J. H. Ropes (1926), and A. C. Clark (1933) have been inspected, for the first two Gospels the revised edition of Westcott-Hort's *New Testament* (by S. C. E. Legg, 1935; 1940).

Vulgate: Old Testament: The volumes so far published (*Gen — Reges*) of the new Vatican edition by Dom H. Quentin and his followers; The rest (except Psalms) is quoted from P. M. HETZENAUER *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis ex ipsis exemplaribus Vaticanis inter se . . . collatis* (1906), with collation of A(miatinus) from Th. Heyse — C. DE TISCHENDORF *Biblia sacra Veteris Testamenti* (1873) and P. DE LAGARDE *Mitteilungen* I. 1884 (*Sap*, *Eccli*). The palimpsest fragments of early Vulgate texts published by A. DOLD (*Beuron*) have not been available. — For editions of the Psalter, see below, p. 46, 49—51.

New Testament: *Matth* to *Heb* are quoted from I. WORDSWORTH-H. I. WHITE, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* (1889—1941); the rest, from the *editio minor* by H. I. White, 3. impr., 1931. — For Gospels, I have, in addition, consulted H. C. HOSKIER *The Golden Latin Gospels JP* in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan (1910); C. H. TURNER *The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels* (Σ = *Sangallensis* 1395, an Italian MS, ca. 500 A.D.), 1931 and the supplements by A. DOLD and P. LEHMANN, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 50 (1933) 50—76, 709—17; A. DOLD, *Biblica* 22 (1941) 105—46; B. BISCHOFF, *ibid.* 147—58; L. J. HOPKIN-JAMES, *The Celtic Gospels* (1934). — The *Autin* palimpsest (ed. by A. ROYET, *Revue Biblique* 31—32) exhibits no relevant variants.

The sigla for Greek and Vulgate MSS are those commonly used; where

parallel editions differ, I follow Swete, Vogels, Quentin and Wordsworth-White. — M-T = Codex s. Martini Turonensis (Tours 22) s. VIII.

Old Latin (O.L.) Version (Vetus Latina, "Itala"):

Old Testament: P. SABATIER *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae* (1751), and the special editions listed below, p 49 ff.

Psalter: The history of the O. L. Psalter, the translations of St. Jerome, and the liturgical texts known as the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Psalter is largely problematical. From the studies of Rev. P. Capelle, A. Allgeier, Dom de Bruyne, A. Rahlfs and others, we may draw the following conclusions:

- 1) The Latin text of the bilingual *Psalterium Veronense* (R) has connections with Africa; it may possibly be the Psalter of St. Augustine.
- 2) The *Psalterium Romanum* is not a work of Jerome, but a pre-Benedictine "western" psalter of uncertain date (Dom Wilmart, however, defends Jerome's authorship).
- 3) The Mozarabic Psalter is related to the *Ps Romanum*, but has come under the influence of the African text and the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*.
- 4) St. Jerome's earliest version of the Psalter is probably evidenced by quotations in his *Commentarioli* and in letters of ca. 384/5. (These quotations do not concern the editor of St. Patrick).
- 5) Among the existing O. L. Psalters we can distinguish an African group (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Prosper, *Liber Promissionum*; codd *Veronensis*, *Sangallensis*); an Italian group (Ambrose, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the text of the *Ambrosian Commentary*, *Ps Romanum*); a Gallican group (earlier text: cod *Vaticanus*, *Hilary*; later text: codd *Sangermanensis*, *Corbeiensis*, *Carnotensis*, *Augiensis I*); a Spanish (?) group (*Coislinianus*, *Augiensis II*). The *Psalterium Casinense* (M) stands apart. [A different grouping is suggested by P. Capelle.]

Our apparatus will comprise: *Ps(alterium)V(etus)* with its subgroups (as above), *Gall(icanum)*, *Heb(raicum)*, *Med(iolanense = Ambrosianum)*, and *Moz(arabicum)*. Only Heb is available in a critical edition of some merit (J. M. Harden, 1922); for the other texts, the responsibility is entirely mine. Unfortunately the collations of A. Allgeier (*Die altlateinischen Psalterien*, 1928) were out of reach, and the purest witness to Gall (*Reginensis 11*) was known to me only from the incomplete notes in the editions of A. F. Vezzosi (in: J. M. Thomasii *opera omnia* 2, 1747) and A. Rahlfs (in his Göttingen edition of the *Septuagint Psalter*). — My text of the *Ps Rom* is based on the *editio Romana* of 1663 (reprinted by Tommasi-Vezzosi, 1747, and Vallarsi-Maffei, *S. Hieronymi opera* 10, 1740 = Migne PL 29) and the Latin-Saxon psalters, esp MS Cotton *Vespas. A. i* (ca. 700).

New Testament: John — Heb are quoted from the apparatus of Wordsworth-White, controlled and supplemented from the original editions. For the other books, the apparatus has been compiled from the sources. I regret that I have not seen H. C. HOSKIER, Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse (1929) and A. JÜLICHER — W. MATZKOW Das Neue Testament in der altlateinischen Übersetzung nach den Handschriften herausgegeben. I. Matthaeus (1938); II. Markus (1940). — The partial collations of Moling and Dimma (Lawlor, Hoskier) have been supplemented from photostats of the Book of Moling in the National Library, and from the original Book of Dimma in Trinity College, Dublin.

The Hebrew Old Testament and the Eastern versions will only occasionally have to be quoted.

2.

The apparatus is arranged as follows:

- 1) As a basis I use the version that is either identical with Patrick's or nearest to it; variants from this text are listed in order of relationship.
- 2) MSS symbols in the first place after a bracket refer to the text immediately preceding; subsequent variants within the brackets are separated by a colon. For example, 241,2 *do* (b c e ff₂ l q: *apud dm VL^{ectt}.VULG*) means that *Deo* is the reading of MSS b c . . . q, *apud Deum* that of the other O. L. MSS and the Vulgate.
- 3) Reference to the Old Testament is always by chapter and verse of the Vulgate, even where the Septuagint differ.
- 4) The *nomina sacra* are represented by contractions, but without contraction marks: *ds, dns, ihs, xps, sps, scs*, and correspondingly in the oblique cases.
- 5) The books of the Bible are, with few exceptions, referred to as in Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.

3.

Lists of symbols for biblical MSS are given by Swete, Vogels, Wordsworth-White (also in the editio minor by H. I. White), Hoskier (Golden Latin Gospels 75—8) and Hopkin-James. To these the following list is supplementary.

I wish to remark that m (Speculum) and t (Comes Toletanus) have been compared by me for all quotations, and that by m^s I designate the codex Sessorianus, by m^Σ the consensus of the other MSS of Speculum; further, that in the Gospels the siglum t has been replaced by t' in order to avoid confusion with the Bern fragment of Mark, which is commonly noted as *t*.

Old Testament:

Heptateuch:

Mon(acensis Clm 6225, saec. VI; ed L. ZIEGLER *Bruchstücke einer vorhieronimianischen Übersetzung des Pentateuchs*, 1883)

Virc(eburgensis Mp. theol. f. 64^a, saec. V—VI; ed E. RANKE *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*, 1871)

Lugd(unensis 403 [329] + 1964 [1840]; ed U. ROBERT *Heptateuchi e codice Lugdunensi uersio*, 1881)

Ottob(onianus 66, saec. VIII; ed C. VERCELLONE *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae 1* [1860] 183 f., 307—10)

Phil^{lat}: Fragments of Gen preserved in a Latin translation of Philo, ed F. G. CONYBEARE, in *The Expositor*, 4. ser., IV. 63 ff., 129 ff.

Reges:

legion: Legionensis S. Isidori (a. 930) The O. L. text from the margin of this MS has been edited by C. VERCELLONE *Variae Lectiones 2* (1864).

(I have not seen the fragments of 2 Reg edited from MSS Vienna 17 and 15479 by Belsheim and Haupt. The Quedlinburger Italafragmente, ed H. Degering-A. Boeckler, 1932, are not comparable.)

Tobias, Iudith, Ester, Iob:

Monac(ensis Clm 6239, saec. IX; ed J. Belsheim, *Libri Tobit, Iudith, Esther*, 1892)

Sang(allensis 11, containing Jerome's "hexaplaric" version of Job; ed C. P. Caspari, 1893)

Ecclesiasticus (Iesus Sirach):

ver: *Fragmenta Veronensia* saec. VI; ed C. U. CLARK *Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 15* (1909) 7—18.

Prophets:

k: the Constance-Weingarten fragments, ed A. DOLD *Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten*, 1923

g: Sangallensis 1398, saec. X; ed A. DOLD (as above).

g₂: Sangallensis 1398b; ed A. DOLD *Neue St. Gallener vorhieronimianische Prophetenfragmente*, 1940.

w: Virceburgensis (as in Heptateuch)

crypt: *Palimpsestus Isaiae Cryptoferratensis*, ed I. COZZA, *Sacrorum Bibliorum uetustissima fragmenta*, 1867

(The fragments of the St. Gall Jeremiah (MS 912) contain none of Patrick's quotations.)

All other O. L. MSS of the Old Testament (Psalter excepted) are quoted from Sabatier.

New Testament:

Gospels:

*h*₂: Harleianus 1023, saec. X. Mixed Vulgate. Ed E. S. BUCHANAN Sacred Latin Texts 3, 1914

St. Paul:

*r*₂: Fragmenta Frisingensia, ed Dom D. DE BRUYNE (Collectanea Biblica Latina 5, 1921)

w: Würzburg Mp. theol. f. 12, saec. VIII(?). Mixed Vulgate. Ed. L. C. STERN, 1910.

Catholic Epistles:

d: Codex Bezae, as in Gospels: 3 Ioh 11—15, which Patrick does not quote.

ff: Corbeiensis (Leningrad Qv 1,39) saec. IX—X. Ed I. WORDSWORTH, Studia Biblica (1885), 113 ff. (James only)

h: Fragmentum Floriacense (same as in Acts), saec. VII.

l: Laud. lat. 43, saec. XIII. Ed E. S. BUCHANAN Sacred Latin Texts 4 (1916). It should be noted that Buchanan's 'l' is Laud 108 (= O of St. Paul in Wordsworth-White).

q: Fragmenta Frisingensia (Munich, Clm 6220, 6230, 6277), saec. V—VI. Ed. Dom D. DE BRUYNE, (see *r*, *r*₂ of St. Paul): 1—2 Petr., 1 Ioh.

s: Fragmentum Bobiense (same as in Acts), saec. VI; James, 1 Petr.

z: Harleianus 1772, saec. IX. Ed E. S. BUCHANAN Sacred Latin Texts 1 (1912). St. Paul (Z in Wordsworth-White), Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse. The MSS. *l* and *z* are 'mixed' texts.

Apocalypse:

gig. and *h* as in Acts.

l and *z* as in Catholic Epistles.

The New Testament of Tertullian and Irenaeus, and the Gospel text of Augustine are given after the special editions by H. ROENSCH (1871), W. SANDAY — C. B. TURNER (1923), and C. H. MILNE (1926).

Psalter:

It seems best to give a complete list of the texts that I have compared.

Psalteria Vetera (PsV):

R: Veronensis i, saec. VI. Ed J. BIANCHINI Vindiciae canonicarum scripturarum 1740.

P: St. Gall, MS. 912, saec. VI. Ed A. DOLD and A. ALLGEIER Der Palimpsestpsalter im Codex Sangallensis 912 (Beuron 1933). [Not comparable]

A: Ambrosianus C. 301 inf., saec. VIII. Ed G. I. ASCOLI (1878); R. I. BEST (1936). — 'A' stands only for .ne main commentary, so far as it does not represent the text of Theodorus.

- amb: the text of the incomplete commentary prefixed to A.
 M: Psalterium Casinense (MS 557, saec. XII/2). Ed A. AMELLI *Collectanea Biblica* 1 (1912).
 V: Vaticanus Regin. 95, saec. X (collated from the editio Parisina of St. Hilary, 1605).
 G: Sangermanensis (Paris, BN lat. 11947, saec. VI). Collated from Sabatier.
 C: Old Latin text of the Psalterium Corbeienense (Leningrad F. 1. 5) saec. VIII. Collated from Sabatier's notes.
 carn: Carnotensis 22 (30) saec. X. Collated from the Maurists' apparatus to St. Augustine's *Enarrationes* and from Sabatier's notes.
 aug¹ (saec. VI) } Fragments in cod. Augiensis ccliii, ed by A. DOLD
 aug² (saec. VII) } and B. CAPELLE, in: *REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE* 37 (1925), pp. 181—223.
 H: Coislinianus 186, saec. VII—VIII. Collated from Sabatier's notes. I have also made use of the collations by P. CAPELLE, *Le texte du psautier latin en Afrique* (*Collectanea Biblica Latina* 4, 1913).

Psalterium Romanum (Rom):

- t: editio Romana 1663 (Tommasi-Vallarsi-Vezzosi, see above).
 A: Cotton Vespas. A. i (ca. 700 A. D.). Ed J. STEVENSON (1843—7); H. SWEET (1885).
 C: Cambridge UL Ff. i. 23, saec. XI. Ed K. WILDHAGEN, 1910.
 E: Cambridge, TC, R. xvii. 1 (*Psalterium triplex*), saec. XII. Collated from the Facsimile ed. M. R. JAMES, 1935.
 P: Parisinus lat. 8824, saec. XI/1, ed B. THORPE, 1835.
 miss: *Missale Romanum, Mediolani* 1474.

Psalterium Gallicanum (Gall):

- R: Reginensis 11, saec. VIII. Collated from Vezzosi and Rahlf's, see above.
 C: Dublin, R. I. A. 'Cathach of St. Columcille', saec. VI (?). Ed H. J. LAWLOR, 1916.
 W: Tironian Psalter, Wolfenbüttel, saec. VIII—IX. Ed O. LEHMANN, 1885.
 U: Utrecht Psalter, saec. VIII—IX. Collated from the Facsimile (London, Palaeographical Society, 1874).
 Φ: The Alcuin recension, collated from De Bruyne (*Revue Bénéd.* 41, 297—324) and Vezzosi.
 tr: S. Hieronymi tractatus in psalmos, ed G. MORIN, *Anecdota Maredsolana* III/2—3 (1903).
 Aug: S. Augustini enarrationes in psalmos 67, 87, 106—8, 118 (Migne).
 vg: Vulgate, ed P. M. HETZENAUER, 1906 (see above).
 P: Palatinus 39, saec. XI. Collated from Vezzosi's notes.

E: same as in Rom.

F: BM Stowe 2, saec. XI. Ed J. SPELMAN, 1640.

I: Lambeth Palace 427, saec. X. Ed U. LINDELÖF, 1909.

Bruno: Bruno Virceburgensis, Commentary on the Psalms (saec. XI), Migne PL 142.

As far as I can see, Jeromes' letters 65, 106, 140 are not comparable.

Psalterium Hebraicum (Heb):

The symbols are those of Harden, plus E (as in Rom). A(miatinus) has been checked up in Heyse-Tischendorf, R(icemarch Psalter) in Henry Brashaw Society Vol 47, Sp in Wehrich's edition of Augustine's Speculum.

Psalterium Mediolanense Ambrosianum (Med):

mil: Psalterium Milanense 1555. Collated from Sabatier's notes.

man: Manuale Ambrosianum ed M. MAGISTRETTI, 1905.

rev: Psalterium Mediolanense reuisum (Vaticanus lat. 82, saec. IX). Collated from Vezzosi's notes.

Psalterium Mozarabicum (Moz):

Moz^O: Breuiarium secundum regulam b. Hysidori ed A. ORTIZ, 1502. Collated from Sabatier's notes.

Moz^L: Breuiarium Mozarabicum ed A. LORENZANA, 1775 (reprinted in Migne, PL 86).

Moz^G: The Mozarabic Psalter (MS BM Addit. 30851, saec. XI), ed J. P. GILSON, 1905 (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol 30).

Moz² = Moz^{LG} (see P. CAPELLE Le texte du psautier latin en Afrique 221—5; Capelle's Moz¹ = Moz^O + Cauensis [inaccessible] has hardly ever been noted in our apparatus).

Testimonia Patrum:

These have been noted only on a small scale, mostly where other Old Latin evidence is scanty. The following are quoted more frequently:

Greek and Eastern:

Clem(ens Alexandrinus)	Orig(enes)
Clem(ens) Rom(anus)	Ephr(aem)
Iust(inus)	Tat(ianus)

Latin:

Ambr(osius)	Cass(ianus)
Ambrst (Ambrosiaster)	Cassd (Cassiodorus)
Aug(ustinus)	Cypr(ianus)
Beat(us)	Faust(us)
Ben(edictus)	Fulg(entius)

Gelas(ius)	Pel(agius)
Gild(as)	Prim(asius)
Hier(onymus)	Prisc(illianus)
Hier ^{LXX} : sec. LXX.	Prom (Liber de Promiss.)
Hier ^{HEB} : sec. Hebraeos.	Prosp(er Aquitanus)
Hil(arius Pictaviensis)	Rebapt(ismate, Liber de)
Hil(arius Arel(atensis))	Ruf(inus)
Iren(aeus)	Secund(inus)
Iul(ius Firmicus Maternus)	Sed(ulius)
Leo (Magnus)	Tert(ullianus)
Lucif(er Calaritanus)	Tye(onius)
Max(imus Taurinensis)	Vict(orinus Petauionensis)
Mops (Theodorus Mopsuest.)	Vict(or) Tun(ensis)
Nou(atianus)	Vig(ilius Thapsuensis)

Biblical authorities are quoted normally in the following order: Old Latin MSS, Fathers, Vulgate; occasional references to Hebrew, Greek and the Eastern versions are inserted after the variants which they support. Within each group I have observed the established order; for the Old Testament in the O. L. version, where no such order exists, my arrangement is chronological or geographical, viz

Heptateuch: Mon Virg Lugd Ottob m Testimonia

Prophets: k g g₂ w crypt m t Testimonia

Psalter: Tert Cyr Aug R Ambr Mops A amb M Rom V Hil G C carn aug¹ m H aug² Gall Heb Med Moz.

4.

For considerations of space, I have devised a condensed form of annotation. The following list will speak for itself.

HEB(rew text).

ARAB(ic text).

LXX (Septuagint): LXX^A = LXX, codex A(lexandrinus).

HEX(apla): A' (Aquila) — Θ' (Theodotion) — O' (Origenes' LXX) — Σ' (Symmachus) — E' (πέμπτη) — "Αλλος.

GR(eek New Testament); but A^{gr} = Greek New Testament, codex A(lexandrinus). The index 'gr' is omitted in the case of **Σ**.

The two main groups of Greek MSS are referred to as unc(iales) and min(usculi) respectively.

SYR(iaic version); but sy^c (Curetonian text), sy^s (Sinaitic text), sy^{pal} (Palestinian or Hierosolymitan text), sy^p (Peshitto), sy^h (Harclean text).

COPT(ic version).

VL (Vetus Latina, MSS only): VL(a) = VL, codex a (Vercellensis).

VetLat (Vetus Latina, MSS and Fathers).

PSALT(erium) = PsV + Gall or Heb.

TEST(imonia Patrum), if no names are given.

VULG(ate): VULG^A or VULG(A) = Vulgate, MS A(miatinus).

N.B.: "vg" in the Old Testament (including Gall) means Hetzenauer's text of the Vatican exemplar; in the New Testament, the consensus of Stephanica, Henteniana, Sixtina, Clementina (from Iac on, of Sixtina and Clementina).

Individual MSS of a text, or works of an ecclesiastical writer, are normally referred to in index form: Cypr^{LW} = Cyprian, MSS L and W; Aug^{Conf} = Augustine, Confessiones. The same applies to the following abbreviations:

al(ii), alq (aliquot), cett (ceteri), cod(ex), codd (codices), mell (meliores), mg (margo), mul(ti), om(nes), -om (fere omnes), pau(ci), pl(urimi); sem(el), bis, ter, saep(ius), semp(er).

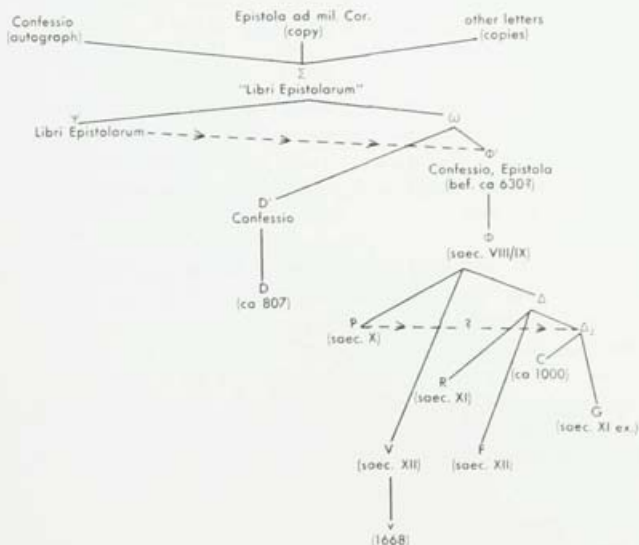
If such indexes refer to more than one symbol, this is expressed in algebraic form:

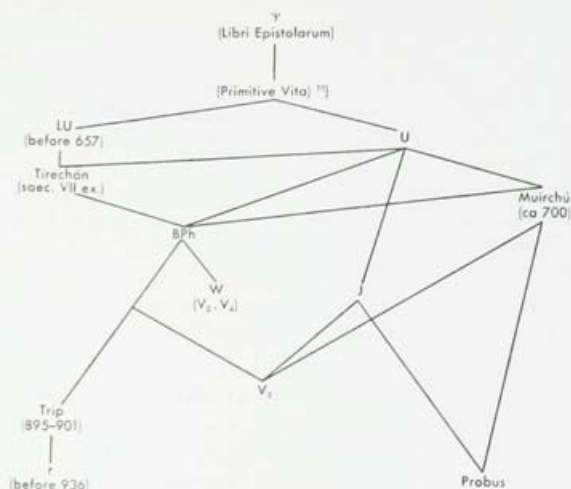
(CDE)^{gr} = Greek New Testament, MSS CDE

(VL.VULG)^{pl} = most Old Latin and Vulgate MSS.

Apart from this algebraic notation, bracketing of symbols indicates slight deviations from a given text.

Pedigree of Manuscripts



Pedigree of Ψ 

CONSPECTUS CODICUM

- D Dubliniensis, olim Ardmachanus, Coll. S. Trinitatis 52 (ca a.807)
 P Parisinus, olim Compendiensis, Bibl. nat. Lat. 17626 (saec. X)
 V Vedastinus, nunc Atrebatensis 450 (saec. XII)
 v Danielis Papebroch editio (Antverpiae 1668), codicis instar ubi V
 mancus est
 R Rothomagensis, olim Gementicensis, Bibl. munic. 1391 (saec. XI)
 F Oxoniensis Bodleianus Fell 3, olim Sarisburiensis (saec. XII)
 C Musei Britannici Cottonianus Nero E. 1, olim Wigorniensis (ca a.1000)
 G Oxoniensis Bodleianus Fell 4, olim Sarisburiensis (saec. XI/XII)
 G' codex G correctus

ω ω consensus codicum DPV(R)FCG } ubi v tantum exstat, haec sigla un-

Φ ϕ consensus codicum PV(R)FCG } cinis inclusimus

Δ δ consensus codicum (R)FCG

Δ_2 consensus codicum CG

⁷⁹) This hypothetical Primitive Vita, which, in my opinion, is postulated by the analysis of the Lives, has not been discussed in my Introduction, because, so far as the Libri Epistolarum are concerned, we know it only to the extent it is preserved in U.

- Ψ testimonium Vitarum S. Patricii. (Ubi de Ψ non constat, singulae Vitae aut codices adferuntur. Sigla Vitarum habes in Praefatione, p. 23 f.; sigla codicum in Appendice, p. 107)
- Σ archetypus

EDITORES ET EMENDATORES

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COMPENDIA

a(n)te add(it, -unt) ap(ud) c(um) cf (confer) des(icit) inc(ipit)
ins(erit, -unt) l(inea) litt(era) m(ar)g(o) mut(ulus) p(agina, post)
pr(aeter) ras(ura) s l (supra lineam) s s (supra scriptum) uar(ia)
lect(io) u(ide) uid(etur)

Uncinis angularibus < > inserenda indicantur, quadratis [] delenda.

LIBRI EPISTOLARUM SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI.
LIBER PRIMUS: CONFESSIO.

N. White

235,2

1. Ego Patricius peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium
fidelium et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos
patrem habui Calpornium diaconum filium quendam Potiti pres-
byteri, qui fuit uico †bannaem taburniae†; uillulam enim prope
habuit, ubi ego capturam dedi.
Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim. Deum enim uerum ignorabam et
Hiberione in captiuitate adductus sum cum tot milia hominum —

4—5 MUIR I. 1 (494,7; cf. Codices Patriciani Latini 54; Proc R. I. A. 52 C 5, p 185)
Calfurnio (N: Cualfarni B) diacono (-i B) ortus, filio, ut ipse ait, Potiti presbyteri;
cf IOCEL. 1 et GUILIUM MALMESBURIENSEM De uita s. Patricij, lib I (LELANDI
Collectanea II. 236). 5—6 MUIR^B I. 1 (494,8; Prob I. 1) qui fuit uico bannaem
thaburniae; cf in campo Taburniae W (V_{2,4}, c. 1), in pago Taburnia uocabulo IOCEL. 1,
sed Banauen uicus in Taberniae campo GUILIUM MALMESBURIENSIS 1c; Banauona
... uiculus littoralis campi Tabernarii LELANDUS IV. 30.

ω Incipiunt libri sc̄i patricij ep̄s D. Libri (liber) epistolarum uel episcopi saepius
laudantur in Ψ. Incipit uita Beati patricij V. INCIPIT CONFESIO SC̄I PA-
TRICI EPISCOPI Q. ÷. XVI. KL. APL. F. INCIPIT CONFESSIO SC̄I PATRI-
CII EPISCOPI < XVI. KL. APRILI G > Δ₂. *Inscriptio deest in PR.* 3 con-
temptibilissimus: contemptibilis sum D. 4 calpornum D. calpurnium RF. Calpur-
nius, Calphurnius, Calfurnius, Kalfurnius Ψ; cf *specimina uariae scripturae* in ThLL
Onom. II. 101,32 sqq. diaconem VΔ. decurionem (cf 256,12) MACNEILL. quen-
dam: quondam (condam P) Φ. quondam filium R. *fortasse legendum*: quidem.
presbyteri] filii odissi in *mg adser* D. 5 uico: in uico Δ₂. bannaem (-ba nauem
R) Φ. taburniae P. thaburniae MUIR: taberniae (-e, -e) DVΔ. uico Gobanni
Ventae Burrinae uel Sabrinae MACNEILL Proc. R.I.A. 37 C 124. uico Bannaena
Bruuiae T. F. O'RAHILLY The Two Patricks 31—34. Clannaenta Berniciae
P. GROSJEAN AB 63, 65—72. *an scribendum*: Bannaena <ta> Taburniae? uillu-
lam: uillam V. 6 ubi — 11 admonebant adest Ψ. 6 dedi: didici V. 7 xui
DP. quindecim R. enim om D. 8 hyberione V. hiberionē G. *de Ψ non constat.*
adductus sum in captiuitate Ψ. milia: milibus G'. Ψ. *Usserius.*

secundum merita nostra, quia a Deo recessimus et praecepta eius non
 10 custodiimus et sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus, qui
 <nos> nostram salutem admonebant: et Dominus induxit super nos
 iram
 animationis suae et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad
 ultimum terrae, ubi nunc paruitas mea esse uidetur inter alienigenas,
 2 2. et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae, ut uel
 15 sero rememorarem delicta mea et ut conuerterem toto corde ad
 Dominum Deum meum, qui respexit humilitatem meam et misertus est

ad 235,16—236,2 uidentur spectare ea quae de Guilelmi Malmesburiensis Vita s. Patricii testatur Lelandus, Collectanea II. 236: In Banauen igitur uico, qui et Nenchor (s s Nantchor), educatus sanctiss(ima?), ut par erat, disciplina et in ephebum aeuo crescente proeuctus religioni parentum non defuit. Assistit ipse sermoni meo astipulator idoneus his uerbis in Confessione sua. Verba Patricii Lelandus non exscripsit; sed cf Trip(r) 101—9.

ω 10 custodiimus V. non oboedientes DΨ: inobedientes Φ. 11 nos inserui; cf 246,7. ammonebant V. induxit: indixit P. iram — 12 nos om C. 12 animationis: indignationis V. usque om R. 13 uidetur esse Φ. alienigenas (-nienas F)
 Σ Φ: alenigenas D. 14 et ibi — 16 meum et 16 et misertus — 236,2 filium adest Ψ. 14 ibi: ubi Φ. apperuit F. apparuit P. sensus Δ. incredulitatis meae: cordis mei (meę G') incredulitatis Φ. ut om PV. uel om D. 15 sero rememorarem: serorem (z s s et in mg) orarem D. dilicta D. et om D. conuerterem PVΨ(?). conuerterer Δ: confirmarem D. fortasse: et confirmarem ut conuerterer. 16 deum om Φ. missertus D. est om PVRF.

9 cf Is 59,13 recessimus a do nostro Hier^{LXX}: auersi sumus ne iremus post tergum di nostri VULG cum HEB. LXX; cf Deut 32,15. 9—10 Gen 26,5 et custodiuit (Aug^{Cia Dei} 16,36 Phil^{lat} [ἐφύλαξεν LXX]: custodierit VULG) praecepta <mea A> et mandata mea (et seruauit praecepta mea et iustitias meas Aug^{saep}); similia passim. 11—12 Is 42,25 et superduxit super eos iram animationis suae Cypr (cf Apoc 14,19.20 [Vict-Hier^{YX}] misit in torcular irae animationis di). et induxit super eos iram furoris sui Hier^{LXX}. (induxit etiam m): et effudit super eum indignationem furoris sui crypt VULG. ad iram indignationis suae V (pro ὀργὴν θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ) cf ARAB et Ps 77,49; 2 Par 29,10 (LXX). 12 Ier 9,16 et dispergam eos in gentibus. Tob 13,4 dispersit uos inter gentes (in illis Monac Regin Sangerm). 12—13 usque ad ultimum terrae (Act 13,47) u Conf 38; cf Conf 11; Epist 6. 14 cf Luc 24,45 tunc aperuit illis sensum (sensem illorum a. adaperuit eorum sensum Iren. aperti sunt eorum sensus d. αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν GR); Bar 1,22 in sensum cordis nostri maligni (Ier 4,19 sensus cordis nostri); Heb 3,12 ne forte sit in aliquo uestrum cor malum incredulitatis (iniquitatis d e); cf Act 16,14 cuius dns aperuit cor (sensem gīg). 15—16 conuerterem — meum (Ioel 2,12.13) u Conf 19 (241,1—2). 16 Luc 1,48 respexit humilitatem meam r₁, ut uid. (ancillae suae VL—om. VULG).

- adolescentiae et ignorantiae meae et custodiuit me antequam
 236,1 scirem eum et antequam saperem uel distinguerem inter bonum et
 malum et muniuit me et consolatus est me ut pater filium.
- 3 3. Vnde autem tacere non possum, *neque expedit quidem*, tanta
 beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi Dominus praestare dignatus
 5 est *in terra captiuitatis meae*; quia haec est retributio nostra, ut post
 correptionem uel agnitionem Dei *exaltare et confiteri mirabilia eius*
 coram *omni natione quae est sub omni caelo*.
- 4 4. Quia non est alius Deus nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit
 post haec praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a quo est
 10 omne principium, omnia tenentem, ut didicimus; et huius filium

8—22 cf F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK *The Creeds of SS. Irenaeus and Patrick*, in: HERMATHENA 14 (1907) 168—82; J. E. L. OULTON *The Credal Statements of St. Patrick* (1940); L. BIELER *The "Creeds" of St. Victorinus and St. Patrick*, in: THEOL. STUDIES 9 (WOODSTOCK Md, 1948), 121—4. 9—12 VICTORINUS PETAUION. in Apoc. 11,1: patrem confiteri omnipotentem ut didicimus (dicimus, *omisso* ut, *Hier*) et huius filium Iesum (*om Hier*) Christum ante originem saeculi spiritaliter (*spiritalement* *Hier c Victorino*⁹) apud patrem genitum.

- 17 adoliscntiae ignorantiae meae D. (adolcscentie) r. V₄. adolcscentie et igno-
 rantie meae V. V₂. adolcscentie meae P. adulescentie (adolcscentie R) meae et ignoran-
 tie (-e FG) Δ. custodit P. 1 distinguerem C. 2 muniuit: monuit Φ. et (2) *om* P.
 consulatus D. consolatus—3 tacere: consolatacere P. me (2): D.r, *quibus fortasse*
 ω *fides habenda est*. 3 autem: ego quidem V. quidem *om* V. 4 quam: quae R.
 dominus praestare *om* D. 5 est (1) *om* D. nostra: mea nā D. 6 correptionem:
 correctionem G'. correctionem nram R. agnitionem V. exaltare et confiteri:
 exaltaremus (-ur VΔ) et confiteremur Φ. 7 coram — est R *mut.* est — caelo:
 sub caelo est V. omni (2) *om* V R. 8 quia—alius: non enim alius est V. nec ante
 nec erit: nec ante erit P. nec erit (nec *sequente spatio* R) Δ. 9 haec D: hunc Φ.
 praeter: p (*cetera mut*) R. 10 omnia — 13 principium *deest* V; *quae leguntur in v*,
 DPΔ *coniecturae debentur*. tenentem: tenens F. didicimus *cum Victorino scripsi*: dici-
 mus DPΔ₂. diximus RF. huius: eius D.

3 2 Cor 12,1 non expedit quidem *c f m r t VULG^{pr} D*: non expedit mihi *d e Ambr*
Sed D (DEKL al)^{gr} (mihi quidem *g 0**). 5 in terra captiuitatis meae: 2 Par 6,37;
 Tob 13,7 *et passim*; cf Conf 33 (245,8). 6 Is 25,1 exaltabo te et (*om crypt Hier^{HEB}*
cum HEB. LXX) confitebor nomini tuo *crypt Hier^{HEB}. VULG*: glorificabo te, laudabo
 nomen tuum *Hier^{LXX}*. Ps 88,6 confitebuntur caeli mirabilia tua dne. 7 Act 2,5 ex
 omni natione quae est sub caelo *Aug^{saep}. SacrGelas 156 Wilson*. D: ex omni natione
 quae sub caelo est *c p VULG^{pl}*; *dissentiant VetLat^{ectt}. VULG^{alq}*, sub omni caelo Dan
 9,12.

Iesum Christum, quem cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse testatur, ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem <et> inenarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, et per ipsum facta sunt uisibilia et inuisibilia, hominem factum, morte deuicta in caelis ad Patrem
 15 receptum, et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei quia Dominus et Deus est Iesus Christus, quem credimus et expectamus aduentum ipsius mox futurum, iudex uiuorum atque mortuorum, qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua; et effudit in nobis

12—14 cf *Symbolum Auxentii* (HILARIUS Liber contra Auxentium 14, PL 10,617) ante omne principium natum ex patre . . . per ipsum (*i e* Iesum Christum) enim omnia facta sunt, uisibilia et inuisibilia. 14—15 VICTORINUS 11: hominem factum et morte deuicta in caelis cum corpore a patre receptum. 19 cf *Symbolum Sirmiense* (HILARIUS De synodis 38, PL 10,509): reddere unicuique secundum opera sua. 19—20 VICTORINUS(-Hieronymus 11: effudisse spiritum sanctum donum et pignus immortalita-

11 quem: qui D. semper — testatur: fuisse semper testatur P. (testatur semper R) Δ. 12 originem C. spiritaliter G. et inserui. inerrabiliter D. gemitum P. 13 omnem P. et (1) om Φ. quippe *p* ipsum *ins* V. omnia *p* sunt *ins* V. uisibilia D. 13—14 et inuisibilia om D. 14 homo factus F. deuicta (-o P) morte Φ. ad — 15 receptum om D. receptum ad patrem R. ad patrem: a patre P. 15 receptus F. super omne: superne P. 16 et (1) om PV. et terrestrium om R. et (3): ut PVRΔ₂. ei om Φ. 17 deus et dominus R. dominus — christus: dns ihs xpc in glā ē dei patris V. excēpectamus D. exspectamus F. 18 ipsius om D. futurum: futurus G'; *p* iudex in *mg* add R. iudex: iudicem V. 19 reddit P. facta: opera R. effudit: infudit Φ. nobis: uobis D.

15—17 Phil 2,10—11 et dedit (*Aug Vig Nou Ambr Hier Cassd* [ἐδόκε Clem]: donauit VL.VULG) illi nomen <quod est *m Aug Hil MissRom ADFV vg*> super omne nomen, ut in nomine ihu omne genu flectatur caelestium <et (*cum GR, d e g m^S Iren^u ABCD pl: om c dem diu / g gig m^Σ t TEST^{om} F ⊖ KLMPRWZ* vg*> terrestrium et infernorum (et infernorum om Iren) et omnis lingua confiteatur <ei Iren> quia (quoniam *d m*) dns ihs xps in gloria est di patris. Cf Matth 28,18 data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra *VetLat^{pl}, VULG*; Eph 1,21 supra omnem . . . potestatem . . . et omne nomen; Ioh 20,28 dns meus et ds meus. 18 Act 10,42 iudex uiuorum et mortuorum. 19 Rom 2,6 qui reddet unicuique secundum facta (*VicTun ap Ambr IV appendix, 760*: opera *VetLat^{cell}, VULG*) sua (*g Orig Cypr Aug Ambrst Hier Sed Faust Gild DΘ*: eius *cde VULG^{cell}*). In Matth 16,27, unde apostolus hausit, legitur facta β₁, factum *e* (opus uel opera *VetLat^{cell}, VULG*); sua *d r₂ Faust* (opus suum *g₂ δ μ*: eius uel eorum *VL^{cell}, VULG*). 19—20 Tit 3,5—6 per lauacrum . . . sps sci (per spm scm *d e g Lucif Ambrst cum* [D*E*FG]^{8r}) quem effudit in nobis (*Iren Lucif Cassd*

20 *habunde Spiritum Sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis, qui facit credentes et oboedientes ut sint filii Dei et coheredes Christi: quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in trinitate sacri nominis.*

5 5. Ipse enim dixit per prophetam: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis tuae et liberabo te et magnificabis me.* Et iterum inquit: *Opera autem*
25 *Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum est.*

237,1 6 6. Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum op^{to} *fratribus et cognatis* meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere uotum animae meae.

7 7. Non ignoro *testimonium Domini mei*, qui in psalmo testatur:
5 *Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium.* Et iterum inquit: *Os quod mentitur occidit animam.* Et idem Dominus in euangelio inquit:

tis (*ubi Victorinus nihil habet praeter sanctum dominum et pignus immortalitatis, quippe qui de Filio loquitur*). 22 SECUNDINUS 87: quam legem in trinitate sacri credit nominis; cf PSAUGUSTINUS Sermo 233,1 (PL 39,2175) hanc unam esse diuini nominis trinitatem.

20 abunde PΔ. spiritus sancti VΔ. immortalitatis V. 21 patris p dei ins Φ. et coheredes Christi om V. 22 adoremus P. unum deum adoramus V. sacri: sacrosancti V. 23 profetam D. 25 honorificam R. 1 fratribus — 2 meis: fratres et cognatos meos Δ. cognatis: cognotatis D. 2 et a ut ins Φ. perspicere: perficere D. R *mul.* 4 enim p non ins V. ψalmo D. psal (*et mul*) R. testatur: ditatur P. 5 eos: omnes VR. om C. loquuntur PRFC. loquuntur DV. et iterum inquit om P. inquit om VΔ. quod: quos^s (s eras) F. qui R. 6 idem: isdem Δ₂. in euangelio inquit om D. inquit om R.

F^cGPR: in nos [*VetLat.VULG*]^{ceff}) abunde; uerba in nobis *desunt in utraque recensione Victorini*. 20 Act 2,38 donum sci sps. Eph 1,14 (sps) qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae. 21 Rom 8,16—17 quod sumus filii di . . . heredes quidem di,

coheredes autem xpi. Cf Conf 59(252,20). 23—24 Ps 49,15 και ἐπικάλεσαι

με ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως <σου N^{c-a}. ART> και ἐξελοῦμαι σε και δοξάσεις με LXX. inuoca me in die tribulationis (pressurae *Cypr PsMax*; cf Conf. 20 [241,22]) tuae (om *Cypr PsMax*) et eripiam (eximam *Cypr Aug R*) te et magnificabis (glorificabis *Aug R PsMax Moz^{pl}*, clarificabis *Cypr*) me *PsV^{pl}*: inuoca me in die tribulationis <et CUW *al*> eruam te et honorificabis me *Gall.* et inuoca me in die tribulationis: liberabo te et glorificabis me *Heb.* 24—25 Tob 12,7 opera autem di reuelare <et confiteri, cum N, VL (Par. lat. 93, Sangerm 4, Monac Ctm 6239). VULG: om Aug cum LXX^{unc} *ceff*> honorificum est. 1 Luc 21,16 trademini autem a (om r₂) parentibus et fratribus et cognatis et amicis VL(*pr a i s δ*). VULG. 4 2 Tim 1,8 testimonium dni mei.

5 Ps 5,7 perdes eos (omnes, cum LXX, *Aug^{sacp} Mops Cass^{bis} Gall. om Heb*) qui loquuntur (loquentes *Heb*) mendacium. 5—6 Sap 1,11 os autem (enim *Aug^{sacp}*, om MS s *Theoderici* [Sab] *Leo^{serm 38}*) quod mentitur occidit animam m^{bis} *Aug Cass VULG.*

Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent pro eo rationem in die iudicii.

8. Vnde autem uehementer debueram *cum timore et tremore*
 10 metuere hanc sententiam in die illa ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere
 uel abscondere, sed omnes omnino *reddituri sumus rationem* etiam
 minimorum peccatorum *ante tribunal Domini Christi.*
9. Quapropter olim cogitauit scribere, sed et usque nunc haesitauit;
 timui enim ne *incederem in linguam* hominum, quia non didici
 15 sicut et ceteri, qui optime itaque iura et sacras litteras utraque
 pari modo combiberunt et sermones illorum ex infantia numquam
 mutarunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt. Nam *sermo*
et loquela nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest
 probari ex salua scripturae meae qualiter sum ego in sermonibus

7 omne a uerbum *ins* R. otiossum D. otium (*in mg* osu) R. om P. loquuti V. pro eo rationem: de eo rationem R. rationem de eo D. 9 autem — debueram: ego deberem uehementer V. uehementer D. debueram om D. 10 hanc sententiam: hanc sentiam P. poterit se Φ . subtrahere P. 12 minimum P. Domini Christi: dñi nr̄i ih̄u xpi V. xpi domini P Δ . 13 olim D. et om Φ . haesitauit D. 14 incederem R. in om Φ . lingua P. didici D: legi Φ . 15 et (1) om Φ . obtine P. itaque — 16 combiberunt: sacris litteris imbuti sunt V. iura J. GWYNN: iure ω . litteras D. utraque (*in mg* z incertus liber hic) D. 16 combiberunt P. (*corr in comb-* G) Δ . sermonem P Δ . sermones illorum: studium suum V. 17 mutarunt D. mutauerunt V Δ . 18 loquela: lingua V. lingua aliena P. sicut: sed V. 19 probare PV. ex salua: exaluae DP. ex saluae V. ego sum V.

7—8 Matth 12,36 omne uerbum otiosum (uacuum [*d*] k *Cypr.* uanum, superuacuum *Tert*) quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent pro eo rationem (*d g₁ k u Iren Cypr* E: rationem pro eo JLQ, cf *sy^h*. eius rationem *b q sy^p*. de eo rationem, cum *GR^{pr} L*, a f $\|$ ₁₋₂ *g₂ h δ gat* R, cf *sy^c-pal.*, rationem de eo, cum *L^{gr}*, c l *Aug^{Spe}*. *VULG* [AD pl]) in die iudicii. 8 cum timore et tremore Eph 6,5; Phil 2,12 (*d e g Ambrst Aug DW*: metu pro timore c f *VULG^{coll}*, cum metu et timore *gig. μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου utroque loco* GR); cf Tob 13,6. 11 Rom 14,12 unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet do, nisi alludatur ad Matth 12,36, cf Conf 7 (237,6—8). 12 Rom 14,10 omnes enim stabimus ante tribunal di (dñi *Aug^{sem}* U. xpi *dem que r W vg cum* [N^cC³LP al]^{gr}. 2 Cor 5,10 ante tribunal xpi (xpi ihu *Tert.* di *Faus^{bis} Cassd*). 14 Eccl 28,27 qui relinquunt dm incident (-unt *Sangerm 15*) in illam (*i e* linguam nequam). 17—18 Ioh 8,43 quare loquellam meam non cognoscitis? quia non potestis audire sermonem (uerbum *a b d q r₁*) meum *VLP^l. VULG*. Cf Ps 18,4 non sunt loquela neque sermones (uerba M) *PsVP^l. Gall c LXX*: non est sermo et non sunt uerba *Heb c HEXA^A*.

20 instructus atque eruditus, quia, inquit, *sapiens per linguam
dinoscetur et sensus et scientia et doctrina ueritatis.*

10 10. Sed quid prodest excusatio *iuxta ueritatem*, praesertim cum
praesumptione, quatenus modo ipse adpeto in senectute mea quod
in iuuentute non comparauī? quod obstiterunt peccata mea ut
25 confirmarem quod ante perlegeram. Sed quis me credit etsi
dixero quod ante praefatus sum?

238,1 Adolescens, immo paene puer inuerbis, capturam dedi, antequam
scirem quid adpetere uel quid uitare debueram.

Vnde ergo hodie erubesco et uehementer pertimeo denudare imperi-
tiam meam, quia desertis breuitate sermone explicare nequeo,

5 sicut enim spiritus gestit et animus, et sensus monstrat adfectus.

11 11. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et ceteris, uerum-
tamen non silerem *propter retributionem*, et si forte uidetur apud

26 Cf p 235,6 sqq. 238,2 SYNODUS CARTHAG. a. 418, can. 5: ut sciamus quid
adpetere, quid uitare debeamus (D. S. NERNEY I. E. R. 72,23).

20 quia, inquit, sapiens *distinxi*. 21 dinoscetur (γνωσθήσεται LXX) D: dinoscitur Φ.
et (1) om V. sensus V. ueritatis: uarietatis PΔ. cf *apparatum criticum* ad TERTULL.
De praescr. haeret. 36 p 35,3 Oehler. 22 quid om Φ. excussatio D. 23 presuntione
P. quatinus DFΔ₂. (ut V.) appeto VΔ₂. mea — 24 iuuentute om C. 24 quod: quia
PΔ. quod obstiterunt: obstiterunt enim V. peccata mea om D. 25 confirmarem:
confiterem P. quod: quodque Φ. non p ante ins Φ. perlegeram: legeram R.
si p sed ins D. me: m R e corr.. credit D. 26 quod: qui P. 238,1 adoles-
cens VRG'. adolescens D. adulescens P. adulscens Δ₂. adhulscens F. inuerbis D.
in uerbis Φ. imberbis WARE. dedi: didici V. 2 adpetere ex canonibus restitui:
<peterem uel quid D> ad(ap-V)peterem Ω. uitare: inuitare R. 3 et — denud-
R mut. uehementer D. pertimeo: protimeo D. ualde pertimesco in ras, ut
uid, V. palam (in ras, ut uid) a denudare ins V. 4 desertis PFC. n̄ pōssūm dē
deertis (z in mg) D: disertis VRG. (non disertus STOKES.) breuitate -tate deest in R.
sermonis VG'. sermone <m> WHITE. diserti breuitate sermonis PAPEBROCH. explicare R
mut. 5 gestit: gestat P. gessit Δ. animus: animas D. monstrare F. et a ad-
fectus ins V. affectus VFΔ₂. effectus R. 6 michi datum V. et om RG. uerum-
tamen PG. uerumptamen F. 7 uidetur (uideatur R) mihi suspectum; nescio an
legendum uidear.

20—21 Eccli 4,29 ἐν γὰρ λόγῳ γνωσθήσεται σοφία καὶ παιδεία ἐν ῥήματι
γλώσσης LXX, cf SYR. in lingua enim agnoscitur (*Sangerm 15. A: cognoscitur
m. dignoscitur vg*) sapientia (sapientia dignoscitur *vg*) et sensus et scientia et doc-
trina (et doctrina: doctrinae m) in uerbis ueritatis (in uerbo sensati *vg*). 22 Act
22,3 iuxta ueritatem (secundum diligentiam *gig. certissime e*). 7 Ps 118,112
propter retributionem (*cum LXX*) Ps V. Gall: propter aeternam retributionem (*cum
HEXΣ'*) Heb Moz^s.

aliquantos me in hoc praeponere cum mea inscientia et *tardiori lingua*, sed etiam scriptum est enim: *Linguae balbutientes uelociter discent loqui pacem*.

- 10 Quanto magis nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus, inquit, *epistola Christi in salutem usque ad ultimum terrae*, et si non deserta, sed fratrum et fortissimum† *scripta in cordibus uestris non atramento sed spiritu Dei uiui*. Et iterum Spiritus testatur et *rusticationem ab Altissimo creatam*.

- 12 15 12. Vnde ego primus rusticus profuga indoctus scilicet, *qui nescio in posterum prouidere*, sed illud scio certissime quia utique *priusquam humiliarer* ego eram uelut lapis qui iacet in *luto profundo*: et uenit *qui potens est* et in sua misericordia sustulit me et quidem

8 proponere P. inscitia C. linguae (-e V) Φ. (-a G'). 9 etiam om D. enim om DR. (s s) F. sed etiam (scriptum est enim) linguae *haud improbabilius distinguit* P. GROSJEAN. et p linguae *ins* F, *sed eras*. balbutientis RF*. loqui discent V. 10 appetere V. inquit: nos D. 11 in salutem om V. 12 ratum fortissimum scriptum (z in mg) D. ratum (raptum R. rata G) et fortissimum (-e G') scripta (a et sequens in in ras, ut uid, V) Φ. <minist>rata fortissime WHITE². uestris D. ex coniectura, ut uid., PAPEBROCH: nostris Φ. sed sed V. rusticationem (z in mg) D P: rusticatio VRF. rusticitatio Δ₂. creatam *scripsi*: creata est ω. 13 et (1) — 14 est: Et rusticatio ab altissimo creata est. — teste eodem spu dei uiui V. 15 ego: ergo PRFC. primus *mihi suspectum*. rusticus PΔ₂. profuga: perfuga Φ. inductus D. 16 imposterum V. prouidere: prouidere V. scio (om V) illud Φ. 17 uelut P. 18 ueniens *corr in -it* D. misericordia D.

8 Ex 4,10 tardiore lingua sum ego *Lugd Aug Ambr*: tardioris linguae sum *VULG*. (βραδύγλωσσος ἐγὼ εἰμι LXX.) 9 Is 32,4 αὶ γλῶσσαι αὶ ψελλίζουσαι ταχύ μαθήσονται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην LXX, cf *HEX^O*. linguae balbutientium cito discent loqui pacem *Hier^{LXX}*: et lingua balborum uelociter loquetur et plane *LVULG cum HEB*, cf *HEX^S*. 10—13 2 Cor 3,2—3 epistula nostra uos estis, scripta (inscripta, cum GR, d e g Sed D) in cordibus nostris (uestris Conf^D cum GR[**Nal**]) quae scitur et legitur ab omnibus hominibus: manifestati quoniam estis epistula (g *Iren*: epistula estis *VelLat^{act}*, *VULG*) xpi, ministrata a nobis et scripta (et scripta cf *VULG cum gr Athos Laura* 184 [uSoden: α 78] *solo*: inscripta, cum *GR^{prBK}*. 67.74. α 78, d e g *Iren TEST^{al}*) non atramento (littera vy), sed spu di uiui. in salutem usque ad ultimum terrae (Act 13,47) u Conf 38; cf Conf 1; Epist 6. 13—14 Eccli 7,16 non oderis laboriosa opera et rusticationem ab altissimo creatam (A: creatam ab altissimo vy) *VULG cum LXX*. 15 sq. Eccli 4,13 qui nescit prouidere (*Hier*: praeuidere *VULG*) in posterum. 17 Ps 118,67 priusquam humiliarer ego deliqui (cum LXX) *Ps V^{pl}*. *Gall*: antequam audirem ego ignorauit *Heb*, cf *HEX^S*. Ps 68,15 eripe me de luto . . . et de profundo (*Ps V^{om}* cum LXX: profundis C *Gall Heb*) aquarum. 18 Luc 1,49 fecit mihi magna qui potens est (ille potens_e, cf GR ὁ δυνατός) *VelLat^{om}*. *VULG*.

- scilicet sursum adleuauit et collocauit me in summo pariete;
 20 et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad retribuendum quoque
 aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficiis eius hic et in aeternum, quae
 mens hominum aestimare non potest.
- 13 13. Vnde autem ammiramini itaque *magni et pusilli qui timetis Deum*
 et uos dominicati rethorici audite et scrutamini. Quis me stultum
 25 excitauit de medio eorum qui uidentur esse sapientes et legis periti
 et *potentes in sermone* et in omni re, et me quidem, detestabilis
 239,1 huius mundi, prae ceteris inspirauit si talis essem — dummodo autem —
 ut *cum metu et reuerentia* et *sine querella* fideliter prodessem genti ad
 quam *caritas Christi* transtulit et donauit me in uita mea, si dignus
 fuero, denique ut cum humilitate et ueraciter deseruirem illis.
- 14 5 14. In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere, sine re-
 prehensione periculi notum facere *donum Dei* et consolationem
 aeternam,
 sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere, ut etiam *post*

19 sursum: rursus P. alleuauit R. summo pariete: sua parte D. 20 for-
 titer: forte V. retribuendam (-um P. -u ex a, ut uid., G) ω. quoque
 deest R. 21—22 quae mens R mut. 22 hominum: humana V. extimare V.
 estimare Δ. 23 ammiramini PΔ. itaque om D. itaque magni R mut. qui timetis
 deum p 24 dominicati D; *sed uoci q e rethorici praefixum est signum quod uerbis colum-
 nam exrescentibus, cum ad uersum superiorem relegantur, praefigi solet.* 24 domini-
 cati: domni (domini VR) ignari (gnari P) Φ. rethorici: nethorici Δ₂. ergo p
 audite ins Φ. scrutamini F. quis: qui R. 25 sapientes esse PVFΔ₂. legis:
 leges D. 26 et (3): in P. detestabilem Φ. 239,1 prae: de (in mg corr in p̄) D.
 2 reuerantia D. querela VΔ. prodessem om D. 3 et: ut Δ (et ex ut, ut uid.,
 G'). dignus: uiuus (corr in mg) D. 4 humilitate ex -tae, ut uid., F. 5 men-
 suram P. fidi C. trinitatis: dignitatis (ex -tes) P. oportet F. 6 con-
 solationem D. 7 nomen: nomine P. nomen nomine (nomōne F) FΔ₂. uibiq: C.

23 Apoc 19,5 qui timetis dm (l *Prim(og Paris, 1544)*: eum gig t *Prim^{codd} Beat VULG*)
 magni et pusilli (*Prim*: pusilli et magni *VL Beat VULG*). 26 Luc 24,19 potens in
 opere et sermone *VL^{pl}, VULG* (uerbo a *d r gal*. dictis *c e Aug.*) 239,2 cum metu et
 reuerentia Heb 12,28. sine querella: 1 Thess 2,10; 3,13; 5,23. 3 2 Cor 5,14
 caritas enim xpi urget nos; cf Conf 33 (245,12). 5 mensuram fidei Rom 12,3;
 cf 12,6 (*Hier Eucherius*: rationem *VULG*). 6 Ioh. 4,10 donum (munus a) di. Cf
 Conf 33,62. 2 Thess 2,16 consolationem (*c f g VULG*: exhortationem *d e GR πα-
 ράκλησις*) aeternam. 7—8 2 Petr 1,15 post obitum meum (*t z VULG*: post mor-
 tem meam h).

obitum meum exaga(e)llias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizauī tot milia hominum —

15 10 (15) et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc Dominus seruulo suo concederet, post aerumnas et tantas moles, post captiuitatem, post annos multos in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret; quod ego aliquando in iuuentute mea numquam sperauī neque cogitauī.

16 16. Sed postquam Hiberione deueneram — cotidie itaque pecora
15 pascebam et frequens in die orabam — magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius et fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter, ut etiam in siluis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per niuem per gelu per pluuiam, et nihil mali sentiebam
20 neque ulla pigritia erat in me — sicut modo uideo, quia tunc spiritus in me feruebat —

17 (17) et ibi scilicet quadam nocte in somno audiui uocem dicentem mihi: 'Bene ieiunas cito iturus ad patriam tuam', et iterum post paululum tempus audiui *responsum* dicentem mihi:

8 exaga(e)llias *dubitanter restitui*: ex|a|g|allias (*in mg z et incertus liber*) D. exgallias VFC. ex gallicis *e corr* G. gallias R. exgaleas P. *pro exangellias accipiunt* E. HOGAN. F. R. M. ИТЧНСОСК. ex(tr)a Gallias GILBERT. 8—9 in dño ego baptizauī D. ego in domino baptizauī PVRFC. ego baptizauī in domino G. 10 eram: etiam Δ. 11 erumpnas D. erumpnas V. erumnas PFΔ₂. erunnas R. tantas moles: ante moles P. tante molis VΔ. 12 multos: inultos, *ut uid*, D. illam: magnam R. quod: quo P. 12—13 aliquando ego V. 13 mea *om* P. numquam sperauī: non quia desperauī (disp- P) Φ. 14 hiberione V. hiberionem R. hyberionem V₂. quod Σ a cotidie *ins* P. 239,14—243,3 illorum *paucis omissis adest* Ψ. itaque: igitur Φ. V₂. 15 frequent G'. (frequenter V₂J.) magis (1): magisq; V. acedebat F. 16 timor dei et timor illius (illis F) Φ, cf J MUIR. augebatur: agebatur P. agebatur: augebatur PF. fides et spiritus augebatur Ψ. 18 ut: et V. ut et R. *om* P. in a monte *ins* Φ. Ψ (*var. lect.*) monte: mente (*corr in monte* RΔ₂) Δ. et (2) *om* D exercitabar PΔ. 19 per pluuiam per gelu R. pluuiam D. mali sentiebam: male sciebam P. mali (*om sentiebam*) V. 20—21 in me spiritus VΔ. 22 et ibi scilicet *desunt in* Ψ. quadam: quidam C. 23 sibi (*del*) mihi D. iturus: ieiunans (*del*) iturus D. 23—24 et iterum: et terram et (et [2] R *mut*) Φ. 24 post — tempus R *mut*. responsum audiui V. dicente R. dicens G'. 25 -ata — prope R *mut*. non *om* φ.

24 Rom 11,4 sed quid dicit illi responsum diuinum (*om Tyc^{reg} 3*). Cf Conf 21.29.35.

- 25 'Ecce nauis tua parata est' — et non erat prope, sed forte habebat
ducenta milia passus et ibi numquam fueram nec ibi notum
quemquam de hominibus habebam — et deinde postmodum conuer-
sus sum
- 240,1 in fugam et intermisi hominem cum quo fueram sex annis et
ueni in uirtute Dei, qui uiam meam ad bonum dirigebat et nihil
metuebam donec perueni ad nauem illam,
- 18 (18) et illa die qua perueni profecta est nauis de loco suo, et
5 locutus sum ut haberem unde nauigare cum illis et gubernator
displicuit illi et acriter cum indignatione respondit: 'Nequaquam tu
nobiscum adpetes ire',
et cum haec audissem separaui me ab illis ut uenirem ad tego-
riolum ubi hospitabam, et in itinere coepi orare et antequam
10 orationem consummare audiui unum ex illis et fortiter exclama-
bat post me: 'Veni cito, quia uocant te homines isti', et statim ad illos
reuersus sum,

25 TIRECHAN 302,14 sq.; 330,19: ecce nauis tua parata est (ecce - parata est *om priore loco*), surge et ambula; cf BPh (Trip r [R fol 124vα41], V₂ c. 18, V₄ c. 21): propera, ecce nauis tua parata est.

26. cc. - D. .cc.^{tos} P. passos P. fueram nec ibi R *mut.* notam C (*corr manus saec. XVII*). 27 q̄q D. quenquam habebam de hominibus V. habebam quemquam (quenquam G. quequam CF) de hominibus PΔ. de hominibus om Ψ (hominem V₄). 239,27 et deinde—240,3 donec *desunt in* Ψ, nisi quod *Probus obiter res gestas narrat.* et om P. postmodum conuer- R *mut.* 240,1 intermissi D. quo om D. .ui. annis D. annis sex φ. annis — 2 ueni R *mut.* 1—2 et in uirtute dei ueni ad bonum qui uiam meam dirigebat V (qui uiam meam dirigebat ueni ad Benum [*lege Bonum?*] PAPEBROCH). dirigebar F. et nihil: ex nihilo (nichilo G) Δ₂. R *mut.* 3 metuebam R *mut.* donec om F. 4 illa die qua (die om PΔ [*add manus saec. XVII in C*]). qua om R. adquā G): mox cum V. ad eam p perueni *ins V.* nauis om V. de loco suo R *mut.* 5 inde PVRFC. (*retinendum censet P. GROSJEAN.*) nauigare Φ: nauigarem D. de Ψ *non constat.* et gubernator PC. (*fortasse G a c; p gub- R mut*): et gubernatori DFG'Ψ. gubernatori autem V. 6 illi om VG' (*exstat rasura*). Ψ. acriter: hac artis P. indignatione: interrogatione (*corr in mg*) D. indignationem R. 6—7 -quam tu nobiscum R *mut.* 7 adpetis P. appetas V. V₂^H. adpetas Δ. 8 audissem Φ. sepauī D. ut: ut et PΔ₂. (et s s) F. et ut V. et u (*cetera usque ad mut*) R. ut a ad *ins P.* ad om G. tegoriolum D: tuguriolum ΦΨ. 9 ubi: ibi G. hospitabar Ψ. itinere D. antequ (-am — 10 orationem *mut*) R. 10 unum — exclamabat: unum (*sequente spatio*) clamare ex illis fortiter R. et om ΦΨ. exclamare VF (*cf clamare R*). exclamantem: G'Ψ. 11 ueni cito R *mut.* uocabant P. 12 reuersurus (s *alterum incertum*) R. 12—13 sum — coeperunt R *mut*

et coeperunt mihi dicere: 'Veni, quia ex fide recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam quo modo uolueris' — et in illa die itaque reppuli

15 *sugere mammellas eorum* propter timorem Dei, sed uerumtamen ab illis speraui uenire in fidem Iesu Christi, quia gentes erant — et ob hoc obtinui cum illis, et protinus nauigauimus,

19 (19) et post triduum terram cepimus et uiginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et *fames inualuit super eos*,

20 et alio die coepit gubernator mihi dicere: Quid est, Christiane? tu dicis deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est; quare ergo non potes pro nobis orare? quia nos a fame periclitamur; difficile est enim ut aliquem hominem umquam uideamus'. Ego enim confidenter

241,1 dixi illis: '*Conuertimini ex fide ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum*

13 dicere *om R.* recepimus $\Phi.V_2\beta$ et a fac *ins Φ .* 14 amicitiam quo modo *R mut.* quo modo *distinxi:* quomodo $\omega.V_2$. quo modo uolueris: quolueris *C.* 240,14 et — 17 nauigauimus *desunt in Ψ , Probo tantum de rebus gestis mentionem faciente.* in *om R.* itaque *om V.* 14—15 reppuli sugere mammellas eorum *D:* reppuli sugere mammas eorum *V.* repulis fugire mamas illorum *RF.* repuli fugere manus illorum *P.* repulsus sum fugere amicitias illorum Δ_2 . 15 timorem *om V.* timorem dei *R mut.* sed *om G (exstat rasura).* ueruntamen *G.* ueram *P.* uera tam *F.* 16 ab-fidem: speraui ab illis ut mihi dicerent ueni in fide Φ ; *sed cf Prob:* sperabat illos ad fidem Christi uenturos. Iesu *om V.* Prob. quia: -a *deest in R.* 17 ob *om Φ .* obtinuit *VR.* (t in fine eras) *F.* et — nauigauimus *om D.* protimis *P.* 18 post tridu- *R mut.* terra *P.* xxiii *D.* uiginti et octo *P:* uiginti et (*om F*) septem $V\Delta$. disertum *D.* 19 et cibus: cibus autem et potus *V.* *R mut.* defuit: defecit *V.* illis: nobis *V.* famis *P.* (e ex i, ut uid, *G'*) Δ . super: in *R.* eos: nos *V.* 20 alia Φ . et alio die: tunc Ψ . michi guber- (*cetera mut*) *R.* est *om D.* 21 quia p dicis *ins Ψ (pr $V_2\beta$).* 21—22 pro nobis orare non potes *D.* orare *om P.* 22 ora pro nobis a quia *ins V.* nos *om V.* a *om VRG.* nos a *om Ψ pr V_2 .* est *om DPRF.* 23 umquam a ut *transp D.* enim: uero *V.* enim uero *P.* (ego enim: tunc Ψ .) confidenter Ψ (*cf supra p 27*): euidenter ω . 241,1 conuertimini *D.* ex fide *om V.J.* ex toto corde *om D.* et p fide *ins $P\Delta_2.V_2$.* uestro p corde *add R.*

15 Os 14,1 sugentes mamellas illorum *k* (paruuli *VULG.* ὑποτίθια *LXX*). 19 cf Gen 12,10 praeualerat enim fames in terra *VULG.* (deesse uidetur *VetLat*); *sed cf ὅτι ἐνίσχυσεν ὁ λιμός ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (= super terram) LXX.* 241,1 Ioe 2,12 conuertimini (reuertimini *Cypr Lucif*) ad me ex (in *t AugSpec Hier* *HEBLXX VULG.* s s alia manus in *m^M, om Conf 2*) toto corde uestro (ἐπιστρέφῃτε πρὸς με ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν *LXX*). 13 et conuertimini ad dnm dm uestrum. Cf *Conf 2* (235,15—16).

- meum, quia nihil est impossibile illi, ut hodie cibum mittat uobis in uiam uestram usque dum satiamini, quia ubique habundat illi', et adiuuante Deo ita factum est: ecce grex porcorum in uia*
 5 *ante oculos nostros apparuit, et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi duas noctes manserunt et bene refecti et canes eorum repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis defecerunt et secus uiam semiuuii relict*
sunt,
 et post hoc summas gratias egerunt Deo et ego honorificatus
 10 *sum sub oculis eorum, et ex hac die cibum habundanter habuerunt; etiam mel siluestre inuenerunt et mihi partem obtulerunt et unus ex illis dixit: 'Immolaticium est'; Deo gratias, exinde nihil gustauit.*
 20 20. Eadem uero nocte eram dormiens et fortiter temptauit me

2 illi in(im- G) possibile PΔ. quia — illi: cui nihil est impossibile D. ut: et P. cybum PF. mittat uobis cibum V. mittat cibum nobis R. uobis ex nobis P. nobis RF. 3 satiemini Φ.W. abundat FΔ₂Ψ (sed hab-V^{CD}). 4 et om Φ. ergo a deo ins V. et a ecce ins P. 5 apparuit om Φ. ueniebat a ante ins V. interfecerunt D. ibi: ubi R. 6 .ii. D. duas ex duos F. et (1) om VΔ. et (2) — 7 relict deest Ψ. canes: carnes PΔ₂. (carne G'). repleti: releuati PΔ₂. reuelati VRF. 7 illis: eis G. defecerunt et om D. relict D: derelicti Φ. 9 ḡ D. post hoc om Ψ. sumnas F. 9—10 honorificatusum V. 10 et — habuerunt om D. hęc F. habundanter (abundanter RΔ₂. habundantūr ex -intur, ut uid, F) cibum (cybum PF) habuerunt PΔ. 11 etiam: sed etiam V. (et V₂; de Ψ non constat.) mel: semel P. siluistre D. siluestrum P. inuenierunt D. deinuene- R. optulerunt P. unum R. 12 hoc a immolaticium ins Φ. immolaticium V₂. immolatiūmFG'. im(in-R) molatiūm RC. immolaticum D MUR^B: immolatum PV. nihil exinde P. 14 nocte om D. me temptauit R. tentauit V₄.

2 Luc. 1,37 quia non est (erit $h_2 r_2$ [5] deer VULG^{pr}. Q. erat $dim \mu Q$) impossibile do ($b c e \beta_2 l q$: apud dm VL^{cell}. VULG) omne uerbum. Cf Tert carn 3: do nihil impossibile; Prax 10: nihil do difficile. Matth 17,20 et nihil impossibile est (β_2 : erit VL^{cell}. VULG) uobis (uobis impossibile erit β_1). 7 cf Matth 15,32 ne deficiant (dissolbantur d. resoluantur k) in uia (itinere d). Luc 10,30 semiuuiuo relicto VL^{pl}. VULG: semiuuiuum dimittentes c(d). demiserunt semiuuiuum e. relinquerent semiuuiuum Aug. 11 mel siluestre: Matth 3,4; Marc 1,6. Luc 24,42 at illi obtulerunt (porrexerunt a d e r₁) ei partem piscis assi et fauum mellis (et — mellis om d e). 12 1 Cor 10,28 hoc (om w Aug^{V. 705}) immolaticium (d-g w. cor uat*. VULG^{pl} [-titium H^c. -cicium P. immolatum A*Z²]: immolatum l. [Aug^{I. 728}]. 'moderni' in cor uat. V W vg. sacrificatum D. CanonHibern) est idolis.

- 15 satanas, quod memor ero *quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore*, et cecidit
super me ueluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum meorum prae-
ualens. Sed unde me uenit ignaro in spiritu ut Heliam uocarem?
Et inter haec uidi in caelum solem oriri et dum clamarem 'Helia, Helia'
uiribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius decidit super me et
20 statim discussit a me omnem grauitudinem, et credo quod a
Christo Domino meo subuentus sum et spiritus eius iam tunc
clamabat pro me et spero quod sic erit *in die pressurae* meae,
sicut in euangelio inquit: *In illa die*, Dominus testatur, *non*
242,1 *uos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in*
uobis.
- 21 21. Et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi. Ea

15 sathanas VR. quod: cuius G', cf V₄. quamdiu D. quādiu VRC. fuero:
fueram (-ro e corr G) Δ. in hoc corpore fuero V₄. corpore, et *interpunxit*
Esposro. et cecidit: cecidit enim V₄. cecidit D. 16 uelut V. saxa
ingentia Φ. MUIR^{BN}. et — 247,25 filii *folium excidit* in V. membrorum R. mē-
brorum C. meorum om D. (*erat in V teste PAPEBROCHIO.*) pualens D:
pualui Φ (*de V testatur PAPEBROCH.*) non consonat Ψ, sed cf et omnium membro-
rum meorum uires abstulit V₄. et quasi comminens iam omnia membra eius
MUIR. ita ut nihil membrorum suorum posset mouere V₄. 17 sed unde me uenit
ignaro in spiritu ut Heliam uocarem *dubitanter scripsi*: sed unde mihi uenit in spiritum
ut Heliam uocarem D: sed unde me (mihi G') uenit ignarum (ignoro G') in (et RF)
spiritu Heliam uocarem (-re PG') PΔ: sed unde me uenit ignoro in spiritu ut Heliam
uocarem Ψ. (sed unde uenit ignoro ut spiritu Heliam inuocarem v, cf inuocato Heli-
a MUIR^B. inuocans Heliam IOCEL.) 18 inter haec (Φ). Ψ: in hoc D. in caelum aspici-
ens solem oriri uidebam V₄. celo (caelo C) (Φ). solem in celo R. orire P.
dum: cum V₄. clamarem DV. V₄: clamabam PΔ. Helia Helia V₄. heliam heliam
vΔ. heliam DP. totis a uiribus *ins* v.V₄. 19 meis *in ras, ut uid*, G. et a ecce
ins PRF. illius om P. decidit: cecidit Pv.V₄. 20 omnem om D. grauedinem
v. 21 domino om v.V₄. subuentus — tunc om D. eius: eius R. eius iam
om V₄. 22 clamauit (Φ). pro: in V₄. quod: quia V₄. p̄surae D. 23 sicut
— 242,2 uobis *deest* Ψ. in illa die om D. illo R. testatur om D. (testatur *pro*
inquit et uice uersa v.) 242,1 qui (1) — 3 annos om D. (*z in mg*). qui (2) — 3
iterum R *mut*. 3 et — 7 eorum p 11 habuimus in v. 3 mōltos G. multos
annos Ψ. annos <non> multos WARE. O'CONNOR. adhuc om Ψ.

15 2 Petr 1,13 *quamdiu sum in hoc corpore* (*h: tabernaculo I [z] VULG*). Cf Conf
44 (249,4). 22 Ps 49,15 *in die pressurae* (*Cypr ActMontani PsMax* [Θλιψρως LXX]:
tribulationis *PSALT^{cell}* tuae (*om Cypr PsMax c LXX^{pl}*). Cf Conf 5 (236,23—24).
241,23—242,2 Matth 10,19—20 dabitur enim uobis in illa die (*Hilⁱⁿ Ps 118* [447,19—21
Zingerle] *pr codd* CEP, c (C*)^{gr} *sy^{pal}* *COPT^{boh}* (3 *codd*): hora *VetLat^{cell}, VULG*) quid
loquamini: non enim uos estis qui loquimini, sed sps patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis.

nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis. *Responsum autem diuinum*
 5 audiui dicentem mihi: 'Duobus mensibus eris cum illis'. Quod
 ita factum est: nocte illa sexagesima *liberauit me Dominus de*
manibus eorum.

22 22. Etiam in itinere praeuidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem
 cotidie donec decimo die peruenimus homines. Sicut superius in-
 10 sinuauimus, uiginti et octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et ea nocte qua
 peruenimus homines de cibo uero nihil habuimus.

23 23. Et iterum post paucos annos in Britanniiis eram cum paren-
 tibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt et ex fide rogauerunt me ut
 uel modo ego post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli nusquam ab
 15 illis discederem,

et ibi scilicet *uidi in uisu noctis* uirum uenientem quasi de
 Hiberione, cui nomen Victoricus, cum epistolis innumerabilibus,

4 prima — cum R *mut.* prima nocte Ψ. itaque *deest* in Ψ. autem *deest* in Ψ.
 5 dicentem mihi *om* D. dicente F. dicens G'v. Ψ. mihi — mensibus R *mut.*
 duobus mensibus Ψ. duobus autem mensibus D: duos menses PvFΔ₂. 6 nocte illa
 sexagesima D. (-esima) v *ex Usserio*: sexagesimo die Ψ: nocte illa sexagesimo (-esimo
 C) die PFΔ₂. -simo — liberauit R *mut.* 7 eorum: illorum P. 8 etiam in itinere
deest Ψ. etiam: et ecce P. ecce Δ. (in itinere autem v.) itinere D. praeuidit:
 (prouidit v.) nobis — igne- R *mut.* cibum P. 9 decimo Ψ. x decimo D: xiiii.
 P. quarto decimo vΔ. die peruenimus R *mut.* (praeuenimus v.) homines Pv.
 ad omnes R. ad homines Δ₂. *Mura* (Prob). *defendit* Bury: omnes DF. sicut — 11
 homines *om* F. sicut — 11 habuimus *deest* Ψ. 10 xx et viii DP. dies per *om* D. dies
 per desertum R *mut.* disertum D. *facimus* D. 11 (peruenimus: praeuimus v.) ho-
 mines P. ad homines Δ₂: omnes DvR. cibo P. uero nihil R *mut.* (p habuimus *ins* 3 et
 — 7 eorum v.) 12 (et *om* v.) Britannis D. britanniis P. britanniis (-anis Δ₂) Δ.
 Britannia Ψ. (v): cf 248, 23 sq. cum parentibus R *mut.* 13 susceperunt D.
 (exceperunt v.) 13—14 -runt — uel R *mut.* p ut (2) *rasura*, ut *uid*, in G.
 14 modo: sic Ψ. ego: me PFΔ₂. *om* vR. *de* Ψ *non constat.* tribulationes *ex* -atas
 F. quas — pertuli *deest* Ψ. nusquam ab R *mut.* nusquam: numquam Pvδ. Ψ.
 15 illis: stis (i. e. istis), ut *uid*, R. discedere R. 16 scilicet *deest* in Ψ. (ibi uero
 V₂) uidi p 17 innumerabilibus D. uisu (Φ), cf uidiit uisionem W: sinu D. nocte
 PΔ. (de nocte v.) *de* Ψ *non constat.* uenientem qu- R *mut.* 17 cui nomen uictori-
 cus D: uictoricus nomen PΔ. (Uictricius nomine v.): Uictoricum (Uictorem V₄)
 nomine Ψ. -merabilibus et R *mut.*

4 responsum diuinum: Rom 11, 4; cf Conf 17, 29, 35. 6—7 Gen 37, 21 liberauit
 (cum ἐξείλατο LXX, *Lugd Aug*: nitebatur liberare VULG) eum de manibus eorum.
Locutio in Libris Sacris usitata. 16 Dan 7, 13 uidebam (aspiciebam ergo VULG)
 in uisu ([g] *Cypr Lacl Ruf Aug Vig*: uisione *Lucif VULG*) noctis (-te *Cypr*). Cf
 Conf 29 (244, 13).

- et dedit mihi unam ex his et legi principium epistolae continen-
tem 'Vox Hiberionacum', et cum recitabam principium epistolae
20 putabam ipso momento audire uocem ipsorum, qui erant iuxta
siluam Vocluti quae est prope mare occidentale, et sic exclamaue-
runt *quasi ex uno ore*: 'Rogamus te, [sancte] puer, ut uenias et adhuc
ambulas inter nos',
243,1 et ualde *compunctus sum corde* et amplius non potui legere et sic
expertus sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos praestitit illis
Dominus secundum clamorem illorum.
24 24. Et alia nocte — *nescio, Deus scit*, utrum in me an iuxta me —
5 uerbis peritissime, quos ego audiui et non potui intellegere, nisi
ad postremum orationis sic effitatus est: '*Qui dedit animam suam pro te*,

18 et dedit: occidit P. unum R. his: illis (Φ). continentem P. hoc continens Ψ.
18—19 continentem — uo- R mut. 19 hiberionacum P. (hiberio na/cum F) Δ. Hyber-
ionacum D. Hiberionum Ψ. (Hyberionarum v.) cum vΔ. dum D: tunc P. (cum reci-
tabam *restitui in Ψ, sed u uar lect.*) epistolae om Ψ. 20 enim p putabam *ins D. ipso*
momento v. (moment[R] Δ). Ψ. ipso momente P. ipse in mente D. audiui P. uocem
ipsorum audire Ψ. ipsorum: illorum R 21 silua C. -m deest in R. Vocluti scripsi
cum R. THURNEYSEN et T. F. O'RAHILLY: focluti D. (v ex Usserio): foclut(h), ut uid,
Ψ: uirgulti uoluti Φ (uirgulti uelutique P. uirgulti . . . V teste PAPEBROCHIO. uirgulti
ueluti R. uirgultiq; F. uirgulti uolutiq; Δ₂, *sed puncta sub uoluti in G.*) occidentale
Dv: occidentem PΔ. exclama- R mut. 22 quasi — ore om D. hore PF. sancte
deleuit R. A. S. MACALISTER (JOURN. R. SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND 62 [1932]
25 l.). sancte puer D (v ex Usserio). V₃Tin: sanctum puerum PΔ.V₂. (ex interpolatione
liturgica sancte puer Patrici V₃D₈, sancte Patrici V₄: sanctum puerum Patricium V₃Gr Γ.)
uenias R mut. 23 ambulas D: ambules (Φ). Ψ. inter nos ambules R. 1 ampli-
us: uaid amplius D. -plus R mut. 2 expertus D: expergefactus (Φ). Ψ.
annos plurimos (-os ex -us F) (Φ). praestitit: prestat P. 3 illorum: eorum (Φ).
(ω) *desinit Ψ. 4 scit: sit F. 5 peritissime (z in mg) D. peritissimi P. peritissimis*
vΔ₂, pritissimis F. perterritus R. <audiebam quosdam ex spiritu psallentes intra me
et nesciebam qui essent> quos ego audiui ex V₄ dubio iure suppl v. fortasse: apertissime
(uerbum suppleri potest ex 242,21). intelligere PvG. intelligere, ut uid, R. 6 post-
remum (Φ): posterum D. effitatus P. efficiatus D: affatus vΔ. effatus STOKES,
cf l 12 (Δ₂). qui dedit pro te animam suam Pv. qui pro te animam suam RF. qui
pro te animam suam posuit Δ₂.

22 Dan 3,51 quasi (R Nicetius *Spicilegium III 12a [Sab] l VULG: tamquam*
Cyp^{codd} mell) ex uno ore. 1 cf Act 2,37 *compuncti sunt corde. Ps 108,17 homi-*
minem . . . compunctum corde. 4 2 Cor 12,2 siue in corpore nescio (om Aug Pelag
DH^c SUW ζ S) siue extra corpus nescio, ds scit. 12,3 siue in corpore siue extra
corpus nescio (om Iren c B⁶⁷), ds scit. Cf Conf 27 (244,3). 6 1 Ioh 3,16 quoniam
ille animam suam pro nobis (mΣ Aug [pecc merit 2,54. Spec^Ssem] vg: pro nobis
animam suam h l m^S q Aug [Spec^{sem} Serm 565,28 Morin] VULG) posuit.

ipse est qui loquitur in te', et sic expertus sum gaudibundus.

- 25 25. Et iterum uidi in me ipsum orantem et eram quasi intra corpus meum et audiui super me, hoc est super *interiorem hominem*,
 10 et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus, et inter haec *stupebam et admirabam et cogitabam* quis esset qui in me orabat, sed ad postremum orationis sic effitatus est ut sit Spiritus, et sic expertus sum et recordatus sum apostolo dicente: *Spiritus adiuuat infirmitates orationis nostrae: nam quod oremus sicut oportet nescimus: sed ipse Spiritus*
 15 *postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus, quae uerbis exprimi non possunt; et iterum: Dominus aduocatus noster postulat pro nobis.*
 26 26. Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis, qui uenerunt, et peccata mea, contra laboriosum episcopatum meum,

7 ipse — te om (Φ). expertus D: expergefactus PΔ. gaudebundus PΔ. (et sic euigillauit v.) 8 (uidi: audiui v.) (eram: erat v.) quasi om C. 9 super me om D. 10 stupebam R. admirabar (Φ). 11 in me orabat: oret in me PΔ (oraret in me v.) ad: at R. om P. postremum P. 12 effitatus P. efficiatus D: effatus Δ₂. effectus F. effectus R. (dixit v.) spiritus: episcopus DRFC. sps (s prius e corr) G. (se esse Spiritum v.) expertus: exceptus P. (om v.) sic p et (2) ins P. 13 infirmitatem (Φ). 13—14 orationis nostrae Dv. nostre orationis Δ: nostram orationis P. 14 nam quod D: nam quid (numquid FΔ₂, sed corr in G' et a manu saec. XVII in C) (Φ). 15 inerrabilibus D. quae: qui P. exp̄mi D. (exprimere v.) 16 possunt D. possum v. potest PΔ. dominus: deus C. est p aduocatus ins PvF. (et ipse p noster ins v.) 17 et — (Φ) 244, 13 illam om D (in mg manus recentior: multa desunt). temptatus F. 18 episcopato meo P. p meum uerbum excidisse suspicatur BURY.

9 Eph 3,16 uirtute corroborari . . . in interiorem hominem (cum GR εἰς τὸν ἕσω ἀνθρώπων, c d e g Tert TEST^{al} BFHKNPV cod caraf. cor ual. C: in interiore homine f t VULG^{cell}). 10—11 Is 29,9 obstupescite et admiramini VULG: deficite et a mente (amentes m) estote m w cum LXX. Act 8,13 stupebat (e p. obstupiscebat d: stupens admirabatur e gig r VULG). Cf Dan 8,27 (VULG). Hab 1,5 (vg). Luc 1,29 et cogitabat qualis esset ista salutatio c (d) dim h₂ r₂ l' (δ deer L) VULG^{pr} L: et erat cogitans quod sic benedixisset eam VLP^l. 13—16 Rom 8,26 sps adiuuat infirmitates (Conf^D cum [KLP al]^{gr}: infirmitatem VetLat VULG) orationis nostrae (codd gr-lat Ft, Gg. VULG^{F*}; nostrae orationis t Ambrst Ambr D: infirmitatem nostram c d VULG^{pl}); nam quod (g t: quid VetLat^{cell}. VULG) oremus sicut oportet nescimus: sed ipse sps postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus (enarrabilibus D) (quae uerbis exprimi non possunt t F*GLT: qui eloqui non possunt (omissa uoce inenarrabilibus) d*, et capitula in A al). Cf Conf 35 (246,4) quae uerbis exprimere non ualeo. 16 1 Ioh 2,1 aduocatum (paracletum Faust) habemus apud patrem ihm xpm iustum. Cf supra Rom 8,26 sed ipse sps postulat pro nobis. Qui loci similiter atque hic iunguntur in PsAug. Quaest Vet et Noui Test app 77 (471,3—4 Souter) habemus aduocatum qui postulat pro peccatis nostris.

- utique illo die fortiter *impulsus sum ut caderem* hic et in aeternum;
 20 sed Dominus pepercit proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum
 benigne
 et ualde mihi subuenit in hac conculcatione. Quod in labe et in obpro-
 brium non male deueni! Deum oro ut *non illis in peccatum reputetur*.
 27 27. *Occasionem* post annos triginta *inuenerunt me aduersus*
 uerbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus. Propter
 244,1 anxietatem maesto animo insinuauit amicissimo meo quae in pueritia
 mea una die gesseram, immo in una hora, quia necdum praeualebam.
Nescio, Deus scit, si habebam tunc annos quindecim, et Deum uiuum
 non credebam, neque ex infantia mea, sed in morte et in increduli-
 5 tate mansi donec ualde castigatus sum *et in ueritate humiliatus sum*
a fame et nuditate, et cotidie.
 28 28. Contra Hiberione non sponte pergebam, *donec prope deficiebam*;
 sed hoc potius bene mihi fuit, qui ex hoc emendatus sum a
 Domino, et aptauit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me
 10 erat, ut ego curam haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando
 autem tunc etiam de me ipso non cogitabam.

19 utique: utque C. (nonnumquam v.) in a illo ins vΔ. sum om P. et om P.
 in aeternum: et internum R. 21 labe PRC. labe sequente rasura F. labē G. labem v.
 obproprium P. 22 deo P. reputetur: deputetur R. 23 occasionum PΔ. (occasio: nam
 v.) corr WHITE. uero p annos ins R. xxx^{ta} P. .xxx. R. et p me ins Δ. 24 antequam
 vRF: ante quod PC. ante qm (ex qd?) G'. *nescio an scripserit Patricius* antequod (= antequam), cf E. LÖFSTEDT Vermischte Studien zur lateinischen Sprachkunde u.
 Syntax, 1936, 20. 244,1 anxietatem R. (nc corr in m) G. meo finit R.
 (φ) 2 in una: incina G. 3 habeam Δ₂. annis (-os ex -is G) δ. xu. P. 4 in incre-
 dulitate: in crudelitate F. 7 hiberionē G. (Hyberionem v.) donec — deficie-
 bam om P. 8 hoc vG: hec P. hec FC. qui: quia vFC. qa G. 10 curas vδ.
 11 autem *punctis subtilis* G. (autem tunc om v.)

19 Ps 117,13 tamquam cumulus arenae impulsus sum ut caderem Aug R Moz¹: im-
 pulsus uersatus (euersus Prosp Cass Gall^{pl}, subuersus Ambr) sum ut caderem PsV^{-om}
 Gall. (ὠσθηῖς ἀνετράπην τοῦ πεσεῖν LXX): impulsus pellebar ut caderem Heb.
 22 Deut 24,15 ne . . . reputetur tibi in peccatum (m^{am} Aug^{Spec} VULG: et erit in
 te peccatum m^{SΣ}). Cf 1 Par 21,3 quod in peccatum reputetur Israel. 2 Tim 4,16 in
 prima defensione nemo mihi adfuit . . . non illis reputetur (imputetur VL^{om}. TEST.
 DGHΘRVWZ. cod cara¹.vg). 23 Dan 6,5 non inueniemus aduersus Danihel causam
 g: non inueniemus Danieli huic (om Hier) aliquam occasionem VULG. 244,3 nescio,
 ds scit: 2 Cor 12,2.3; u Conf 24 (243,4). 5 Ps 118,75 et in (om R Aug GR) ueritate
 <tua RV Ambr Rom Gall Med^{man}. Moz² R^{8r}> humiliasti me (in ueritate: uere Hil Heb).
 6 cf 2 Cor 11,27 (Deut 28,24) in fame . . . et nuditate. 7 cf Ps 17,38 donec deficiant

- 29 29. Igitur in illo die quo *reprobatus sum* a memoratis supradictis ad noctem illam *uidi in uisu noctis* scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore, et inter haec audiui *responsum diuinum* dicentem mihi: Male uidimus faciem designati nudato nomine, nec sic praedixit: Male uidisti, sed: Male uidimus, quasi sibi se iunxisset, sicut dixit: *Qui uos tangit quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi mei.*
- 30 30. Idcirco *gratias ago ei qui me* in omnibus *confortauit*, ut non me impediret a profectioe quam statueram et de mea quoque opera quod a Christo Domino meo didiceram, sed magis ex eo *sensi in me uirtutem* non paruam et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus.
- 31 31. Vnde autem *audenter dico* non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum: *teste Deo* habeo *quia non sum mentitus* 25 in sermonibus quos ego retuli uobis.

(ω) 13 uidi *inc* D. uissu D. <scriptum quod> scriptum erat BURY. 14 diuinum *om* D. dicens G'v. 15 uidimus: audiuimus D. designati DV: dei signati P⁵. Deisignati (*i. e.* Θεοσφραγίστου) *interpretatur* MAC ERLEAN (cf. D. S. NERNEY I.E.R. 71, 1949, 504¹), *fortasse recte.* 16 sibi D: ibi (φ). *an s<i> ibi? cf* LEUMANN-HOFMANN p. 783 iunxit (φ). *uerba quasi — iunxisset glossam esse suspicatur* P. GROSJEAN. 17 tangit *bis* D. (tanget *posteriore loco v.*) qui (2) *om* P. (quasi qui *om v.*) pupilla P. 18 iccirco G. ut: et P. 19 impediret D. *inpe*diret* G. *inpenderet* FC. *quam s s* G. *qua* D. *meo.* opere G'v. 20 domino *om* (φ). *dediceram* D. 20—21 in *me om* D. 23—24 conscientia mea: conscientiam P. 24 teste deo abeo D. *testem deo habeo* P. *testem deum habeo* v⁵. *mentitus: mentius* P. 25 uobis *om* (φ).

12 1 Petr 2,7 (*ex* Ps 117,22) lapis quem reprobauerunt aedificantes (reprobatus lapis *Iren^{4,33,1}*). 13 uidi in uisu noctis: Dan 7,13; *u* Conf 23 (242,16). 14 responsum diuinum: Rom 11,4. Cf Conf 17.21.35. 17 Zach 2,8 ὁ ἀπτόμενος ὑμῶν ὡς <ὁ Ν ΑΓQ *Lukian Catenae*> ἀπτόμενος τῆς κόρης τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ (μου W) LXX. *quia* (quoniam *Bodl Auct F. 4.32*) qui tangit (*m. tetigerit HierLXX*: qui enim tetigerit [*Tert*] *VULG*) uos <quasi (sicut *m*) qui *Bodl Auct F. 4.32*; *m Aug Ambr. (om qui) HierLXX*: ac si *Tert*> tangit pupillam oculi eius (ipsius *Bodl Auct F. 4.32. mei* [*Tert*] *Vig vg*). 18 1 Tim 1,12 gratias ago ei qui me confortauit *VLP^r dg. VULG*. cf Phil 4,13 (*pr d e g*). 20—21 Luc 8,46 *sensi* (c; *Tert. sentio Ambr. De Isaac 43, p 667, 16—11 Schenkl: sciu d. scio Hier. noui g₂ h₂ VULG^{pl}, cf Aug. cognoui VLP^l Ambr. Exp Luc VI.53. PGL) uirtutem de (a *VL^{cd}*) me exisse (uidens quod exierat . . . μ) *VL. VULG*. Marc 5,30 cognoscens (cognouit *c d e f g r₁*. cognito *b*) in semetipso uirtutem *VL. VULG*. 23 Act 2,29 liceat audenter dicere *c t VULG* (dicere audacter *p²*. dicere constanter *gig p* r*. dicere cum fiducia [cf *GR* εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρησιας] *d e*). Cf Conf 33 (245,11). 24 2 Cor 1,23 ego autem testem dm inuoco in animam meam, quod . . . Gal 1,20 quae autem scribo uobis, ecce coram do quia non mentior. Cf Conf 44.54.*

- 32 32. Sed magis doleo pro amicissimo meo cur hoc meruimus audire
tale responsum. Cui ego credidi etiam animam! Et comperi ab
aliquantis fratribus ante defensionem illam (quod ego non interfui
245,1 nec in Brittanniis eram nec a me orie(ba)tur) ut et ille in mea absentia
pulsaret pro me; etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat: 'Ecce dandus es
tu ad gradum episcopatus', quod non eram dignus. Sed unde uenit
illi postmodum ut coram cunctis, bonis et malis, et me publice deho-
5 nestaret quod ante sponte et laetus indulserat, et Dominus, qui *maior*
omnibus est?
- 33 33. Satis dico. Sed tamen non debeo abscondere *donum Dei* quod
largitus est nobis *in terra captiuitatis meae*, quia tunc fortiter inquisiui
eum et ibi inueni illum et seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus
10 (sic credo) *propter inhabitantem Spiritum* eius, qui *operatus est* usque
in hanc diem in me. *Audenter* rursus. Sed scit Deus, si mihi homo
hoc effatus fuisset, forsitan tacuissem propter *caritatem Christi*.
- 34 34. Vnde ergo indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, qui me fidelem
seruauit *in die temptationis meae*, ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi
15 sacrificium ut *hostiam uiuentem* animam meam Christo Domino meo,

15 SECUNDINUS 40: quam (*i e* carnem) ut hostiam placentem uiuam offert Domino.

- (φ) 26 sed — 245,28 ultra est *om D* (*in mg manus recentior*: desunt plurima). doleo: deleo F. 27 talem P. ego: ergo C. 28 defensionem vδ: dissensionem P. interfui: inter. P. 245,1 britanniis P. (Britanniis v.) orie(ba)tur BURY: oriatur (φ) 2 pro me pulsaret δ. (pulsatur pro me v.) dandus: datus F. (promouendus v.) 4 ille P. coram: curam P. malas P. et (2): ut P. (in v.) publice Δ₂. 7 non *om* F. 11 (hanc: hunc v.) (audenter — 12 fuisset *non consonat* v.) audienter F. scit: sit F. 14 confitenter F. 15 uiuentem (φ); *sed uiuam (c VL) Secundinus*.
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5—6 Ioh 10,29 ὁ πατήρ μου ὃς δέδωκέν μοι μείζων πάντων ἐστίν ΓΔΛΠα, cf omnium maior est *d* (πάντων μείζων ἐστίν N DL): pater meus quod dedit mihi maius omnibus est *Vet Lat^{pl}, VULG cum B^{gr}* ὁ πατήρ μου ὃ δέδωκέν μοι μείζων πάντων ἐστίν. 7 donum di: Ioh 4,10. Cf Conf 14 (239,6). 62 (253,15). 8 in terra captiuitatis meae: 2 Par 6,37 *et passim*; cf Conf 3 (236,5). 10 Rom 8,11 propter (διὰ τό: per, cum διὰ τοῦ [NAC min]^{gr}, J Aug Vig) inhabitantem spm eius in uobis. 1 Cor 12,11 haec autem omnia operatus est (*Ambr*: operatur *Vet Lat^{cell}, VULG*) unus atque idem sps. 11 audenter: Act 2,29. Cf Conf 31 (244,23). 12 caritatem Christi: 2 Cor 5,14. Cf Conf 13 (239,3). 14 Ps 94,9 in die temptationis A M Heb: secundum (κατά LXX) diem temptationis Aug R Rom G Gall Moz² Med^{man}. 15 Rom 12,1 hostiam uiuentem (ζῶσαν) c—J m^S I VULG^{pl}, uiuam uel uiuentem g. uiuam que m^S w Tert Aug^{Spec} pr PRSav, Faust DO*R. cf *Secund*.

qui me *seruauit ab omnibus angustiis meis*, ut et dicam: *Quis ego sum, Domine*, uel quae est uocatio mea, qui mihi † tanta diuinitate cooperasti †, ita ut hodie *in gentibus* constanter *exaltarem et magnificarem nomen tuum* ubicumque loco fuero, nec non in secundis
 20 sed etiam in pressuris, ut quicquid mihi euenerit siue bonum siue malum aequaliter debeo suscipere et Deo gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem eum sine fine crederem et qui me audierit ut ego inscius et *in nouissimis diebus* hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum auderem adgrederi, ita ut imitarem quippiam illos
 25 quos ante Dominus iam olim praedixerat praenuntiuros euangelium suum *in testimonium omnibus gentibus ante finem mundi*, quod ita ergo uidimus itaque suppletum est: ecce testes sumus quia euangelium praedicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.

35 246,1 35. Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum uel per partes. Breuiter dicam qualiter piissimus Deus de seruitute

17—18 tanta diuinitatē (*uirgula incerta*) cooperasti P. tantā diuinitatē (-am C) coop(er)uisti S. (tantam diuinitatem denudasti v.) tantam diuinitatem aperuisti WHITE. tantam diuinitatem comparasti GROSJEAN. tanta diuinitate comparuisti *ipse temptabam*, cf *uar lect ad 246,28*. 18 in om F. in gentibus constanter om v. exaltarem v: exultarem P8; cf *uar lect ad 251,19*. 19 loco eras G. (in quocumque loco v.) etiam p non ins P. (nec tantum v.) 20 psuris P. 22 et: ut F. 23 audierit (φ); *malim* adiuuerit. et p ut ins v8. et in: in F. sim Δ₂ (*in exemplari uidetur fuisse et^{is} = etsi in*). (inscius et om v.) 24 eum p mirificum ins P. auderem adgrederi P. (auderem aggredi v): audirem adgrederi F. adire adgrederi C. adire aggredere G. imitarer G'v. quispian PFC. quospian (o e corr) G. (om v): *correxi*; cf 250,10. 25 praenuntiuros v. prenuntiurus PΔ₂. prenuntiatum F. 26 gntib; F. 27 ut p ergo ins Δ₂. subpletum P. (quod
 (ω) sicut uidimus ita suppletum est v.) 28 euangelium (a ex u, ut uid) F. 246,1 longum inc D. 2 per: pre P. piissimus D. piissimus ex possimus F. deus: dominus P.

16 Ps 33,7 ab omnibus angustiis eius saluauit eum M: ex (de Gall^{CUW} Heb) omnibus tribulationibus (<eius Aug R Rom G C aug² Gall al> saluauit (saluum fecit Aug R. liberauit Rom G C aug² al) eum PSALTP^r M: Cf Ps 33,5 ex (de Heb) omnibus angustiis (tribulationibus Aug R A Rom G H Gall Med^{man}) meis liberauit (saluabit A. eruit Aug R. eripuit Rom G C m H Gall Moz Med^{man}) me. 16—17 2 Reg. 7,18 quid (*Ambr VULG*: quid Aug) ego sum dne. 18 Ps 45,11 exaltabor in gentibus VLP^l. VULG. GR (inter[in C]gentes CGHMed^{man}). Ps 33,4 magnificate dnm mecum et exaltemus (-ate M. exultemus A) nomen eius. Eccl 33,10 ex ipsis exaltauit (-bit A) et magnificauit ds. Cf Is 25,1 (Conf 3). 23 in nouissimis diebus: Act 2,17, u Conf 40 (247,23 sq). 26 in testimonium omnibus gentibus ante finem mundi: cf Matth 24,14; u Conf 40 (247,21 sq).

- saepe liberauit et de periculis duodecim qua periclitata est anima mea, praeter insidias multas et quae uerbis exprimere non ualeo. Nec 5 iniuriam legentibus faciam; sed Deum auctorem habeo, qui nouit omnia etiam antequam fiant, ut me pauperculum pupillum ideo tamen *responsum diuinum* creber admonere.
- 36 36. Vnde mihi haec sapientia, quae in me non erat, qui nec *nume-
rum dierum noueram* neque Deum sapiebam? Vnde mihi postmodum 10 donum tam magnum tam salubre Deum agnoscere uel diligere, sed ut patriam et parentes amitterem?
- 37 37. Et munera multa mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrimis et offendi illos, nec non contra uotum aliquantis de senioribus meis, sed gubernante Deo nullo modo consensi neque adqueiui illis — non 15 mea gratia, sed Deus qui uincit in me et resistit illis omnibus, ut ego ueneram ad Hibernas gentes euangelium praedicare et ab incredulis contumelias perferre, ut *audirem obprobrium peregrinationis meae*, et persecutiones multas *usque ad uincula* et ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate aliorum et, si dignus fuero,

11 cf VITA S. FURSEI 2: patriam parentesque relinquens. 16 cf SECUNDINUS 17 sq: electa Christi talenta uendit euangelica, quae Hibernas inter gentes cum usuris exigit.

- 3 <me> p saepe ins PAPERBROCH; potius in 3—4 scribendum animam meam, nisi obiectum subintellegi debet. et de: ex vδ. periculis xii D: duodecim periculis (φ). qua: quibus (φ). 4 exprmere D. et p nec ins Pδ. (ne iniuriam v.) 5 deum: dum δ. (φ) (dominum v.) habeo om D. 6 ut — 22 indulgeret om D. me om P. 6—7 ideo tamen *vix sanum*. om v. idio<tam> tamen WHITE (1905); idiotam (1918); cf Act 4,13. 7 creber admonere *non sine dubitatione scripsi*: creuerat monere P. creber admoneret F. (creberrime admoneret v.) creberrime admonuit Δ₂. 8 erat: erit P. 9 deum om P. 10 tam (1): tam P. (13 illos: illic v. aliquantos v.) 14 adqueiui: adquesiui F. 15 ui*cit G. (uicit v.) restitit Δ₂. (restiti v.) et a ut ins P. (ut ego: quatenus v. Hybernas v.) 17 audirem Pv: aurem (corr in haurirem G) δ. obprobrium P. 18 persecutionis FC. a ingenuitatem ins me PF, me et v. 19 utilitatem C.
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246,4 quae uerbis exprimere non ualeo: cf Rom 8,26; u Conf 25 (243,15 sq). 7 responsum diuinum: Rom 11,4. Cf Conf 17.21.29. 8 Matth 13,45 unde huic <omnis d. D^{8r}> sapientia haec (om ff₂ R) VLP^l. VULG: sapientiam istam ek: ista sap. ff₁ Ambr. sap. tanta c(h). 8—9 Ps 38,5 notum fac mihi dne . . . numerum dierum meorum. 17 Eccli 29,30 et improprium peregrinationis non audies (καὶ ὀνειδισμὸν παροικίας οὐ [οἰκίας σου codd: emend Smend] μὴ ἀκούσης ·N^c.^a. *com-
plures*). 18 usque ad uincula: 2 Tim 2,9.

- 20 *promptus sum ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine eius et ibi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus mihi indulgeret,*
- 38 (38) *quia ualde debitor sum Deo, qui mihi tantam gratiam donauit ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur et postmodum con-*
 25 *summarentur et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper uenientem ad credulitatem, quam sumpsit Dominus ab extremis terrae, sicut olim promiserat per prophetas suos: Ad te gentes uenient ab extremis terrae et dicent: sicut falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola*
 247,1 *et non est in eis utilitas; et iterum: Posui te lumen in gentibus ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae.*
- 39 39. *Et ibi uolo expectare promissum ipsius, qui utique numquam*

20 *promptus* v. *p(ro)ptus* F. *proptus* C. *p(ro)mtus* G. *prumptus* P. *incunctantur* F. (ω) 23 *quia inc* D. 24 *renascantur* (φ). *et* — *consummarentur om* D. *consumarentur* P. 25 *ut s l* F. *illi sequente rasura* G. *p ad rasura 2 litterarum in* G. 26 *ueniente* C. *sumsit* D. 27 *sicut* — 28 *terrae om* v. *promisserat* D. *profetas* D. *suos: suas* (*nouum fol.*) *suos* F. *ad* — 28 *dicent p* 247,1 *in eis utilitas* D. *te om* Pδ. *ueniunt* D. *ueniant* P. 28 *extremo* P *nescio an recte, sed cf supra l. 26.* *falso* D. *comparauerunt* P. (*a s s inter r et u priore loco* G) δ. *et a patres ins* F. 247,1 *utilitas in eis* (φ). (*lumen in: in lucem* v.) 2 (*usque ad ultimum terrae* v.) 3 *expectare: aspectare* F. *pollicitur* C. (*corr in -etur*) G. *polliciter* F.

20—23 *centonem dicas ex libris sacris compositum: promptus sum* Rom 1,15 (*d e w Orig DW: promptum est c g VULG^{pl}*); *animam meam* cf Ioh 13,37; Phil 2,30; *libentissime . . . impendere eam* cf 2 Cor 12,15 (*u Conf* 51); *usque ad mortem* Phil 2,8.30; *debitor sum* Rom 1,14. 26—27 *ab extremis terrae u infra*. 28 — 247,1 *Ier* 16,19 *ad te gentes uenient ab extremis (-o m Aug^{ter}. ἀπ' ἐσχάτου LXX; sed Hier^{HEB}LXX ab extremis, cf supra l 26)* *terrae et dicent: Quam (m Aug^{Faust}: quomodo Hier^{LXX}) falsa possederunt patres nostri idola (simulacra Aug^{Faust}) et non (nec m) est in eis (illis m) utilitas m Aug^{Faust}. Hier^{LXX} (uere mendacium possederunt patres nostri, uanitatem quae eis non profuit VULG. Hier^{HEB}, uere mendacia coluerunt patres nostri simulacra et non est in illis utilitas Aug[ConsEu. CiuDei]). *Patricius proxime accedit ad LXX* ὡς ψευδῆ ἐκτήσαντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εἰδῶλα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὠφέλημα. 247,1—2 *Act* 13,47 (*ex Is* 49,6) *posui te lumen (gig Cypr cum D^{*B^r}: in lumen c d e VULG^{pl}. in lucem Is, unde dem Cypr Hier Gaud CW vg) <in e DΘ> gentibus (gentium vg, cf nationum Ter^t, cum GR^{pr} D. Is) ut sis <illis D> in salutem usque ad extremum (c dem Ambr Hier Vig VULG; cf Epist 6: in extremum e Aug: ad ultimum d gig, cf Conf^v hic et codd omnes Conf 1.11). 3 *Act* 1,4 *expectarent promissum (e gig p*: promissionem VL^{cell} [m 2; p; s s: e]. VULG) patris. 2 Petr* 3,13 κατὰ (καὶ A) τὸ ἐπαγγέλημα (τὰ ἐπαγγέλματα AN al. sy^b) αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶμεν. *et (secundum Aug) promissa (-am z) ipsius expectamus.***

fallit, sicut in euangelio pollicetur: *Venient ab oriente et occidente*

5 *et recumbent cum Abraam et Isaac et Iacob.*

sicut credimus ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes.

40 40. Idecirco itaque oportet quidem bene et diligenter piscare, sicut Dominus praemonet et docet dicens: *Venite post me et faciam uos fieri pisces hominum*; et iterum dicit per prophetas: *Ecce*

10 *mitto pisces et uenatores multos, dicit Deus, et cetera.*

Vnde autem ualde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita ut *multitudo copiosa et turba* Deo caperetur et ubique essent clerici qui

7.11 SECUNDINUS 13 sq: Dominus illum elegit ut doceret barbaras nationes ut (et A) piscaret per doctrinae retia; cf. ΜΥΙΚΗΥ I. 7: adesse tempus ut ueniret et euangelico reti (rete A; euangelizaret in B) nationes feras et barbaras ad quas docendas misserat illum Deus <ut A> piscaret.

5 et ab austro et ab aquilone a et (1) ins D. et (1) om δ. abraham PΔ₂. habraham F. issac D. 7 itaque om vδ. quidem om D. diligentes F. diligenter D. piscari vG'. 8 praemonet: permonet P. et docet om (φ). 9 fieri om Pδ: *incertum est quid Patricius scripserit, cf apparatus biblicum.* pisces: peccatores F. iterum F. dicit per prophetas om D. ego p ecce ins vδ. 10 pisces: peccatores F. deus: dominus (φ). 11 oportebatur Pδ (-at G'). 12 copiosa D. et (2): ut vδ.

4—5 Matth 8,11 ἤξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν (δυσμῶν καὶ ἀνατολῶν 120.140) καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν *Iust [Dial c Tryph 76.120.140]. cf RecClem. sy^{c.s.p.}Ephr.* multi uenient ab oriente et occidente et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum *dim Cypr Aug Faust HierPs 46.* multi a uenient ab oriente et occidente uenient et recumbent etc JP: multi <ali k> ab oriente et <ab μ.D> occidente uenient et recumbent (discumbent f. accumbent *Cypr^w (sem), cf lectiones uariantes in Luc 13,29*) cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno (-um g₁ k) caelorum *VeLat^{pl}. VULG^{-om} cum GR.* Conf^D *interpolatus uidetur esse e Luc 13,29* et uenient ab oriente et <ab i> occidente et <ab a d f l q r₂ a₂ μ M-TX* cum (BLR al)^{gr}> aquilone et austro et accumbent (recumbent b—d e f l₂ i q δ gal Aug CEM-T, discumbent a f r₁ a₂) in regno di. *Iren^{4,8,1}* quoniam uenient ab oriente et occidente, ab aquilone et austro, et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum. Cf Epist 18 (258,17—19). 8—9 Matth 4,19 (Marc 1,17) uenite post me et faciam uos fieri pisces hominum (fieri: ut sitis in Mt k; in Mc a. om in Mt h m δ Aug Ambr Gaud; in Mc b r₁. In GR γενέσθαι in Mt add S^b D 33 157 multi al; in Mc om Jam^s. 13 69 28 48 108 al c sy^{s.p.}). 9—10 cf Ier 16,16 ecce ego (om w Ambr) mittam (mitto Ambr. dismitto w) pisces multos, dicit dns, et piscabuntur eos: et post haec mittam (post — mittam om Ambr) multos uenatores et uenabuntur eos. 11—12 Luc 6,17 turba discipulorum eius et multitudo copiosa (ingens a f. magna d) plebis (populi a c—f. nimis l). Cf Luc 5,6 concluderunt piscium multitudinem copiosam (magnam a. multam d. om e).

baptizarent et exhortarent populum indigentem et desiderantem, sicut Dominus inquit in euangelio, ammonet et docet dicens: *Euntes* 15 *ergo nunc docete omnes gentes baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti docentes eos obseruare omnia quaecumque mandauit uobis: et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem* saeculi; et iterum dicit: *Euntes ergo in mundum uniuersum praedicate euangelium omni creaturae; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit* 20 *saluus erit; qui uero non crediderit condemnabitur; et iterum: Praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis;* et item Dominus per prophetam praenuntiat inquit: *Et erit*

13 baptizarent D. exhortarent P. (-tur G) δ. (exhortarentur v.) populum: p(ro)pt P. indigentem D. dissidentem D. 14 inquit om D. (rasura δ litterarum p dominus) G. admonet Pδ. (admonens et dicens v.) 15 ergo nunc om P. nunc om vδ. baptizantes D. eas D: eos (φ). 16 docentes — 18 saeculi: reliqua usque dicit saeculi D. obseruare: seruare Pv. (mandauit: dixero v.) 17 consumatione F. 18 dicit om D. (ergo om v.) 19 baptizatus D. 20 (qui — condemnabitur om v.) (φ) 20 et — 248,5 uiui: reliqua sunt exempla D. 21 mondo P. 23 praenuntiat PF: praenuntians vΔ₂.

14—18 Matth 28,19—20 euntes (ite d e msem Tert^{bapt}. 13 Cypr Aug Faust^{ter(e) 4}). Sac Leon SacrGelas ergo nunc (dim h₂ μ* gal DELQR Würzb' J': ergo c e / fl₁ 2 g₁ 2 l q t' δ TEST^{mul}. VULG pr codd cell ut supra. nunc a b d h m n aur Hil cum D^{gr}. Tat^{arab}) <et e Tert^{praescr}. 20 (ire et docere). Cypr> docete omnes gentes baptizantes (tingentes Tert Cypr) eas (e n Tert Aug^{bapt}. 6, 44, 55. Sac Leon^{sem}. DR. om g₂: eos [VetLat. VULG]^{cell}) in nomine patris et filii et sps sci docentes eos obseruare (dim e g₂ h₂ δ μ gal Cypr IulFirm DE:PLQRX*: seruare [VetLat. VULG]^{cell}) omnia quaecumque mandauit (praecipi e Cypr) uobis et ecce (om dim, ut uid) ego uobiscum sum (sum uobiscum d cum D^{gr} sp^p) omnibus diebus usque ad (in Hil) consummationem saeculi (mundi Cypr). Hoc loco Conf^D cum VULG^D ad uerbum concordat. 18—20 Marc 16,15—16 euntes (ite c fl₂ gig q aur Ambr) in mundum uniuersum (uniuersum mundum l' D^{PO}. orbem uniuersum o. uniuersum orbem c q. uniuersum om gal. cf Tert^{apol}. 21 [praedicandi per orbem]. mundum om fl₂) <et c fl₂ gig q Ambr> praedicate euangelium omni (uniuersae c fl₂ gig q aur) creaturae; <et fl₂ q Ambr> qui <autem c> crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit, qui uero (autem o gal Gild. enim l') non crediderit condemnabitur (damnabitur c o q). Cf Epist 20 (259, 4—5). 21—22 Matth 24,14 praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni (meum l. om dim) in uniuerso orbe (in uniuerso mundo gig aur E. in toto orbe dim δ. in toto mundo d. per totum orbem e h r_[1]. 2 μ Cypr Hil Beat) <terrarum e l' Vict Beat: terrae Cypr> in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis (d e / [h] q r₂ δ Cypr Vict Beat [GR τὸ τέλος]: consummatio [VetLat. VULG]^{cell}) <saeculi dim R>. 23—248,3 Act 2, 17—18 (Ioel 2,28—29) et (om d gig p TEST^p cum D^{gr}) erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit dns, effundam de spu meo (spm meum d

*in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem
25 carnem et prophetabunt filii uestri et filiae uestrae et iuuenes uestri
248,1 uisiones uidebunt et seniores uestri somnia somniabunt et quidem super
seruos meos et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de spiritu meo
et prophetabunt; et in Osee dicit: Vocabo non plebem meam plebem
meam*

*et non misericordiam consecutam misericordiam consecutam et erit in
5 loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs mea uos, ibi uocabuntur filii Dei uiui.*

41 41. Vnde autem Hiberione qui numquam notitiam Dei habue-
runt nisi idola et inmunda usque nunc semper coluerunt quomodo
nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncupantur, filii Scottorum
et filiae regulorum monachi et uirgines Christi esse uidentur?

42 10 42. Et etiam una benedicta Scotta genetiua nobilis pulcherrima
adulta erat, quam ego baptizauit; et post paucos dies una causa uenit
ad nos, insinuauit nobis responsum accepisse a nuntio Dei et
monuit eam ut esset uirgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret: Deo

φ 25 uestri (1) *inc* V. iuuenes: filii Δ₂. iuuenes uestri *om* F. 248,1 somnia *bis* P.
3 prophetabant P. in *om* PVF. osee V. ose F. ose C. ose PG. plebem meam
semel tantum PC. 4 misericordiam consecutam *semel tantum* PC. 5 dictum est eis P.
ω plebs C. 6 unde *inc* D. dei *om* D. habuerant φ. 7 nissi D. idula D. et *om* V.
nunc *om* D. quomodo: quo C. 8 facta: facta PC. effecta V. perfecta FG; cf
Luc. 1,17. nuncupatur P₆. filii scottorum: filiis cottorum F. scottorum: c *eras*
in C. scorum D. 9 filiae: filii P. et (2) *om* F. esse: ipse (-e G) δ. 10 et — 251,13
φ uestris *om* D. scotta benedicta V. s*otta (c *eras*) C. genetiua F. gentiua C. *om* V.
11 adultera F. -a *in ras* G. 12 namque p insinuauit *ins* V. nuntio: nutu Δ₂.
13 eam: etiam δ. esset: permaneret V. Christi *om* F. ipsa: sic V. *fortasse*:
ipsa(m); cf 4 Esdr 8,47.

Rebapt cum Ioel^{VULG} super (in *gig Iren*) omnem carnem et prophetabunt filii uestri
et filiae uestrae et iuuenes uestri uisiones uidebunt et seniores uestri (*om e*) somnia
somniabunt et quidem super seruos meos et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam
de spu meo et prophetabunt. 248,3—5 Rom 9,25—26 sicut <et, *cum GR, d f g Aug*
O> in (*om Aug cum B⁸⁷*) Osee dicit: Vocabo non plebem meam plebem meam (non
populum meum populum meum *Iren Cypr*) et non misericordiam consecutam mise-
ricordiam consecutam (*pro* et non *mis*. — *mis. consecutam* [*d³ Tert Hier Pel VULG^{pl}*];
et non dilectam dilectam *d* e—g gig w TEST^{al}. DF^{cl}*R. ambas lectiones coniungunt*
*c dem Orig O*ZH²OUW. cor uat. vg Monac Clm 4577*) et erit in loco ubi dictum est
eis (*pro* dictum est eis: dicitur eis *e*. uocabitur *Iren D. uocabuntur d g Cypr*): Non
plebs mea uos, ibi uocabuntur filii di uiui. Cf Oseas 1,10 (*ubi eis p dictum est om*
w); 2,1.21(24). 8 cf Luc 1,17 parare dno plebem perfectam (consummatam *d. popu-*
lum perfectum a δ. populum compositum e).

- gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et audissime arripuit illud quod
 15 etiam omnes uirgines Dei ita hoc faciunt — non sponte patrum
 earum, sed et persecutiones patiuntur et impropria falsa a par-
 entibus suis et nihilominus plus augetur numerus (et de genere nostro
 qui ibi nati sunt nescimus numerum eorum) praeter uiduas et conti-
 nentes.
- 20 Sed ex illis maxime laborant quae seruitio detinentur: usque
 ad terrores et minas assidue perferunt; sed Dominus gratiam dedit
 multis ex ancillis suis, nam etsi uentantur tamen fortiter imitantur.
- 43 43. Vnde autem etsi uoluerō amittere illas et ut peregens in Brit-
 tanniis — et libentissime *paratus eram* quasi ad patriam et
 25 parentes; non id solum sed etiam usque ad Gallias uisitare fratres et
 ut uiderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei: scit Deus quod ego ualde
 optabam, sed *alligatus Spiritu*, qui mihi *protestatur* si hoc fecero, ut
 futurum reum me esse designat et timeo perdere laborem quem
 inchoaui, et non ego sed Christus Dominus, qui me imperauit ut
 249,1 uenirem esse cum illis residuum aetatis meae, *si Dominus*
uoluerit et custodierit me ab omni uia mala, ut non *peccem coram illo*;
- 44 (44) spero autem hoc debueram, sed memet ipsum non credo

24—25 cf VITA S. FURSEI 2: dum patriam parentesque uisitare properaret.

14 sexta *ex -o* P. 15 ita hoc: similiter V. sponte: uoluntate V. sed et: immo V. et *om* C. 16 persecutionum F. persecuciones V. patuntur V. patiantur δ . impropria: *inp(ro)pa* F. apparentibus C. 17 nihilominus: nihil hominus PC. 20 *ex illis scripsi*: et (*om* P) *illas* (*illa sequente rasura* G) ϕ . et *illae* WARE. 21 *ad om* P. et: ut P. assidue V. assidue G. assidue C. perferunt: *perseuer* F. *persua-*
serunt Δ_2 . 22 *suis*: *meis* δ . *etsi uentantur*: et (*om* Δ_2) *siue tantum* ϕ . *corr* PAPER-
 MOCH. 23 *p uoluerō ras ca 11 litt in* G. amittere V. imitare P. ut: ita P. brit-
 tanniis P. brithanniis V. 25 *ad om* P δ . fratres *ex* fratribus, *ut uid*, G. 26 ut
om P. 27 spiritus P. 28 futurum reum me: reum futurum V. perdere: pen-
 dere C. 29 inchoaui P. me: michi V. 249,1 esse cum *scripsi*: *essem* com P.
essemq; cum V. esse *mecum* (*meum* F. m [1] *eras* G) δ . *residuum* F. 3 *me-*
metipso F.

24 Ps 118,60 <prae-G>paratus sum PsV.Gall. Cf Conf 46 (249,22). 57 (252,6).
 27 Act 20,22 *alligatus* (*uinctus e [gig]* ego (*om* S*. ego *uinctus gig cum* [DHL]P^{er})
 spu. Cf Epist 10 (256,8). Act 20,23 nisi quod sps scs per omnes ciuitates mihi pro-
 testatur (*Lucif* R* *vg*: *protestatur mihi* [VetLat.VULG]^{ceff}). 249,1—2 Iac 4,15 si
 dns <ih̄s xps l> uoluerit. 2 Luc 15,18 peccaui . . . coram te.

- quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore mortis, quia fortis est qui cotidie nititur
 5 subuertere me a fide et praeposita castitate religionis non fictae usque
 in finem uitae meae Christo Domino meo, sed *caro inimica* semper
 trahit ad mortem, id est ad inlecebras inlicitate perficiendas;
 et scio ex parte quare uitam perfectam ego non egi sicut et ceteri
 credentes, sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in conspectu
 10 ipsius, quia non mentior, ex quo cognoui eum a iuuentute mea creuit
 in me amor Dei et timor ipsius, et usque nunc fauente Domino fidem
 seruaui.
- 45 45. Rideat autem et insultet qui uoluerit, ego non silebo neque
 abscondo signa et mirabilia quae mihi a Domino monstrata sunt
 15 ante multos annos quam fierent, quasi qui nouit omnia etiam ante
 tempora saecularia.
- 46 46. Vnde autem debueram sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui
 saepe indulgit insipientiae meae neglegentiae meae et de loco non
 in uno quoque ut non mihi uehementer irascetur, qui adiutor datus
 20 sum et non cito adqueiui secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat et

4 corpe V. nitantur P. 5 subuertitur P. praeposita: proposita Δ₂. ficta P.
 6 domino: deo G. 7 ad om P. illecebras VG. inlicitate: in infelicitate V. in-
 licite (e in ras aliquot litt) G. 8 quare scripsi: qua re φ. uitam — egi: ego uitam
 perfectam non didici V. et ceteri: ecceteri (e [3] ex x?) P. 9 in conspectu: in-
 spectu F. 10 ipsius: eius V. 13 silebo: similabo P. 14 quae: quem F. mon-
 strata: ministrata (i e munstrata) Vδ. 15 fierent: fuerunt (-ant G) δ. 16 tem-
 pora ex -e, ut uid, F. 17 autem: ego quidem V. debuero δ. 18 et a negle-
 gentiae ins V. et om P. 19 non om P. irascetur C. 20 et (1): ut P. quod:
 quid F.

4 2 Petr 1,13 quamdiu sum in hoc corpore (h: tabernaculo I[:] VULG). Rom
 7,24 quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Cf Conf 20 (241,15). 6 caro ini-
 mica: cf Rom 8,7 sapientia carnis inimica (w TEST^{mul}, BCDFHΘKLMORTUVWZ
 og; inimicitia e—g A al) est in dm. 8 scio ex parte: cf 1 Cor. 13,9 ex parte enim
 scimus (Iren^{4,9,2}: cognoscimus VetLat^{ceet}, VULG). 10 Gal 1,20 quia non mentior.
 Cf Conf 31,54. Ps 70,17 docuisti me a (H Rom Gall^{Rog} Med^{man} Moz, cf Heb: ex
 Ps V Gall^C. & GR) iuuentute mea et usque nunc pronuntiabo mirabilia tua. a iuen-
 tute mea: Ps 87,16 (ab adulescentia Heb). Cf Conf 48 (250,3—4). 11—12 2 Tim 4,7
 fidem seruaui. 15—16 qui nouit omnia ante tempora saecularia: cf Act 15,18
 notum a saeculo est dno opus suum. ante tempora saecularia: 2 Tim 1,9 (aeterna
 TEST. D. saecularia uel aeterna g); Tit 1,2 (aeterna d e. TEST. D. saecularia uel
 aeterna g).

- sicut *Spiritus suggerebat*, et *misertus est* mihi Dominus in *milia milium*, quia uidit in me quod *paratus eram*, sed quod mihi pro his nesciebam de statu meo quid facerem, quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, etiam inter se ipsos pos tergum meum narrabant et
 25 dicebant: 'Iste quare se mittit in periculo inter hostes qui Deum non nouerunt?' — non ut causa malitiae, sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, intellegi propter rusticitatem meam — et non cito agnoui gratiam quae tunc erat in me; nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram.
- 47 30 47. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuauī fratribus et conseruis meis qui mihi crediderunt propter quod *praedixi et praedico* ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem uestram. Utinam ut et uos imitemini maiora et
 250,1 potiora faciatis! Hoc erit gloria mea, quia *filius sapiens gloria patris est*.
- 48 48. Vos scitis et Deus qualiter inter uos conuersatus sum a *iuuentute mea* in fide ueritatis et in *sinceritate cordis*. Etiam ad gentes
 5 illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestauī et praestabo. Deus scit *neminem* illorum *circumuenī*, nec cogito, propter Deum et

21 sicut spiritus: spiritus nihilominus V. mihi: mei V. 22 uidet P. pro: per PVFC. p(ro) ex p G'(?). 23 de statu: detestatu F. multe P. hanc: hac P. 24 prohibebam P. phibebant C. postergum PC. post^tergū G. post tergum VF. meum: in eum P. narrabam P. 25 dicebam P. mitit V. periculum Vδ. 26 causam P. malitiae: militiae P. 27 testor: testator F a c. intelligi G. intellexi F. intellige GROSJEAN. 28 in me: ut me *ut uid*, F. sapit: capit δ. 29 p ante *ras* in G 30 insinuauī: insuauī (*corr in insinuauī* G) δ. 31 roborandam *ex* -um P. roboran|randam F. 32 uos: nos P. imitemini V. imitemini F. 1 hoc: hec V. 3 scitis: citis P. inter — sum: conuersatus sum inter uos V. inter: apud Δ₂. inter s I F. 4 in (I): et δ. in (2) *om* VC. 5 quos P; cf *uar lect ad* 248,14; 252,1. ego habito V. praestauī: prestiti V. 6 nēmen F.

21 Ioh 14,26 (sps) suggeret (c fl₂ h [h₂] l' δ [μ] *aur gal* VULG: *VetLat alii alia*) uobis omnia. 21—22 misertus est mihi dns in milia milium: cf Ex 20,6 faciens misericordiam in milia <milium *Fulg QuaestVetNouiTest*>; Apoc 5,11 erat numerus eorum milia millium 22 Ps 118,60 <prae- G> paratus sum *Ps VGall*. Cf Conf 43 (248,24). 57 (252,6). 31 2 Cor 13,2 praedixi et praedico. 1—2 Prou 10,1. 15,20 filius sapiens laetificat (oblectat *codSPauli* [Mone, *De libris palimpsestis* 50]. εὐφραίνει LXX) patrem m^{σμ} VULG. Cf Prou 17,6 gloria filiorum patres eorum. Eccli 3,13 gloria hominis ex honore patris sui. 3—4 1 Reg 12,2 conuersatus <sum *m Iren*> coram uobis (uos m^{pr} V^{3v}: in conspectu uestro *Iren*) a iuuentute (ab adulescentia VULG. a prima aetate *Iren*) mea *m Iren* VULG. a iuuentute mea: Ps 70,17; 87,16. Cf Conf 44 (249,10). 4 2 Cor 1,12 in simplicitate (sanctitate *r*) cordis et sinceritate di. 6 cf 2 Cor 7,2 neminem circumuenimus.

ecclesiam ipsius, ne *excitem* illis et nobis omnibus *persecutionem* et ne per me blasphemaretur nomen Domini; quia scriptum est: *Vae homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur.*

49 10 49. Nam *etsi imperitus sum in omnibus* tamen conatus sum quipiam seruare me etiam et fratribus Christianis et uirginibus Christi et mulieribus religiosis, quae mihi ultronea munuscula donabant et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis et iterum reddebam illis et aduersus me scandalizabantur cur hoc faciebam; sed ego propter spem perennitatis, ut me in omnibus caute propterea conseruarem, ita ut <non> me in aliquo titulo infideli caperent uel ministerium seruitutis

meae nec etiam in minimo incredulis locum darem infamare siue detractare.

50 50. Forte autem quando baptizauit tot milia hominum sperauerim ab aliquo illorum uel dimidio scriptulae? *Dicite mihi et reddam uobis.* Aut quando ordinauit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam et ministerium gratis distribui illis, si poposci ab aliquo

7 ne: nec P. 8 blasphemetur V. 10 sum: ut P. in omnibus: nominibus VFG. 11 seruare me: seruarem P. et (1) om V. 12 reliogiosis V. ultronea: ultro P. 13 altere V. hornamentis V. reddebant F. 14 aduersum G. quur P. hoc: ego G. 15 spem perennitatis: spem perhennitatis VG. semp ennitatis P. spm perennitatis F. spere perennitatis C. 16 ita ut om P. <non> inserui. aliquo: alio P. meo p titulo ins P. infideles V. <non> caperent WARE. <non> ca(r)perent PAPEBROCH. 17 minimis V. dare P. darē FG. 18 detractare G'. detractarent P. 20 aliqua F. dimedio C. dimidium PG'. 21 clericos: cleros P. modicitatem: mollicitatem P. 22 si poposci om P.

7 cf Act 13,50 excitauerunt (c VULG: suscitauerunt d e gig) persecutionem (seditionem A) in Paulum. 8—9 Matth 18,7 uae <illi e fl₁ Aug Hier^{in loc} cum WGr> homini <illi, cum (BEGH al)^{gr}, a—c / fl₂ l n q δ μ (s l) gat Lucif Hil HLQRT vg> per quem scandalum uenit. Rom 2,24 nomen enim di (dni Aug^{Spec}, DG) per uos blasphematur. *Lectio similiter conflata inuenitur in Max (ap Sab):* uae illi homini per quem nomen dni blasphematur. 10 2 Cor 11,6 nam (c gig KLPVW cor uat. vg: om [VetLat. VULG]^{cell}) etsi imperitus <sum, cum (D*E)^{gr}, e—e g gig l Hier Prisc CDT. cor uat*) sermone, sed non scientia; in omnibus autem manifestatus sum uobis. 20—21 et 23—24 1 Reg 12,3 respondete contra me (mihi Iren) . . . si ex (de Iren) alicuius manu accepi propitiationem (munus legion. pro exoratione m) uel (aut legion) calciamentum (corrigiam calciamentorum m) <et abscondam oculos meos in quo legion, cf HEX ("Αλλος). HEB> dicite (dicitis legion. respondete TEST^{alq} ap Sab) aduersus (-um legion) me et reddam uobis VetLat (m Iren legion^{mg}): loquimini de me

illorum uel pretium uel *calciamenti* mei, *dicite aduersus me et reddam uobis.*

51 25 Magis (51) ego *impendi pro uobis ut me caperent*, et inter uos et ubique

pergebam causa uestra in multis periculis etiam usque ad exteras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat qui baptizaret aut clericos ordinaret aut populum consummaret: donante Domino diligenter et libentissime pro salute uestra omnia <...> generaui.

52 30 52. Interim praemia dabam regibus praeter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum qui mecum ambulant, et nihilominus compre-

251,1 henderunt me cum comitibus meis et illa die audissime cupiebant interficere me, sed tempus nondum uenerat, et omnia quaecumque nobiscum inuenerunt rapuerunt illud et me ipsum ferro uinxerunt, et quartodecimo die absoluit me Dominus de potestate eorum et quic-
5 quid nostrum fuit redditum est nobis propter Deum et *necessarios amicos* quos ante praeuimus.

53 53. Vos autem experti estis quantum ego erogauis illis qui iudica-

250,30—251,4 GUILIELMUS MALMESB. De uita s. Patricii lib I (Lelandi Collectanea II. 237): Nec non et praemia dabam regibus et filiis eorum, qui propter securitatem meam mecum ambulabant. Sed tamen ipsi me audissime uolebant interficere, et quicquid inuenerunt nobiscum rapuerunt et me ferro uinxerunt. Quartodecimo autem die absoluit me Dominus de manibus eorum. 251,7—10 TÍRECHÁN 310,1—7 Stokes: foedus pepigerunt ... Patricius et filii Amolngid ... et extendit Patricius

23 camenti P. aduersus me: michi V. 24 uobis. Magis *recte distinxit* WARE 25 et a ego *ins* P. pro *om* V. caperet φ. *corr* PAPERBROCH. 26 ad exteras: ad (d e *corr* F) extras (e s r G) δ. ad dextras P. 27 qui: quid P. 28 consummaret: in fide confirmaret V. 29 *lacunam p omnia indicauit*. generaui: generari F. gessi V. 30 *interhim* (h *eras*) F. regibus dabam V. praeter: propter δ. mercedem dabam V. 31 nihilominus: nihilominum P. nihil δ. 251,1 me cum: me tunc cum V. mecum et P. *cō*mitibus F. audisse V. audissime P. cupiebam δ. 2 nondum: nundum P. que cumq; G. 3 illa *ex* -ud G. *om* V. me ipsum: meipso F. me C. uixerunt VF. n s s P. 4 xiiii. P. de: a V. 5 reditum V. est: esset P. 7 quatum C. p ego *ras* 3 *litt* in G. iudicabant: indicabant δ.

... si de manu cuiusquam munus accepi: et contempnam illud hodie restituamque uobis *VULG.Gild.* 25 2 Cor 12,15 ego autem libentissime (cf I 29) impendam ... pro animabus uestris. Cf Conf 53 (251,11—13). 2 Cor 7,2 capite nos. 5—6 Act 10,24 necessariis amicis.

- bant *per omnes regiones* quos ego frequentius uisitabam. Censeo enim non minimum quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis, ita
 10 ut me *fruamini* et ego *uobis* semper *fruar* in Deum. Non me paenitet nec satis est mihi: adhuc *impendo et superimpendam*; potens est Dominus ut det mihi postmodum ut meipsum *impendar pro animabus uestris*.
- 54 54. Ecce *testem Deum inuoco in animam meam quia non mentior*:
 15 neque ut sit *ocasio adulationis* uel *auaritia* scripserim uobis neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo uestro; sufficit enim honor qui nondum uidetur sed corde creditur; *fidelis* autem *qui promisit*: *numquam mentitur*.
- 55 55. Sed uideo iam *in praesenti saeculo* me supra modum exaltatum
 20 a Domino, et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc mihi praestaret, dum scio certissime quod mihi melius conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam diuitiae et diliciae (sed et *Christus Dominus pauper* fuit

etiam pretium .xu. animarum hominum, ut in scriptione sua adfirmat, de argento et auro, ut nullus malorum hominum impederet eos in uia recta transeuntes totam Hiberniam.

9 quam: quod, *ut uid (eras)* G. xv P. 10 frauamini (*ex -emini, ut uid*) F. deo P. 11 potens ex poteris, *ut uid*, F. est (2): enim V. 12 inpendat P. impendam ex -at, *ut uid*, G. 14 ecce *inc* D. 15 occasio P⁸. occasio D: causa V. adulationis — scripserim *om* D. adulationis P. 16 spero — uestro: sperarem (serarem) F) uestrum φ. mihi *p* enim *ins* PVFG. 17 nondum — promisit *om* D. nondum: nondum P. 18 numquam: non D. 19 exaltatum: exultatum δ. exaltatus sum D. 20 michi hoc V. 21 certissime quod mihi *om* D. cūuenit P. 22 a quam *ras 2 litt in* G. diuitiae et diliciae: dilicię et diuicię V. deliciae et diuitiae G'. dilittias et diuitias P⁸. et (2) *om* P. 22—23 pro nobis fuit pauper V.

8 per omnes regiones 2 Esdr 11,25; cf Gen41,34. 10 cf Rom 15,24 si uobis . . . fruius fuero. 11—13 2 Cor 12,15 ego autem libentissime inpendam (et superinpendam *d e Ambrst cum (D*E)^{8r}*) et impendar ([*d e*] *g r*?) *Aug Ambrst*: superinpendar *c f VULG*) ipse pro animabus uestris. Cf Conf 51 (250,25). 14 2 Cor 1,23 testem dm inuoco (facio *Aug^{sem}*) in animam meam, quod . . . Gal 1,20 ecce coram do quia non mentior. Cf Conf 31,44. 15 cf 1 Thess 2,5 neque enim aliquando fuimus in sermone adulationis . . . neque in occasione auaritia. 17—18 Heb 10,23 fidelis enim (*om r*) (est *omnes pr d e Sed S*) qui promisit (*r Sed*: repromisit *VetLat^{cell} VULG*). Tit 1,2 quam promisit qui non mentitur (non mendax *d e g TEST. ἀψευδής GR*) ds. 19 cf Gal 1,4 de praesenti saeculo. 22—23 2 Cor 8,9 scitis enim gratiam dni nostri ihu xpi quoniam pro nobis (*Hier Cassd cum [CKL al]^{8r}*): propter uos *Vet*

pro nobis, ego uero miser et infelix etsi opes uoluero iam non habeo, *neque me ipsum iudico*), quia cotidie spero aut inter-
 25 nicionem aut circumueniri aut redigi in seruitutem siue occasio cuiuslibet; *sed nihil horum uereor* propter promissa caelorum, quia iactaui meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis, qui ubique dominatur, sicut propheta dicit: *Iacta cogitatum tuum in Deum et ipse te enutriet*.

- 56 30 56. Ecce nunc commendo animam meam fidelissimo Deo meo, *pro*
 252,1 *quo legationem fungor* in ignobilitate mea, sed quia *personam non accipit* et elegit me ad hoc officium ut *unus* essem *de suis minimis* minister.
 57 57. Vnde autem *retribuam illi pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi*. Sed quid dicam uel quid promittam Domino meo, quia nihil ualeo
 5 nisi ipse mihi dederit? Sed *scrutator corda et renes* quia satis et nimis

23 uero om δ. infelix F. 24 quotidie D. spero: sperno Δ₂. internicionem VF. internicionem P. occasio D. occasio (nē s l add) G. 26 sed — 253,9 euaseram φ om D. 27 qui: quia VFC. qui sequente ras G. 28 dicit: ait V. 30 commendo nunc G. P 252: *lineae huius paginae perperam numerantur in editione Whitei*. 1 quo: qua P. legatione (uirgula, ut uid, eraso) G. 2 ad: de P. ministris P. 3 omibus P. quae: qui P. retribuam δ. retribuet P. 4 ualeo: uideo δ. 5 scrutatur P. scrutabor δ.

Latcett. VULG pauper (d e g r Aug Vig Ambrst Ambr Hier al: egenus c f Vig^{sem}. [egens W] *VULG*) factus est. (pauper pro uobis Aug^{V. 176}.) 24 1 Cor 4,3 neque (ego Aug.A) me ipsum iudico (diudico Aug Ambr). 26 Act 20,24 sed nihil horum (illorum dem) uereor c dem gig *VULG*. (*VetLat alii alia*, cf GR). 28—29 Ps 54,23 iacta in dm (dnm Hil^{RPTe}. do aug³ Moz^{pr}. G Med dno G. [p cogitatum tuum] *MissRom*) cogitatum tuum (cogitationem tuam *Fulg Ambr Leo Hil*) et ipse te enutriet (nutriet G) *Ambr Rom V Hil G C (earn) aug³ Moz Med (Fulg Leo)*: iacta super (in Aug) dnm curam tuam et ipse te enutriet (nutriet *Gall^R*) Aug R *Gall*; cf iecta in dm curam tuam usque enutriet A. proice super (supra E) dnm caritatem tuam et ipse enutriet te (te enutriet E) *Heb*. relinque super dnm desideria tua et ipse enutriet te M. abice ... sollicitudinem ... pascet Aug. c. *Adim. 4*. 30 1 Petr 4,19 fideli creatori commendant animas suas. Cf Ps 30,6; Luc 23,46 (*ubi Hier^{tr} [p 47,10—11 Morin] legit*: in manus tuas, pater, commendo animam meam). 30—252,1 Eph 6,20 pro quo legatione (-em FHΘ*LRZ) fungor (-o O). Cf *Epist 5* (255,2). 1 Deut 10,17 dns ... qui personam non accipit. Gal 2,6 ds personam hominis non accipit. 2 Matth 25,40 uni de (*dim f g₂ h₂ t' aur gal VULG^{pl}*: ex fl₁ g₁ h l r₁₋₂ δ μ Aug Hil Ambrst Faust *MissRom* QRTWΔ vg) his (*om g₁ h l r₁₋₂ μ Aug^{sem}*) fratribus (*om fl₁ Δ₂*) Aug Hil *Gaud Ben Faust MissRom*) meis minimis (*aliis aliter uariantibus*). 3 Ps 115,12 quid retribuam (reddam *Heb*) dno pro (de *Cypr^{pr} CRv*) omnibus quae retribuit (-et G: praestitit Moz²) mihi? 5 Ps 7,10 scrutans corda et renes (probator cordis et renum *Heb*, cf *HEX|Θ*). Apoc 2,23 scrutans renes et corda (qui scrutor gig [m] *t Beat* scrutator renis et cordis uel *sim. Afri Ambr*. scrutatur renes et corda *Iren*).

cupio et paratus eram ut donaret mihi bibere calicem eius, sicut indulsit et ceteris amantibus se.

58 58. Quapropter non contingat mihi a Deo meo ut numquam amittam plebem suam quam adquisiuit in ultimis terrae. Oro Deum ut det mihi perseuerantiam et dignetur ut reddam illi testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum,

59 (59) et si aliquid boni umquam imitatus sum propter Deum meum, quem diligo, peto illi det mihi ut cum illis proselitis et captiuis pro nomine suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ipsam etiam caream

15 sepulturam aut miserissime cadauer per singula membra diuidatur canibus aut bestiis asperis aut uolucres caeli comederent illud. Certissime reor, si mihi hoc incurrisset, lucratus sum animam cum corpore meo, quia sine ulla dubitatione in die illa resurgemus in claritate solis, hoc est in gloria Christi Iesu redemptoris nostri, 20 quasi filii Dei uiui et coheredes Christi et conformes futuri imaginis

10—11 cf SECUNDINUS 73: testis Domini fidelis in lege catholica.

6 donaret et mihi P. 7 et om δ. 8 quia (qua ex quia, ut uid, G') propter δ. contingunt Vδ. deo: dño V. numquam: umquam P. 9 amittam P. suam: meam C*. adq; siuit F. ergo p oro ins V. 10 perseuerantiam F. illi <me> PAPEBROCH. 10—11 testem fidelem: testimonium fidele WHITE². 12 aliquid P. umquam imitatus (inmitatus F) sum: inuitatus sum unquam V. 13 igitur p peto ins V. (φ) illi: illū (ū in ras) G. illi — 257,23 exportat- folium excidit in V. (ut a det ins v.) 14 ipse (e in ras) G. ipsum C. (ipsa v.) 15 sepultura vG. miserissime F. miserrime G. (miserrime v.) mēbra C. 16 aspsis C. comederem P. comederunt F. comederint (ex -unt) G. (comedant v.) 17 incurrisset Pδ. curae sit v. occurrisset HITCHCOCK. 18 resurgimus P. 19 gloriam P. 20 futuri P: futurae δ. creaturae v.

6 paratus eram: cf Ps 118,60 (u Conf 43 [248,24]. 46 [249,22]). Matth 20,22 bibere calicem (calicem bibere d QR). 9 Is 43,21 plebem meam quam acquisiui Cypr. populum meum quem <mihi m> acquisiui in Iren Hier^{LXX} cum LXX²⁶. al. et crypt. populum istum formaui mihi VULG.HEB. 16 Luc 8,5 uolucres (uolatilia d D) caeli (c f h h₂ r₁₋₂ δ aur gat VULG: om a b d e f l q μ cum D^{BT}) comederunt illud (illud comederunt b f l l q μ consumpserunt illud e). 18 Ruth 3,13 sine (absque eg) ulla dubitatione (Aug^{Conf-X.20}). 18—19 1 Cor 15,43 <re-Aug> surget (c r TESTP^l. VULGAD al: <re-Tert Cypr Hil> surgit d e f g m TEST alq. VULGBCF al) in gloria. 20 filii di . . . coheredes xpi: Rom 8,16.17. Cf Conf 4 (236,21). 20—21 Rom 8,29 conformes fieri (om Aug Sed) imaginis (-i H^cΘ*) filii eius (sui t Faust). Cf Iren V. 36,2: libe-

- 21.22 *ipsius*; quoniam *ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso* regnaturi sumus.
- 60 60. Nam sol iste quem uidemus <ipso> iubente propter nos cotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit neque permanebit splendor eius, sed et
 25 omnes qui adorant eum in poenam miseri male deuenient; nos autem, qui credimus et adoramus solem uerum Christum, qui numquam
 253,1 interibit, neque *qui fecerit uoluntatem ipsius, sed manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus manet in aeternum*, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu Sancto ante saecula et nunc et per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.
- 61 5 61. Ecce iterum iterumque breuiter exponam uerba confessionis meae. *Testificor in ueritate et in exultatione cordis coram Deo et sanctis angelis eius* quia numquam habui aliquam occasionem praeter euangelium et promissa illius ut umquam redirem ad gentem illam unde prius uix euaseram.

21.22 CYPRIAN De orat. dominica 13: in illo regnaturi sumus.

21.22 quoniam — sumus: quam ex ipso regnaturi sumus P. om F. (quoniam illo ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia: ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum amen. In ipso enim regnaturi sumus v.) 23 quem: quam P. <ipso> *suppleui*. dō a iubente s s G. (illo *ins* v.) cottidie F. 24 et a neque *ins* C. 26 qui (1) *eras, ut uid, in* G. uerōm F. 1 fecerit Pv: fecerat (*corr in -it G'*) δ. 2 quomodo — aeternum om C. 2 manet v. permanet P. manebit F. permanebit G. 3 patri omnipotenti P. et (3) om P. 5 iterum iterumque: iterumqui P. (iterum atque iterum v.) 6 testificabor P. 7 quia v: qui Pδ. praeter: propter G. 8 illius: ipsius P. umquam: numquam P. redirem ad gentem v: redderem (-e P) agentem (-e P) Pδ. 9 unde v: unde autem Pδ.

ram futuram creaturam ... in libertatem gloriae filiorum di ... ut fiat secundum imaginem di; *an scripsit Patricius* conformes futurae creaturae imaginis ipsius? 21—22 Rom 11,36 quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso (in ipsum *d e m* [Iren]. in ipsum uel o:g) sunt omnia: ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum amen. 1—2 1 Ioh 2,17 qui autem (*om Pel*) fecerit (*Cypr Pel Lucif Clem^{lat} Aug HilArel*: facit VL.VULG) uoluntatem di manet (manet et manebit *Cypr*. permanet *Clem^{lat}*. permanebit *h z*) in aeternum <quomodo (sicut *t Aug Pel HilArel*) et (*om Cypr* [Test. III.12] *LBv Pel^{BV}*) ds (ipse *Pel^{HG}*. ipse et ds *Cypr Aug*. ille *HilArel TEST^{al}*) manet in aeternum *t Cypr Aug Pel Lucif HilArel, ex Ioh 12,34*). Ps 88,37 semen eius in aeternum (sempiternum *Heb*) manebit (manet *Aug* [CiuDei XVII.9] *pr abpv*. erit M). 6—7 2 Tim 4,1 testificor (testor *Ambrst*. testor uel adiuro *g*) coram do. 1 Tim 5,21 testor (testificor *Aug^{Spec} (S) Cassd BZ**) coram do et electis (*om Hil Cassd*) angelis <eius *dem diu^c TEST. BF^cLO^sS cum GR^{alg}*>; *r prorsus differt*. Cf Matth 16,27 cum <sanctis d. (p suis) b. (in *mg*, del suis) μ, cf C^{gr}> angelis suis (eius a). Marc 8,38 cum angelis sanctis (sanctis angelis *fl₂ μ aur*. angelis suis *dim l KV cum F^{gr}*). 6 Ps 118,111 exultatio (gaudium *Heb*) cordis.

62 10 62. Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere uel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione conscripsit, ut nemo umquam dicat quod mea ignorantia, si aliquid pusillum egi uel demonstrauerim secundum Dei placitum, sed arbitramini et uerissime credatur 15 quod *donum Dei* fuisset. Et haec est confessio mea antequam moriar.

LIBER SECVNDVS: <EPISTOLA AD MILITES COROTICI.>

254,1 1. Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione constitutus episcopum me esse fateor. Certissime reor a Deo *accepì id quod sum*. Inter barbaras itaque gentes habito proselitus et profuga ob amorem Dei; testis est ille si ita est. Non quod optabam tam dure et tam 5 aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere; sed cogor zelo Dei, et ueritas Christi excitauit, pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum, pro quibus *tradidì patriam et parentes et animam meam usque ad mortem*.

2 cf SECUNDINUS 11: cuiusque apostolatam a Deo sortitus est. 6—7 cf SECUNDINUS 60: pro qua (*i e plebe sua*) ad Christi exemplum suam tradit animam.

(ω) 10 sed *inc D.* 12 indoctus: et doctus P. (Hyberione v.) 13 pussillum D. egi: ego δ. 14 secundum: *sc̄m Δ₂*. dei placitum *om D.* (placitum Dei v.) creditur F. (credatis v.) 15 donum *om Pδ.* (donum dei: deus v.)

hucusque uolumen quod patricius manu conscripsit sua: septima decima martii die translatus est patricius ad caelos D. EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS INCIPIT SECUNDUS F. EXPLICIT LIBER .I. INCIPIT (LĪB̄ *add G*) .II. Δ₂.

(φ) *Inscriptio deest; sed cf subscriptionem Confessionis in δ et ipsius scriptoris uerba*, 254,11. Epistola ad milites Corotici regis Aloo (*ex capitulis Muirchù*, LA 20 v a 1—2) J. GWYNN. 1 *p* indoctus *ras ca 6 litt in G.* (Hyberione v.) a deo a constitutus *ins P.* constitutum G. (episcopus, *omissis quae sequuntur me esse fateor*, v.) 2 reor a *om P.* 3 barbaros (*o ex a*) G. (itaque: utique v.) gentes v: *om Pδ.* proslitit P. ab amore (*-ē G*) PG. 4 ille *s l G.* obtabam Δ₂. 5 ueritatis vδ. 6 me *p* excitauit *s s G.* (excitatus v.) 7 *q̄b; ex q; b; ut uid*, F. animam meam: animeam C.

15 donum di: Ioh 4,10. Cf Conf 14.33.

2 1 Cor 15,10 gratia autem Dei sum id quod sum. Cf 1 Cor 4,7 quid autem habes quod non accepisti? 7 Phil 2,30 usque ad mortem accessit tradens animam suam (parabolatus est de anima sua *d e g* [GR παραβολευσάμενος τῆ ψυχῆ]). cf in incertum tradens animam suam D). Cf Ioh 13,37 u Conf 37 (246,20—21).

- Si dignus sum, uiuo Deo meo docere gentes etsi contempnor aliquibus.
- 2 10 2. Manu mea scripsi atque condidi uerba ista danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico ciuibus meis neque ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum sed ciuibus daemoniorum, ob mala opera ipso-
rum. Ritu hostili in morte uiuunt, socii Scottorum atque Pictorum †apostatarumque†. Sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine innocentium Christi-
15 anorum, quos ego in numero Deo genui atque in Christo confirmaui!
- 3 3. Postera die qua crismati neophyti in ueste candida — flagrabat in fronte ipsorum dum crudeliter trucidati atque mactati gladio supradictis — misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero quem ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid indulgerent de praeda uel
20 de captiuis baptizatis quos ceperunt: cachinnos fecerunt de illis.
- 4 4. Ideireo nescio quid magis lugeam: an qui interfecti uel quos ceperunt uel quos grauiter zabulus inlaqueauit. Perenni poena gehennam pariter cum ipso mancipabunt, quia utique *qui facit peccatum seruus est et filius zabuli* nuncupatur.

8 dignum F. uiuo: uoui vG. noui C. etsi P. contempnor PG. contempnor C. contemnor F. (contemnar v.) 9 aliquibusdam P. a quibusdam v. aquibus FC. quibus (antecedit ras) G. (aliquibus Φ?) 10—11 danda et tradenda militibus, mittenda Corotico GROSJEAN. 13 scottorum: scorum P. 14 apostatarum (apostatorum P) que (que G) Pδ: nescio an uerba transponenda sint: atque apostatarumque Pictorum, cf 257,26; de pleonasmō u E. LÖRSTEDT, Spätlateinische Studien 27 sqq. sanguilentos PF. sanguilentos C. sanguinolentos (i ex e, no s s) G. (pro apostatarum que — sanguinare: apostatarum, quasi sanguine uolentes saginari v.) 15 in numero P. (innumeros v): innumerum δ. innumerum <numerum> BURY. 16 crismate (e ex i?) G. neofiti δ. flagrabat Pv. (-ant G') Δ₂: fragrabat F. 17 trucidati: tritidati F. 18 et a misi ins FC. (ras in G) quem: quam F. 20 baptizatos P. qui P. ceperant G. cachinnos P. de illis: diillis F. 21 quid: quod C. quos G'. an: aut P. 22 uel: aut P. perenni v. perhenni P. (ex-e) G. perhenna C. perenne F. 23 gehennae G. mancipabunt G. gehennae... <se> mancipabunt HΓCUCOCK; malim gehenna... mancipabuntur, cf. 257,9. 24 peccati p est add Pv.

23—24 Ioh 8,34 quia omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est <peccati omnes pr b d Cypr D^{tr} Clem sq^s-(c)>. 24 Ioh 8,44 uos estis filii zabuli et patrem zabulum habetis Prisc L.22: uos ex (de e) patre <estro μ> diabolo (zabulo QR deer) estis VL.VULG. filii zabuli Commodian Instruct. II.16.7; filii diaboli Iren IV.41,2.

- 255,1 5. Quapropter resciat omnis homo timens Deum quod a me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo, *pro quo legationem fungor*, patricida, fratri-
cida, *lupi rapaces deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis*, sicut ait:
Iniqui dissipauerunt legem tuam, Domine, quam in supremis tempori-
5 bus Hiberione optime benigne plantauerat atque instructa erat
fauente Deo.
- 6 6. Non usurpo. Partem habeo cum his *quos aduocauit et prae-*
destinauit euangelium praedicare in persecutionibus non paruis *usque*
ad extremum terrae, etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici, qui
10 Deum non ueretur nec sacerdotes ipsius, quos elegit et indulsit illis
summam diuinam sublimam potestatem, *quos ligarent super terram*
ligatos esse et in caelis.

11 cf CYPRIAN. Epist. 59,2 de ecclesiae gubernandae sublimi et diuina potestate.

1 quapropter re sciat P. quapropter resciat vF. qua re propter sciat C. propter
quãre sciat G. a me om P. a om C. (adest in v.) legatione vG'. 3 cibũ ex -b; F.
4 quam: quoniam C. sup̄mis C. sup̄is F. 5 obtime P. (et a benigne ins v.)
6 deo: dño (s s) F. 7 quos om F. deus p quos ins P. 9 tyrannidem ð. 10 uere-
tur: ueneretur P. elegit: egegit F. 11 sublimẽ (e ex a) G. (om v.) (12 ligatos
esse: esse ligatos v.)

2 pro quo legationem fungor: Eph 6,20 (u Conf 56 [251,30]). 3 Matth 7,15 lupi
rapaces. Act 20,29 lupi graues (rapaces [ex Matth] c alb BFQm̄gKS*UVW. vg) . . .
non parcentes gregi. Ps 13,4 qui deuorant plebem meam (populum meum Aug R
Heb) sicut (ut R Heb) cibum (escam Rom V G Gall) panis (edentes populum meum
in cibo panis M). Ps 25,5 qui deuorant (comedunt V Hilsem Heb) plebem meam
(populum meum Aug R V Hilsem Heb) ut (sicut Rom G C H aug² Moz. in Aug R)
cibum (cibo Aug. escam Rom G) panis (edentes populum meum ederunt panem M).
4 Ps 118,126 tempus faciendi dne (-o, cum HEB.LXX, M Hil G GallAugRLΦ): dissi-
pauerunt (derogant M. praeuaricati sunt Heb) <iniqui Hil^{IPR} RCpE Rom G Gall^F Moz¹
Medman, (p tuam) Ambr Moz²> legem tuam. 7—8 Rom 8,30 quos autem prae-
destinauit hos et uocauit. 8—9 usque ad extremum terrae: Act 13,47; u Conf 38,
cf etiam Conf 1.11. 11—12 Matth 16,19 quaecumque (b c dim [e] f ||₁₋₂ g₁ q r₁. [2]
Cypr Hil Gild JQJP: quodcumque [VL.VULG]^{cell}) ligaueritis (c r₂ Hil: ligaueris
VL^{cell}. VULG) super terram, erunt ligata (b c dim e f ||₁₋₂ g₁ q r₂ l' Cypr Hil Gild
JQR. ligata erunt HilRPE: erit ligatum [VL.VULG]^{cell}) <et b c e f ||₂ g₁ r₂ l' aur gat
Cypr Aug Hil Gild Eꝑm̄gH¹Θ^cQRW vg> in caelis. Matth 18,18 quaecumque ligaue-
ritis (d f ð μ* gat J: alligaueritis [VL.VULG]^{cell}) super terram erunt ligata (alligata
VL^{alq}) et (om VL^{alq}) in caelis (cum [NDL]^{gr}, [d] dim f [r₂] Eꝑm̄g[L]Q: caelo [VL.
VULG]^{cell}). Nostro loco simillima leguntur in Hil in Matth XVIII. 8 (Migne PL 9,
1021): ut quos in terris ligauerint . . . in caelis quoque . . . sint ligati et in Aug De
doctr. christ. 17 ut . . . quae ligarent in terra ligata essent et in caelo; cf Cypr.Epist. 57,1.

- 7 7. Vnde ergo quaeso plurimum, *sancti et humiles corde*, adulari
talibus non licet *nec cibum nec potum sumere* cum ipsis nec ele-
15 mosinas ipsorum recipi debeat donec crudeliter <per> paenitentiam
effusis lacrimis satis Deo faciant et liberent seruos Dei et ancillas
Christi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus.
- 8 8. *Dona iniquorum reprobant Altissimus. Qui offert sacrificium
ex substantia pauperum quasi qui uictimam filium in conspectu patris*
20 *sui. Diuitias, inquit, quas congregauit iniuste euomentur de uentre
eius, trahit illum angelus mortis, ira draconum mulcabitur, interficiet
illum lingua colubris, comedit autem eum ignis inextinguibilis. Ideoque:*

14 *cum peccatoribus* nec cibum sumere: 1 Cor 5,11; cf 'Synodus II s. Patricii' can. 1. 14—15 *Patricii, Auxillii, Isernini can. 12*: nec eius (*i.e.* excommunicati) elemosina recipiatur.

13 plurimum: primum F. sancti: di F. adulari v. (adhulari F) δ: adolari P. 14 cybum P. sumere: sommere P. 15 recipi debeat P: debent recipi v. recipere debere δ. crudeliter poenitentiam (pen- G) δ. penitentiam crudeliter P. <per> inserui. (15—16 donec crudeliter effusis lacrymis poenitentiam agentes satisfaciunt Deo v.) crudeliter: creduliter ΗΓΓΗCΩCΚ (collata lectione codicis F ad 244,4). 17 cristi C. baptizatas (ex -os) F. 18 iniquorum: inimicorum P. altissimus et v. 19 pauperis v. qui om Δ₂. 20 sui om v. diuitia (ex -ae, ut uid.) G'. diuitiae v. quas e corr F. cōgregauit (c̄ s s) F. congregabit Δ₂. iniuste: iniustus G'. euomentur: emouentur P. 21 angelus G'v: angelum Pδ. mulcabitur P: multabitur Δ₂. muc^tabitur F. (mulcabitur v.) 22 linguam C. colubris PF. coluris C. colu^pri (sequente rasura) G. colubri v. (comedet v.) autem om vΔ₂.

13 Dan 3,87 sancti et humiles corde. 14 1 Cor 5,11 nec cibum sumere. 18—19 Ecclī 34,23 dona iniquorum non probat (οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ LXX) altissimus Aug Zeno Commod VULG (non placebunt altissimo ver). Vox reprobat exstitisse uidetur in exemplari apud Hibernos usitato, cf Ionas, Vita s. Columbani I.19 munera impiorum reprobant altissimus; Vita I s. Fursei 14 (ASS Ian II, 38 C) = Patricius; 'Synodus II s. Patricii' can. 2 cetera dona iniquorum reproba. 24 qui offert (offeret ver. profert m) sacrificium ex substantia pauperum (-ris m) quasi (tamquam ver) qui uictimam (-et Aug^{Spec.} percutit m. occidit ver) filium in conspectu patris sui. 20—22 Iob 20,15. 16.26 πλοῦτος ἀδίκως συναγόμενος ἐξεμεσθήσεται <ἐκ κοιλίας αὐτοῦ Α>, ἐξ οἰκίας <δὲ Α> αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσεται αὐτὸν ἄγγελος <θανάτου Α>. θυμὸν (-ὸς Α) δὲ δρακόντων θηλάσειεν (-άσει Α), ἀνέλοι δὲ (καὶ ἀνέλοι Α) αὐτὸν γλῶσσα ὄφεως ... κατέδεται <δὲ AC> αὐτὸν πῦρ ἀκαυστον (ἀσβεστον N^{c.a mg} [mox improbatu]. Α) LXX: diuitiae (-a Sang) inique congregatae (congregatae inique Sang Aug^S) euomentur (uomentur Aug^{GP}). de domo eius protrahet (-it Bodl Aug^{GTPCb}) eum angelus et furorem (-e Aug^{Gbd}) draconum mulgebit (mulcebit Tur Bodl. fulgebit Aug^{Pr S}). interficiet illum (eum Aug^P) lingua colubri . . . comedit eum ignis inextinguibilis Hier^{HEX} (Tur[Sab] Sang[allensis 11, Caspari] Bodl[eianus, Caspari] Ambrosius De interpellatione Iob II.1

Vae qui replent se quae non sunt sua, uel: Quid prodest homini ut totum mundum lucretur et animae suae detrimentum patiatur?

- 9 25 9. Longum est per singula discutere uel insinuare, per totam legem carpere testimonia de tali cupiditate. Auaritia mortale
256,1 crimen. *Non concupisces rem proximi tui. Non occides.* Homicida non potest esse cum Christo. *Qui odit fratrem suum homicida* adscribitur. Vel: *Qui non diligit fratrem suum in morte manet.* Quanto magis reus est qui manus suas coinquinauit in sanguine filiorum
5 Dei, quos nuper *adquisiuit* in ultimis terrae per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae?

1—2 CYPRIAN. De dominica oratione 24: qui fratrem suum odit, homicida est nec . . . cum Deo uiuit. Homicida non potest esse cum Christo, qui imitator Iudae maluit esse quam Christi.

23 quae (his quae v): qui F. 24 ut: si v. <se autem ipsum perdat> et detrimentum animae suae v. 25 si^ogula P. insinuare: insuare F. 26 carpere: capere C. (r s a) P. testimonium P. 256,1 occidis (e s i) F. 2 est p homicida ins P. esse ins v. (manet in morte v.) 4 (coinquinat v.) 5 exhortationem vG. exhortationem F. exorationem P. extationem C.

Aug in Iob 1.20; sed des Ambr ad euomentur, Aug ad colubri): diuitias quas deuorauit euomet et de uentre illius extrahet eas ds (dns A). caput aspidum suget <et eg> occidet eum lingua uiperae . . . deuorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur (extinguetur A) VULG, cf HEB. 23 Hab 2,6 uae qui rep[leuerunt] sibi quae non sunt sua g_2 (suppl Dold): uae qui multiplicat (sed paullo infra -ant) sibi quae non sunt sua Hier^{LXX}: uae ei qui multiplicat non sua VULG.Hier^{HEB}. 23—24 Matth 16,26 quid enim prodest (proderit $f q r_2$ gat $[\mu]$ cum [NBL Θ 1 fam^{12} al]^{gr}) homini si totum mundum (a d $f f_2$ Lucif Aug R [Marc 8,36: $f k (r_2)$ DI^{*R}): uniuersum mundum g_1 gat B^{CPKM}-TQVX^{*ZJP} al. mundum uniuersum VULG^{pl}. VL alii alia) lucretur (lucrifaciat b. lucratus fuerit e), animae uero suae detrimentum patiatur? (VL^{pl}. VULG: et animam suam detrimentum faciat f_1 . alii alia). v interpolatus est ex Luc 9,25 quid enim proficit homo si lucretur uniuersum mundum (totum mundum c e Aug^{Spec}. mundum totum a d r_2), se autem ipsum perdat et detrimentum sui faciat? 256,1 Rom 13,9 non occides . . . non concupisces <rem proximi tui e gig Par lat 6. al Aug^{sem} L²Z^{post} cor uat^{*}>. (ex Ex 20,13.17 non occides (-is Lugd) . . . non concupisces rem [Σ^T . Petit ap Aug II.59. Gaud ap Aug I.36. Aug serm 675,24 sq Morin. ullam rem Prom. rem uel domum ω^S : domum VULG^{cell}] proximi tui. cf Deut 5,17.21 non occides (-is Lugd) . . . non concupisces uxorem proximi tui . . . neque ullam rem quae fuerit proximi tui [Lugd: et uniuersa quae illius sunt Aug^{Spec}. VULG]). 1—2 1 Ioh 3,15 omnis qui odit fratrem suum homicida est: et scitis quoniam omnis homicida non habet uitam aeternam in se manentem. 3 1 Ioh 3,14 qui non diligit <fratrem suum, cum (CKLP al)^{gr} SYR, Tyc D. (qui fratrem suum non diligit Faust)> manet (permanet h q z) in morte. 5 adquisiuit: Is 43,21, u Conf 58 (252,9).

- 10 10. Numquid sine Deo uel *secundum carnem* Hiberione ueni?
 Quis me compulit? *Alligatus* sum *Spiritu* ut non uideam aliquem *de*
cognitione mea. Numquid a me *piam misericordiam* quod ago
 10 erga gentem illam qui me aliquando ceperunt et deuastauerunt
 seruos et ancillas domus patris mei? Ingenuus fui *secundum*
carnem; decorione patre nascor. Vendidi enim nobilitatem
 meam — non erubesco neque me paenitet — pro utilitate aliorum;
 denique seruus sum in Christo genti exterae ob gloriam ineffabilem
 15 *perennis uitae quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro*.
- 11 11. Et si mei me non cognoscunt, *propheta in patria sua honorem*
non habet. Forte non sumus *ex uno ouili* neque *unum Deum*
patrem habemus, sicut ait: *Qui non est mecum contra me est, et qui*
non congregat mecum spargit. Non conuenit: *Vnus destruit, alter aedi-*
 20 *ficat. Non quaero quae mea sunt*.

7 in a hiberione ins P. (Hyberionem v.) 8 *codicem* P *secutus recte distinxit*
 WHITE². sum om Δ₂. non om C. aliquam P. 9 a me et quod eras
 in G. 10 qui: q̄ (e ex i, ut uid) G. (quae . . . coepit et deuastauit v.) deuastar^{uer}
 F. 11 et a seruos ins P. mei: meae P. 12 decorione δ: decurione Pv. 14 gente
 P. exterae: exiere P. 15 perhennis PG. 16 cognoscunt: agnoscunt P. 17
 ouille P. (neque — 18 habemus om v.) deum unum C. 18 contra — 19 me-
 cum om C. 19 non (2) — aedificat om P. c̄uenit G.

7.11—12 *secundum carnem*: 2 Cor 1,17. 8 *alligatus spu*: Act 20,22, u Conf 43
 (248,27). 8—9 Gen 12,1 *de cognitione tua*. 15 cf Rom 6,23 *uita aeterna in xpo*
ihu dno nostro. 16—17 Ioh 4,44 *propheta in patria sua* (*b e aur*: sua patria VL^{cell}.
 VULG) honorem (dignitatem b) non habet. 17 Ioh 10,16 et alias oues habeo quae
 non sunt ex (*dim h δ VULG*—om: de a c d e f₂ h₂ r₁ μ gal Aug E) hoc ouili . . . et fiet
 unum ouile (unus grex a—d e f f₂ l aur TEST^{ph}). 17—18 Eph 4,6 unus ds et (*om*
*Iren CT cum [min^{gr}.TEST]^{alg}) pater omnium. Cf Epist 16 (258,4—5), *nisi utroque*
loco ad Mal 2,10 (u Epist 16) *alluditur*. 18—19 Matth 12,30 qui non est mecum
 contra (aduersus f_{1,2} k Cypr Aug. -um d g₂ Ambr Hil Cypr^{codd alg}) me est et qui
 non congregat (colligit c d k Cypr Aug Ambr uario uerborum ordine) mecum spargit
 (dispargit a—d f₂ g₁. [2] [μ]. s s gal. Cypr Ambr Hil ELQ). Cf Luc 11,23 qui non est
 mecum aduersum (-us f h₂ l q a₂ gal ΣE: contra d r₁ δ Hier^{in Is} Aug DL vg) me est et
 qui non colligit (congregat d δ) mecum dispergit (spargit f₂ gig [i l] q δ Cypr Aug. dis
 pargit r₁). 19—20 Eccl 34,28 unus aedificans, alius destruens (*Oros*: unus aedifi-
 cans et unus destruens *ver Aug^{Spec} VULG cum LXX*). Cf Gal 2,18 si enim quae des-
 truxi haec iterum <re- c r l Orig Ambrst VULG^{A.mul al}> aedifico. 20 1 Cor 13,6
 non quaerit quae sua sunt (non quaerit sua uel propria g). Cf 2 Cor 12,14 non enim
 quaero quae uestra sunt sed uos.*

Non mea gratia sed Deus qui dedit hanc sollicitudinem in corde meo ut unus essem de uenatoribus siue piscatoribus quos olim Deus in nouissimis diebus ante praenuntiauit.

- 12 12. Inuidetur mihi. Quid faciam, Domine? Valde despicior.
 25 Ecce oues tuae circa me laniantur atque depraedantur, et supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico hostili mente. Longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini, qui utique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat, et filii Scottorum et filiae
 257,1 regulorum monachi et uirgines Christi enumerare nequeo. Quam ob rem iniuria iustorum non te placeat; etiam usque ad inferos non placebit.
- 13 13. Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare uel conuiuium fruiere cum talibus? De spoliis defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas, de rapinis uiuunt. Nesciunt miseri uenenum letale cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos, sicut Eua non intellexit quod utique mortem tradidit uiro suo. Sic sunt omnes qui male agunt: mortem perennem poenam operantur.

21 qui dedit: quidē δ. (quidem v.) 22 piscatoribus: peccatoribus siue peccatoribus (siue pecc. del) F. 23 penuntiauit F. 24 dispitior P. despicior F. 25 tuas P. 26 corotico P. hostili mente PG': hostile mente δ (= Φ?). (hoste: mente enim v.) 28 gregem: legem P. 28—29 cum summa: consumma PC. crescebat optime cum signo transpositionis G. 2 iustorum: istorum C. te: t̄ G'. 2—3 qui propter iniuriam iustorum non te placat, etiam usque ad inferos non placabit v; *conicias in V fuisse*: quapropter iniuria iustorum non te placeat, etc. 4 orreat PF. conuiuium G'. furere P. frui G'. (facere v.) 6 domos PvG': domus δ. 6—7 nesciunt miseri, uenenum *interpunxit* ΗΙΤΤΗΝΟΟΚ. 7 (letalem v.) cūbum PF. ad: et F. 8 utique om C. 8 mortem — 9 agunt om Δ₂. tradidit: dedit P. 9 mortem perennem (perhennem F) poenam vδ: perhennem penam mortem P. operantur: neras in G.

21—22 2 Cor 8,16 gratias autem Deo qui dedit hanc ipsam (*Ambrst: pro* hanc ipsam *legitur* eandem in VL. VULG) sollicitudinem pro uobis in corde Titī. 22 de uenatoribus siue piscatoribus: Ier 16,16; u Conf 40 (247,9—10). 23 in nouissimis diebus: Act 2,17; u Conf 40 (247,24). Cf etiam Conf 34 (245,23). 28 lupi rapaces: Matth 7,15; u Epist 5 (255,3). 2—3 Eccli 9,17 non placeat tibi iniuria iniustorum (iustorum *AugSpec (RS)*) sciens quoniam usque ad inferos non placebit impius. (μη εὐδοκῆσης ἐν (om A) εὐδοκία ἀσεβῶν, μνησθητι ὅτι ἕως ἔδου οὐ μὴ δικαιωθῶσιν LXX.)

- 14 10 14. Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum: mittunt uiros sanctos idoneos ad Francos et ceteras gentes cum tot milia solidorum ad redimendos captiuos baptizatos. Tu potius interficis et uendis illos genti exterae ignoranti Deum; quasi in lupanar tradis *membra Christi*. Qualem spem habes in Deum, uel qui
- 15 te consentit aut qui te communicat uerbis adulationis? Deus iudicabit. Scriptum est enim: *Non solum facientes mala sed etiam consentientes damnandi sunt.*
- 15 15. Nescio *quid dicam* uel *quid loquar* amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei, quos gladius supra modum dure tetigit. Scriptum est
- 20 enim: *Flete cum flentibus*, et iterum: *Si dolet unum membrum condoleant omnia membra*. Quapropter ecclesia *plorat et plangit filios* et filias *suas* quas adhuc gladius nondum interfecit, sed prolongati et exportati in longa terrarum, ubi *peccatum* manifeste grauitur impudenter *abundat*, ibi uenundati ingenui

19 *nescio an uerba* quos gladius dure tetigit *ad carmen quoddam heroicum referenda sint.*

10 christianorum om P, cui adsentitur WHITE². 12 (millibus v.) baptizatos: baptizat (*in fine uersus* F) δ. potius: totius (toties, e *in rasura*, G') δ. (omnes v.) 13 ignorante P. 14 tradis: tardis P. membris F. 15 te consentit P. (tecum sentit v.) te (2) om v. adulationis P. (uerbis alienis et adulationi v.) 16 facientes: fatientibus P. 17 cōsentientes G. dampnandi Δ₂. 20 cum: cōm P. 21 condoleant P. cōdoleant F. (condolent v.) plōret F. plangit δ. 22 gladiōs G. φ interficit P. 23 exporta] ti *inc* V. in: per V. spatia p terrarum *ins* V. 24 grauitur P: grauetur Vδ. (graueter Φ?) impudenter Pδ: impudenter impudens ibi habitat et V. habundat PΔ₂.

10 2 Cor 7,10 mortem operatur. 14 cf 1 Cor 6,14 tollens ergo membra xpi faciam membra meretricis? 16—17 Rom 1,32 qui talia agunt digni sunt morte: non solum <qui (gig) w *Gild* D> ea (mala *Cypr.* praua *Gelas*) faciunt sed etiam (w *Gild* D *vg*: et [VL.VULG]^{cellt}) <qui e d³ dem e g gig w *Orig* TEST^{al} A^{ed} VULG^{al} pl> consentiunt facientibus. 18 Ioh 12,49 quid dicam (faciam e) aut (d t' EO: et [VL.VULG]^{cellt}) quid loquar. 20 Rom 12,15 flete (*m t w Sed Beda* DT S: flere [VL.VULG]^{cellt}) cum flentibus. 20—21 cf Cor 12,26 si quid patitur unum membrum conpatiuntur omnia membra; *sed* cf *Tert De paen. 10*: condoleat universum corpus cum uno membro. 21—22 Matth 2,18 (Ier 31,15) Rachel plorans (plorantis k. plangens d) filios suos. 23—24 Rom 5,20 abundauit peccatum d e j g *Iren Orig Ambrst Hier Aug* DF*L: abundauit delictum (VL.VULG)^{cellt} (multiplicatum est peccatum *Tyc.*)

25 homines, Christiani in seruitute redacti sunt, praesertim indignissimorum pessimorum apostatarumque Pictorum.

16 16. Idcirco cum tristitia et maerore uociferabo: O speciosissimi
258,1 atque amantissimi fratres et filii quos in Christo genui enumerare nequeo, quid faciam uobis? Non sum dignus Deo neque hominibus

subuenire. *Praeualuit iniquitas iniquorum super nos. Quasi extranei facti sumus. Forte non credunt unum baptismum* percepimus uel
5 *unum Deum patrem* habemus. Indignum est illis Hiberionaci sumus. Sicut ait: *Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?*

17 17. Idcirco doleo pro uobis, doleo, carissimi mihi; sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum: non gratis laboraui uel peregrinatio mea
10 *in uacuum* non fuit. Et contigit scelus tam horrendum

25 seruitutem V. 26 pessimorum: pessimorumque V. apostatarumque P. atque apostatarum V. *nescio an fuerit in Φ*: pessimorum atque apostatarumque, cf 254,13 sq. 27 cum: cōn F. uociferabor G'. speciosissime C. 1 quos om P. enumerari P. 2 deo om V. 3 iniquorum: inimicorum P. 4 percepimus V: percipimus P⁵. uel: et V. 5 quod de p illis ins V. Hiberionaci (cf 242,19) *scripsi*: hiberia (hýberia V. de Hibernia ΠΑΡΕΒΡΟΧΙ) nati φ. 6 sicut ait: sic enim aiunt V. 8 idcirco G. pro: de P. carissimi δ. km̄i PV. itr̄u P. 9 quia a non ins V. non om F. uel: et V. tam: illo in tempore V. orrendum P. horendum F. horridum V. et p horridum ins V.

1 1 Cor 4,15 in xpo... ego uos genui (generaui *Tert^{bis}*, cf *Orig*); cf Philem 10, et Epist. 2(254,15). 3 Ps 64,4 uerba (sermones *Aug R*) iniquorum (iniquitatum *Heb*, cf *HEX* [A'. Σ']) praeualuerunt (inualuerunt *Hil^{RPb}*) super nos (aduersum me *Heb*, potuerunt praeter me M). Cf Ez 18,20 iniquitas iniqui (*g m Iulian ap Aug*) = Ez 33,12 (*Auctor de uita Christi ap Aug*; iniquitas impii *g*): *utroque loco impietas impii Aug^{Spec} Faust VULG.* 3—4 Ps 68,9 extraneus (*A M Cassd Gall. exter Rom VG C carn H Moz Med. alienatus [ἀπηλλοτριωμένος LXX] Aug. alienus R Heb*) factus sum. 4 Eph 4,5 unum baptismum (-um *Tert Pel^B Sed P**). 5 unum dm patrem habemus: Eph 4,6, u Epist 11 (256,17—18); *sed cf infra ad 258,6—7.* 5.6—7 Mal 2,10 nonne ds unus condidit nos? nonne pater unus est omnium nostrum? quid utique dereliquistis unusquisque fratrem suum? *Cypr.* (nonne—nostrum cf *Iren*): nonne pater unus omnium uestrum? nonne ds unus creauit uos? quare reliquistis unusquisque fratrem suum? *Hier^{LXX}*, cf *Ŋ^{c.b}* (*sed ὁμοῦς et ὁμοῶν LXX^{om}*): numquid non pater unus omnium nostrum? numquid non ds unus creauit nos? quare ergo despicit unusquisque nostrum fratrem suum, uiolans pactum patrum nostrorum? *Aug^{Spec} Gild VULG.* 9—10 Phil 2,16 quia nec in uacuum cucurri neque in uacuum (irritum *Ambrst*) laboraui.

ineffabile, Deo gratias, creduli baptizati, de saeculo recessistis ad paradisum. Cerno uos: migrare coepistis ubi *nox non erit neque luctus neque mors amplius, sed exultabitis sicut uituli ex uinculis resoluti et conculcabit iniquos et erunt cinis sub pedibus*

15 *uestris.*

- 18 18. Vos ergo regnabitis cum apostolis et prophetis atque martyribus. Aeterna regna capietis, sicut ipse testatur inquit: *Venient ab oriente et occidente et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum. Foris canes et uenefici et homicidae, et: Mendacibus*
- 20 *periuiri pars eorum in stagnum ignis aeterni.* Non inmerito ait

11—12 *Dicta Patricii 2* (LA fol 9rα 35 sq): De saeculo requisistis ad paradissum. Deo gratias. 16 cf SECUNDINUS 92: cum apostolis regnabit (*Patricius*).

11 ineffabilem F. creduli: credentes et V. sc̄lo PVΔ₂: celo F. 12 paradysum PV. 14 conculcabit G. suppedibus C. 16 martiribus FG. 17 et a aeterna ins V. inquiring V. 18 et (1): ab G. ysaac V. isaac (a prius e corr) F. 19 canis F. ueneficos Pδ. (-ci G') homicidię F. mendaces VG'. 20 periuiri: periuri. (*punctum in rasura*) G. et periuri V. pars: par F. aeternę Δ₂, corr G'. inmerito P: merito δ (i s s G'). enim in uanum V.

12—13 Apoc 22,5 και νόξ οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι (ἐκεῖ 1 7 *al*) GR. et nox ultra non erit *gig l VULG.* et nox non erit iam *l.* et nox iam non erit *Prim.* et nox non erit amplius *Iren Ambr Beat.* 21,4 et mors ultra non erit neque luctus *gig l VULG.* et mors iam non erit neque luctus *Aug Prim.* et mors non erit amplius nec (non *Iren*) luctus *Iren Ambr.* et mors non erit amplius et luctus non erit amplius *Beat. De ordine uerborum* cf *Iust Dial e Tryph 45*: οὐ δὲ ἐν... ἀλυπίῃ καὶ ἀθανασίᾳ συνῶσιν. 13—15 Mal 4,2—3 exultabitis sicut uituli ex uinculis resoluti et conculcabit iniquos et erunt cinis sub pedibus uestris *Aug Ciu Dei 18,35.* cf salietis sicut uituli de uinculis relaxati et conculcabit iniquos et erunt cinis subter pedes uestros *HierLXX.* exhibitis uelut uituli de uinculis soluti et conculcabit inimicos *Tert.* et luxoriamini quasi uituli de uinculis laxati et conculcabit iniquos, quoniam erunt cineres subtus pedes uestros *MS Bodl Auct F. 4.32*: salietis sicut uituli de armento et calcabit inpius, cum fuerint cinis sub planta pedum uestrorum *AugSpec.Ciu Dei 20,17, VULG.* 17—19 Matth 8,11; u Conf 39 (247,4—5). 19 Apoc 22,15 foris (-as *gig AugSpec*) canes et (*om l*) uenefici et impudici et homicidae. 19—20 Apoc 21,8 et homicidis et ueneficis et idolatris et omnibus mendacibus pars (*particula Tert*) eorum (*gig: om Tert Prim*: illorum *VL^{cell}, VULG*) <erit omnes *pr m Tert*> in stagno ardenti igne et sulphure (*pro ardenti* — sulphure: ignis ardentis *m.* ignis et sulphuris *Tert.* quod ardet igni et sulphure *Prim*), missi sunt in stagnum ignis in quod dns dixit ignem aeternum *Iren^{5,35,2}.*

apostolus: *Vbi iustus uix saluus erit, peccator et impius transgressor legis ubi se recognoscat?*

19. Vnde enim Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis, rebellatores Christi, ubi se uidebunt, qui muliereculas baptizatas praemia
25 distribuunt ob miserum regnum temporale, quod utique in momento transeat? *Sicut nubes uel fumus, qui utique uento dispergitur, ita peccatores fraudulentum a facie Domini peribunt; iusti autem epulentur in magna constantia cum Christo, iudicabunt nationes et regibus iniquis dominabuntur in saecula saeculorum, Amen.*

259,1 20. *Testificor coram Deo et angelis suis quod ita erit sicut intimaui imperitiae meae. Non mea uerba sed Dei et apostolorum atque prophetarum quod ego Latinum exposui, qui numquam enim mentiti sunt. Qui crediderit saluus erit, qui uero non crediderit condempnabitur, Deus locutus est.*

21 et *p* impius *ins* V. 22 recognoscat V: -it P⁶. 23 rebellatoribus VG'. 24 cristi C. qui VG': quas P, quam FC. praemia: et predia orphanorum spurcissimis satellitibus suis V. 25 distribuunt G': -untur φ, cf *adnotationem ad* 247,11. ob: o P. miserum G': misere PV. miserere C. miscere F. 26 transit V. nubs P. 27 et *p* peccatores *ins* V. fraudulentum P. 28 cristo G. et *p* christo *ins* V. 1 sanctis a angelis *ins* V. quod: quo F. quod ita erit *bis* P. 2 intimaui F. intimaui G'. insinuauit GROSJEAN, cf *Conf* 22. 27. 42. 47; *Epist* 9. sunt ista *p* uerba *ins* V. 3 quod: que V. latinum exposui: in latinum transtuli V. numquam: nquam P. enim *p* deus (5) *transposuit* V. enim: eim C. 4 et *p* sunt *ins* V. crediderit V. salui erunt V. 5 d^s enim loquutus est V.

21—22 1 Petr 4,18 et si iustus <quidem *h* *gig* *q* *Gild* DV S> uix saluus erit (*h AugConsEu* D. saluus sit *AugRom Gild*: saluabitur [VL.VULG]^{cell}), peccator et impius (*h q t Aug*: impius et peccator VL^{cell}.VULG) ubi parebunt (parebit *t z Gild*. apparebunt et -it [VL.TEST]^{abq})? 26—29 cf Sap 5,15 quoniam spes impii tamquam lanugo est quae a uento tollitur et tamquam spuma gracilis quae a procella dispergitur et tamquam fumus qui a uento diffusus est. Ps 67,3—4 sicut deficit fumus <ita G. sic *Tyc*> deficient; sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores (impii M *Heb*) a facie di. et (om R *Heb*) iusti <autem *Heb*> epulentur (iucundentur *Cypr Aug* M. laetentur *Heb*. laetentur in laetitia [V] *Hil*). Sap 5,1 tunc stabunt iusti in magna constantia aduersus eos qui se angustauerunt. Sap 3,8 iudicabunt nationes et dominabuntur populis. 1 2 Tim 4,1; 1 Tim 5,21. u *Conf* 61 (253,6—7). sanctis *in* V (cf *Matth* 16,27 [*b d μmθ*]; *Marc* 8,38) *suppletum uidetur esse* 'ex' *Conf* 61. 4—5 *Marc* 16,15—16; u *Conf* 40 (247,19—20). 5 ds locutus est: Ps 59,8; 107,8.

- 21 21. Quaeso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei promptus fuerit ut sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut nequaquam subtrahatur uel abscondatur
 a nemine, sed magis potius legatur coram cunctis plebibus et praesente ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus inspirat illos *ut quandoque Deo*
 10 *resipiscant*, ita ut uel sero paeniteant quod tam impie gesserunt — homicida erga fratres Domini — et liberent captiuas baptizatas quas ante ceperunt, ita ut mereantur Deo uiuere et sani efficiantur hic et in aeternum! Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, Amen.

10.12 INNOCENTIUS [AUG] Epist 182,7 (CSEL 44,722,13 f.) si umquam <ad m> sanum . . . resipuerint.

6 quicumque F. ut p dei ins F. propmtus V. promptus F. p(ro)mPtus G. promtus C. prumtus P. 7 litterarum V. uel abscondatur P. om vδ; sed cf 237,10—11. 8 a nemine: animine F. praesente: p̄senti P. 9 coritico P. quod si: quid sit P. 10 ut om F. impie F. gresserunt F. 11 homicidae G. p domini ins V: fuerunt sed peniteant. et om G (sed spatium exstat p dñi). 12 quas: quos Δ₂. ita om P. mererentur E. (mereantur G'). 13 spiritu P.F. amen. EXPLICIT PASS̄:- G.

9—10 cf 2 Tim 2,25—26 ne quando (μήποτε) det illis ds paenitentiam . . . et (ut dem Cassd) resipiscant a diaboli laqueis (cf Epist 4 uel quos grauiter zabulus inlaqueauit).

EPISTVLARVM DEPERDITARVM FRAGMENTA
ET TESTIMONIA

Fragmenta:

1. BPh [V₂ c. 13; V₄ c. 17; Trip 1 (R 124r α 18—22)]:

(W) in illo enim tempore audiebat	(R) ar no cluned-seom isind aimsir
aliquos psallentes in se ne-	sin alaili no-sallaitir ar med-
sciens qui psallerent, ut ipse	on ann ocus ni fitir cia no
dicit:	sallad, ut ipse dicit:

5 (BPh) audiebam quosdam psallentes in me et nescio qui essent.

1 enim: uero V₄. 2 aliquos: quosdam (*s l l*- aliquos) V₄. intus in se V₂. nesciens qui psallerent *om* V₄. 4 dicit: dicebat V₄. alibi indicat dicens r^{Collg.} 5 quosdam: aliquos V₂^P. V₄. <spiritus V₂. ex spiritibus V₄>, *sed cf similem locum Conf 24*. psallentes R. nesciebam r^{Collg.} V₄.

2. V₄ c. 1:

Natus est Patricius patre Kalfurno et matre Concessa, ut ipse dixit in libro epistolarum:

Ego sum Patricius filius Kalfurni matrem habens Concessam.

Dubium est utrum uerba laudata ad Conf 1 (235, 4—5) an ad epistolam quandam deperditam referenda sint.

3. *Fragmentum epistolae ut uidetur spuriae exstat apud Iocelinum, Vita s. Patricii 82 ex. (79):*

Huius signi et praecedentis sanctus in epistola quadam meminit quam ad quendam dilectum suum in ultramarinis partibus degentem scribens inter cetera dicit:

Dedit Dominus mihi exiguo uirtutem faciendi signa in populo barbaro qualia nec a magnis apostolis leguntur facta ita ut in

1 mihi Dominus *edd.* uero a nec *ins* T (= MS Dublin, TrinColl F. 4. 6, saec. XIV/XV).

- nomine Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi resuscitarem a mortuis
 corpora in puluere ab annis multis resoluta. Nullus tamen
 5 obsecro credat me ob ista siue his similia parificandum apostolis
 aut aliquibus perfectis uiris, cum sim exiguus et peccator et
 contemptibilis.

4 a multis annis *edd.* 6 aliquibus: ullis *edd.*

Testimonia:

4. Epistola ad milites Corotici 3 (254,16—20):

Postera die . . . misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero quem ego ex
 infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid indulgerent de praeda uel
 de captiuis baptizatis quos ceperunt: cachinnos fecerunt de illis.

Cf MUR (498,10 sq; Prob II.27): Patricius autem eum (*om* MUR^B) per
 epistolam ad uiam ueritatis reuocare temptauit. Cuius salutaria deride-
 bat monita, ubi epistula illa de qua Patricius mentionem facit cum ea
 quae ad nos peruenit conjunditur, cf N. J. D. WHITE, St. Patrick: his
 writings and life, 52.

5. LA fol 9r α (301,11—17 Stokes):

Caetiachus et Sachellus ordinabant episcopos prespiteros diaconos clericos
 sine consilio Patricii in campo Aii. Et accusauit illos Patricius et mittens
 aepistolas illis exierunt ad poenitentiam ducti ad Ardmache ad Patri-
 cium et fecerunt poenitentiam monachorum duo pueri Patricii prumpti.
 Et dixit illis: 'Non magnae erunt aecclesiae uestrae'.

Cf MS COTTON OTHO E. xiii fol 132b + USSERIUS, Antiquitates p 1049:
 In libris Patrici: Duo episcopi Cechianus et Conallus in campo hAi
 (MS: bai) episcopos indignos ordinauerunt, quos increpauit Patricius
 dicens: 'Quare absque consilio nostro aepiscopos ordinastis? Quam
 indigni sunt apud Dominum ordinari! Ideo ecclesiae uestrae sint semper
 minimae'. Et monachi in paenitentiam adducti sunt.

Haec nota ad Tirechani excerpta pertinere uidetur, cf P. GROSJEAN, AB
 62 (1944) 63 sq.

DICTA PATRICII

LA fol 9r α 32—43:

- (1) *Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque
 Italiam, etiam in insolis quae sunt in mari Terreno.* (2) De

saeculo requisistis ad paradissum. Deo gratias. (3) Aeclessia Scotorum immo Romanorum (3a) ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis ut decantetur uobiscum oportet omni hora orationis uox illa laudabilis Curie lesson Christe lesson. Omnis aecl(esia) quae sequitur me cantet Cyrie lesson Christe lesson Deo gratias.

(1) *Notum erat Tirechano, et LA 9r v (302,19—23 Stokes):* uii aliis annis ambulauit et nauigauit in fluctibus et campistribus locis et in conuallibus montanis per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insolis quae sunt in mari Terreno, ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum; *u supra, p 25 adn. 46. Cf Probus 1.19. (2) = Epist 17 (258,11 sq); cf Conf 19 (241,12). 23 (243,2). 42 (248,13 sq). requisistis] z in mg.*
(3) *Dubium an Patricio attribui debeat, nisi quod P. Grosjean haud improbabiler uerba Aeclessia — Romanorum dictum Patricii, cetera (3a) spuria esse censet (AB 52, 410 sq).*

APPENDIX:
A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF Ψ

As promised above (p. 26), I give here the reconstructed Ψ -text in its entirety.

What has been said in Chapter I.4 will be sufficient to justify this endeavour, and to account for its limitations. We can reconstruct Ψ only as it is preserved in U. The Ψ -text of U is regained by induction: from V_2 and V_4 we reconstruct W, from W and Trip, BPh; similarly, from V_3 and Prob. J. Finally, from BPh, J (except where dependent on Muir), and Muir we reconstruct U.

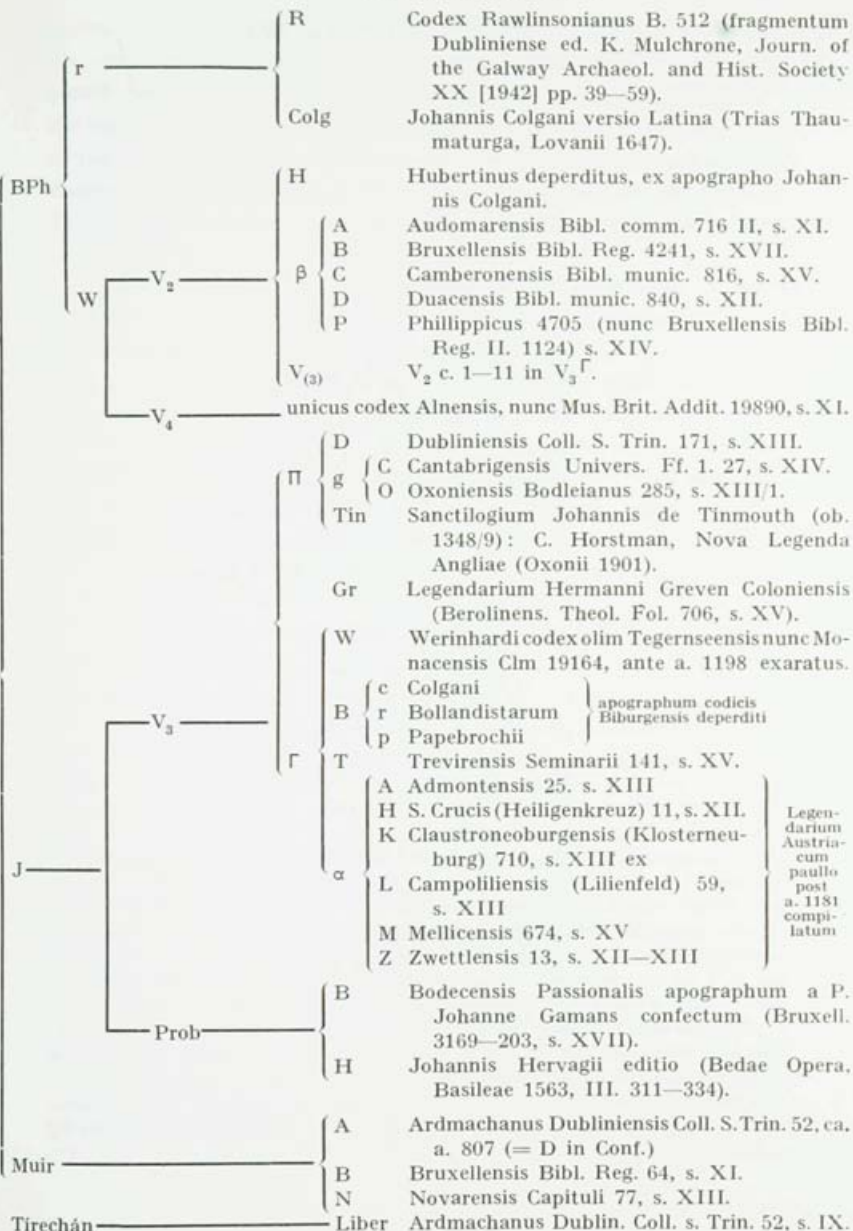
In my reconstruction of Ψ I have adhered to the following rules:

- 1) Within each group (BPh, J, and Muir) any variant supported by another group must a priori be considered the original reading of its own group.
- 2) Where all three groups are comparable, agreement of two groups rules out the third.
- 3) Agreement of any variant with an uncontroverted ω -reading overrides rules (1) and (2); even agreement with either a D- or a Φ -reading is strong support.
- 4) Where our evidence for Ψ is incomplete, or where there is suspicion of later correction or contamination, we must decide the merits of the case.

My reconstruction will provide the following details:

- 1) Reference to the paragraphs of the Confessio, and to page and line of the present edition.
- 2) Reference to the documents from which the text is restored, and to the primary sources for which these documents stand.
- 3) The reconstructed text. My reconstruction follows faithfully the evidence of the Lives; only where all our sources narrate in the third person, I have restored the first.
- 4) The *apparatus criticus*. Since disagreement of our sources is often due merely to greater or lesser accuracy in quoting, only those variants have been listed which seemed to bear on the text of the Confessio. The result is a negative *apparatus* (or nearly so) for the literal quotations in BPh, and a positive *apparatus* for the remainder.

Conspectus Siglorum:



Legendarium Austriacum paullo post a. 1181 completum

BPh *Conf. 1*, p. 235,6—11. $V_{2(3)}$.11; *partim* V_4 .1.15.

in libris epistolarum¹:

Ubi ego capturam dedi². Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim³. Deum enim⁴ uerum ignorabam et Hiberione⁵ adductus⁶ sum in captiuitate⁷ cum tot milibus hominum secundum merita nostra, quia⁸ a Deo recessimus et praecepta eius non custodiimus et sacerdotibus nostris non obediētes fuimus⁹ qui nostram salutem admonebant.

Conf. 2, p. 235,15—16. $V_{2(3)}$.11.

Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae¹ ut uel sero rememorarem² delicta mea³ et ut⁴ conuerterem⁵ toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum⁶.

P. 235,16—236,2. $V_{2(3)}$.4; V_4 .4; r 106—109 Mulchrone.

in libro epistolarum¹:

Et² misertus est³ adolescentiae (et V_2) ignorantiae meae et custodiuit me antequam scirem eum et antequam saperem⁴ uel⁵ distinguerem⁶ inter bonum et malum et muniuit me et consolatus est me⁷ ut pater filium.

U(BPh,J) *Conf. 16*, p. 239,14—21. V_2 .13; V_4 .16; r (R fol 124r α 1—14);

partim V_3 .13; Prob I.2.

ut ipse dicit V_2 . in libro epistolarum r. in libro quem de uita et conuersatione sua ipse composuit V_4 :

(Postquam Hiberionem deueneram (cf V_2 .12: postquam ergo Hy-

P. 235,6—11: 1 episcopi V_2 -P 2 sic V_2 H. V_4 a.c.; alibi alia leguntur. 3 quindecim V_2 . Hic V_4 desinit, sed legitur in c.1 (= Lib. Lismorensis 44 f.; MS Stowe C.IV.3) "ex libris epistolarum": nos dispersi sumus in ultimos fines (per ultimas regiones *Lis*) terrarum (cf *Conf 1*, p 235,12: dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terrae) propter peccata nostra, eo quod Domini praecepta (praeceptum Domini V_4) non custodiimus et mandata eius non obseruauimus (praecepta et mandata eius non custodiimus *Lis*, cf *Stowe*). 4 om V_2 H. 5 restitui: hiberiorem $V_2\beta$. hiberniae V_2 H. ad hiberniam V_2 . 6 abductus V_2 H. ductus V_2 -c. 7 captiuitatem V_2 H. V_2 -c. 8 qui V_2 H. quibus $V_2\beta$. 9 obediimus $V_2\beta$.

P. 235,15—16: 1 nostrae V_2 . 2 rememoraremus (-ur β) V_2 . 3 nostra V_2 . 4 om V_2 . 5 conuerterem V_2 : conuerteremur V_2 . 6 nostrum V_2 H. (pro conuerterem — meum: ad eum conuerteremur $V_2\beta$).

P. 235,16—236,2: 1 episcopi V_2 (α) (episcopali α), sed epistolarum PAPEBROCH . 2 om V_4 . 3 om V_2 AP. V_4 . 4 om r. 5 om V_2 (α) .r. 6 discernere V_2 . om V_2 . 7 mei r (R). om $V_2\beta$.

berionem [hiberiorem β] classis deuenit) cotidie igitur¹ pecora pascebam et frequens² in die orabam³. Magis ac magis⁴ accedebat⁵ amor Dei et timor⁶ ipsius et fides et spiritus⁷ augebatur⁸ ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter⁹, ut¹⁰ etiam¹¹ in siluis et¹² monte¹³ manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per niuem¹⁴ per gelu per pluuiam (et nihil mali sentiebam J) neque ulla pigritia erat in me — sicut¹⁵ modo uideo, quia¹⁶ tunc spiritus in me feruebat.¹⁷

Conf. 17, p. 239, 22—27. V₂.14.17.18; V₄.18.21;

r (R fol. 124r α 32—3; v α 41—β 5);

V₃.14; Prob I.3. — *partim* Tir.

U(BPh, J,
Muir); Tir

in libro epistolarum (r. V₄):

Quadam nocte in somno¹ audiui uocem dicentem mihi: 'Bene ieiunas² cito iturus³ ad patriam tuam', et iterum⁴ post paululum⁵ tempus audiui responsum⁶ dicentem mihi: 'Ecce nauis tua parata est⁷', et non erat prope sed forte habebat⁸ ducenta milia passus⁹ et ibi¹⁰ nunquam fueram nec ibi notum quemquam (hominem V₄) habebam¹¹ (cf Prob: relinquens homines cum quibus fuerat captiuus septem annis. Hic (sic *edd.*) ergo currens in uirtute Dei, qui uiam eius dirigebat, nihil metuebat donec) perueni ad nauem illam¹².

P. 239, 14—21: Caput integrum extat in V₂. r; nonnulla haud negligenda quae leguntur in V₃, V₄, Prob suis locis laudabuntur. 1 om R.V₄. 2 frequens V₄. r^{Colg}: frequenter V₂. V₃. Prob. 3 et — orabam om R. 4 magis magisque V₂^H. 5 accedebat V₂β (accessit *Gielemans*): accendebatur V₂^H. accrescebat r, cf V₄. 6 timor dei et amor J, cf Muir. 7 et spiritus r: om V₂. V₃. V₄. 8 U (Ψ) cum ω uidetur legisse: et fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur. 9 add peragerem V₂β. psallerem V₂^H. orarem V₄, cf Prob. 10 ut R solus. 11 et V₂^A. V₄. 12 add in V₂^H. V₃^c. 13 montibus V₂β. V₄. V₃^cβ. Prob. 14 nubem BPh (corr r^{Colg}), cf imbrem *Gielemans*. 15 sed V₂. s R. 16 quod r^{Colg}. V₂β. quantum V₂^H. 17 tunc — feruebat: cf Muir^B (Prob) tunc spiritus feruebat in eo.

*P. 239, 22—27: 1 somnis V₂β. Prob. Tir. 2 add et (om W) bene (om J) oras omnes praeter V₃^π. Muir. (bene oras et bene ieiunas *Lebor Brecc*). 3 iturus: es iturus V₄. V₃^B. iturus es Prob. exiturus V₃^{BGr}. (iturus V₃^{Gr}). 4 iterum in V₃ tantum. 5 paululum (ω) dubitanter restitui: paruum Prob. non — multum W. om V₃. 6 responsum (cf post responsa diuina Muir): uocem BPh, J. 7 Ecce — est testatur Tir. 8 habebat r. alibi alia leguntur. 9 passuum J. Muir. 10 ubi Muir^B (Prob.) 11 nec — habebam Prob solus, sed cf V₄. 12 et perueni ad nauem illam V₂; cf Prob.*

U(BPh, J) *Conf. 18*, p. 240,4-14. V₂,18; Prob I.4.5.

Et illa die qua perueni profecta est nauis de loco suo et locutus sum ut haberem nauigationem¹ cum illis et gubernatori displicuit et acriter cum indignatione respondit: 'Nequaquam tu nobiscum appetas ire'², et cum haec audissem separaui me ab illis ut uenirem ad tuguriolum³ ubi hospitabar et in itinere cepi orare et antequam orationem consummarem⁴ audiui unum ex illis fortiter exclamantem⁵ post me: 'Veni cito, quia uocant te homines isti', et statim ad illos reuersus sum et ceperunt mihi dicere: 'Veni, quia ex fide recipimus te'⁶; fac nobiscum amicitiam quomodo uoueris'. (Cf *Prob I.5*, ubi *Conf. 18*, p. 240,14-17 sic exprimuntur: Eadem die coepit Patricius praedicare nautis uerbum Dei et timorem eius. Nam sperabat illos ad fidem Christi uenturos, quia gentes erant, et hoc ordine conuersatus cum illis accipiebat ab eis fructum praedicationis, uictum uidelicet suae necessitatis.)

Conf. 19, p. 240,18-241,13. V₂,19; V₄,23; V₃,16; Prob I.6.7.

Et post triduum terram cepimus et uiginti octo¹ dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et fames inualuit super eos et tunc² cepit gubernator mihi³ dicere: 'Quid est, Christiane? Tu dicis quia⁴ deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est. Quare ergo⁵ non potes pro nobis orare?⁶ quia nos a⁷ fame periclitamur; difficile est enim ut aliquem hominem⁸ unquam⁹ uideamus¹⁰. Tunc confidenter dixi illis¹¹: 'Conuertimini¹² ex fide¹³ ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum¹⁴, quia nihil est impossibile¹⁵ illi, ut¹⁶ hodie cibum mittat uobis¹⁷ in uiam uestram usque dum satiemini¹⁸, quia ubique habun-

P. 240,4-14: 1 sic V₂: de mercede nauis Prob. (unde nauigare Patr.) 2 appetas ire V₂^H: ibis V₂^β. Prob. 3 tugurium V₂^β. 4 consummassem V₂^H. Prob. 5 clamantem V₂. 6 te recepimus (recipiemus H) V₂.

P. 240,18-241,13: 1 uiginti quatuor V₃-g^{Tin}. 2 et V₂+tunc V₄. J. 3 hic ordo uerborum in V₂^H: illi(ei) gub. V₂^β. V₃. 4 om V₂^β. 5 om V₂. 6 non — orare V₂, cf Prob; alii alia. 7 nos V₂^H + a V₂^β: om cett. 8 hominem Prob: -num V₄. *desunt cett.* 9 unquam Prob *solus*. 10 difficile — uideamus om V₄. V₃. 11 Tunc — illis restitui ex W. V₃; confidenter (V₄) uidetur fuisse lectio fontis W, cf adnotationem sequentem. 12 confitemini V₂. confitemur V₄. 13 ex (in V₂) fide om J. 14 nostrum V₄. om V₂. 15 impossibile est V₂, cf V₄; V₃. 16 et V₂^H. 17 cibum mittat uobis scripsi cum Ω: cibum mittet uobis V₂^H. uobis cybum mittat V₄. mittat cibum uobis V₂^β. cibum mittat Prob. mittat uobis cibum V₃. 18 usque-satiemini om J.

dat¹⁹ illi'. Et adiuuante Deo ita²⁰ factum est: ecce²¹ grex porcorum in uia ante oculos nostros apparuit²² et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi duas noctes manserunt et bene refecti . . . sunt²³ et . . . summas gratias egerunt Deo et ego honorificatus sum sub²⁴ oculis eorum²³ et ex hac die cibum habundanter habuerunt ~~et~~²⁵ mel siluestre inuenerunt . . .²⁶ et unus ex illis dixit: 'Immolaticium est'. Deo gratias (< . . . nihil gustauit: cf Muir^B nihil gustans; Prob ut . . . gustaret).

Conf. 20, p. 241,14—22. V₄,24; *pauca admodum petenda sunt* U(BPh,J,
ex V₃,17; Prob. I.8; Muir p. 495,20—24; Muir)
r (Colg 121 a, b).

Sanctus autem Patricius de eo quod a satana temptatus sit ita disseruit dicens V₄, ut ipse dicit in libro epistolarum r^{Colg}:
Eadem uero nocte¹ eram² dormiens et fortiter temptauit me satanas, cuius³ memor ero quamdiu in hoc corpore fuero⁴, et⁵ cecidit⁶ super me ueluti saxum ingens⁷ et nihil membrorum meorum . . .⁸ Sed unde [in] me uenit ignoro (in spiritu r^{Colg}) ut Heliam uocarem? et inter haec in caelum [aspiciens] solem oriri uidebam et cum clamarem 'Helia Helia' totis uiribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius cecidit super me et statim discussit a me omnem grauitudinem et credo quod a Christo meo subuentus sum et spiritus tunc clamabat in me et spero quia sic erit in die pressurae meae.

Conf. 21, p. 242,3—7. V₃,18; Prob I.10; Muir p. 495,26—30. U(J,Muir)
Et iterum post multos annos capturam (dedi. Ea) prima nocte . . .

19 habundat V₂^{CD}: abundat *cett* (*deest* V₃). 20 ita V₄ sola. 21 <et> ecce V₂^H. V₄,
(ut — esset V₂^β). 22 apparuit V₄, J. pascebat V₂^H, esset V₂^β. 23—23 om V₂.
24 sub Prob: in V₄. 23 et—et 25: V₃ sola. 26 uerba quae hic exciderunt cum
sequentibus contaminantur in V₂: et obtulit unus ex illis partem mellis Patricio. —
Inde a (23) ordo enuntiatorum uariat in J.

P. 241,14—22: *Restitutio huius capituli dubia est, quia V₄ textum incertum praebet, V₃ partim, Prob totus ex Muir pendet, ex Colgano nihil certo concludi potest.* 1 sic Muir: quadam nocte V₄, eodem uero tempore nocte V₃. 2 om V₃, Muir. 3 temptationis s. l. add V₄. 4 cuius — fuero V₄ sola. 5 et V₃ sola. 6 enim add V₄. 7 saxa ingentia Muir (Prob); *singularis numerus confirmatur lectionibus V₃, r^{Colg}*. 8 sic V₃, ubi suppletur uerbum (ut) posset mouere: omnium membrorum meorum uires abstulit V₄, cf Muir (Prob). — *Hinc usque ad finem capituli V₄ unicus fere testis est, adstipulantibus lectionibus nonnullis in V₃, Muir (Prob), r^{Colg}*.

P. 242,3—7: *Lectiones V₃, Prob ex Muir pendentes non adferentur.*

mansi cum illis¹. Audire merui responsum diuinum dicens mihi²: 'Duobus³ mensibus eris cum illis'. Quod ita factum est: sexagesimo die liberauit me Dominus de manibus eorum.

U(Muir) *Conf.* 22, p. 242,8—9. Muir p. 495,30—32 (Prob I.10).

... praeuidit (nobis) cibum et ignem et siccitatem quotidie donec decimo die peruenimus ad homines ...

U(BPh, J, *Conf.* 23, p. 242,12—15. V₂.21; V₃.19; Prob I.11; Muir Muir) p. 495,34—37.

Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannia¹ (eram) cum parentibus meis², qui me ut filium susceperunt³ et .. rogauerunt me ut uel sic⁴ .. post tantas tribulationes ... numquam ab illis discederem.

U(BPh, J) P. 242,16—243,3. V₂.21; V₄.25; V₃.20.

Et ibi uidi { uisionem^W / in somnis V₁ } <hoc est W> uirum uenientem quasi¹ de Hiberione² Victoricum³ nomine⁴ cum epistolis innumerabilibus et dedit mihi unam ex his et legi principium epistolae⁵ hoc continens: 'Vox Hiberionum'⁶ et cum recitabam⁷ principium putabam ipso momento uocem ipsorum audire, qui erant iuxta siluam foelui⁴, quae est prope mare occidentale, et sic exclamauerunt⁹ quasi ex uno ore: 'Rogamus te, sancte puer¹⁰, ut uenias et adhuc ambules inter nos', et ualde compunctus sum corde et amplius non potui legere et sic expergefactus sum agens Deo gratias quod¹¹ post plurimos¹² annos praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem illorum.¹³

1 mansi cum illis V₃ sola. 2 dicens sibi Prob: sibi dicens Muir^B. V₃ deest. 3 tantum add J.

P. 242,12—15: V₃ partim, Prob totus ex Muir pendet. 1 in patria sua Muir. 2 apud parentes suos Muir (Prob). 3 receperunt V₂^P. Muir^B. 4 sic V₂^β. V₃, Muir^B. (adhuc Prob): modo Patr. (om uel sic V₂^H. Muir^N.)

P. 242,16—243,3: 1 uenientem quasi V₃ sola. 2 hiberione V₂: hibernione V₃^{ΓGr}. hibernia V₄. V₃^{πα} (hibernio H). 3 Victorem V₄. 4 Vict. nomine om V₃. 5 om V₂^H. V₃; ex V₄ nihil sequitur. 6 hibern(i)ensium V₃(V₄). 7 cum recitabam restitui: dum recitabat V₂^β. cum recitaret V₂^H, cf V₄. V₃. 8 fochlaich V₃^Γ. foch(i)la V₃^π leg foelut(h). 9 clamauerunt V₂^β (cf clamorem V₄). V₃. 10 sancte puer (Patrici Dg) V₃^π (sancte Patrici V₄): sanctum puerum V₂. (+ Patricium) V₃^Γ. 11 hic V₃ desinit. — quod: quoniam: V₂^H. om V₂^β. 12 multos V₂. 13 eorum V₄.

INDICES

Cum indicibus quos confeceram plenariis spatium non suppeteret, indicem nominum et rerum quantum fieri poterat breuiavi, indicem grammaticum intactum reliqui. Semper fere satis uisum est C(onfessionis) et E(pistulae) capita, D(ictorum) et F(ragmentorum) numeros adscribere; ubi aliqua dubitatio oriri possit paginae uersusque indicantur. Ad locos sacrae scripturae typis, ut dicunt, italicis referimus. Voces a Vulgata alienae cruce (†) signantur; quibus, si in Vetere Latina repperi, siglum (VL) additur. Locos Vulgatae unicos libro capite uersu appositis indicaui.

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ibi *de Hibernia*: 235,14. 239,22.26 (*bis*). 245,9. 246,21. 247,3. 248,18. Cf
K. MÜLLER, *Der heilige Patrick*, Göttingen 1931, p 85.

indulgeo: -sit *ds Patricio* C 46. (*'to granl'*) *episcopatum* C 32. aliquid de
praeda E 3.

tingenuus fui secundum carnem E 10. (cf †ingenuitatem C 37.) uenundati
-i homines E 15.

inspirat *ds* C 13. E 21.

insolae in mari Terreno D 1.

internicionem cotidie sperat *Patricius* C 55.

Isaac C 39. E 18.

Italia: *iter Patricii* per Gallias atque -iam D 1.

iudico: qui iudicabant (*indicabant* *δ*) per omnes regiones C 53.

ius: qui . . . iura . . . combiberunt C 9.

Latinus: quod ego -um exposui E 20.

latrunculi *milites Corotici* E 12.

legatio (*i e missio*) *Patricii* C 46.56. E 5.

lex: legis periti C 13. per totam legem (*i e sacram scripturam*) carpere
testimonia E 9. transgressor legis *Coroticius* E 18.

litterae sacrae C 9. gerulus litterarum E 21.

lupanar: quasi in l. tradis membra *xpi* E 14.

- mammella: sugere -as C 18.
 mare occidentale C 23. in -ri Terreno D 1.
 mercedem dabat *Patricius filiis regum* C 52.
 milites Corotici E 2.
 minae: terrores et -as perferunt *uirgines xpi* C 42.
 minister *uerbi Patricius* C 56.
 ministerium seruitutis meae C 49. m. gratis distribui C 50.
 †monachus: filii Scottorum . . . -i C 41. E 12.
 mortale crimen auaritia E 9.
 munera multa mihi offerebantur C 37. cf 49.
 neophyti *Patricii* E 3.
 nobilis: una benedicta Scotta genetiuā n. C 42.
 occidentalis: mare -e C 23.
 Odissus(?): Potiti (filii -i D *in mg*) C 1.
 officium: *ds* elegit me ad hoc o. C 56.
 oratio ('*prayer*') C 16.18.24.25. D 3 a. (orare '*to pray*' etiam C 19.26.58.)
 ordinare clericos C 38. cf 50.51.
 ornamenta *mulierum* C 49.
 Osee C 40.
 oues, ouile *de xpianis* E 11.12.
 paenitentia E 7. paeniteant E 21.
 parentes *Patricii* C 23.36.43. E 1. persecutionem patiuntur *uirgines xpi* a
 -ibus C 42.
 pasco: pecora -ebam C 16.
 pater *Patricii* C 1. E 10. — *ds pater passim*.
 patria *Patricii* C 17.36.43. E 1.
 Patricius peccator C 1.62. E 1. (F 2.) indoctus C 12.62. E 1. inscius C 34.
 stultus C 13. *sim passim*. contempnor aliquibus E 1. ualde despicio
 E 12. *Patricii* insidiae, labores C 35. legatio C 46.56. E 5. peccata
 C 10.26. pericula C 35.51. cf 46.
 pecora pascebam C 16.
 perennis (Bar 5,7) uita E 10. poena E 4.13.
 persecutio *xpianorum in Hibernia* C 42. cf C 48. -nes *Patricii* C 37. E 6.
 Picti apostatae E 2.15. traditor *xpianorum* in manus -orum E 12.
 piissimus *ds* C 35.
 plebs *dni Hiberni* C 38.41.58. E 5. *epistola Patricii* legatur coram cunctis
 -bus E 21.
 porcus: grex -orum C 19.
 Potitus *auus Patricii* C 1.
 praedicare euangelium C 34.37.40 (bis). E 6.
 praemia dabam regibus C 52. mulierculas baptizatas p. distribuunt *milites*
Corotici E 19.

presbyter: Potiti -i C 1. misi epistolam cum sco -o quem ego ex infantia docui E 3.

probo: fides mea -ata est coram do et hominibus C 30.

redemptor: in gloria xpi ihu -is nostri C 59.

regnum: hoc euangelium -i C 40. in -o caelorum E 18. aeterna -a E 18.
ob miserum r. temporale E 19.

regulus: filiae -orum *Hiberniae* C 41. E 12.

religio: castitas -nis non fictae C 44.

renasci in *dm* C 38.

responsum 'divine message' C 17.21.29.32.35.42.

retia tendere *allegorice* C 40.

retribuere, retributio C 3.11.12.57.

rex: praemia dabam regibus C 52.

†rhetoricus: dominicati rethorici C 13.

Romani: ciuibus scorum -orum E 2. consuetudo -orum Gallorum xpianorum
redimere captiuos E 14. aecessia Scottorum immo -orum D 3. ut xpiani
ita ut -i sitis D 3a.

sacer: in trinitate -i nominis C 4. -as litteras C 9.

sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus C 1. *Coroticus* non ueretur
-es E 6.

sacrificium offerre C 34. E 8.

saecularis: ante tempora -ia C 45.

saeculum C 4. 40. 55. 60. de -o recessistis E 17. D 2. per omnia -a -orum
C 60. cf E 19.

salus *animae* C 1.28.51.

sanctus = *timoratus* E 2.13.14. sci dni C 43.

satanas C 20.

satis do faciant *Coroticus cum suis* E 7.

scelus, scleratus *de Corotico* E 17.19.

Scotta C 42. Scotti C 41. E 2.12. D 3.

scriptula: sperauerim uel dimidio -ae C 50.

scriptura *Patricii, i e Confessio* C 9.62.

senectus: adpeto in -te mea *litteris studere* C 10.

seniores *Patricii* C 26.37.

sermo: sermones (-em PΔ) illorum numquam mutarunt *obtretores Patricii*
C 9. s. noster translatus est in linguam alienam C 9. qualiter sum ego
in -bus instructus C 9.

seruitium: maxime laborant quae -o detinentur C 42.

seruitus: *ds* de -te liberauit *Patricium* C 35. redigi in -tem *timet Patricius*
C 55. xpiani in -te (-tem V) redacti E 15. — *translate*: ministerium
-tis meae C 49.

- seruus: deuastauerunt -os et ancillas domus patris mei E 10. s. sum in xpo genti exterarum E 10.
- silua: in -is et monte manebam C 16. iuxta -am Vocluti C 23.
- solidus: cum tot milia -orum ad redimendos captiuos E 14.
- spiritus: sps ses *passim*. sps iam tunc clamabat pro me C 20. effitiatus est ut sit sps (episcopus DRFC) C 25. sicut sps suggerebat C 46. — *plur*: audiebam quosdam -us psallentes in me F 1.
- (taburnia:) uico †bannauem tabur (-ber- DVΔ)niae† C 1.
- tempto: -auit me satanas C 20. -atus sum ab aliquantibus senioribus C 26. tyrannis *Corotici* E 6.
- Tyrrenus: in mari Terreno D 1.
- uendis illos genti exterarum E 14. -di nobilitatem meam E 10.
- uenundati ingenui homines E 15.
- uerbum: occasionem inuenerunt me aduersus uerbum C 27.
- ueritas xpi E 1. doctrina, fides -tis C 9.48.
- uestis: neophyti in -e candida E 3.
- Victoricus C 23.
- uicus †bannauem taburniae† C 1.
- uiduae et continentes C 42.
- uillula *Calpornii* C 42. cf E 10.
- uincio: me ipsum ferro -xerunt C 52.
- uirgo, -ines xpi, di C 41.42.49. E 12.
- uirtus: ueni in -te di C 17. sensi in me -tem non paruam C 30.
- uisus: uidi in -u noctis C 23.29.
- Vocluti, iuxta siluam V. C 23.
- uox Hiberionacum C 23. uox illa laudabilis Curie lesson D 3 a. uoces a *Patricio audita* C 17.23.
- zabulus E 4.

III. INDEX GRAMMATICUS

Materiam ita disposuimus ut partes orationis singulas suo ordine tractantes formationem rectionem syntaxim unius cuiusque partis uno tenore absolueremus. Praecedunt pauca quae ad rem grammaticam in uniuersum spectant; sequuntur nonnulla de compositione clausularum et uocabulorum, et de Patricii genere dicendi.

Orthographia: calciamenti C 50. Calpornium C 1. condemnabitur C 40. E 20. †crismati E 3. Curie, Curie D 3a. decorione E 10. desertis C 10 (dis- VRG). deserta C 11. diliciae C 55. †exaga(e)llias C 14. expectamus, expectare C 4.59. cf inextinguibilis E 8. exultabitis E 17. exultatione C 61. flagrabat E 3 (frag- F). †gaudibundus C 24 (gaudeb- PΔ).

†genetiua C 42. habunde C 4; habundat C 19; habundanter habuerunt C 19; *sed* abundat E 15. (*u app crit.*) incederem C 9. inchoaui C 43. inmunda C 41. insolis D 1. internicionem C 55 (*u app crit.*) iocundare E 13. loquela C 9. mammellas C 18. (moniuit [Σ?]) C 2.) (munstrauit [φ?]) C 45.) neglegentia C 46. paululum C 17. percipimus (*perf*) E 16 (P8). pos tergum C 46. proselitus *etc* C 26.59. E 1. †quatenus (quatinus DFΔ₂. ut V) C 10. recognoscit (*fut*) E 18 (P8). †rethorici C 13. †scriptulae C 50. spiritaliter C 4. sumsit (D) C 38. †tegoriolum (D) C 18 (tuguriolum ΦΨ). (in mari) Terreno D 1. uenundati E 15. zabulus E 4 (*bis*). — *Vide Praefationem III.2.*

abstracta pro concretis usurpantur, ubi Patricius de se loquitur: †paruitas mea C 1. per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae E 9. per †modicitatem meam C 50. — cf dns aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae . . . qui respexit humilitatem meam et misertus est adolescentiae et ignorantiae meae C 2. qui saepe indulsit insipientiae meae neglegentiae meae C 46. sicut intimauit imperitiae meae E 20.

aduerbia minus usitata: †inlicitate C 44. — acriter C 18. aequaliter C 34. audenter C 31.33. breuiter C 33.61. constanter C 34. (19.) crudeliter E 3.7. diligenter C 40.51. (euidenter C 19 [VL.]) fiducialiter C 14. fortiter C 18.20.25.26.33.42. frequentius C 53. grauiter E 4.15. impudenter E 15 (Ez 23,12). †incunctanter C 37. inenarrabiliter C 4. libentissime C 37.43.51. pariter E 4. qualiter (= ut, quomodo) C 9.35.48. similiter C 16. simpliciter C 47. spiritaliter C 4. uehementer C 8.10.46. uelociter C 11. †ueraciter C 13.

composita notabilia: coheres C 4.59. conseruus C 47. *u formatio nominum (h).* — †indefessus C 34. †indubitabilis C 34. †ineffabilis E 10.17. inenarrabilis C 25. inextinguibilis E 8. ingenitus C 4 (2 Mac 6,23). innumerabilis C 23. (inobediens [Φ]) C 1.) inuisibilis C 4. — †incunctanter C 37. inenarrabiliter C 4. inlicitate C 44. — adleuo C 12. admiror (= miror) C 13.25. †combibo C 9. comedo C 59. E 8. decanto D 3 a. dehonesto C 32. derelinquo E 16. deseruio C 13. deuenio C 16.26.60. †effitior C 24.25. efflor (*pro simplici*) C 33. enarro C 35. enutrio C 55. inlaqueo E 4. inquiri (-siui *dm*) C 33. intermitto C 17. percipio (baptismum) E 16. pertimeo C 10. peruenio C 51. praedestino E 6. †praefor C 10. rememoro C 2. rescio (*pro simplici*) E 5. superimpendo C 53. — *praeifixum cum significatione non congruit:* praenuntio (= pro-) C 34. praepono (pro-Δ₂) C 44. praeuideo (= pro-) C 22. prolongo (= elongo) E 15. suppleo (=compleo) C 34. — profuga *subst* C 12. E 1.

recompositio: detractare (-trect- G') C 49. — *u app crit ad 243,15; 246,4; 250,20.*

deminutiua: latrunculus E 12. muliercula E 19 (2 Tim 3,6). munusculum C 49. pupillus C 35. regulus C 41. E 12. †seruulus C 15. †tegoriolum (tuguriolum ΦΨ) C 19. uillula C 1. — paululum C 17. pauperculus C 35. pusillus C 13.62.

Graeca et Hebraica: amen in *doxologiis* C 60. E 19.21. angelus C 61. E 8.20. (sed nuntius di C 42.) apostata E 2.15. apostolus C 25. E 18.20. blasphemus C 48 (bis). †crismati E 3. Christus, Christianus *passim*. †Cyrie (Curie) lesson, Christe lesson D 3 a. daemonium E 2. diaconus C 1.27. draco E 8. ecclesia C 48. E 15. D 3.3 a. episcopus E 1. euangelium *passim*. gehenna E 4. (idiota C 35 *ex coniectura* N. J. D. White.) idolum C 38.41. martyr E 18 (Apoc 17,6). †monachus C 41. E 12. neophytus E 3 (1 Tim 3,6). paradisi E 17 = D 2. presbyter C 1. E 3. propheta *passim*. propheta C 40. proselitus C 26.59. E 1. psalms F 1. psalmus C 7. rethoricus C 13. satanas C 20. scandalizor C 49. zabulus E 4 (bis). zelus E 1. — *Accedunt uoces Romanis usitatae* epistola C 11. 23. E 3. (sed litterae E 21). tyrannis E 6.

Voces non biblicae (ἀπαξ λεγόμενα *asterisco signantur*): adular, cachinnus, censeo, crismati, clericus (5), combibo, credulitas, Cyrie (2 in D 3 a), *dominicatus, *effitior (2), exagaellia, fraticida, gaudibundus, gerulus, grauitudo, incunctanter, indefessus, indubitabilis, ineffabilis (2), infamo, ingenuitas, ingenuus (2), inlicitate, inmerito, intimo, inuerbis, labes, letalis, maestus, mirificus, modicitas, monachus (2), nuncupo (2), obsto, paruitas (2), patricida, perennitas, perlego, postmodum (5), praefor, *profuga (2), quandoque, *rebellator, rethoricus, rusticus, sanguilentus, scriptula, seruulus, tegoriolum, trinitas (2).

congruentia: tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi dns praestare dignatus est C 3. sermo et lognela nostra translata est C 9. ecclesia plorat . . . filios et filias suas quas (quos v) adhuc gladius nondum interfecit E 15. — hoc (haec V) erit gloria mea C 47. (sed haec est retributio nostra C 3. haec est confessio mea C 62. quae est uocatio mea C 34.) — peccator et impius (et V) transgressor legis ubi se recognoscet? E 18 (u app bibl). — u pronomen *relatiuum*.

constructio ad sensum: audiui responsum dicentem mihi C 17.21.29 (dicens G' C 17.29; v C 21.29). legi principium epistolae continentem C 23. erga gentem illam qui (quae v) me aliquando ceperunt E 10. per omnes regiones quos ego frequentius uisitabam C 53. ad gentes illas inter quas (quos P) habito . . . neminem illorum circumueni C 48. precor credentibus et timentibus dm quicumque dignatus fuerit C 62. quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum? E 16. sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut nequaquam subtrahatur E 21. profecta est nauis de loco suo et locutus sum ut haberem unde nauigare cum illis C 18.

formatio nominum (*exempla notabiliora tantum adferimus*): a) adiutor C 46. debitor C 38. gubernator C 18.19. peccator *passim*. piscator C 40. E 11. †rebellator E 19. traditor E 12. uenator C 40. E 11. — transgressor E 18. — b) cogitatus C 55. conspectus (in -u) C 44. E 8. episcopatus C 26.32. obitus C 14. transitus C 58. — c) †anxietas C 27 (VL, Gen 3,16 = Hier Ep 22,18). breuitas C 10 (2 Mac 2,29.32). calamitas C 55. caritas C 13.33. E 12. castitas C 44. claritas C 59. †credulitas C 38. cupiditas E 9. diuinitas C 34. humilitas C 2.13. ignobilitas C 56. incredulitas C 2.27. infirmitas C 25. †ingenuitas C 37. iniquitas C 33. E 16. immortalitas C 4. †modicitas C 50. nobilitas E 10 (2 Mac 6,23). nuditas C 27. †paruitas C 1. E 9. paupertas C 55. †perennitas C 49. qualitas C 6. †rusticitas C 46. siccitas C 22. sinceritas C 48. †trinitas C 4.14. utilitas C 37.38. E 10. — d) constantia E 19. diligentia E 12. ignorantia C 2.62. imperitia C 10. E 20. inscientia C 11. insipientia C 46. neglegentia C 46. paenitentia E 7. perseuerantia C 58. pigritia C 16 (Eccle 10,18). reuerentia C 13. — e) animatio C 1 (VL). cessatio C 46. conculcatio C 26. consummatio C 40. correptio C 3. dilectio E 1. dubitatio C 59. excusatio C 10. exhortatio E 9. exultatio C 61. peregrinatio C 37. E 17. persecutio C 37.42.48. E 6. profectio C 30. retributio C 3.11. rusticatio C 11. temptatio C 34. tribulatio C 5.23. uocatio C 34. — f) †grauitudo C 20. sollicitudo E 11. — g) captura (-am dedi) C 1.10.21. creatura C 40.(59: v). mensura C 14. scriptura C 9.62. sepultura C 59. — h) homicida E 9 (bis).18.21. †patricida †fratricida E 5.

genus nominis dies: est generis masculini sexies (242,9. 243,19. 244,12. 248,11. 251,4. alio [-a Φ] die 240,20), feminini duodecies (sexta ab hac die 248,14. postera die qua 254,16), incerti 13^{ies} (octies in plurali).

declinatio nominum: baptismum (*acc.*) E 16. colubris (*gen*) E 8. uox Hiberionacum C 23. (domus *acc. plur.* E 13 [δ: -os Pv].) (passus: -os P *ad* C 17.)

pluralis modestiae: sermo et loquela nostra C 9. doleo cur hoc meruimus C 32 (cf *Hier Epist 52,6,1*). non debeo abscondere donum di quod largitus est nobis in terra captiuitatis meae C 33 (*mihi dubium*). per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae E 9. *ceteri loci ubi pluralis numerus pronominis primae personae legitur, uelut C 42.52, ita interpretandi uidentur esse, ut Patricius de se et comitibus suis loquatur.*

pluralis nominum abstractorum: angustiae C 34. illecebrae C 44 (Prov 9,13). diuitiae et diliciae C 55. gemitibus C 25 (bis). impropria C 42. infirmitates C 25. iniquitatibus C 33. in pressuris C 34. tribulationes C 23.

pluralis nominis caelum: -orum C 55. E 18. -is C 4. E 6.

appositio: forte habebat ducenta milia passus C 17. (*sed tot milia hominum C 1.14.50. tot milia solidorum E 14.*) ubicumque (in quocumque v) loco (*om G'*) fuero C 34. honorem spero ab aliquo uestro (D: honorem sperarem uestrum Φ) C 54. aliquid pusillum C 62. post paululum tempus C 17. — *in appositione constructio negligitur:* expectamus aduentum ipsius . . . iudex uiuorum atque mortuorum C 4. et me quidem, detestabilis (-em Φ) huius mundi, . . . inspirauit C 13. ut uel sero paeniteant . . . — homicida (-ae G') erga fratres dni — et liberent captiuas E 21; cf Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis — rebellatores xpi E 19. cotidie spero aut internicionem aut circumueniri . . . siue occasio cuiuslibet C 55. legi principium epistolae continentem Vox Hiberionacum (*ad instar orationis rectae*) C 23.

indeclinabilia: Hiberione *acc* C 1.16 (-em R).28 (-em Gv). E 10 (-em v). *abl* C 23.41.62. E 1.5.12. — milia (cum tot milia C 1. E 14); *sed* in milia milium C 46.

nominatiuus pendens: uerbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent pro eo rationem C 7. et gubernator (PCG[?]: -ori *cell*) displicuit illi C 18. de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt nescimus numerum eorum C 42.

genitiuus obiectiuus (*exempla notabilia tantum dabimus*): uenire in fidem ihu xpi C 18. notitiam di C 41. iniuria iustorum E 12. rebellatores xpi E 19. — *gen subi idem (per zeugma) obi:* post correptionem uel agnitionem di C 3.

genitiuus qualitatis: annorum eram tunc fere sedecim C 1 (*u commentarium*).

genitiuus qui dicitur inhaerentiae: in terra captiuitatis meae C 3.33. cibus panis E 5. uerbis adulationis E 14. sensum incredulitatis meae (cordis mei incredulitatis Φ) C 2.

genitiuus ex adiectiuo pendet: conformes futuri imaginis ipsius C 59.

genitiuus partitiuus: minimus omnium fidelium C 1. residuum aetatis meae C 43. ab aliquo illorum C 50. neminem illorum C 48. de defunctis filiorum di E 15. in longa terrarum E 15. aliquid boni C 59. (*sed aliquid pusillum C 62.*) nihil mali C 16. nihil membrorum meorum praeualens C 20. nihil horum C 55. quis sanctorum E 13. — *u praepositiones* (de, ex).

genitiuus pronominum substantiuorum personalis reflexiui interrogatiui relatiui indefiniti non exstat, determinatiui et demonstratiui (ubi determinatiui uice fungitur) non usurpatur nisi cum ui possessiua aut partitiua. *genitiuus ex uerbo pendet:* consulatus (consolatus) est mei (D.r) C 2.

datiuus: peto illi (-um G') det mihi C 59. — *datiuus ethicus:* quod mihi pro his nesciebam . . . quid facerem C 46. — *datiuus auctoris (pro a, ab*

- c abl*): etsi contempnor aliquibus E 1 (*u app crit*). trucidati atque mac-
tati gladio supradictis E 3. depraedantur . . . supradictis latrunculis
E 12. — *datius possessoris*: cui nomen Victoricus C 23 (*u app crit*).
alibi semper: habere aliquid. Me, te *pro datiuo pronominis ante uerbum*
legitur: quis me credit C 10. unde me (mihi DG'. *om v*) uenit ignaro
in spu C 20 (*u app crit*). qui me imperauit C 43 (*per analogiam?*). memet
ipsum (-o F) non credo C 44. iniuria iustorum non te placeat E 12.
qui te consentit (tecum sentit v) aut qui te (*om v*) communicat E 14.
- accusatiuus**: etsi ipsam etiam caream sepulturam (ipse . . -a G'. ipsa
. . -a v) C 59. conuiuium (-o G') fruire (-i G'. facere v) E 13. pro
quo legationem (-e G'v) fungor C 56. E 5 (*u app bibl*). — *accusatiuus*
nudus pro ad c acc: peruenimus <ad Δ_2 > homines C 22 (*bis*). — *accus*
temporis: uiginti et octo dies . . iter fecimus C 19.22. ibi duas noctes
manserunt C 19. esse cum illis residuum aetatis meae C 43. — *u pro-*
nomen relatiuum.
- ablatiuus temporis pro accusatiuo**: cum quo fueram sex annis C 17. duobus
mensibus eris cum illis C 21. ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus C 40.
fortasse similiter accipiendum: ea nocte prima . . . mansi cum illis C 21.
- ablatiuus instrumenti (usus insolentior tantum notabitur)*: sermone explicare
C 10 (*u app crit*). dum clamarem 'Helia Helia' <totis v.V₄> uiribus
meis C 20. ut conuerterem toto corde ad dnm C 2. (*sed ex toto corde*
C 19; u app bibl). *praeterea abl instr fere decies inuenitur*. — *abl causae*:
una causa uenit ad nos C 42. non ut causa malitiae C 46. causa uestra
C 51. (mea gratia C 37. E 11; mea ignorantia C 62 *nominatiui uidentur*
esse). — *abl limitationis*: compunctus sum corde C 23. sancti et humiles
corde E 7. alligatus spiritu C 43. E 10. — *abl modi*: pari modo C 9.
quo modo C 18. nullo modo C 37. desertis breuitate sermone explicare
nequeo C 10. fortiter orabat gemitibus C 25. sps postulat . . . gemitibus
C 25. maesto animo C 29. ritu hostili in morte uiuunt E 2. iubente
Corotico hostili mente E 12.
- ablatiuus absolutus*: morte deuicta (deuicta morte Φ) C 4. crudeliter <per>
paenitentiam effusis lacrimis E 7. praesente ipso Corotico E 21. ad-
iuuante do C 19. donante dno C 51. fauente dno (do) C 44. E 5. guber-
nante do C 37. <ipso> (illo v. do s s G) iubente C 60. iubente Corotico E 12.
- attractio casus inuersa**: diuitias . . quas congregauit . . euomentur E 8.
- commixtio casuum**: 1. *accusatiuus pro datiuo*: nec numerum dierum
noueram neque dm (*om P*) sapiebam C 36. — 2. *accusatiuus pro abla-*
tiuo: uidi in caelum (-o Δ) solem oriri C 20. ego uobis semper fruar
in dm (do P) C 53. mendacibus periuris pars eorum in stagnum ignis
aeterni E 18 (in stagno *VetLat.VULG*). *u indeclinabilia (milia)*. —

3. *ablatius pro accusatiuo*: dispersit nos in gentibus multis C 1. in caelis ad Patrem receptum C 4. effudit in nobis . . . spm scm C 4. recordatus sum apostolo dicente C 25. teste (-em φ) do (dm vδ) habeo C 31. pergens in Brittanniis C 43. quare se mittit in periculo (-um Vδ) C 46. sperauerim . . . uel dimidio (-um PG') scriptulae C 50. quos ego in numero (innumeros v. innumerum δ) do genui E 2. *u indeclinabilia* (Hiberione), *et app crit ad* 241,17.18. 251,10. 252,20. 257,25. — *acc et abl coniunguntur*: in labe (-em Gv) et in obprobrium non male deueni C 26. — *praeterea notiones mouendi ad locum et quiescendi in loco inter se confunduntur*: ut . . . nusquam ab illis discederem C 23. ubique pergebam causa uestra C 51. ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat C 51. foris canes et uenefici et homicidae E 18 (*locum Apoc 22,15 male interpretatur*).

accusatiuus et ablatius adiectiui uel pronominis generis neutrius:

1. *sequitur genitiuus*: ab extremis terrae C 38 (*bis*). usque ad extremum terrae C 38. E 6. (usque ad ultimum terrae C 1.11.) in longa terrarum E 15. de medio eorum C 13. nihil membrorum meorum C 20. *sim uide s genitiuus partitiuus*. ad postremum orationis C 24.25. in ultimis terrae C 58. E 9. — 2. *sine genitiuo, nonnumquam ad instar aduerbii*: ad bonum C 17. non inmerito (merito δ) E 18. quod . . . Latinum exposui E 20. quaeso plurimum E 7.21. in omnibus C 30.49 (*bis*). in minimo C 49. ad perfectum C 9. in posterum C 12. (in aeternum C 12.26. E 21. in futurum C 31.) quanto magis C 11. E 9. quippiam C 34 (*ex coniectura*). 49. quid prodest C 10. E 8. quid dereliquistis E 16. in secundis C 34. per singula C 35. E 9.

neutrum pronominis pro substantiuo: nihil horum uereor C 55. occasio cuiuslibet. C 55.

subiectum uel obiectum uerbi subintellegendum est: flagrabat in fronte ipsorum (*i e chrisma*) E 3. — explicare nequeo C 10 (cf enumerare nequeo E 12.16). nos adpetere debemus C 11 (*refertur ad* C 10 [237,23. 238,2]). oportet distinguere C 14 (cf C 2 [236,1 sq]). illa die qua perueni C 18 (cf C 17 [240,3]). obtinui cum illis (*i e nauigationem, sim*) C 18. praestitit illis . . . secundum clamorem illorum C 23. qui baptizarent populum indigentem et desiderantem (*i e baptismum*) C 40. insinuai C 47 (*in obiectum uidetur esse C 46*). cogor zelo di et ueritas xpi excitauit (*ut tale aliquid effundam*) E 1.

ellipsis subiecti ante locos biblicos: sicut ait 255,3. 256,18. 258,6. sicut dixit 244,17. et iterum dicit 247,18. et in Osee dicit 248,3. et iterum dicit per prophetas 247,9. inquit 238,10. 255,20. et iterum inquit 236,24. 237,5. sicut in euangelio inquit 241,23. quia, inquit 237,20(?). *nonnumquam subiectum quale est ds, dns, sps, e contextu subintellegi potest.*

obiectum uel structura praepositionalis e nomine pendet: in testimonium omnibus gentibus C 34, 40. usque in finem uitae meae xpo dno meo C 44. cf 58. spiritus in me (τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεῦμα) C 16. proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum C 26. cf 59. E 1. oues tuae circa me (τὰ πρόβατά σου τὰ περὶ ἐμέ) E 12. traditor xpianorum in manus Scottorum E 12. *sic accipimus* debueram metuere hanc sententiam in illa die (τὴν τότε δίκην) C 8. scriptum . . . sine honore C 29.

obiectum duplex e uerbo admonendi pendet: ut me . . . responsum diuinum . . . admonere C 35. (sacerdotes) <nos> nostram salutem ad-monebant C 1 *conieci*.

formatio adiectiuorum (exempla notabiliora): †letalis E 13. mortalis E 9. occidentalis C 23. temporalis E 19. — detestabilis C 13. †indubitabilis C 34. †ineffabilis E 10, 17. inenarrabilis C 4, 25. innumerabilis C 23. laudabilis D 3 a. mirabilia C 3, 45. — contemptibilis C 1. impossibilis C 19. inextinguibilis E 8. uisibilia et inuisibilia C 4. — †gaudibundus C 24. — honorificus C 5. †mirificus C 34. ueneficus *subst* E 18. — fraudulentus E 19. sanguilentus E 2. — ultroneus C 49 (Ex 25, 2). — copiosus C 40. laboriosus C 26. otiosus C 7. religiosus C 49. speciosus (-issimi) E 16. — †dominicus C 13. — †genetius C 42. — credulus E 17 (Gen 39, 19). cf incredulus C 37, 49. †gerulus *subst* E 21. — †inuerbis C 10 (*u commentarium*).

formae adiectiuorum et aduerbiorum: miserissime (miserrime G'v) C 59. sublimam (-em G'. om v) E 6. cum tardiori lingua C 11. (*sed recte distinguitur inter in praesenti saeculo C 55 et praesente . . . Corotico E 21.*)

adiectiuum cum ui aduerbiali: frequens (-nt G') in die orabam C 16. ut me . . . creber (-rime vΔ₂) admonere C 35. — *dubium:* ego primus rusticus C 12.

enallage adiectiui: indefessam gratiam ago C 34. ut indubitabilem eum . . . crederem C 34. cf mihi ultronea (ultro P) munuscula donabant C 49. uerissime credatur C 62.

formatio aduerbiorum u aduerbia minus usitata (in capite huius indicis).

aduerbiorum usus notabilis: aliquando *de tempore praeterito* C 15, 28. E 10. — ante C 4, 10 (237, 25), 32, 46. E 21. *abundat* C 10 (237, 26), 34, 52. E 11. *nusquam legitur* antea. — contra C 28 ('*on the contrary*'). — denique in *consummatione argumenti* C 13. E 10. — forsitan C 33. forte C 11, 17. E 11, 16. (*cum coniunctiuo*) C 50. *nusquam fortasse*. — itaque *non legitur primo loco*. unde autem ammiramini itaque C 13. — magis ('*on the contrary*') C 50 *ex*. — male ut in lingua uulgaris usurpatur C 26. 60. — sic *proleptice* 242, 21. 243, 6, 12. 244, 16. 257, 8. — sponte C 28, 32.

(non sponte patrum earum) 42. — *aduerbia frequenter usurpata*: postmodum C 32.36.38.53. (deinde postmodum C 17.) ubique C 14.19.38.40.50.51.55. usque (ad, dum, in, nunc, ubi) 21^{ies}.

comparatio: 1. *comparatiuus pro positiuo*: sicut superius insinuauit C 22. — 2. *superlatiuus pro comparatiuo*: non minimum quam (*eras G'*) pretium quindecim hominum C 53. cf ego primus rusticus C 12. — 3. *positiuus et superlatiuus iuxta ponuntur*: incunctanter et libentissime C 37. diligenter et libentissime C 51.

pronomen personale et reflexiuum: ego *emphatice* 235,2 (cf F 2). 238,15. 240,23. 241,9. 245,16.23. 249,27 (et ego ipse). 250,14. *similiter, ut uid*, 244,10.28. 247,17. 250,5. 254,18. — *in oppositis*: 248,29. 249,13. 250,25. 251,10.23. — *praefigitur uerbo 18^{ies}, postponitur semel* (qualiter sum ego . . . instructus atque eruditus C 9). — *datiuus mihi ante uerbum 27^{ies} legitur (semel in Φ tantum: ut mihi dicerent C 18), post uerbum 18^{ies}; accusatiuus 29^{ies} ante uerbum (in ultimo membro tantum ut coram cunctis, bonis et malis, et me publice dehonestaret C 32), 24^{ies} post uerbum. — egomet: memet ipsum (-o F) non credo C 44. — nos *emphatice* quanto nos adpetere debemus C 11. nos autem qui credimus C 60. cf quia nos a fame periclitamur C 19. *casus obliqui ante uerbum leguntur sexies, post uerbum 14^{ies}; cum accusatiuo alterius nominis datiuus uel ablatiuus pronominis legitur priore loco post uerbum, accusatiuus posteriore, praeter E 3 (254,19). De se loquens Patricius utitur numero plurali* C 11 (nos adpetere debemus).33 (donum di quod largitus est nobis). cf noster. — tu *emphatice*: nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetes ire C 18. tu dicis, ds tuus magnus . . . est C 19. dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus C 32. tu potius interficis et uendis illos E 14. *casus obliqui ante uerbum leguntur quinquies, post uerbum septies. — uos emphatice*: C 13. 20.40 (non plebs mea uos, ubi deest copula).47.48.53. E 18. *casus obliqui ante uerbum quinquies, post uerbum 14^{ies}. — se ante uerbum legitur* C 29.46. E 18.19. (ubi nemo se poterit [poterit se Φ] subtrahere C 8); *post uerbum*: qui replent se E 8. amantibus se (cf Iac 1,12. al) C 57. inter se ipsos C 46.*

pronomen possessiuum: meus *saepissime exprimitur; postponitur exceptis his locis*: non mea gratia 246,15. 256,21. mea ignorantia 253,13. cum mea inscientia 238,8. de mea quoque opera 244,19. in mea absentia 245,1. non mea uerba 259,2. — noster 16^{ies} legitur (semel in Φ tantum: 238,12); semper postponitur praeter 235,11 et 243,14 (PΔ). ad Patricium solum spectat paruitatis nostrae E 9. — tuus semper postponitur (octo loci numerantur). — uester 13^{ies} exstat, semper postponitur; lectio uariat C 11 (nostra Φ); C 54 (ab aliquo uestro: uestrum Φ).

pronomen possessiuum cum comparatiuo uel superlatiuo coniungitur: ab

aliquantis senioribus meis C 26. cf 37. insinuaui amicissimo meo C 27. cf 32.

pronomen reflexiuum indirectum uel perperam usurpatum: qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua C 4. ut donaret mihi bibere calicem eius sicut indulsit et ceteris amantibus se C 57. non contingat mihi a do meo ut numquam amittam plebem suam C 58. qui uictimat filium in conspectu patris sui (*om v*) E 8 (c Eccli. 34, 24). testificor coram do et angelis suis E 20 (*u app bibl*; eius C 61). dns pepercit proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum C 26. cf 59.

eius, illius, sim, loco pronominis reflexiui: qui sermones illorum ex infantia numquam mutarunt C 9. (uirgines di hoc faciunt) non sponte patrum earum C 42. ut donaret mihi bibere calicem eius C 57.

pronomina demonstratiua et determinatiua: legitur hic 46^{ies}, iste quater, is 44^{ies}, ille 86^{ies}, ipse 40^{ies}. **hic** postponitur E 21 (gerulus litterarum harum). *u congruentia*. — **iste:** uocant te homines isti C 18. iste quare se mittit in periculo? C 46. (= ille) C 60. ista = haec E 2. — **is** abundat, ut saepe in sacris scripturis: qui ibi nati sunt nescimus numerum eorum C 42. mendacibus periuris pars eorum in stagnum ignis aeterni E 18. *formae unius syllabae hae tantum leguntur:* id est C 44. id quod E 1. non id solum sed etiam C 43. *genitiuus possessiuus et obiectum semper postponuntur praeter* C 34 ut indubitabilem eum sine fine crederem. — **ille** adiectiuum postponitur decies; antecedit septies uocem dies (*sed* in die illa C 8. in diebus illis C 40. ad noctem illam C 29), *praeterea* cum illis proselitis et captiuis C 59. *obiectum 41 locis post uerbum, sex locis ante uerbum ponitur*. — **ipse, i e ds:** C 5. 55. 57. E 18. cf C 24. *sim* ipsius C 4. 16. 39. 44 (*bis*). 48. 59. 60. (61 P.) E 6 (eius v). ipsum C 25. C 4. ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso C 59. (ipso) iubente C 60. *praeterea notandum:* ut esset uirgo xpi et ipsa do proximaret C 42. gehennam pariter cum ipso (*i e* diabolo) mancipabunt E 4. *pro determinatiuo:* putabam audire uocem ipsorum C 23. dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum C 52. ob mala opera ipsorum E 3. non licet . . . cibum . . . sumere cum ipsis nec elemosinas ipsorum recipi debeat E 7.

pronomina inter se confunduntur: hic = is: huius (eius D) filium C 4. dedit mihi unam ex his (illis [Φ]) C 23. — iste = hic, ille C 60. E 2. — ille = is *fere sexagies discrepantibus hic illic codicibus*. — is = ille: ea nocte prima mansi cum illis C 21. cf 22. — ipse = idem: ipso momento C 23 (*u app crit*).

ellipsis pronominis demonstratiui ante relatiuum: uae qui replent se (his v) quae non sunt sua E 8. ut me . . . dehonestaret quod ante . . . indulserat C 32.

pronomem demonstratiuum uel determinatiuum abundat: cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum C 32. illud quod . . . ita hoc faciunt C 42. omnia quaecumque nobiscum inuenerunt rapuerunt illud (illa G'. om V) C 52. — *cum uariatione casus*: gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestauit C 48. mendacibus periuris pars eorum in stagnum ignis aeterni E 18.

pronomine demonstratio uel determinatio casus indicatur post nominatiuum pendentem u nominatiuus pendens.

pronomem interrogatiuum: quod (quid Φ) oremus . . . nescimus C 25 (u app bibl). — (qualis = qui:) qualem spem habes in dm? E 14.

pronomem relatiuum: 1. *emphasis subiecti*: non uos estis qui loquimini sed sps patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis C 20. qui dedit animam suam pro te ipse est qui loquitur in te C 24. cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat C 25. non mea gratia sed ds qui uincit in me C 37. cf E 11. — 2. qui = quicumque: rideat . . . qui uoluerit C 45. fac nobiscum amicitiam quo modo (quomodo ω . V₂) uolueris C 18. — 3. *aduerbium relatiuum* qua: de periculis duodecim qua (quibus ϕ) periclitata est anima mea C 35.

accusatiuus neutrius pronominis relatiui neglecta constructione ponitur: quod (quia P Δ . om V) obstiterunt (enim V) peccata mea C 10. fortiter temptauit me satanas, quod (cuius G') memor ero C 20. dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus, quod (quo v) non eram dignus C 32. — ut me publice dehonestaret quod ante . . . indulserat C 32 (*potius per ellipsim explicandum*). — *idem fere atque id quod*: ut . . . tantam gratiam mihi donaret; quod . . . ego numquam speraui C 15. de mea . . . opera (meo . . . opere G'v) quod a xp̄o . . . didiceram C 30. — ante defensionem illam (quod ego non interfui) C 32.

pronominis indefiniti usus insolentior: si aliquid boni umquam imitatus sum C 59. si aliquid pusillum egi C 62. ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat C 51. ut non uideam aliquem de cognatione mea E 10. numquam habui aliquam (ullam v) occasionem C 61. ut nemo umquam dicat C 62. ut nequaquam subtrahatur . . . a nemine E 21. ut (non) me in aliquo titulo infideli caperent C 49. — *aliquis = quidam*: alio die C 19. (alia nocte C 24?) — *aliquanti = aliqui* C 11. 26. 32. 37. — *occasio cuiuslibet* C 55. — *u genitiuus; accusatiuus et ablatiuus pronominis.*

numerale: unus: *insistitur in numero singulari*: in die una C 16. una die, immo in una hora C 27. de loco non in uno quoque C 46. *opposita*: adoramus unum dm in trinitate sacri nominis C 4. unum membrum . . . omnia membra E 15. unus — alter E 11. (= unus idemque) quasi ex uno ore C 23. *sim* E 11. 16. (ter). *idem fere quod articulus indefinitus*

linguarum modernarum: una benedicta Scotta C 42. una causa ('for some reason') C 42. — **milia**: ducenta milia passus C 17. tot milia hominum C 14.50. cum tot milia C 1. E 14. in milia milium C 46.

ellipsis copulae u uerbum infinitum.

formatio uerborum: honorifico C 19. magnifico C 5.34. testificor C 61. E 20. — haesito C 9. *frequentatiui proprie dicti aliud exemplum apud Patricium non exstat.* — *praeterea notamus balbutio (VL) C 11. †infamo C 49. pulso C 32. sanguino E 2.*

uerborum formae minus usitatae: audiissem C 18. audierit C 34. custodierit C 43.⁵ deglutierunt E 12. — mutarunt (motarunt D. mutauerunt VΔ) C 9. — 3. *persona perf ind in -ere non exstat.* — reuersus sum C 18. expertus sum (expergisor) C 23.24.25. (*u app crit*) — praestauit (praestiti V) C 48. — *part perf c fui, fueram, sim: locuti fuerint C 7. datum fuisset C 11. confessus fueram C 27. effatus fuisset C 33. baptizatus fuerit C 40. ostensum fuerat C 46. dignatus fuerit C 62.*

genera uerbi: ammirabam (admirabar φ) C 25 (stupebam et -am et cogitabam). exhortarent (-tur Gv) C 40 (baptizarent et -arent). — rememorarem C 2. hospitabam C 18. ut . . . auderem adgredere C 34 (*u app crit*). piscare C 40 (-ri G'v). iocundare E 13. fruere E 13 (frui G'. *u app crit* [Pv]); *sed* frui C 53. uociferabo (-or G) E 16. (orire [P: -ri cell] C 20). — depraedari *cum notione passiu*a E 12 (laniantur atque -antur). — conuerterem (PV.Ψ: conuerterer Δ. confirmarem D) C 2 (*u commentarium*). conuersus sum in fugam C 17. — meruimus C 32. mereantur E 21.

uerba praeter morem transitia uel intransitia: a xpo dno meo subuentus sum C 20 (*sed non sum dignus do neque hominibus -ire E 16*). ut uel sero paeniteant quod . . . gesserunt E 19 (*sed non me -et C 53. E 10*). — forte habebat ducenta milia passus C 17 ('*il y avait*'). ubique habundat illi C 19. *fortasse similiter accipiendum*: et si forte uidetur apud aliquantos me in hoc praepone ('*and if it seems to some that I . . .*') C 11.

de uerborum notione et usu: 1. *synonyma*: ambulare C 23.52. ire C 18. 40 (*bis euntes*). 17 (*iturus*). pergere C 28.43.51. uenire C 17.18. — posse C 6.8.9. ualere C 35. cf 57. — nequeo *ter* (*bis enumerare nequeo E 12. 16*), non possum *sexies* (*variant codd ad 238, 4*). — 2. *circumlocutiones*: capturam dedi C 1.10.21. — fac nobiscum amicitiam C 18. cachinnos fecerunt E 3. nec iniuriam legentibus faciam C 35. — partem habeo E 6 (cf Luc 11,36. *al*). habebam tunc annos quindecim C 27. habere curam C 28. honorem E 11. notitiam di C 41. occasionem C 61. spem

E 14. — 3. uenire *abundat*: uenite (uenient) et ... C 38.39.40. E 18. (unde ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes C 39). uenit qui potens est et ... sustulit me C 12. — 4. uolo expectare C 39. *alibi semper futurum exactum*: uoluerō C 43.55. -is C 18. -it C 43.45.

tempora uerbi: 1. *praesens*: decorione patre nascor E 10. non silebo neque abscondo C 45. — 2. *futurum cum notione prohibitiua*: nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetes (-is P. -as VΔ) ire C 18. non concupisces rem proximi tui. non occides E 9. — 3. *coepi cum infinitiua pro perfecto simplici* C 18.19. E 17. — 4. *plusquamperfectum sequitur coniunctionem postquam*: C 16. — *debueram e notione imperfecti* C 12.44.46 (249,17, ubi -uero δ). — 5. *futurum exactum pro futuro simplici*: 237,26. 239,4. 241,15. 245,19.20. 246,19. 247,19 (bis).20. 248,27. 249,4. 252,5. 253,1.11. 259,4(bis).7. (*formae uerbi q e uelle*): C 18.43(bis).45.55.

consecutio temporum negligitur: sic effitiatus est ut sit sps C 25. qui me fidelem seruauit ... ita ut .. offeram C 34. qui me seruauit, ut et dicam C 34. posui te lumen in gentibus ut sis (τοῦ εἰσαί σε) in salutem C 38. — (*cum uariatione temporum*) ne excitem ... et ne .. blasphemaretur (-metur V) C 48. etsi .. caream ... aut .. diuidatur ... aut .. comederent C 59.

modorum uerbi usus: 1. **indicatiuus**: debueram ('I ought to') quasi absolute ponitur: quid adpetere uel quid uitare debueram C 10. cf uehementer debueram ... metuere hanc sententiam C 8. nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram C 46 (249,29). — *indicatiuus in apodosi periodi irrealis*: si mihi hoc incurrisset, lucratus sum animam C 59. — 2. **coniunctiuus**: a) *optatiuus*: breuiter dicam C 35. nec iniuriam legentibus faciam C 35. neque ut sit occasio adulationis ... scripserim uobis ('möchte ich euch geschrieben haben') C 54. breuiter exponam C 61. u *negatio*. — b) *deliberatiuus*: forte ... sperauerim ... uel dimidio scriptulae C 50. quis sanctorum non horreat E 13. quid faciam? E 13.16. — c) *irrealis extra constructionem*: opto impendere animam, si dns mihi indulgeret C 37. credatur quod donum di fuisset C 62. — d) *de coniunctiua uerbi q e debere* (nec elemosinas ipsorum recipi debeat [u *app crit*] E 7) cf *commentarium*. — e) *coniunctiones praeter morem cum coniunctiua coniunguntur*: antequam C 2(bis).10.18.27.35.62. cf 45. — donec E 7. (*ceteris locis cum indicatiua*). — dum clamarem (-bam PΔ) C 20. (usque dum satiemini [Φ.W: -amini D] C 19.) — etsi C 59. — priusquam C 12. — f) *coniunctiuus praesentis pro indicatiua futuri*: regnum temporale quod ... in momento transeat (-it V) E 19. iusti autem epulentur E 19. sunt qui tales formas pro futuro abortiua habeant. — 3. **imperatiuus tertiae personae**: scrutator (V: -tur P. -bor δ) C 57.

modus non assimilatur: cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat (oraret v. oret PΔ) C 25. ut ... exaltarem nomen tuum ubicumque loco fuero C 34.

modorum uariatio: qui mihi ostendit ... et qui me audierit C 34. si aliquid pusillum egi uel demonstraerim C 62. arbitramini et uerissime credatur C 62. u *consecutio temporum, indicatiuus.*

uerbum infinitum: A. Infinitiuus: 1. *appositio infinitiui:* non sapiebat illis ... , intellegi ('to wil'?) propter rusticitatem meam C 46. — 2. *infinitiuus finalis:* ueneram ... praedicare C 37. ut uenirem esse cum illis (u *app crit*) C 43. uiuo do meo docere gentes E 1. quos praedestinauit euangelium praedicare E 6. — 3. *infinitiuus consecutiuus u contaminatio syntactica* (3); *coniunctiones B* (ut). — 4. *aliae constructiones notabiles:* opto fratribus et cognatis meis (fratres et cognatos meos Δ) scire qualitatem meam C 6. opto impendere C 37. uisitare fratres ... ualde optabam C 43 (*sed membra periodi illius minime inter se congruunt*). — cogitauit scribere C 9. pertimeo denudare C 10. timeo perdere laborem C 43. horreat iocundare E 13. — uidi ... solem oriri C 20. nec ... locum darem infamare siue detractare C 49. — faciam uos fieri (*om P6*) piscautores hominum (C 40 (u *app bibl*); *sed* facit ut sint C 4. — donum tam magnum ... dm agnoscere uel diligere C 36. — oportet cum *infinitiuo coniungitur:* C 14.40 (*bis*). (*sed* ut decantetur ... oportet D 3 a.) — 5. *infinitiuus pro acc c inf:* ab illis speraui uenire in fidem ihu xpi C 18 (u *app crit*). (*cum ellipsi accusatiui pronominis reflexiui:*) putabam audire uocem ipsorum C 23. insinuaui nobis responsum accepisse C 42. cotidie spero aut internicionem aut circumueniri aut redigi in seruitutem C 55. — 6. *accusatiuus cum infinitiuo his tantum locis inuenitur:* quem ... fuisse testamur C 4. sps ... futurum reum me esse designat C 43. episcopum me esse fateor E 1. indulisit illis ... potestatem quos ligarent ... ligatos esse E 6. — *participium coniunctum pro acc c inf positum esse uidetur:* expectamus aduentum ipsius mox futurum C 4. quos ... dns .. praedixerat praenuntiaturos euangelium C 34 (u *app crit*). uideo ... me supra modum exaltatum C 55.

B. Gerundiuum: dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus C 32. scripsi ... uerba ista danda et tradenda militibus mittenda Corotici E 2. non solum facientes mala ... damnandi sunt E 14. (debeo c *inf* C 11.33. 34.) — caro trahit ... ad inlecebras inlicitate perficiendas C 44. quod praedixi .. ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem uestram C 47. mittunt uiros ... ad redimendos captiuos E 14. exclamare ad retribuendum quoque aliquid dno C 12 *ex more scriptoris pro gerundiuo accipere malim quam pro gerundio. certum gerundii exemplum non exstat.*

C. Participium: 1. *post uerba percipiendi:* audiui uocem dicentem mihi C 17. cf responsum dicentem C 17.21.29. audiebam quosdam

spiritus psallentes in me F 1. uidi . . . uirum uenientem C 23. uidi in me ipsum orantem C 25. (*sed* uidi . . . solem oriri C 20.) — 2. *ellipsis copulae post participium*: dum crudeliter trucidati atque mactati E 3. nescio quid magis lugeam an qui interfecti uel quos ceperunt E 4. *u accusatiuus cum infinitiuo* (*infinitiuus sub 6*); *parataxis*. — 3. *participium praesentis uel futuri cum copula pro uerbo simplici*: sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus C 1 (inobedientes Φ). eadem nocte eram dormiens C 20. reddituri sumus rationem C 8. ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes C 39. *u contaminatio syntactica*.

praepositionum usus insolentior: **a** (*om VRG'*) fame periclitamur C 19. castigatus sum et . . . humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate C 27. ab illis speraui uenire in fidem xpi C 18; cf 50. *cum uerbis patiendi* C 37.42. — **ad** *cum accusatiuo ad notionem datiu accedit*: genti ad quam caritas xpi transtulit et donauit me C 13. ut clerici . . . illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper uenientem ad credulitatem C 38. ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestauit C 48. uenenum letale cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos E 13. *praetera notandum* ad Patrem receptum C 4 (*u app crit*). ad perfectum semper addiderunt C 9. — **me aduersus** C 27. — **apud**: spiritaliter apud Patrem . . . genitum C 4. contemptibilissimus apud plurimos C 1. uidetur apud aliquantos me in hoc praepone C 11. — **cum**: misi epistolam cum sco presbytero . . . cum clericis E 3. quaecumque nobiscum inuenerunt C 52. decantetur uobiscum . . . uox illa D 3 a. obtinui cum illis C 18. cum quo C 17. cum tot milia C 1.14 (milibus *G'*, Ψ : C 1. v: E 14). — **de**: uenientem quasi de Hiberione C 23. — sanguinare de sanguine E 2. de spoliis . . . repleuerunt domos suas. de rapinis uiuunt E 13. — aliquantis de senioribus meis C 37. unus de C 56. E 11. aliquem de cognatione mea E 10. ut nobis aliquid indulgerent de praeda uel de captiuis baptizatis E 3. quemquam de hominibus C 17. de cibo uero nihil habuimus C 22. de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt C 42. de loco non in uno C 46. effundam de spiritu meo C 40 (*bis*). (in uisu de nocte [Δ : nocte Pv. noctis D] C 23.) — **ex** (*sic semper etiam ante consonantes*): *cum notione partitua*: ex illis maxime laborant quae seruitio continentur C 42. super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis C 49. qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperum E 8. unus, multi ex *saepe*. — **in e acc**: misertus est mihi dns in milia milium C 46. *e abl 1. loci*: uidit in me quod paratus eram C 46. neophyti in ueste candida E 3. 2. *temporis*: una die . . . immo in una hora C 27. *ante abl sing die praepositio in legitur decies, non legitur nouies* (\langle in $v\Delta$) illo die C 26); *abl plur (in locis biblicis) cum in quater, sine in semel*. 3. *modi*: (pergebam) in multis periculis C 51. euangelium praedicare in persecutionibus non paruis E 6. 4. *instru-*

menti: qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus C 9. qui me in omnibus confortauit C 30. ut me in omnibus . . . conseruarem C 49 (250,1). ut (non) me in aliquo titulo infideli caperent C 49 (250,16). nec in minimo incredulis locum darem infamare C 49 (250,17). in multis imperfectus sum C 6. etsi imperitus sum in omnibus C 49 (250,10). me in hoc praepone C 11. potentes in sermone et in omni re C 13. manus suas coinquinauit in sanguine E 9. cf ueni in uirtute di C 17. — **ob** hoc C 18. quam ob rem E 12. *praetera quater in Epist.* — **per** totam legem carpere testimonia E 9. etsi . . . cadauer per singula membra diuidatur C 59. — **post**: exclamabat post me C 18. uenite post me C 40. pos (post VF) tergum C 46. post haec C 4 (hunc Φ). 19 (hoc ΦΥ). — **prae semel tantum**: prae ceteris C 13. — **praeter** 'except', 'in addition to': C 35.42. cf 52. — **pro** (G': per φ) his 'because of this' C 46. pro dilectione proximorum E 1. reddent pro (de DR) eo rationem C 7. — **secus** uiam C 19. — **sub**: honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum C 19. — **usque** ad de mensura uel limite C 16.37.42. E 1.

praepositiones suppressae: peruuenimus (ad Δ₂) homines C 22 (bis). qui fuit (in Δ₂) uico †bannaem taburniae† C 1. — *u ablatius, indeclinabilia* (Hiberione).

coniunctiones: A) **in clausulis primariis: atque, ac** *ter legitur in Conf, undecies in Epist, semel in Dictis. Semper fere coniunguntur membra aequalia accedente plerumque homoioteleuto*: atque C 4.9. E 1.2 (*ter*). 3.5. 12 (*bis*).16. D 1. *tria membra iunguntur per et* — atque E 16.18. **ac semel**: magis ac magis (magisque V) C 16. — **aut**: ut ego curam haberem aut satagerem C 28. *iuncturae*: aut — aut — aut — siue C 55. uel — aut E 14. (aut — uel — aut P *pro* an — uel — uel vδ E 4.) — **autem** *significatione propria euanescente* (cf δέ): C 35.44.45.53.54. E 8 (*om* vΔ₂). *iuncturae*: dummodo autem C 13. forte autem C 50. quando autem C 28. unde autem C 3.8.13.31.40.41.43.46.57. — **et coniunctio copulatiua a Patricio frequentissime adhibita: legitur enim et fere 400^{ies}, atque (ac) 15^{ies}, -que 5^{ies}. I. coniunctio proprie copulatiua**: a) *coniunguntur saepissime duo membra aequalia, accedente nonnumquam allitteratione, assonantia, homoioteleuto; membra sic coniuncta haud raro sunt fere synonyma, exempla non dabimus.* — b) *coniunguntur duo membra inaequalia*: in siluis et monte C 16. sponte et laetus indulserat C 32. idola et (*om* V) immunda C 41. cum humilitate et ueraciter C 13. praeter insidias multas et quae uerbis exprimere non ualeo C 35. incunctanter et libentissime C 37. diligenter et libentissime C 51. hic et in aeternum C 12.26. E 21. hic et in futurum C 31. praedixi et praedico C 47. praestauit et praestabo C 48. subuentus sum et sps . . . clamabat C 20. ostendit . . . et . . . audierit C 34. secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat

et sicut sps suggerebat C 46. cupio et paratus eram C 57. arbitramini et uerissime credatur C 62. cogor zelo di et ueritas xpi excitauit E 1. etsi uoluero amittere illas et ut pergens . . . C 43. uisitare fratres et ut uiderem C 43. cecidit super me ueluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum meorum praeualens C 20. sicut falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola et non est in eis utilitas (*idem fere quod*: et inutilia) C 38. responsum accepisse a nuntio di et monuit eam ut . . . C 42. alligatus spu . . . et timeo perdere laborem C 43. quos elegit et indulsit illis . . . potestatem E 6. — (*climax*): satis et nimis cupio C 57. adhuc impendo et superimpendam C 53. — c) *cum notione oppositionis*: persecutionem patiuntur . . . et nihilominus plus augetur numerus C 42. qui adiutor datus sum et non cito adqueui C 46. super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis et iterum reddebam illis C 49. ut totum mundum lucretur et animae suae detrimentum patiatur E 8. — d) *introducitur parenthesis uel epexegetis*: ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter C 16. qui uenerunt, et peccata mea, contra . . . episcopatum meum C 26. humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate, et cotidie C 27. quod ante . . . indulserat, et dns qui maior omnibus est C 32. promptus sum ut etiam animam meam *ponam* pro nomine eius et ibi opto impendere eam C 37. ut pergens in Britanniiis — et libentissime paratus eram C 43. timeo perdere laborem quem inchoaui, et non ego sed xps C 43. qui saepe indulsit insipientiae meae negligentiae meae et de loco non in uno quoque ut non mihi . . . irascetur C 46. ne excitem illis et nobis omnibus persecutionem C 48. inter uos et ubique pergebam causa uestra C 51(?). ita ut me fruamini et ego uobis semper fruar in dm C 53. oues tuae lanianture atque depraedantur, et supradictis latrunculis E 12. epistola xpi, et si non deserta . . . C 11. — e) *coordinatio pro subordinatione (praeter locos biblicos C 5.38.40 [ter]. 50 [bis]. 55)*: audiui unum ex illis et fortiter exclamabat post me C 18 (u *app crit*). eadem . . . nocte eram dormiens et fortiter temptauit me satanas C 20. putabam audire uocem ipsorum . . . et sic exclamauerunt C 23. et audiui super me . . . et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus C 25. — f) *ab et iterum incipiunt enuntiata 242,3.12. 243,8. (locus biblicus praecedenti adiungitur)*: C 25.38.40. E 15. (et iterum inquit) C 5.7. (et iterum dicit) C 40 (*bis*). (et iterum sps testatur) C 11. cf et item C 40. et idem C 7. et E 18. — g) *tria membra coniunguntur (praeter locos biblicos)*: C 1.13.22.49.60. E 21. — *per et . . . et . . . et . . . membra plurima ita coniunguntur ut λέξις εἰρημένη efficiatur*: C 1—2.4.12.16—19.20.23.24.25.40.52. — *inconcinntas quaedam subrepsit his locis*: tradidi patriam et parentes et animam meam E 1. cum metu et reuerentia et sine querella C 13. ueneram . . . praedicare et . . . contumelias perferre . . . et ut darem . . . C 37. filii di uiui et coheredes xpi et con-

formes futuri imaginis ipsius C 59. sapiens per linguam dinoscetur et sensus et scientia et doctrina ueritatis C 9. *tria membra coniunguntur per* et — atque: cum apostolis et prophetis atque martyribus E 18. di et apostolorum atque prophetarum E 20. — et *non nisi tertio loco ponitur*: iusti . . . epulentur . . . cum xpo (et v) iudicabunt nationes et regibus iniquis dominabuntur E 19. cf C 4 (236,16) *codd* PV. *tertio loco omittitur*: danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici E 2 (*sed u adn crit*). — 2. et *idem fere est quod* etiam: a) *uox quasi correlatiua*: olim cogitauit scribere, sed et (*om* Φ) usque nunc haesitauit C 9. sicut et ceteri C 9.11.44.57. sicut et ego ipse testor C 46. ut et uos imitemini maiora C 47. sed et xps dns pauper fuit pro nobis C 55. quomodo et xps manet in aeternum C 60. ligatos esse et in caelis E 6. — ut et (ei v) dicam C 34. — b) *nouum aliquid superadditur*: et rusticationem ab Altissimo creatam C 11 (*u commentarium*). ut et ille in mea absentia pulsaret pro me C 32. ut coram cunctis, bonis et malis, et me publice dehonestaret C 32. ut et ego inscius . . . hoc opus . . . auderem adgrederi C 34. non sponte patrum earum, sed et persecutionem patiuntur C 42. sed et omnes qui adorant *solem* in poenam . . . deuenient C 60. — 3. *significationes minus usitatae*: et comperi ab aliquantis fratribus . . . ut . . . pulsaret pro me C 32 ('*and this although I ascertained . . .*'). et contigit scelus . . ., de saeculo recessistis ad paradysum E 17 ('*and if such a crime did take place*'). — **etiam**: *iuncturae*: non solum — sed etiam E 14. nec non — sed etiam C 34. non id solum sed etiam *formula transitionis* C 43. — et si — sed etiam C 11. (= et:) per Gallias atque Italiam, etiam in insolis D 1. *ad notionem concessiuam accedit*: ut etiam in siluis et monte manebam C 16. — **igitur** primo loco C 29 (*alibi non legitur*). — **quapropter** (*semper in capite enuntiat*) C 9.58. E 5.15. — **quasi idem fere ac** quippe (δτε): C 43.45.59. — **-que** C 34 (itaque = et ita). 61 (iterum iterumque). E 8 (ideoque). *abundat* E 2. *tertio loco tantum* E 15 (*u app crit*). — **sed saepissime post negationem uel clausulam cui aliqua notio negatiua inest. iuncturae**: sed tamen C 33. sed uerumtamen C 18, cf 11. *cum notione restrictiua*: et si forte uidetur me in hoc praeponere . . ., sed scriptum est C 11. epistola . . . et si non deserta sed . . . scripta in cordibus uestris C 11. qui nescio in posterum prouidere, sed illud scio certissime C 12. donum tam magnum . . . dm agnoscere . . ., sed (*ie* ea tamen conditione) ut patriam . . . amitterem C 36. ualde optabam, sed alligatus spu ('*were it not that*') 248,27. — *introducitur interrogatio rhetorica*: sed quid prodest excusatio? . . . sed quis me credit? C 10. *sim* C 20. 32.57. *uis aduersatiua euanuit* (δέ): 239,14. 248,20. 251,19. 253,10. — **sicut in epexeysi**: 237,18. 239,20. 242,9. 247,6. 249,26. 257,7. sicut enim sps gestit C 10. *in exclamatione* (ὡς): sicut (quam, quomodo) VL, uere VULG) falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola C 38. — **tamen**

non legitur nisi in iuncturis: tamen etsi C 6. etsi — tamen C 42.49. sed tamen C 33. (ideo tamen C 35 *uix sanum*.) — **uel restrictiue** C 2. (E 21. cf C 23.) C 50 (*bis*). *copulatiue haud raro in enuntiativis interrogatiuis, negatiuis, condicionalibus; notandum*: non gratis laboraui uel peregrinatio mea in uacuum non fuit E 17. unde mihi donum tam magnum . . . dm agnoscere uel diligere? C 36. post correptionem uel agnitionem di C 3. *locus biblicus praecedenti adiungitur* E 8.9. — **uero ui aduersatiua euanescente** (δὲ) 241,14. — **ut u sub clausulis secundariis**.

B) **in clausulis secundariis: cum** (dum D. tunc P) recitabam . . . putabam . . . audire C 23. cum haec audiissem separaui me ab illis C 18. — **dum** ('as'): dum scio certissime C 55. ('whilst'): dum clamarem C 20. usque dum satiamini (-emini Φ.W) C 19. (*cum participio sine copula*) E 3. — **etsi c ind praes** C 6.42.49. E 1.6. *c con praes* C 59. *c ind fut exact primae pers sing* C 10.43.55. — **nisi** (*praecedente semper uoce negatiua*): non potui intellegere nisi . . . sic effitatus est C 24. qui numquam notitiam di habuerunt nisi idola . . . coluerunt C 41. nihil ualeo nisi ipse mihi dederit C 57. — **quando c notione aduersatiua**: quando autem tunc etiam de me ipso non cogitabam C 28. — **quatenus modo ipse adpeto** C 10. — **quia in enuntiativis quae primariorum fere instar sunt**: 236,5.8. 240,11.13.16.22. 241,2.3.7. 244,2. 245,8. 246,23. 249,4. 251,24.27. 252,4. (237,24 [PΔ]. 251,27 *posteriore loco* [VFC].) *introducitur locus biblicus* C 47.48. (*quia utique*) E 4. *u clausulas declaratiuas*. — **quod in exclamacione clausulae primariae instar**: quod in labe et in obprobrium non male deueni! C 26. *sic fortasse quod si ds inspirat illos* . . . E 21. *in clausulis secundariis semper c notione praedicationis, u clausulas declaratiuas*. non quod optabam in capite enuntiativati E 1. — **si coniunctio quasi interrogatiua**: si talis essem C 13. si habebam tunc annos quindecim C 27. testis est ille si ita est E 1. — **ut**: 1. *c ui comparatiua*: non ut causa malitiae C 46. offeram illi sacrificium ut hostiam uiuentem animam meam C 34. spiritus agebatur ut ('to wit') in die una usque ad centum orationes C 16. (*c ui explicatiua uel causali*:) ut . . . debeo suscipere C 34. ut ego ueneram C 37. ut futurum reum me esse designat C 43. neque ut honorem spero C 54. (*c ui concessiua*:) ut etiam . . . manebam C 16. 2. *c ui optatiua*: utinam ut . . . imitemini C 47. ut nusquam C 23. ut non C 26. ut nemo C 62. 3. *c ui consecutiua 43^{ies}* (ita ut *septies*). *coni praes sequitur perf uerbi principalis* C 34(*bis*).53. E 10. custodierit . . . ut non peccem C 43. *promptus fuerit ut sit* E 21. 4. *incertum an cum infinitiuo coniungatur his locis*: ut exaltare et confiteri (-mus et -emur Φ) C 3. ut . . . relinquere (-em G') C 14. ut me . . . admonere (-eret F. -uit Δ) C 35. 5. *pro acc c inf uel quod*: locutus sum ut haberem C 18. effitatus est ut sit sps C 25. comperi . . . ut et ille . . . pulsaret C 32. (speraui . . . ut mihi

dicerent Φ : C 18 [240,16.] — gratias ago *do* ut non me impediret C 30. — *praeterea*: quid prodest homini ut (si v c VL.VULG) E 8. obstiterunt peccata mea ut confirmarem C 10.

particulae: **immo** C 10.27. D 3. — **quidem** (*semper emphatice*) C 3.12 (et qu. scilicet). 13.40 (*bis*). — **quoque** *semper uidetur abundare*: et de mea quoque opera C 30. et de loco non in uno quoque C 46. ad retribuendum quoque aliquid dno C 12. — **scilicet** (*semper encliticum*) C 4.12 (indoctus scilicet, = 62. E 1).17 (ibi scilicet = 23). et quidem scilicet C 12. — **utique** C 26. qui utique C 39. E 12.19. quod utique E 19. quia (quod) utique C 12. E 13. E 4 (*sequitur locus biblicus*).

negatio: **ne** *ter tantum*: C 9 (timui ne). 48 (*bis, cum notione finali*); *alibi legitur*: non contingat mihi a do meo C 58. iniuria iustorum non te placeat E 12. — ut nemo umquam dicat C 62. ut nequaquam subtrahatur . . . a nemine E 21. ut non illis in peccatum reputetur C 26. ut non uideam aliquem de cognatione mea E 10. nec iniuriam legentibus faciam C 35. ut (non) me in aliquo titulo infideli caperent . . . nec etiam locum darem C 49. — ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat C 51. numquam habui aliquam occasionem . . . ut umquam redirem C 61. rogauerunt me ut . . . nusquam (numquam ϕ) ab illis discederem C 23. — **neque, nec** *promiscue usurpantur, nisi quod neque non legitur ante s, nec non legitur ante d t h q.* — 1. *negatio non praecedit*: nec sic praedixit C 29. nec non contra uotum C 37. nec iniuriam legentibus faciam C 35. — 2. *ubi negatio praecedit, comma posterius saepe epexegetis est*: tacere non possum, neque expedit quidem C 3. *sim* C 4.15.27.32.45. 53.55 (*bis*). E 2.6.7.10.11.16.17. — **non**: 1. *negatio singulae uocis*: uocabo non plebem meam plebem meam *etc* C 40. — 2. *clausula tota negatur*: non ut causa malitiae C 46. non quod optabam E 1. — 3. *in futuro in clausula prohibitiua*: non concupisces . . . non occides E 9. — 4. et non 239,10. 243,5. 247,1. 249,9.20.27. quia a do recessimus et praecpta eius non custodiimus et . . . non oboedientes fuimus C 1.

negatio duplicatur: alius ds nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec C 4. nec non in secundis sed etiam in pressuris C 34. non contingat mihi . . . ut numquam (umquam P) amitterem plebem suam C 58. nequaquam subtrahatur . . . a nemine E 21.

parataxis: confiteor dno meo . . ., ex quo cognoui eum . . . creuit in me amor di et timor ipsius C 44. tu dicis (quia Ψ *pr* $V_2\beta$) ds tuus magnus . . . est C 19. audenter dico non me reprehendit conscientia mea C 31. (non dico ciuibus meis neque ciuibus scorum Romanorum sed ciuibus daemoniorum E 2.) quaeso plurimum . . ., adulari talibus non licet E 7. peto illi det mihi C 59. (*sed oro dm ut det mihi C 58.*) do gratias,

exinde nihil gustavi C 19. cf 42. E 17. (*sed do gratias, quia . . .* C 23.) indignum est illis Hiberionaci sumus E 16. spero autem hoc debueram C 44. ad noctem illam uidi in uisu noctis scriptum erat contra faciem meam C 29. scit ds, si mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset, forsitan tacuissim C 33. cf 48. (*sed scit ds quod ego ualde optabam* C 43.) nesciunt miseri uenenum . . . porrigunt E 13. censeo . . . non minimum quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis C 53. sicut credimus ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes C 39. forte non credunt unum baptismum percepimus E 16. certissime reor a do accepi id quod sum E 1. cf C 59. — et erit in nouissimis diebus, . . . effundam de spu meo C 40. non conuenit: Vnus destruit alter aedificat E 11. consuetudo Romanorum . . . mittunt uiros *etc.* E 14. — enumerare nequeo *extra constructionem apponitur* E 12.16. *u appositio.* — ut hoc dns seruulo suo concederet . . . in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret C 15. quomodo nuper facta est plebs dni . . ., filii Scottorum et filiae regulum monachi et uirgines xpi esse uidentur C 41. — et contigit scelus tam horrendum ineffabile, do gratias . . ., de saeculo recessistis E 17.

contaminatio syntactica: 1. *coniunctio explicatiua aut aduersatiua constructionem transcendit:* desertis breuitate sermone explicare nequeo, sicut enim spiritus gestit C 10. non mea uerba sed di et apostolorum atque prophetarum, qui numquam enim (*om V*) mentiti sunt E 20. ad retribuendum quoque aliquid dno pro tantis beneficiis eius C 12. ut . . . curam haberem . . . pro salute aliorum, quando autem tunc etiam de me ipso non cogitabam C 28. et si forte uidetur . . . me in hoc praeponere . . ., sed etiam scriptum est enim C 11 (*sed cf adn crit*). qui sumus . . . epistola xpi . . . et si non deserta, sed . . . scripta in cordibus uestris C 11. unde ergo . . . qui nescio in posterum prouidere, sed illud scio certissime C 12. pro quo legationem fungor in ignobilitate mea, sed quia personam non accipit C 56. ut me pauperculum pupillum ideo tamen (*'darum doch'?*) responsum diuinum . . . admonere C 35. ea nocte qua peruenimus homines de cibo uero nihil habuimus C 22. — 2. *clausula secundaria continuatur tamquam primaria:* quem . . . fuisse . . . testamur . . . et per ipsum facta sunt C 4. quem credimus et expectamus aduentum ipsius C 4. qui ex hoc emendatus sum a dno et aptauit me C 28. gratias ago ei qui me . . . confortauit ut non me impediret . . ., sed magis ex eo sensi in me uirtutem C 30. insinuauit nobis responsum accepisse a nuntio di et monuit eam ut *etc.* C 42. quae . . . super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis et iterum reddebam illis C 49. qui numquam interibit, neque qui fecerit uoluntatem ipsius, sed manebit in aeternum quomodo et xps manet in aeternum C 60. ut nemo umquam dicat . . ., sed arbitramini C 62. quam (*legem dns*) Hiberione optime benigne plantauerat atque instructa

erat fauente do E 5. sacerdotes ... quos elegit et indulsit illis ... potestatem E 6. migrare coepistis ubi nox non erit ... , sed exultabitis E 17. ecclesia plorat .. filios et filias suas quas adhuc gladius nondum interfecit, sed prolongati et exportati in longa terrarum ... uenundati sunt E 15. — 3. ut uidetur cum infinitiuo coniungi (cf FRANZ BLATT, Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae, 1930, p. 61, 3.100, 26.133, 10. et indicem p. 168): C 3.14.35. u coniunctiones B (ut 4). cf ut haberem unde nauigare (-em D) C 18 (sim Acta Andreae et Matthiae 43,12; al). — 4. participium uerbi finiti locum tenet: cecidit super me ueluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum meorum praeualens (-ui Φ) C 20. sed alligatus spu ... et timeo perdere laborem C 43.

clausulae declaratiuae obliquae: 1. acc e inf: C 43. E 1.6. (C 34.55) — 2. infinitiuus: C 11.20.42.45. — 3. coniunctiones: quare C 44. quia C 4. 12.31.34.54.57.61. quod C 20(bis).43.46(bis).(52.)55.62(bis). E (1.)5. (10.)13.20. (post quod indicatiuus semper legitur praeter C 62 [253,15].) ut C 18.25.32.

clausulae interrogatiuae obliquae: 1. indicatiuus legitur post cur C 32. 49 (utroque loco idem fere ac quod). qualiter C 9.35.48 (coniunctiuus non inuenitur). quantum C 53. quare C 44 (idem fere ac quod). si C 27 (nescio si habebam). quae C 27. neglectis iis locis ubi aduerbia interrogatiua cur quare ad notionem coniunctionis quod accedunt (C 32.44. 49) aut ubi pronomina interrogatiua Patricio pro relatiuis uidentur fuisse (quae ... gesseram C 27, quantum ... erogauit C 53), indicatiuus quater tantum legitur. — 2. coniunctiuus legitur septies: semper post quis, quid (C 10.25.46. E 4.15); post qui (F 1); post si (C 13).

clausula relatiua cum notione generali: omnis qui, omnia quaecumque cum indicatiuus semper coniunguntur. pro futuro semper legitur futurum exactum: qui uoluerit C 45. quo modo uolueris C 18. quicquid mihi euenerit C 34. quicumque dignatus fuerit C 62. ubicumque loco fuero C 34. cf rideat .. qui uoluerit C 45. certum exemplum coniunctiuui non exstat.

clausula relatiua cum notione consecutiua (in VULG raro legitur, cf W. E. PLATER, A Grammar of the Vulgate, p 127): ut ... ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarent populum C 40. ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat qui baptizaret aut clericos ordinaret aut populum consummaret C 51. (locutus sum ut haberem unde nauigarem [D] cum illis C 18.)

clausula ab ut incipiens ante enuntiatum primum collocatur: neque ut sit occasio adulationis ... , scripserim uobis C 54. ut xpiani ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur uobiscum ... oportet D 3 a.

post adiectiua et impersonalia legitur modo infinitiuus, modo ut cum coniunctiuo; haec exempla dabimus: difficile est ut C 19. non

eram dignus neque talis ut C 15.55. non sum dignus . . . subuenire E 16. (dignor *c inf* C 3.62. dignor ut C 58.) opera . . . di reuelare . . . honorificum est C 5. non licet adulari E 7. longum est *c inf*. C 35. E 9. oportet *c inf*. C 14.40 (*bis*). (ut decantetur . . . oportet D 3 a.) potens est ut C 53 talis ut C 13. cf 15.55.

collocatio uerborum *seorsum tractabitur; hic pauca tantum notabimus*: ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere C 8. qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus C 9. occasionem inuenerunt me aduersus uerbum C 27. futurum reum me esse designat C 43. non ut causa malitiae C 46. causa uestra C 51. (*sed una causa C 42.*) — *u pronomina.*

uox ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in priore membro posita: spiritaliter apud patrem (et) inenarrabiliter genitum C 4. spiritus gestit et animus C 10. de seruitute saepe liberauit et de periculis duodecim *animam meam* C 35. multitudo copiosa et turba C 40. persecutionem patiuntur et impropria falsa C 42. a me alieni sunt et a xpo do meo E 5. pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus E 7. cf neque ut sit occasio . . . scripserim uobis neque ut honorem spero C 54, et C 35.41. E 12 (*u hyperbaton*).— *In posteriore membro*: ut esset uirgo xpi et ipsa do proximaret C 42.

hyperbaton (traiectio): annorum eram tunc fere sedecim C 1. uehementer debueram . . . metuere C 8. qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus C 9. si . . . datum mihi fuisset C 11. unde me uenit ignaro in spiritu C 20 (*u app crit*). bene mihi fuit C 28. totum per singula enarrare laborem meum uel per partes C 35. sicut falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola C 38. filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum C 41. E 12 (cf WHITE 294). sexta ab hac die C 42. ut unus essem de suis minimis minister (-ris P) C 56. etsi ipsam etiam caream sepulturam aut miserissime cadauer per singula membra diuidatur C 59. inter barbaras itaque gentes E 1. militibus mittenda Corotici E 2. ut nobis aliquid indulgerent de praeda E 3.

relectio coniunctionis: credentes et oboedientes ut sint filii Dei C 4. iste quare se mittit in periculo? C 46. piam misericordiam quod ago E 10.

chiasmus: ammiramini itaque magni et pusilli . . . et uos dominicati rethorici audite et scrutamini C 13. utinam ut et uos imitemini maiora et potiora faciatis C 47. mihi ultronea munuscula donabant et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis C 49. praemia dabam regibus praeter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum C 52. qui me aliquando ceperunt et deustauerunt seruos et ancillas domus patris mei E 10. ibi uenundati ingenui homines, xpiani in seruitute redacti sunt E 15.

membra crescentia: rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et con-

temptibilissimus apud plurimos C 1. praeuidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem C 22. adhuc impendo et superimpendam C 53. quasi filii di uiui et coheredes xpi et conformes futuri imaginis ipsius C 59. danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici E 2. an qui interfecti uel quos ceperunt uel quos grauitur zabulus inlaqueauit E 4. *alia*.

inconcininitas, uariatio: nec non in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris C 34. ut non me impediret a profectone . . . et de . . . opera C 30. per Gallias atque Italiam, etiam in insolis D 1. secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat et sicut sps suggerebat C 46. spero aut internicionem aut circumueniri aut redigi in seruitutem siue occasio cuiuslibet C 55. si aliquid pusillum egi uel demonstraui C 62. neque ut sit occasio adulationis . . . neque ut honorem spero C 54. pro quo legationem fungor in ignobilitate mea, sed quia personam non accipit C 56. nescio quid magis lugeam: an qui interfecti uel quos ceperunt uel quos grauitur zabulus inlaqueauit E 4. *u etiam coniunctiones B s u* et (1 b, g).

asyndeton: una benedicta Scotta genetiua nobilis pulcherrima adulta C 42. optime <et v> benigne plantauerat E 5. peccatum manifeste grauitur impudenter abundat E 15. scelus tam horrendum <et V> ineffabile E 17. creduli baptizati E 17. mendacibus <et V> periuris E 18. — *accedit anaphora, epiphora homoioteleuton:* per niuem per gelu per pluuiam C 16. donum tam magnum tam salubre C 36. (*sed* hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum C 34.) insipientiae meae <et v> negligentiae meae C 46. patricida fratricida E 5. — dns inquit (*om D. eras G*) in euangelio ammonet (-ens v) et docet dicens C 40. dns per prophetam praenuntiat (-ans v. Δ₂) inquit C 40. sicut ipse testatur inquit (-iens V) E 19. — uenit ad nos, insinuauit responsum accepisse C 42. uerba ista danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici E 2. longum est per singula discutere uel insinuare, per totam legem carpere testimonia de tali cupiditate E 9. ibi uenundati ingenui homines, xpiani in seruitute redacti sunt E 15. fidelis autem qui promisit: numquam mentitur C 54.

epexeģesis: *u coniunctiones s u* et (1 d); ut (1).

pleonasmus: ut esset uirgo xpi et ipsa (sic V) do proximaret C 42. (*nisi potius figura ἀπὸ κοινοῦ statuenda est.*) *u pronomen demonstratiuum.* — qui . . . iura et sacras litteras utraque pari modo combiberunt C 9. omnia quaecumque C 40.52. — ut offeram illi sacrificium ut hostiam uiuentem animam meam xpo dno meo C 34. *u praepositiones* (ad). cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum C 32. ut hoc dns seruulo suo concederet . . . in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret C 15.

illud scio certissime quia . . . C 12. quod obstiterunt peccata mea ut confirmarem quod ante perlegeram C 10. quod . . . ita hoc faciunt C 42. — et sic exclamauerunt . . . : Rogamus te, *etc.* C 23. nec sic praedixit: Male uidisti C 29. sic effitiatus est ut sit sps C 25. sic sunt omnes qui male agunt: mortem perennem poenam operantur E 13. — reprobatus sum a memoratis supradictis C 29. magis potius legatur E 21. meipsum impendar (-at PFC. -am G') C 53. uehementer pertimeo C 10. ante praefatus sum C 10. ante . . . iam olim praedixerat C 34. ante praeuidimus C 52. ante praenuntiauit E 11. sursum adleuauit C 12. plus augetur numerus C 42. — **pleonasmus particularum** (cf E. LÖFSTEDT *Vermischte Studien zur lat. Sprachkunde u. Syntax* [1936] 56–68): et de mea quoque opera C 30. et de loco non in uno quoque C 46. nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec C 4. nec non (*pro* et non) C 34. quas adhuc gladius nondum interfecit E 15. deinde postmodum C 17. et etiam C 42. nec etiam (*'noch auch'*) C 49. arripuit illud quod etiam omnes uirgines di ita hoc faciunt C 42. tamen conatus sum seruare me etiam C 49. etsi ipsam etiam caream sepulturam C 59. idcirco itaque C 40. et quidem scilicet C 12. (*haec duo exempla potius per ἑμφασία explicanda sunt.*) si poposci uel pretium uel calciamenti mei C 50. sed uerumtamen C 18. cf 11. utinam ut et uos imitemini maiora C 47. *fortasse adiungendum*: Scottorum atque Pictorum apostatarumque E 2 (*u app crit.*); cf E 15. — (**abundat figura etymologica uel synonymica**): de captiuis baptizatis quos ceperunt E 3. cf 21. donum di quod largitus est nobis C 33. *sic accipiendum uidetur esse*: uerbum quod confessus fueram C 27.

formae eiusdem uocis uel uoces de eadem radice formatae iunguntur: praedixi et praedico C 47. fidem illis praestauit (-stiti V) et praestabo C 48. impendo et superimpendam C 53. de duodecim periculis qua periclitata est anima mea C 35. sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine E 2. iniquitas iniquorum E 16. omnes omnino C 8.

figura etymologica: uisiones uidebunt . . . somnia somniabunt C 40. *u pleonasmus.*

synonymorum compositio: cum timore et tremore C 8. sermo et loquela nostra C 9. post aerumnas et tantas moles C 15. in labe et in obprobrium C 26. proselito et peregrino C 26. cum fletu et lacrimis C 37. multitudo copiosa et turba C 40. usque ad terrores et minas C 42. cum tristitia et maerore E 16. peccator et impius E 18. — miser et infelix C 55. — exaltare et confiteri mirabilia eius C 3. cf 5.34. ad quam (gentem) caritas xpi transtulit et donauit me C 13. rideat . . . et insultet C 45. narrabant et dicebant C 46. ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem C 47. uerba . . . danda et tradenda E 2. plorat et plangit E 15.

figura synonymica u obiectum duplex, pleonasmus.

uoces non synonymae coniunguntur: scrutator corda et renes C 57. magni et pusilli C 13. sci et humiles corde E 7. — credentes et oboedientes C 4. quem confitemur et adoramus C 4. audite et scrutamini C 13. qui baptizarent et exhortarent populum indigentem et desiderantem C 40. credimus et adoramus solem uerum xpm C. 60 precor credentibus et timentibus dm C 62.

formulae iteratae: adquisiuit in ultimis terrae C 58. E 9. alligatus spu C 43. E 10. amor di et timor ipsius C 15.44. capturam dedi C 1.10.21. certissime reor C 59. E 1 (*iuxta ponitur clausula obiecti locum tenens*). cum tot milia C 1. E 14. Deo gratias C 19.23.42. E 17 (D 2). D 3 a. diligenter (incunctanter) et libentissime C 37.51. enumerare nequeo E 12. 16. et ibi scilicet C 17.23. et iterum *in capite enuntiali* 242,3.12. 243,8; (*loci biblici prioribus iunguntur:*) C 25.38.40. E 15; et iterum dicit C 40 (*bis*). inquit C 5.7. testatur C 11. ex fide C 15.19.22. filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi et uirgines xpi C 41. E 12. genti exterarum E 10.14. hic et in aeternum C 12.26. E 21. (hic et in futurum C 31.) hoc est C 25.29. in nouissimis diebus C 34.40. E 11. inter haec C 20. 25.29. longum est per singula enarrare C 35. (discutere) E 9. nescio ds scit C 24.27. non eram dignus neque talis C 15.55. (non eram dignus C 32.) non mea gratia sed ds C 37. E 11. (non mea uerba sed di E 20.) paratus eram C 43.46.57. patriam et parentes C 36.43. E 1. Patricius peccator C 1. (+ indoctus scilicet) C 62. E 1. (indoctus scilicet *etiam* C 12.) per desertum iter fecimus C 19.22. per singula C 35. E 9. (per singula membra C 59.) pro quo legationem fungor C 56. E 5. pro utilitate aliorum C 37. E 10. (pro salute aliorum C 28.) quaeso plurimum E 7.21. quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore C 20. (+ mortis) 44. quanto magis C 11. E 9. quid dicam uel quid promittam C 57. (loquar) E 15. sed magis C 9.30.32. (+ potius) E 21. si dignus fuero C 13.37. (sum) E 1. sicut et ceteri C 9.11.44.57. supra modum C 55. E 15. tot milia hominum C 1.14.50. (baptizaui tot milia hom. C 14.50.) ubi nemo ultra est 34. (erat) 51. uidi in uisu noctis C 23.29. unde autem *formula transitionis nouies, u coniunctiones A.* (unde enim E 19. unde ergo C 10.34. E 7.) unde . . . postmodum C 32.36. usque ad mortem C 37. E 1. usque ad ultimum terrae C 1.11. (extremum) C 38. E 6. (in ultimis terrae C 58. E 9. ab extremis terrae C 38 *bis.*) ut uel sero C 2. E 21. (ut uel modo C 23.)

interrogatio rhetorica: *incipit a quis, quid* C 10(*bis*).13.19.34.57. E 8. 10.12.13.16. *incipit ab ubi* E 18.19. *ab unde* C 20.32.36 (*bis*). *a nonne*

E 16. a numquid E 10 (bis). anaphora pronominis uel aduerbii interrogatiui u anaphora.

litotes: non male C 26. uirtutem non paruam C 30. religionis non fictae C 44. in persecutionibus non paruis E 6. non inmerito (merito FC) E 18.

aposiopesis: et me quidem . . . inspirauit si talis essem — dummodo autem — ut cum metu et reuerentia . . . prodessem genti C 13. quod si ds inspirat illos ut . . . respiscant E 21.

allitteratio: pepercit proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum C 26. proselitus et profuga E 1. plorat et plangit E 15. ut patriam et parentes amitterem C 36. cf 43. E 1. in poenam miseri male deuenient C 60. — *allitteratio uel assonantia praefixi repetitione efficitur:* praesertim cum praesumptione C 10. praedixerat praenuntiaturos C 34. ad inlecebras inlicitate perficiendas C 44. cf diuitiae et diliciae C 55.

homoioteleuton: diuitiae et diliciae C 55. speciosissimi atque amantissimi E 16. iudex uiuorum atque mortuorum C 4. filii Scottorum et filiae regularum C 41. E 12. pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum E 1. neque ciuibus scorum Romanorum, sed ciuibus daemoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum E 2. traditor xpianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum E 12. — *uerborum formae in eadem suffixa desinentes saepe iunguntur; eas tantum exscripsimus, quibus cola aut commata terminantur:* quod . . . numquam speraui neque cogitaui C 15. fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur C 16. mel siluestre inuenerunt et mihi partem obtulerunt C 19. donec ualde castigatus sum et in ueritate humiliatus sum C 27. Hiberione non sponte pergebam donec prope deficiebam C 28. ut populi multi per me in dm renascerentur et postmodum consummarentur et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur C 38. cf 51. nam etsi uetantur tamen fortiter imitantur C 42. quos aduocauit et praedestinauit E 6. oues tuae laniantur atque depraedantur E 12.

repetitio: iterum iterumque C 61. magis ac magis C 16. doleo pro uobis, doleo, carissimi mihi E 17. non dico ciuibus meis neque ciuibus scorum Romanorum sed ciuibus daemoniorum E 2. coram omni natione quae est sub omni caelo C 3. dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen C 4.

anaphora: tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam C 3. opus tam pium et tam mirificum C 34. donum tam magnum tam salubre C 36. tam dure et tam aspere aliquid . . . effundere E 1. ubi nemo ultra erat et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat C 51. unde mihi haec sapientia . . .? unde mihi postmodum . . .? C 36. quid adpetere uel quid uitare debueram C 10. quid dicam uel quid promittam dno meo? C 57. quid dicam uel

quid loquar E 15. qui mihi ostendit . . . et qui me audierit C 34. per
niuem per gelu per pluuiam C 16. per singula . . . uel per partes C 35.
post aerumnas et tantas moles, post captiuitatem, post annos multos
C 15. antequam scirem eum et antequam saperem C 2. ne excitem illis
. . . persecutionem et ne per me blasphemaretur nomen dni C 48. ut
uel sero rememorarem delicta mea et ut conuerterem C 2. numquid
sine do Hiberione ueni? . . . numquid a me piam misericordiam quod
ago? E 10.

epiphora: insipientiae meae neglegentiae meae C 46.

PART II. COMMENTARY

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PART II

COMMENTARY

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.
BLATT	F. BLATT Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der <i>Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos</i> , mit sprachlichem Kommentar herausgegeben. 1930 (ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE NEUTESTAMENTLICHE WISSENSCHAFT, Beiheft 12).
BONNET	M. BONNET Le latin de Grégoire de Tours. 1890.
DIEHL	E. DIEHL Vulgärlateinischen Inschriften. 1910 (Kl. Texte 62).
GARVIN	JOSEPH N. GARVIN The <i>Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium</i> . Text and translation, with an introduction and commentary. 1946 (Cath. Univ. of Amer. Studies in Medieval and Ren. Latin Language and Lit. 19).
GEORGES	K. E. GEORGES Lexikon der lat. Wortformen. 1889.
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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 graces¹), but also a self-defence and a confession of sins; these three ideas are implied simultaneously in the title of the Confessions of St. Augustine²), a book which Patrick might well have known.

I. 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-deprecating *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 interpreted³). 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

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 EUCHEBIUS LUIGD. 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) 17¹ 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 superlative 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 aliquibus*. 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 AMBROSIAS *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'.—Calpornius (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 †bannaem taburniae†: In late Latin, prepositions are frequently suppressed: CYPR. ad Donat. 12 *epulis marcidum corpus torus mollior alto sinu condidit*; COMMODIAN Instr. II 9, *qui apostatauerunt Deo* (a favourite construction of this author); cf BLATT 182 f. The preposition to be understood here is *de* rather than (with Δ₁) *in*. On the various endeavours to identify *bannaem 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 diminutive 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 *latranculi* (E 12), further in *uillula* here and *tegoriolum* C 18 (objects of daily use⁴).

For *enim* as a mere 'link' (= 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

⁴) There is as yet no distinction between the strong diminutive notion of the suffix *-ello/a* and the fading one of *-(c)ulo/a* (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 interpret. 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 20ra31 f. *de secunda captura quam senis diebus ab inimicis pertulerat*; 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: HERON. Vita Hilarionis 3 *erat autem tunc annorum quindecim*; 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*.

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. 21ra11). 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)—*Victorinus*.

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'). 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 text⁷⁾), 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*⁸⁾; 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 phonology⁹⁾; finally, the same substitution (esp. εἰς + accusative for ἐν + dative or vice versa) is widespread in the Greek Koine: RADERMACHER Koine 4').—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,

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 Commoedian s.v., and Oder's index to the Mulo-medica, 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 *bejādām* ('where' and 'whither') strengthened a tendency which already existed in Greek and Latin: SUESS 88, 127.

but *pergens in Britannii* C 43 is clearly syntactic¹¹). 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 *inoedientes* (Φ) cf Rom 1,30 *parentibus non oboedientes: inoboedientes* g Gild (ἀπειθεῖτε 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 CF^cLNOPRTUWZ* vg. As a periphrastic conjugation (LÖFSTEDT *Peregrinatio* 245-9; LINDERBAUER 168 f.), the present participle with *esse* is frequent in the Bible¹²), but rare outside it¹³). 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* (συμβιβάζω αὐτοὺς νόμον); Ioh 14,26 (e) *admonebit uos* (*sugeret uobis* VULG)

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 dixerō (ὑπομνήσει: ὅμᾳς 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 orauit Dominum Deum meum et confessus sum et dixi: Obsecro Domine Deus magne et terribilis, custodiens pactum et misericordiam diligentibus 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 LÖFSTEDT *Syntactica* II 464-70, often designates the laity in contrast to the clergy, whereas in the opinion of the Nijmegen school (SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN I.59; JANSSEN 55-72) *plebs*, synonymously with *populus*, means '(Christian) community', in which the clergy may or may not be included¹⁴). 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 *populus* 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.

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-MOHRMANN² 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, conuenterem (-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 ff.) *Petrus uerbum* (a c ff.; 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 literature²⁰). Patrick's use of the active is, however, noteworthy because his model, Joel 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 ἀπό κενου. *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 super-script *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

²⁰ 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 rare¹⁷). Morphologically it corresponds to *θεν δή*, but not in usage. In Attic, *θεν δή* normally means 'from wherever'. Similar, if not strictly analogous, to our *unde autem* is PLATO Cratylus 401 D τὸ οὖν αἴτιον καὶ ἀρχηγόν αὐτῶν (τῶν πάντων) εἶναι τὸ ὄθοδον, *θεν δή* καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸ ὡσίαν ὠνομάσθαι or XENOPHON Hell. VI 5,33 ἔτυχον παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς, *θεν δή* οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὀκύλλος . . . ἔλεγον. In late Greek *θεν* and *ἐθεν* are common particles of transition, e.g. in ONASANDER Strateg. Prol., 4 ex, 9 ex, 42; *θεν δήπου* 42 ex.

Non expedit quidem = 2 Cor 12,1 (*quidem* om D d e Ambrst Sed cum [D^cEKL]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 formula¹⁸). 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 vobis?*

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 Matthaëum and in the Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum. *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 blunders¹⁹). That some of them became standardized in the Romance languages²⁰) 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; ORIBASII 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* (ὡστε . . . ὑπομνησται). 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).

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 pauperulum 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 theological and historical problems²²).

This is not a formal creed. Its 'articles' are incomplete²³); 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. Scorpi. 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 Hitchcock 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 unquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec* the double *nec*

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.; HERMATHENA 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 statements 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 pleonasm is colloquial: PLAUTUS (GLOTTA VI 351), CATULLUS (10,9 f. *nihil neque ipsis nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti*, cf KRÖLL'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 transitoriiis* (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 *postmodum* (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 ἀναρχος 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 JUNIOR 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 παντοκράτωρ (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

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 Aethera (22 instances).

passage in Victorinus²⁶). 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 (Judith 16,7: Monac. VULG; Esth 13,9 = 4,17 LXX), where it is often left untranslated²⁷). In one of these passages, Job 5,8, the LXX variant τὸν παντοκράτορα A: τὸν πάντων θεσπότην 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 27²⁸) would be strange in parenthesis (cf the variant *diximus* in RF)²⁹). 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

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 Antiphony 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 time²⁰, 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)²¹, 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)²².

Spiritualiter: Spiritalis is the consistent spelling of ancient MSS; the forms *spiritualis, spiritualiter* are rare before 1100 A.D.²³. That the MS spelling must be genuine was proved indirectly by BONNET 140; if *spiritualis* had existed in Christian antiquity it was bound to

²⁰ 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.

²¹ Here, and C 12 (bis). 17.23.62. E 1.

²² Equivalent formulas in the singular are also *ante omnem constitutionem (conditionem)* IREN. IV. 20,3; V. 1,1.

²³ LINDERBAUER 194. In ARTERIA 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': σαρκικός: πνευματικός = *carnalis: spiritualis*²³). 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 πατρὸς —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* (MOHRMANN 190 f.). Being difficult to pronounce, the word is constantly misspelled in MSS.²⁴

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 θεογονία 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 (ἐνανθρώπησεν) than the official Latin version (*et homo factus est*); the passive (*homo factus* = ἐνανθρώπησεν) 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

²³) On the allegory of σὰρξ 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.

²⁴) Ferdornach (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^m); 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 (*faunte Deo* E 5, sim.)²⁶). 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 style²⁷).

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 ἀναλημθέντα*). 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.

²⁶) 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.

²⁷) 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.

²⁸) 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:

et dedit (donauit VLP^l, 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.

Patricius:

et dedit illi omnem potestatem (cf Matth 28,18) super omne nomen caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et (ut PVR^Δ) 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 independent²⁹).—*Ei* after *confiteatur* is remarkable as a singular agreement with IRENAEUS (I 10,1)³⁰).—*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-*

²⁹) The lost *ut* is substituted for *et* before *omnis lingua* in most MSS of Φ.

³⁰) 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 Antiphony 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 Barbatii* (cf SVENNUNG Palladius 175 f.)⁴²).

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 quoted⁴²). 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 subjects⁴³). 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 beneficij eius sibi minus gratus existeret*; GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. IV 12 *rogat ut ei chartas daret sibi que possessionem subderet*), but the nature of the distinction is not always as easy

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.

⁴²) A complete reversal of classical syntax is COMMODIAN Carm. apol. 948 *nec moritur filius suus ante parentes*.

⁴³) 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 immortalitatis* (= Victorinus-Jerome) compare IREN. IV 13,4 *amicitia Dei immortalitatis est condonatrix*; HILARIUS *De trin.* I 36 (PL X 48) *immortalitatis pignus* (= ἀρχα-βέων 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 unctio⁴⁹*. 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*.

⁴⁹ 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 concept 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 symbol. 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. *Ipsē enim dixit per prophetam*: Patrick's quotations⁴⁶) 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* referring to God ('He', cf emphatic $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) begins with the *Vetus Latina*

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 antiquity⁹¹). 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)⁹²); *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 ἄλγεα 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; Joh 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 ecclesiastics⁹³).—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.* 130-6⁹⁴). 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

⁹¹) 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.*

⁹²) With *propheta dicit* C 55 Patrick quotes words of the psalmist, not of the Lord.

⁹³) 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).

⁹⁴) Comparable is φησι 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 unparallelled. 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); CYP. 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; SVENNING *Orosiana* 178 ff.; CHR. MOHRMANN *Glotta* 21,20 ff.; E. H. STURTEVANT *Introduction to linguistic science*, 1947,114²²).

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*²³). Among 22 instances (ten

²² In passing I note some late instances from the biographers of St. Patrick: Muirchú I. 15 (LA fol. 3vβ4-9); Tirechán, LA fol. 11ra40-β2; 14rβ24-7.

²³ 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.⁵⁰); 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 3⁵¹).—*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

⁵⁰) On *oportuerat* = *oportebat*, *ibid.*, note 3.

⁵¹) 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 ἐσιγᾶς). 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 annuntiare (non enim subterfugi [= e; ὑπεστειλάμην] quominus annuntiare 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 circulation²⁰). 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 cogitauit scribere, sed et* (om Φ) *usque nunc haesitauit*. 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 ff, r.; *et* om Q ἀλλὰ καὶ 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 between 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-

²⁰ In Christian literature a.o. TERT. De orat. 12; CYPR. Epist. 56,1; VICT. VIR. II 19,73; IREN. V 12,5; COMMODO. 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, Iordanis.

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*)¹¹⁾. The metaphor *lingua = obtrectatio* 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 N^o AB). For *sicut et*, where *et* is again a 'particle of correspondence', see LÖFSTEDT Beiträge 94¹; 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,

¹¹⁾ 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 paratior⁸⁸*. 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 *uidetur esse (esse uidetur, -ntur C 1.41)*; here alone, as far as I can see, Patrick deliberately employs *clausulae*: C 9 *usque nunc haesitauit* - - | - - - -; (*sicut et ceteri* - - | - - -)⁸⁹; *pari modo combiberunt* - | - - | - - - -; *numquam mutarunt* - - - | - - -; *semper addiderunt* - - | - - - -; *instructus atque eruditus* - | - - | - - - -; C 10 *in iuuen* | *tute non comparauit* - - | - - - -; (*ante perlegeram* - - | - - -; *ante praefatus sum* - - | - - - -)⁹⁰. 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 ἀλλὰ 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

⁸⁸ Augustine always uses the commoner *imbibere*: Conf. VII 5,7; 20,26.

⁸⁹ Recurrent biblical formula, see above.

⁹⁰ 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 ἀμαρτάνειν) —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 includes 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 salua scripturae 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 note⁶²:

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 R^{lat} Aug)
 108, 22 quia egenus et pauper sum ego (Rom Moz^{OL} Med^{man} [AR Luk]^{gr}: ego sum PsVett Gall)
 118, 63 particeps sum ego (Hil Rom G C Moz^{LG} Med^{man}: ego sum PsVett 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 Moz^{LG} 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 $\bar{\epsilon}$ VULG^{pl} GR-^{om}: *ego sum* a-d f ff, q aur VULGE Φ J); 17,24 (*sum ego* dim $\bar{\epsilon}$ vg GR-^{om}: *ego sum* VL^{pl} VULG); 18,37 (*rex sum ego* VL VULG-^{om} GR: *ego rex sum* gr)²⁵). 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 . . . erudiatur 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 liturgical practice of quoting all didactic books of the Old Testament as *Liber Sapientiae (Salomonis)*—of which there seems to exist no

²⁵) 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 date⁶¹). 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*⁶².—*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 PΔ; 'because' Newport White) is probably the accusative neuter of the relative pronoun, as in C 20 *quod*

⁶¹ 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 proverbial salomonis* (fol. 8v): G. MORIN Etudes, textes, découvertes I (1913) 441.

⁶² 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 epexegetis *ut . . . perlegeram*, Patrick refers loosely to the contents of the preceding clause⁶⁷.—For *confirmare* 'to consolidate', 'to master' (Newport White), cf IULIUS VALERIUS I 32 *recollis 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 perfunctorily⁶⁸).

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.

⁶⁶ Cf ROBERT, p. lxxviii; E. RANKE *Par palimpsestorum Virceburgensium* (1871) 415; ZIEGLER *Pentateuch*, p. xiii; the indices to Cassian, Jordanis, Gregory of Tours; BONNET 390-7, 509; HAAG 51; PEI 175-80. In some of the biblical instances 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 curavi, 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 ἐντετυχάμετιν '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 ---|--- or ---|--- .

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*¹⁹), 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

¹⁹) 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', *brevitate* must be connected with *desertis*¹¹) 'versed in breuiloquy'. Recommendations of brevity are a commonplace in ancient textbooks of rhetoric¹²). Patrick implies that, unlike his opponents, he lacks the art of saying much in few words. The sequence of the two ablatives *brevitate 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 speech¹³); 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 monstrat 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 breuiloquy—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 participles¹⁴); once established, it was imitated in original

¹¹) 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 satageret . . . pater qualis crescerem tibi . . . , dummodo essem disertus uel desertus potius a cultura tua*.—D has *disertum* for *desertum*, C 19,22.

¹²) It is characteristic that in the Bible *breuitas* is found only twice—in 2 Macc 2,29 *breuitati studentes* (τῆς ἐπιτομῆς διακονοῦντες) and 2,32 *breuitatem . . . dictionis sectari* (τὸ . . . σύντομον τῆς λέξεως μεταβιβάσκειν).

¹³) 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.

¹⁴) 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 κατὰ ὑπόληψιν 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 12¹⁵).—What Patrick's mind, and the spirit within him, is longing for can be guessed from the *sensus* (the 'meaning', viz of his words)¹⁶), 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

¹⁵) In late and mediaeval Latin *mens*—apart from quasi-adverbial *mente*—always means 'organ of thinking': VOSSLER 73.—Does Patrick distinguish ψυχὴ 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'.

¹⁶) There can be no thought here of the conventional contrast *animus-sensus* as e.g. in Aug. Conf. X 6,9.

it had been given 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 Scripture⁷⁷).—*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 sententia*, 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-Rudorff *ubi duo fines cuneati se iungunt, si forte* ('for instance, supposing') *in campestribus locis*; ROENSCH Tert. 602-4. *Forte* = *fortasse* occurs first in VITRUVIUS de arch. V 5,7; VI praef. 4; it is frequent in Victor Vitensis (PETSCHENIG p. 157), Comedian (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 praepone, if correct, would be an unusual, though not unparalleled (LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 46) contamination of *uideor me praepone* 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 *quantitanti* = *quot tot* (ROENSCH 336 ff.; LÖFSTEDT Peregrinatio 147;

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 37⁸⁰.—*Se praeponere* 'to thrust oneself forward' is, to all appearances, a solecism.

In the apodosis, the conglomeration of particles *sed etiam scriptum est enim* should perhaps, with P. Grosjean, be read *sed etiam (scriptum est enim) . . .* Restrictive *sed*, occasionally *sed et* (cf ἀλλά, ἀλλά 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); ENNOBIUS 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 introduced 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

⁷⁹ With C 32 *ab aliquantis fratribus* cf PEREGR. AETHERIAE 10,3 *fratribus aliquantis*; 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 untrained 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 N 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 disertissimae epistulae*—perhaps another ironical allusion to the classicism of Patrick's *obtreclatores*.

Ratum et fortissimum (*ratum fortissimum* D) defies interpretation⁶²). The words are perhaps remnants of an early gloss.

Et iterum Spiritus testatur et rusticationem ab Allissimo 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* (ῥεωργία) for *rusticitas* (ἀγροικία). A correction (or gloss?) to this effect might account for the hybrid *rusticitatio* in Δ.

12. *Vnde = itaque* is late and rare; see LIPSIUS-BONNET Acta Apost. Apocr. II 2, 391; Sidonius (Grube'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

⁶²) 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 m¹ (= plura) propter uos sustinui*, cf p. 168. The nature of this phenomenon is disputed ('Spezialfälle' LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 439; 'umgekehrte Bildungen' SALONIUS 202; the possibility 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 unique⁸⁰. 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 alliteration.

Scio certissime has biblical models: VL 1 Thess 5,2 (Tert) *certissime scitis* (*diligenter* VULG. *diligenter uel*—not *et*), 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 *lactus in quo aliquid et ipse Domino suo retribuat*.

⁸⁰ 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 of *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*. *Rheticus* 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)⁴⁸ 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'⁴⁹. *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 Gaul⁵⁰. In what country, then, are these *rethorici* to be sought? Certainly not in Ireland.

⁴⁸ ThLL gives no meaning, and the inscription is our sole witness. My translation is suggested by the context: *sodaliciarius bonus amoratus filelius*, and by the analogy of *timoratus*. The two words are obviously pendants.

⁴⁹ The biblical term *legis peritus* 'teacher of the (Mosaic) law' (in Tit 3,13 'teacher of the Christian religion') would here be pointless.

⁵⁰ 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 peregrinabam* 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 *expectabatque 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 *Syntactica* I 159 f.)⁴⁵). Analogical extension may be assumed for Victorinus-Jerome in Apoc. 21,1 *ad Noe praecipitur* or VL Num 25,2 (Lugd) *adorauerunt ad idola* (τοῖς εἰδωλοῖς 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 construction!); 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 exterarum*. 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 laborum; rursus nec ideo uerum quia inpolite enuntiat 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,

⁴⁵) This, I think, is more than a 'zufällige Freiheit': the plectyton *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) maintains 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 orthodoxy; it is Faith as the measure, or standard, of all things⁸⁸). 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 'proportion 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.;

⁸⁸) In terms of grammar: *fidei* is genitius 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 everywhere, 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 Confessio 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 century⁹⁰). 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* metaphorically 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-

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. 1575) *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 v̄z*) *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 me⁹²).

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. 32⁹³. 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*.

⁹² Sir Samuel FERGUSON'S punctuation (*Proc. RIA* 16, 1879, 15 f.) *quod ego aliquando in iuuentute mea numquam speravi neque cogitavi, 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: *nilhil allego de statu antiquitatis, quia ita rudes 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 wollte > 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* (ἐγείρω; 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 *nilhil mali sentiebam* compare TERT. De orat. 29, p. 199,21 *nilhil 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 audissime arripuit illud* the action is qualified by *optime*, modified by *audissime*.

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*⁸⁵).

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*, VLP¹, cf *χρηματισθέντες*); Luc 2,26 (VLP¹, VULG) *responsum acceperat ab Spiritu Sancto* (ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον [κεχρηματισμένος δ' ἦν D]); cf CORP. GLOSS. LAT. II 173,39 *responsum λόγιον*⁸⁶).—The 'sense construction' *responsum dicentem* (three times) makes the participle refer to the speaker, not to the utterance⁸⁷); 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 . . .*

⁸⁵ In the Vulgate, the ratio (in terms of columns of DUTRIPON'S Concordance) of *ire ambulare uadere pergere* is 4½ : 4½ : 3½ : 2½.

⁸⁶ 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 responso a(nimo) l(ibens) p(osuit)* with CIL VI 377 add., p. 3005 (Diehl 777) *aram Ioui fulguratoris ex praecepto deorum montensium: responsum and praeceptum* are synonyms.

⁸⁷ 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 $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ ⁹⁵).—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 spatiiis*, 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*

⁹⁵) 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 pleonasm see Oder p. 311; LÖFSTEDT Syntactica II 220 (*deinde postea* in the Digests); Ioh 11,7 *deinde post haec* (*hoc VLd^b*); CASSIAN Institut. 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 ἀπαξ 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 idiom⁹⁹.

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 . . . dirigit 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*.

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 towards 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 subsistence: 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-LÖMMATZSCH 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.; SVENNING 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

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

¹⁰² An interesting contamination is FREDEGAR 17, p. 24,11 *necessarium ... putauit ut in habitationes gentium et cognominationes declarari* (u l *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; APOPTHEGMATA PATRUM 92 D; ACTA PAULI ET THECLAE p. 251,7 Lipsius (LJUNGVIK Uppsala Universitets Aarsskrift 1926, 40); VL Luc 14,14 (a c f ff, 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 improperebit*.—*Adpetes* (D) agrees better with biblical usage (cf PLATER 104) than *adpetas* (VΔ).—The ship-master apparently refused Patrick's offer because he suspected him to be a fugitive slave (Olden). The situation was misunderstood by PROBUS (I4) who says that Patrick was refused because he could not pay.

Separauit 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 *tegoriolum* (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; *tegorium* for *tugurium*: C.I.L. V 5005; SCHOL. Bernense in Verg. Georg. III 231; ten times in ADAMNÁN De locis sanctis¹⁰³). *Tuguriolum* (ΦΨ) is a 'normalization'.

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

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 *reuertere* 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-MÖHRMANN 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*; SÆTON. 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*)¹⁰⁰. This is a point of Latin syntax still under discussion (HOPPE

¹⁰⁰) 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*³⁰⁵; 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 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*³⁰⁶ *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*³⁰⁷). The rite of admission into friendship to which Patrick alludes has been explained independently by Rev.

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.

³⁰⁵ 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 LÖRSTEDT Stud. Synt. 44—6.

³⁰⁶ The spelling *mam(m)ella* is recorded from GREG. TUR. In gloria mart. III 51; Hist. Franc. IV 39 (uar. lect.); ORIBASIIUS Synopsis V 6, and from the Glosses.

³⁰⁷ 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.

Speravi 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 obtiniret* (cf KRUSCH p. 939; BONNET 605 and note 3). The object of *obtinere* (e.g. *nauigationem*, or, more exactly, *ut me reciperent*)¹⁰⁰ 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 epexegetis 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

¹⁰⁰ 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 (SVENNING Palladius 289); that Patrick avoids it is typical.

Tu dicis Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est: Parataxis is colloquial. Patrick has it frequently after *credo, opinor, puto*, verbs of saying, and their synonyms¹⁰⁹, 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 ejaculations¹¹⁰. 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 *perit 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 ANDRAEAE 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,

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 *satiimini* is clearly *lectio difficilior*.

Quia ubique habundat illi: cf Marc 12,44 *omnes enim ex eo quod abundabat* (b q r, 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 1,26 (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, relictii 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 Andrae (C-text) c. 21 (p. 71,34) *abundanter in ea (ficulnea) inuenietis uictum*.

Etiā 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 aliquantibus 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 I 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 g, q VULG: om VL^{pl}); Amos 9,9; Eccli 27,28; Luc 20,18 (f r, s CH^{OT} 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 Stygia Pluton*; GREG. TUR. Hist. Franc. VIII 40, p. 353,1-3 *ut . . . exanimes reliquerit causasque qualiter ecclesiae . . . damna intenderit inquirens*; uitaie 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 second 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 Cassiodorus³¹¹). —*Dum clamarem*: *Dum* 'whilst' with the subjunctive is first recorded 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

³¹¹) 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?*)¹¹³), 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] 54¹). 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* I.14 *cui si Graio sermone queat una per accentum littera commutari, sol specialiter uidetur exprimi*, 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, 113¹). In a half-conscious state of mind he might have remembered some pictorial representation of Elijah seen in his childhood, but

¹¹³) 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 V.) 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 VITRUVIUS (De archit. I,6,3); of a satanic illusion it is used by TIRECHĀN (LA 11va18 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 $\theta\lambda\iota\psi\iota\varsigma$ 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* $\xi\tau\iota$ (so here and C 23,53, but not E 15 *quos adhuc gladius nondum interfecit*) is used in the Latin Irenaeus (M. HITCHCOCK HERMATHENA 54,107); *adhuc* = *etiam, etiamnunc* occurs ten times in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*.

22. After the digression of C 20.21¹³³), the account of Patrick's journey is now, I think, resumed. *Etiā* 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.

Præuidit = *prouidit*: cf NEPOS Hannibal 9.2 (*uidit*) *in magno se fore periculo nisi quid præuidisset* (so Monacensis a. 1482: *prouidisset* all other MSS); VULG Eccle 4.13 *qui nescit præuidere* (*prouidere* Hier) *in posterum* (cf C 12, 238.15 f.); AMBROSE Epist. 34.5; CORP. GLOSS. LAT. V 350.40 *consulens præuidens*, 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 MURCHÚ II 3 (LA fol 7vβ38-8ra3) *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.¹³⁴), but the 'terminus' is always a place, not a person. The sole exception are two passages in the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*: VITA BOECH 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

¹³³) C 21 is probably an epexegetis 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.

¹³⁴) BAXTER's reference '*peruenio* (trans.) to reach 7th century' is probably to MURCHÚ, 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 (= *προσσοιχεῖσθαι*, 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 nuncupavit.*

For the rest of this chapter compare my paper 'The problem of *Silva Vocluti*' 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 'celticiping' 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'; 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*

¹¹⁵) So D: *Victoricus 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 century¹³¹). 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 = γέ*)¹³²).

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 πζζζ)¹³³). The insertion of *sanctus* is probably 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' (= ξτ), cf C 21¹³⁴). Similarly, EUGIPIIUS 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 condonare dignetur?*

¹³¹) 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. TRAGER, 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 EMERETENSIS, 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.

¹³²) 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 phraseology and style; otherwise, he follows the common usage of his time.

¹³³) *Sanctus = timoratus* (C 43, E 2.3.14) would here be pointless.

¹³⁴) Even if Dr. Gwynn's inference from Muirchú, Capitula (LA fol 20r2) *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*-subjunctive¹²¹). *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 *expergilus* (attested by *PAULUS-FESTUS* p. 70 Lindsay *expergitus ab alio excitatus, quem solemus dicere expergefactus*) as *postus* (Ital. *posto*) is a syncope of *positus*¹²⁴); the subsequent phonetic change *expercltus* > *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.

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 *uiuuit 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 FAUSTINUS 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 because 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 *infitor* (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 ueststrarum* (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 epexegetis: '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*), *aduenae . . . 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 Mommesen *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*.—*Labe* = *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 experience¹²³).

¹²³) 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 illisit*.

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 fabricauit*; 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 I.

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 confession¹²⁸. The

¹²⁸ 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* (P_Δ), 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.

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) *aplet uos* (Gloss: *impleat uos*) *in omni bono*. PsLEO Liber sacram. 40,5 (PL 55,148) *ut suscipiendo muneri tuo per ipsum munus aplemur*.

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 Comodian. 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.; Terullian 600; KAULEN 15.

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

that almost surpassed his strength. The statement comes unexpected—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 interpretation (*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 profectioe . . 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 consequently'.

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 following *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 reuelationem 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.

Sensī 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 models¹³⁰.

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): LINDERBAUER 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 *δοκιμασίῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτοῦ πίστεως*; 243,2 *ὅν ἂν δοκιμασθῆ 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, loquitur* 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 obiurgauit 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 Adelpheo 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

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 11,9-10¹²¹), and seems to be exclusively ecclesiastical: TERT. Apol. 20,4 *spiritus pulsat*; PsAUG. Quaestiones 109,14 (scriptura) *diu pulsat et clamital*¹²²).

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)¹²³): '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* (ἀποθάνομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόου LXX), and in four other places of the O. T.

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

¹²¹) 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* (VLsq. VULG).

¹²²) The metaphor becomes quasi-technical in (lapsi) *ad ecclesiam pulsant* CYPR. Epist. 65,5; cf 57,1; 68,1 (JANSEN 35 f.; SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN 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).

¹²³) Differently MACNEILL 45: 'in a matter which before of his own accord CYPR. Epist. 65,5; cf 57,1; 68,1 (JANSEN 35 f.; SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN 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. *uiuuit 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 TEST^{pl}) *ab eo. Forsitan* = *z_v* 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 epexegetis 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) *cooperebatur 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* = παρρησιαζέσθαι: Act 13,46 (c VULG); 26,26 (VULG). Cf also ROENSCH Tert. 623 f.; HARTEL IV 15.

Ubicumque 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 indispensable *solum* or *tantum* got lost.—The opposition of *in secundis* and *in pressuris* (cf C 41 *idola et imunda*) 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 adgrederere: 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.

Praenuntiatus (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 Δ,) 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. οὐτω καὶ εἶδομεν 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 Δ, 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 *dicendum 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 Gessetiam nossem, id est qua primitus ad Egyptum fueram*; 16,3 *temporibus 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. AUPELLANA 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 *idiotam* is a common term of self-depreciation in ecclesiastical literature, it does not go well with *pauperculum pupillum*³²⁸). *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): PÆINIUS 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*³²⁹). 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* Δ₁ (DR missing). PF testify to ('adverbial') *creber* (cf HIER. Epist. 60,12 *si ianitor creber in porta esset*; SIMONIUS 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* (Δ₁), which makes no sense, consecutive (?) *ut* . . . *admoneret* (vF), where the tense is hard to explain,

³²⁸) 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.

³²⁹) 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 turns¹²⁰).

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 offendi 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 parentesque 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

¹²⁰) 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 Mac 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 adqueui 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 infinitivus 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. VII. 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 (Colloquium Harleianum 4) *ut decet ingenuitatem tuam* ὡς πρέπει τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου (cf German *Euer Wohlgeboren*); cf 109,40-42.

Incunclanter 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 et friuola* (Juret 167); AUG. ciu. Dei I 19,22 *splendide atque uerissime* (BALMUS 52).

Vt etiam animam meam incunclanter 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 gradation of a nominal clause with verbal function. The adverb has become 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 orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur*; HIL. in Matth 2,4 *baptizatis . . . reliquum consummari igne¹²¹*).

Credulitas = πιστις 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.

¹²¹) *Consummare* is used also of baptism (CYPR. ad Fortunatum, praef. 4) and ordination (RUFINUS, Basili 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 ὥς) is the reading of Patrick alone; it has a parallel in VL Gen 28,17 (Lugd) *sicut* (LXX ὥς; 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 Scripture¹²⁸), the Confessio reaches its ἑμφαλόζ: Patrick's preaching 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 AMBROSIAS 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 4,5¹²⁹), cf *ergo ideo* REG. BENED. 7,55. See 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 literature¹³⁰). MUIRCHÚ I 7 *adesse tempus ut ueniret et euangelico reti nationes feras et barbaras . . . (ut A) piscaret* is an echo of SECUNDINUS 13 f. If, as is most likely, there exists some connection between 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

¹²⁸) Biblical quotations are accumulated for argument by GILDAS 38 ff, 76 ff, cf the edition of HUGH WILLIAMS, p. 88 f.

¹²⁹) On pleonasms, typical of *sermo cotidianus*, in Varro see E. DE SAINTS-DENIS, REV. DE PHIL. 73,145.

¹³⁰) 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 praenuntiat 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. ad. Prax. 21, p. 264,22 Kr.) have been collected and discussed by LÖFSTEDT *Peregrinatio* 229 f.; SALONIUS 26 f. I add the biblical variant Matth 14,8 *dixit: (g. I EO^s!TZ*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 ὅη καὶ*, 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 ἀπόχθινον 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 translated¹¹¹). 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 I, 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 *sacratiss 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 τῶν θεῶν!); cf VITAE PATRUM V 15,28 *quantum se appproximat homo Deo*; Iac 4,8 (AugSpec) *adpropiate Deo (adpropinquate Domino VULG)*; CORP. GLOSS. LAT. IV 303,21 *appropiat proximat*; E. WÖLFFLIN ALL II 357; ZIMMERMANN MED. STUD. XV 66. Characteristically, VL *proximare* or *appproximare* is often altered in the Vulgate.—If the text is correct, *ipsa* stands ἀπό κοινοῦ; it might, however, be miscopied from *ipsam* (= *se ipsam*), cf 4 Esdr 8,47 *temet ipsum proximasti iniustus*.

¹¹¹) According to CHR. MOHRMANN (p. 79), the *Bedeutungslehne* '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 *audivissime 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.; SVENNING Orosiana 484 f.; LINDERBAUER 158. Greek offers parallels even from the classical period: HER. IV 44 Ἴνδὸν ποταμὸν ὅς κροκοδείλου δεύτερος αὐτός ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται; EURIP. Androm. 709 f. ἦν ὁ γ' ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγώς ἐλᾶ ὄϊ' 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 ἣ ἐγεννήθην (ἐν αὐτῇ A)); Ps 121,3 (RG Rom MozLG Medman Gall) *cuius participatio eius in idipsum* (ἦς ἡ μετοχή 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 . . . dicis¹⁰²*.

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 (κατησχύνθη καὶ ὠνειδίσθη LXX. *confusa est et erubuit VULG*).

¹⁰² In the Regula Benedicti pleonastic *ita* sometimes anticipates a participle, e.g. 7,36 *ita Deum semper praesentem ostendit dicens*; 71,2 f. *sibi invicem 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 = ἐγκρατεῖς¹⁴³); 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 intermeratumque 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* (ὁς 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

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 epexegetis 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 imperavit: *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 *imperator*, though denounced by the grammarians, was used at all times.

Residuum aetatis meae: cf SUTTON 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* (περιεπορεύσατο) *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., 72,26'), 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. Epiphani 188, p. 107,40 f. Vogel *licet nos inmanium expensarum pondus illicitet* is obscure¹⁴⁵). *Illicitare* is a frequentative or intensive of *illicere*; the meaning is clear from its derivatives (most of them late): *illicitatio* = *illecebra* (CASIAN 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

¹⁴⁴) A noun *illicitas* does not seem to exist; HESYCHIUS in Leu 21,5, PG 93, p. 1055 *A neque* (sacerdotem decet) *carnelem 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 *illicitant* in Cod. Ottob. 66 at Deut 17,17.

Pompeian inscription CIL IV 2421 (VÄÄNÄNEN 213). The instances in LÖFSTEDT 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 erubesco, Deus meus, confiteri tibi in me misericordias tuas.*—In *conspectu* = 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 σήμεια). The Greek synonyms σήμεια 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 *antequam* is seldom split up: the Vulgate does so once out of 78 occurrences (ThLL II 54,49 ff.); Ambrose separates the components of *priusquam* over 400 times, those of *antequam* but twice: L. T. PHILIPS PATR. STUD. 49,85.

46. This paragraph is full of obscurities. Patrick seems to blame himself for lack of due¹⁰⁶) 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 profiteamur Deo*.

Et de loco non in uno quoque ut non mihi uehementer irasceretur 'and (it was) not (only) on one occasion that He was not exceedingly wroth with me (as I should have deserved)'. My translation 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

¹⁰⁶) 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*: Job 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*¹⁰¹).

Mihi ... nesciebam: Has *mihi* here any definite meaning? It might mean 'for (by) myself', 'on my own' = 'alone': Salonius 266 ff., cf MUL. CHR. 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* =

¹⁰¹) 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 Latin¹⁰⁸, 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.).

¹⁰⁸ 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 translation (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* = $\delta\iota\acute{o}$, $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\iota$ is frequent in the Bible (PLATER 63), but, as far I can see, never stands for *propter id quod*¹⁰⁹. 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* ($\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ και $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$) is

¹⁰⁹ I connect *qui mihi crediderunt propter quod locutus sum* and understand as object of *insinuauit* 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*.

Praestauit et praestabo: The 'normalized' perfect *praestauit* is comparatively frequent, cf ROENSCH 289; LUNDSTRÖM 41 (Irenaeus Latinus); De duodecim abusiuis saeculi p. 36,9 Hellmann; De-Vit and GEORGES s.v.¹⁰⁰). WHITE 295 plausibly explains *praestauit et praestabo* as an imitation of St. Paul's *seruauit 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*.

Ultronea munuscula: *Ultroneus = spontaneus*, used passively of objects, is first recorded from APUL. Met. I 19 *ultroneum exilium amplexus*; cf also CYPR. ad Donat. 7 *uiuentes 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*.

¹⁰⁰) 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 ENNOB. 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 proptereaue (praetereaue) (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*^m). *Infidelis* must, then, mean here 'untrustworthy, dishonest'. *Titulus* ('pretence', cf TERT. Apol. 42,1 *sed alio quoque iniuriarum titulo postulatur*; 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 ἀλοῦεν); VIII edict. 1 *si quid accipere capiantur* (εἰ τι λαβόντες ἀλοῦεν). Patrick fears that he might be 'caught' by his pagan enemies on some

^m) *Fidelis* is opposed to *incredulus* in Ioh 20,27 *noti 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^m.

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 dare infamare siue detractare: The infinitive equivalent to a classical *genitiuus gerundii* (found since the *Bellum Africum*: LEUMANN-HÖFMANN 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 uulgi 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 leth-scripul*: 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

henedictionibus 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 exterar partes*: Cf Act 26,11 *in exterar (extremas D) ciuitates*.—For *partes* ('districts', 'countries') see LÖFSTEDT *Peregrinatio* 245; *Syntactica* II 440 f.; SALONIUS 96 f.; SVENNING *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 ... generauit: 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 *generauit* for *genuit* 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 generauit = 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*; EUGIPIUS 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 . . . perducatur et nos . . . ad regna caelestia faciat peruenire*. Patrick's words are in the nature of a prayer.

54. *Occasio adulationis uel auaritia: 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 expect honour').—*Ab aliquo uestro*, though unusual, has parallels: COMMOD. Instruct. II 17,11 *maxima pars uestra*; VITAE PATRUM V 9,7 *pro pigrattia 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' (= ἐπεὶ δὴ) 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 luxury¹⁵²).

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 I 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

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

¹⁵³) *Scrutabor* ♂ is a deliberate alteration. *Scrutatur* P might be a vulgar spelling, cf *scrutatur* for the noun: PRIMASIVS 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*¹⁰⁴); 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* (μηδᾶμῶς 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*; COMMODO. Instruct. I,23,6 *simplicem fingis* and Dombar'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 Πατρὶ: BIETER MED. STUD. VI 46).

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

¹⁰⁴) *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*¹⁰⁰).

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*:

¹⁰⁰ 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 Probrini 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, 8¹³) 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 ending¹⁰⁶'. I am not so sure. There exists a remarkable parallelism between the concluding paragraphs of Confessio and Epistola:

C 59-60:

in ipso regnaturi sumus
qui adorant (solem) in poenam miseri
male deuenient
C 60 ex: manebit in aeternum quomodo
et Christus manet in aeternum,
qui regnat ... per omnia saecula saeculorum,
Amen.

C 61:

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).

C 62:

Sed precor, etc (peroration referring to
prospective readers).

E 18-19:

uos ergo regnabitis cum apostolis
Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis ...
ubi se uidebunt?
E 19 ex: iusti autem epulentur in magna
constantia cum Christo ... et ...
dominabuntur in saecula saeculorum,
Amen.

E 20:

Testificor (quotation of 1 Tim 5,21) ...
quod ita erit sicut intimauit imperitiae
meae. Non mea uerba sed Dei quod ego
Latinum exposui (main theme of Epistola,
cf C 61 breuiter exponam uerba confessionis
meae).

E 21:

Quaeso plurimum, etc (peroration referring
to prospective readers).

¹⁰⁶) 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 epilogue¹²⁷). 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*)¹²⁸ 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.

¹²⁷) 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).

¹²⁸) *Demonstrare* seems to be used here equivalent to ἀποδείκνυμι, ἀποφαίνωμι.

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^m). *A Deo* (P 254,1) is a doublet of the same words in 254,2.—*Constitutus*, which is usually translated as 'appointed'^m), is the common late Latin equivalent of ὄν, 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.; SVENNING 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 'hyper-literary' 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*

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

^m) 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 I Reg 20,10); TERT. apol. 4,4 *cum dure definitis dicendo: 'Non licet esse uos'*; Tit 1,13 *inrepa 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 epexegetis.—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 contempnor 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 ecclesiastical 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; KAULEN 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 Pelagianos* (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. Valentinianos 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)¹⁰. 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

¹⁰ 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 P δ . *Sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine innocentium Christianorum!*¹⁰²) is a pathetic exclamation with threefold hyperbolic paronomasy. *Sanguilentus*, a vulgar by-form of *sanguinolentus*, occurs in SCRIBONIUS LARGUS 143.182.186; ADAMNAN Vita s. Columbae I.36; *sanguilentus* and intransitive *sanguinare* in the MULO. CHR. (Oder p. 426)¹⁰³); 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 Jer 4,3 *nouate uobis nouamen nouum* (Adu Marc. IV 11, p. 451, 21 f. Kroymann: *nouate uobis nouales* VULGA, cf νεώσατε ἐντολὴς νεώματῶν LXX)¹⁰⁴) and especially VIRGILIUS MARO GRAMMATICUS p. 77, 18 f. Huemer *sapiens sapientiae sanguinem sugens sanguissuga*.—There remains the crux *apostatarumque*. Did Patrick write *Scotorum atque apostatarumque Pictorum?*¹⁰⁵) 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

¹⁰²) Dr. White, in both editions, writes (with v) *quasi sanguine uolentes saginari*.

¹⁰³) 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'.

¹⁰⁴) More instances (mostly in imitation of LXX) are listed by HORRE, Syntax 16.

¹⁰⁵) 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 elect¹⁰⁶. *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 Linderbauer¹⁰⁷).

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*¹⁰⁸.

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:)

crismati neophyti in ueste candida—
flagrabat in fronte ipsorum

(Stowe Missal:)

postquam baptizaretur oleatur crismate 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.

¹⁰⁶) Thus, more specifically, ARGUM. LUCAE: (Matthias was elected) *ut ... sorte Domini electionis numerus* (the number of the apostles) *compleretur*.

¹⁰⁷) In PRISCILLIAN 6, 98 I suggest to read: (mortified man) *absolutus diebus temporibus mensibus (in) numerum Dei meretur esse, non saeculi*.

¹⁰⁸) 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*).

Grauitur = *ualde* is not uncommon, but as a rule the literal meaning is still felt: EUGIPP. *Vita S. Seuerini* 24,3 *grauitur doluit*; 31,2 *grauitur turbati*.—*Zabulus*, a common late Latin form of *diabolus* (KAULEN 47), is a feature of the Irish group of Vulgate texts (especially of $\Xi P Q R$).—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 PRUDENTIUS 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'¹⁰⁰. 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* 'everybody' 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 disciplinam est alienus est a corpore Christi*.

The asyndeton *patricida, fratricida* recalls CIC. De domo 26 *patricida, fratricida* (om GM), *sororicida*. Such formations, however, 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-*

¹⁰⁰ He would not be a worse offender than the candidate who quoted the 'Senatus consultum ultimum' as *uideant consules ne quid rem publicam detrimenti capiat*. Numerous examples of strange semantic re-interpretation (often on an 'etymological' basis) have been collected and discussed by LÖPSTEDT Stud. Synt. 93-104.

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

With *etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici* M. Hitchcock (HERMATHENA 51,74) compares IREN. V 24,3-25,4 (*diabolus inuidens homini . . . inuidens uitae eius et in sua protestate apostolica 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 exornatione 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 tegetetur*). 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: TREBELLIVS 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 specifically 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. *mulcabitur* 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. I,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 Δ₂ 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 suae: 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*) *foederatei 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) *filius estis (eorum VULG) qui occiderunt* (τῶν φονευσάντων) *prophetas*; Ioh 5,10 (d) *dicebant ergo Iudaei (illi VULG) qui sanatus erat* (τῷ θεθεραπευμένῳ); 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'; 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 consentiant 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 ciuitas collocatur* (= *collocata est*); III 34, p. 137,14 f. *fama bonitatis tuae uulgatur* (= *uulgata est*); cf BONNET 400. This may be understood as a 'counterformation' 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)¹¹⁸.

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 ἐξαρκεῖν, 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 fruire cum talibus?* Intransitive *iocundare* seems to be unique.—*Frui* with accusative is common in early and late Latin: ThLL VI 1423,66 ff. Active *fruire*, however, is extremely rare. I know only one instance of the personal passive (GREG. TUR. uitae patrum 12 prolog. *res ipsa ... tenetur et fruitur*) and one of the active (VITAS PATRUM EMERETENSIVM IV 3,1 *cum ... tempora feliciter ... frueret*).—For

¹¹⁸ 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* P_v: *domus* δ. The plural accusative *domus* is common, 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 HERMATHENA 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)¹¹³.

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 exteræ ignorantî 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 (Sacri. 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 Emeretensium*, 1946 (MED. STUD. XIX), 420 f., with ample references.

¹¹³ As regards the synonyms *porrigere dare tradere*, Ioh 13,26 is instructive (the text outside the brackets is that of b ff: q VULG): *ille est cui ego intinctum panem porrexero* (ἐπιπόσσω GRp: *dedero e f δ . πόσσω* [BCLMX]σ). *et cum intinxisset panem dedit* (ἐπόσσω; *tradidit a c. porrexit d r* [1]) *Iudæ*.

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 correponson *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 (Jer 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 προγεγραφύᾳ 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*-stem¹²²).

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

¹²²) 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 *uox 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 (semel ipsum sim)* is by no means rare in the Bible, cf especially Matth 9,3 *dixerunt intra se* (a b d g, q VULG: *intra semel 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*¹³⁾.—*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

¹³⁾ 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 unchronological 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 Antiphony 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. xcvi-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 MSS¹⁷⁴). E 18 might, then, be the earliest evidence of the *Te Deum* in Ireland (cf also C 4, 236,17 f., with my remarks)¹⁷⁵.

Aeterna regna capietis: Cf DAMASUS, Epigr. 3,4 *illis capitur felicitis gloria uitae*; AUG. Ciu. Dei X 14 *ad aeterna capienda*; ThLL III 328,62 ff.

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 IRENÆUS (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 intimaui 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 singulorum auribus intimauius*; 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 Leumann-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 (PACUVIUS 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 duces itineris mei* compare GREG. TUR. De miraculis s. Andreae I (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.

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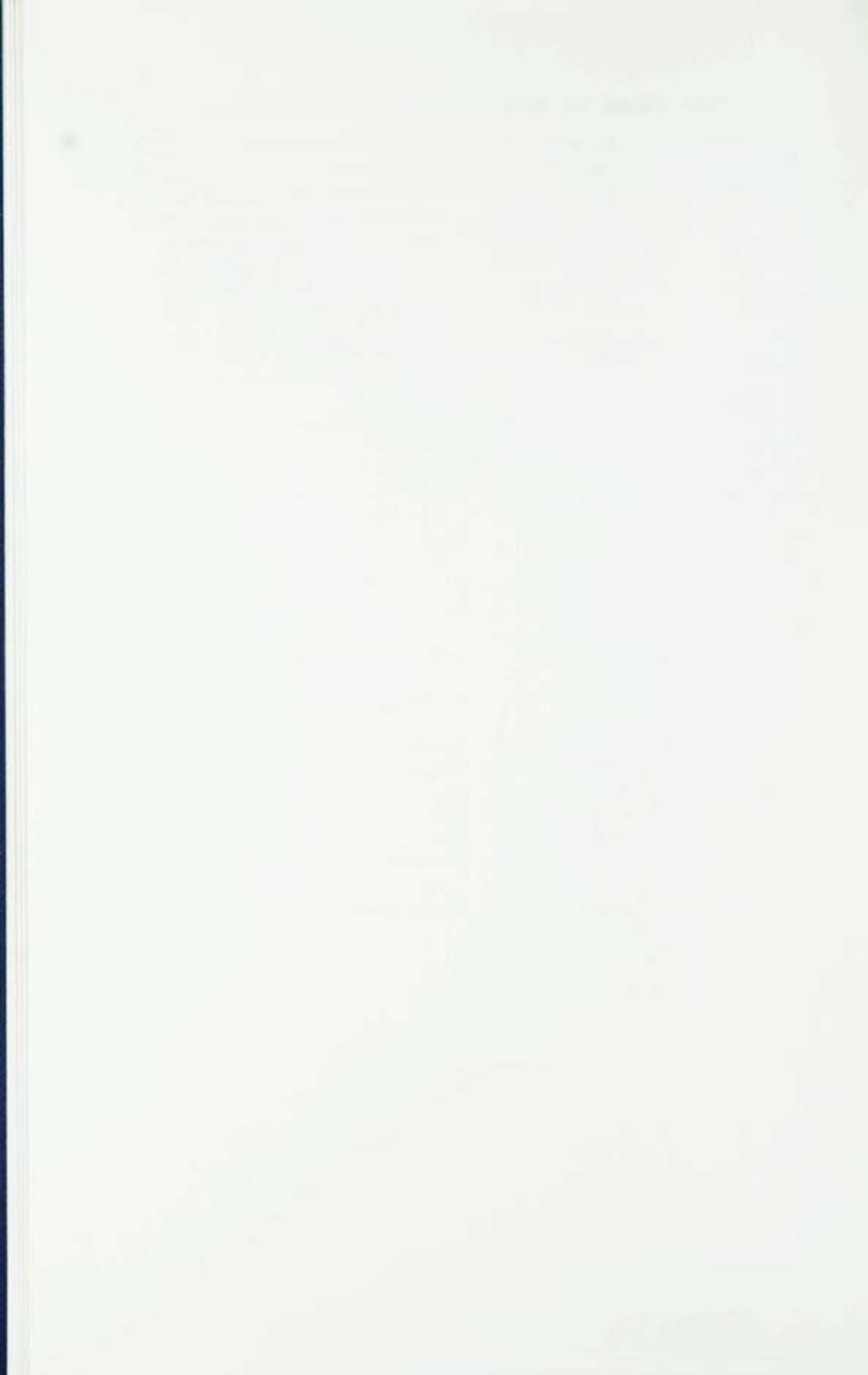
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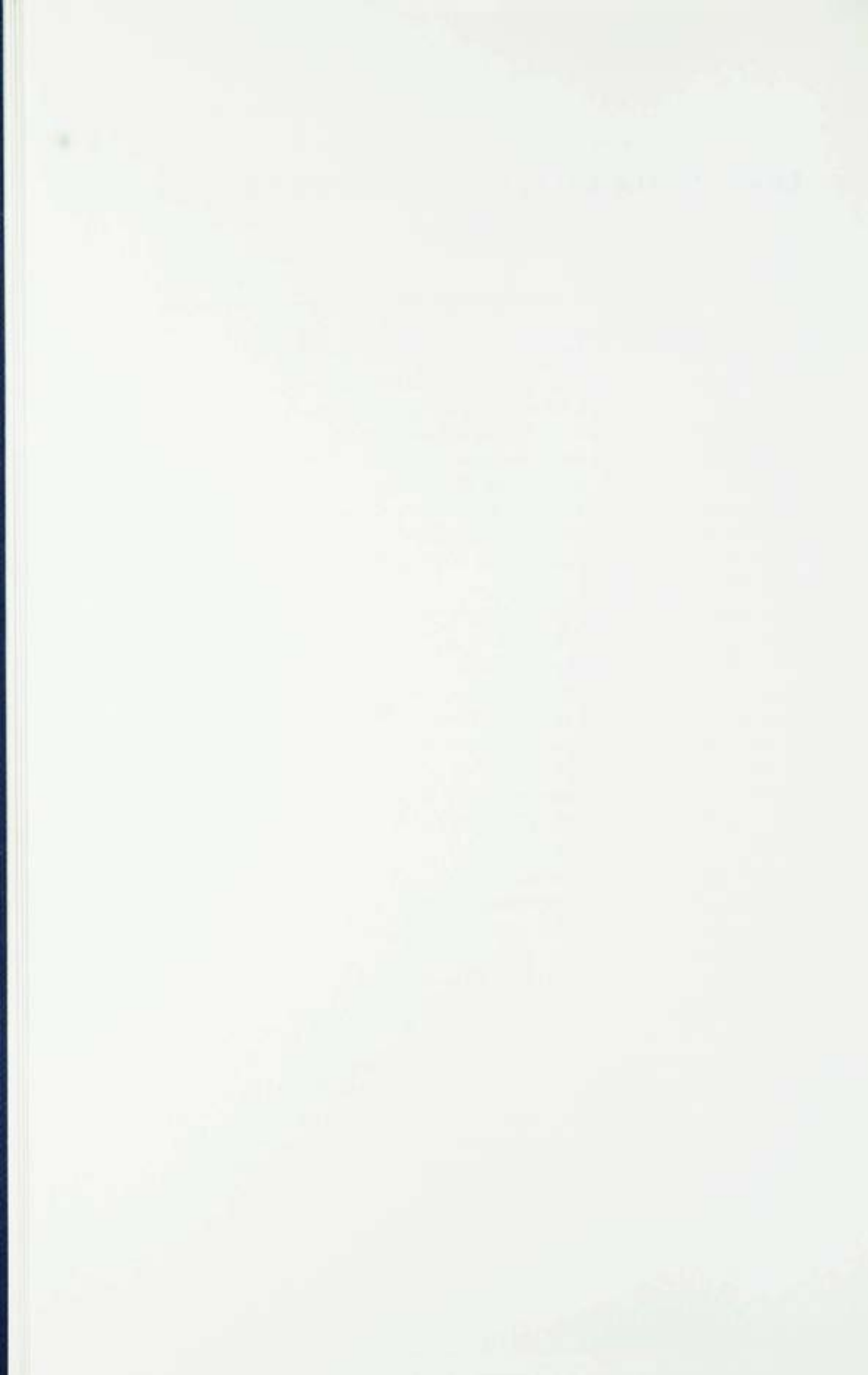


LIBRI EPISTOLARUM SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI

ADDENDA

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LIBRI EPISTOLARUM SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI

ADDENDA

Since the publication of my *Libri Epistolarum sancti Patricii episcopi*, Vol. I (*Classica et Mediaevalia*, XI, 1950; Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1952) these texts have been studied from various aspects, and a number of suggestions concerning details of the text and its tradition have been made, to which I should like to draw attention.

The Latin of St. Patrick in general has been the subject of several studies, in particular: K. Mras, 'St. Patricius als Lateiner' in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Osterr. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1953, pp. 99-113; Christine Mohrmann, 'The Latin of St. Patrick,' four lectures. Dublin, Inst. for Advanced Studies, 1961; J. Carney, 'The Problem of St. Patrick,' Dublin, Inst. for Adv. Studies, 1961, pp. 60-112. For the general linguistic background of St. Patrick's writings, see K. Jackson, 'Language and History in Early Britain,' Edinburgh, 1953, chapters iii-v.

Introduction, p. 17 f.: Père Grosjean, *An. Boll.* 76 (1958), p. 365, n. 1; p. 373, points out a slight inaccuracy in this paragraph. St. Fursa was, of course, not the founder of Péronne; it was, in all probability, his brother Foillan, who took the MS. of the *Confessio* from Ireland via East Anglia to France. However, Fursa did carry with him relics of St. Patrick and placed them *ad montem Cygnophum* in the Péronne territory (cf. *Virtutes s. Fursei*, c. 19). Fursa originally came from Louth, where traditions concerning St. Patrick existed since the time of his disciple, St. Mochta (J. Carney *The Problem of St. Patrick* pp. 115 f.).

Confessio c. 1, apparatus criticus at p. 235, 5 White: I should have said that Père Grosjean, who reads *Clannauenta Bernicie*, regards the second word as a later addition: *An. Boll.* 63, pp. 66 f. On Bernicia see now Jackson, l.c., pp. 701-5.

Confessio c. 10, p. 238, 1 Wh. *in uerbis* Φ is defended by Dr. W. Philbin, 'Mise Pdraig,' 2 ed., 1961, p. 89.

Confessio c. 11, p. 238, 12 Wh. might be emended as follows: *sed-ratum et fortissimum <scriptum>-scripta* (viz epistola) *in cordibus* etc.: K. Mras, *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 8 (1955), p. 73.

Confessio c. 13, p. 238, 23 Wh.: Perhaps we should write, with *l* and Primasius, at Apoc. 19, 5, *qui timetis Deum magni et pusilli*. The two dots between *deum* and *rethorici* in D might have been taken over from

the exemplar, where they could have been a "signe de renvoi" (Père Grosjean, see below).¹ The single 'dot' over the *s* of *uos* (line 24) in D, however, which Père Grosjean interprets as the corresponding mark (in the place where the displaced words should be inserted) is almost certainly the hook of the 'apex' by which Ferdornach marks long vowels and monosyllables, and which he normally places over the letter after the vowel over which it ought to stand (see R. I. Best, *Eriu* 18, 1958, p. 102 f.); the hairline of the apex, here as elsewhere in D, is hardly visible.

Confessio c. 13, p. 238, 24 Wh., *dominicali rethorici*: If correct, the interpretation 'learned churchmen' (from *dominicum* 'house of the Lord, church') is preferable to the one which I have given in my Commentary (*Libri s. Patricii* ii. 125); see K. Mras, *Anzeiger d. Österr. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1953, pp. 109 f.; Mohrmann, l.c., pp. 29 f. However, Père Grosjean, *Bulletin Du Cange* 25 (1955), 41-46, doubts the very existence of the participle-adjective *dominicalus*, which is found only in this passage. He reads the word as two—*Domini cati*, cf. *dom(i)ni (i)gnari* Φ), and regards them as a (displaced) gloss on *legis periti* (line 25); likewise, *rethorici* could be a gloss on *potentes in sermone* (line 26). J. Carney (l.c., pp. 97 f.) would combine the D- and Φ-readings and edit: *domini cati gnari rethorici* ('ye lordly fellows, wise, judicial and eloquent'); the three terms, he thinks, are taken up by *sapientes*, *legis periti* and *potentes in sermone* (ll. 25 f.).—P. 238, 24 Wh., Père Grosjean (l.c. p. 44) would write, with Φ, *audite ergo et scrutamini*.

Confessio c. 18, p. 240, 15-17 Wh.: developing an idea of J. Carney (l.c., p. 61), one might consider the following emendation: *sed uerumiamen ab illis <separauit me; magis> sperauit uenire in fide (fidem D) Iesu Christi, quia gentes erant, et hoc (ob hoc D) obtinui cum illis*. This reading would make the assumption of a parenthesis (lines 14-16) unnecessary.

Confessio c. 23, p. 243, 22 Wh., in the apparatus criticus, read: *sancte puer D (v ex Usserio)*. V₃^π.

Confessio c. 29, p. 244, 15 Wh.: *Dei signati* (P₂) might be correct. Carney, l.c., p. 109, would read *Dei <de> signati*, but *signati* = *electi* is found, for ex., in *Apoc.* vii, 4 ff. I have re-interpreted the entire passage in *Doctrine and Life*, 1961, p. 132.

Confessio c. 43, p. 248, 25 Wh.: for 'frates' read 'fratres.'

Epistola c. 2, p. 254, 10-11 Wh.: Père Grosjean explains more fully the meaning of his suggested emendation (see app. crit. ad locum) in *An. Boll.* 76 (1958), pp. 367-9.

Epistola c. 2, p. 254, 14 Wh.: Père Grosjean, l.c., pp. 270-4, suggests the following emendation: *apostatarum, quasi anelantes saginare (or saginari) de sanguine*, etc. The term *apostatae*, used of the Picts in

¹ They are found, however, elsewhere in D (22r, 209r, 212r-v) as an ordinary punctuation mark.

Epist. c. 2 and c. 15, is paralleled by Père Grosjean (l.c., p. 374) with *rebellatores Christi*, said of Coroticus and his band in Epist. c. 19; at Num. xiv 9 the Vetus Latina, with the LXX, reads *apostatae* for *rebelles* (Vulgate).

Epistola c. 21, pp. 259, 8-9 Wh.: for *praesente* Père Grosjean (l.c., p. 367, n. 2; p. 369) suggests to read *praesertim*.

Testimonia 5 (p. 104 of this edition): The opening words should read: *Caetiacus itaque et Sachellus*, etc. (The word *itaque* has been left out by mistake).

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FURTHER ADDENDUM TO INTRODUCTION, p. 18 f.

Since this contribution was written Dr. D. A. Binchy has considerably strengthened the reasons for believing that the *Confessio* was 'purged', and the *Epistola* suppressed, at Armagh: *Stud. Hib.* 2 (1962), p. 41 f.