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"THE MOST CONTEMPTIBLE TO MANY" A NEW TRANSLATION OF PATRICK'S CONFESSION

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ABSTRACT

Patrick's *Confession* has puzzled scholars of Late Antiquity and Early Christian Ireland for years. It is an enigmatic text written by an aspiring holy man. What it lacks in correct grammar and fluent style, it makes up for in its excessive insistence on the author's humility and service to Christ. This paper presents a new translation of the work, the longest of the only two extant works from Patrick's pen. My commentary seeks to elaborate on some of the ambiguities in the author's work and to place what little we can discern in this document in an historical context.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Classical Studies has always been haunted by the specter of the ambiguity of its sources. The exact reason any particular work has survived or a single author has been considered great has been the basis of many scholarly debates. For most writers, a certain command of Latin has propelled their names to the pantheon of great classical writers such as Vergil, Cicero, and Caesar. Other great writers are renowned for their purposeful twisting of convention like Seneca, Catullus, and Martial. The writers that have personally caused me great difficulty are those whose prose isn't particularly exceptional yet have been considered giants, and in many cases, religious saints. This trend is common in the writings of many saints who were chosen for reasons clearly beyond the love of erudite or legible prose. However, for saints like Patrick, where scarcely two academic screeds exist, one must ask why this character was chosen to be not just a religious saint but a national hero. This paper takes a critical look at Partick's *Confessio* through an original translation which is intended to update some of the otherwise archaic translations currently available. My commentary and a few short excursus on some complications in *Confessio* is generally concerned with the ambiguities in this piece which would be otherwise unremarkable had Patrick not been launched into religious stardom.

There are few names in the English speaking world so revealing of an individual's heritage as "Patrick." My brother carries the name like a banner of our Irish ancestors

who instilled the pride of Irish culture and their Catholicism through generations of their American progeny. The name when coupled with the religious honorific of "saint," deepens the ethnic perspective and conjures up images of green and rowdy Celtic cultural celebrations. The man who we now call St. Patrick is regarded with no further debate as the converter of an island and the champion of an oppressed people. The Irish in the Republic regard his feast day as a national holiday, and the diaspora celebrates the name of a man who lived a millennium and a half ago. But who was this man and why has he become so intrinsically linked to green and Irish culture? This paper takes a critical look at the *Confessio* for a greater understanding of Patrick through his very pen.

Ask most any person or even academic who Patrick was and the general response will be an Irish saint who converted Ireland. Prod further, and they may retell a myth of Patrick's expulsion of snakes in a land overcrowded with druids and naturalistic pagans. Patrick biographer E.A. Thompson recognized the widespread misconceptions and made these myths as the basis much of his seminal *Who Was Saint Patrick?*, which serves as an invaluable resource for the historian of the holy man. The truth is there is no truth with St. Patrick. The man himself only wrote two surviving documents of which little can actually be clearly ascertained. Modern myths come primarily from the development of the cult of St. Patrick which starts to appear nearly two centuries after Patrick's work in the early seventh century CE. Therefore, there is a lacuna in Patrick's history the size of a bottomless pit relative to the slow speed of communication in Early Christian Ireland.

¹ E.A. Thompson 1985, xi; See also an article from March 16, 2011 on Salon.com "I Hate St. Patrick's Day" that, while discussing problems with misconceptions, does itself assume that Patrick was a Welshman who converted Ireland: http://www.salon.com/life/feature/2011/03/16/i hate st patrick s day open2011/index.html

² Charles-Edwards 2000, 184-5

Much has been written regarding Patrick's true origins, but there has been surprising little written about the reasons for Patrick's adoration. The overall theme of this paper is that Patrick came to be regarded as the central patron saint of Ireland based on circumstances of history and political considerations. This paper will take a critical approach to the discrepancies in the history of St. Patrick and his greater role in the conversion of Ireland. First, the ambiguities of Patrick's own writings, especially his *Confessio*, will take a center stage. Second, the purpose of his manuscripts and his intended audience will be paramount to the identification of who came to regard Patrick as their patron, and why. The implications are thus: Patrick was a Roman-Britain³ who, through a series of circumstantial happenings was inspired to write simple and hardly-literate Latin prose for the benefit of the Christian community in Britain.

³ Patricius is an increasingly common name in Later Antiquity. See the *Propogography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol I-II. There is also the troubling possibility that Patricius was the name of his master, which he took himself. The implications that Roman slaveowners lived in Western Ireland are immense and shall not be dealt with in this paper.

Chapter 2

Ambiguities of Patrick's Confessio

There are few more controversial and mysterious character's in early Church history than Patrick of Ireland. His two extant works, *Confessio* and *Epistola*, provide a hazy sketch of the wanderings of a man who has been widely credited for the overall conversion of what we now call Ireland. Indeed, one of the only locations we can know for certain Patrick spent an extent of time was Bannavem Taburniae (see pp. 5f and Ch. 3 for identification), a Roman settlement in which he was born and raised. Otherwise, Patrick's less than lucid prose takes the reader on a haphazard tour of the British Isles and their surrounding environs. This chapter seeks to clarify some of the ambiguities found in locating Patrick in the *Confessio*, especially the peculiar reference to a desert which has troubled scholars of Patrick for decades.

What we know of Patrick must come primarily from his own pen. There is not a single source that mentions Patrick until the seventh century CE, when a cult of the saint first started to develop in the British Isles.⁴ The most straightforward, if one can use the word, work of the two is the *Confessio*. In it, Patrick relates his own journey and how he transformed from a rebellious Roman British youth to, in his excessive humility, "the least of all of the Faith" in Ireland (*Conf.* 1). A great deal of the work reads as if it were a travel journal documenting the formative quests that the hero must embark upon to

⁴ Thompson 1985, xiv

fulfill his mission. Of course, such a genre would not have been foreign for a young man reared in a Roman, albeit marginally Roman, community.

I seek to emphasize that Patrick is not the most reliable or straightforward author for actual events and locations, especially when he is defending his own piety. In other words, the purpose of his travel descriptions are meant as means to the end of promoting his own faith journey and not to provide the reader with an accurate socio-political treatise on the geography of fifth century Ireland and its surrounding territories. Thus, to attempt to fully understand any location undermines the purpose of Patrick by imposing geographical certainty on a spiritual work.

Patrick's Origins and Bannavem Taberniae

Let us first start with a consideration of the birthplace and origin of Patrick. He starts his *Confessio* by establishing his patrilineage and hometown as Bannavem Taberniae, or Bannaventa Burniae (*Conf.* 1). The actual location of this village is more ambiguous than its name. Scholars have varied in their identifications from western England, to Wales and Scotland, and even some going as far as to say he was truly from modern France or Italy. Thompson asserts that the only certain thing is that he was likely from the western coast of Britannia, which would help to describe why he was so easily captured by Celtic slavers. Beyond this vague description, any discussion about the birthplace of Patrick must certainly be conjecture.

⁵ Thompson 1985, 8

Patrick's ambiguous origin and lack of additional landmarks of his very place of birth indicate the haphazard and unconcerned way that the saint chose to discuss place names. But why should Patrick write about some place names without even the slightest detail beyond a name, and completely neglect others? Charles-Edwards suggests that his audience was partially Irish. Thus, one could safely assume that they would understand some Irish locations and be rather ignorant of locations as far as England. It is puzzling, then, why Patrick should mention his otherwise unknown hometown to an audience who most certainly would not have known such an insignificant Roman British village without the slightest landmark or geographical direction.

Patrick was far from an educated, hyper-literate historian, calling himself the "most rustic sinner" (*Conf.* 1). His education was not extensive and likely included only basic reading comprehension of ecclesiastical Latin that was now popular throughout the Roman Empire.⁷ His writings are simple and written in rather basic Latin. For a man without any particular rhetorical training who does not shy from his rustic nature, it would be hard to argue that his omissions and ambiguities were for effect.

Perhaps the most troublesome of Patrick's place descriptions comes after his first escape from captivity. Indeed, the group of five sections, *Confessio 17-23*, which detail his first and second escape and eventual return to his parents in Britain, is filled with ambiguities and lacking in description. The most puzzling part of this section is where Patrick ends up after his flight from Ireland on an unnamed boat with an unnamed crew. Patrick hears a voice in the night which tells him that, "behold, a boat has been

⁶ Charles-Edwards 2000, 219. He suggests that Patrick introduces the discussion with the British community who has newfound contempt for his "sin," and then seeks to defend himself to his new community in Ireland. For more discussion, see Chapter 2.

⁷ Hughes 1974, 305

prepared," for his escape. Patrick tells us that he finds this boat two-hundred miles away, but nothing else about how he found the vessel (*Conf.* 17). Perhaps he meant for the reader to assume that he was divinely guided to his freedom. The distance itself is troubling, as such a journey would have required provisions and preparations.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that a fugitive Christian slave who speaks a foreign tongue would be able to make it two-hundred miles without help, assuming he even had a distinct destination in mind.⁸

When Patrick finds his fated boat, he manages to convince the captain to let him join the crew. The journey of three days brings them to a desert in which the wander for twenty-eight days which force them to survive in the rugged conditions (*Conf.* 18). This section that has been a source of consternation for scholars of Patrick as it seems to suggest that a fifth century vessel was able to get to a 'desert' in a mere three days. Furthermore, the strong crew was then lost in this desert for nearly a month, suggesting that the desert was vast and unconquerable, something that would certainly not be found in Western Europe. Scholars generally debate whether this 'desert' was in Britain or Gaul. Thompson leads the charge for Gaul, stating that the desert may imply unfamiliarity and that the distance of a three day journey was appropriate, while Charles-Edwards advocates for Britain, citing the voices's promise that he would soon see his homeland. On

⁸ Thompson 1985, 21

⁹ Thompson 1985, 23

¹⁰ Thompson 1985, 24; Charles-Edwards 2000, 217

The ambiguity is certainly troubling to one who wishes to state with authority where Patrick had landed and how that affected his journey. Charles-Edwards does go in to some detail about how the journey in the desert can be seen as less precise to emphasize Britain as Patrick's promised land. However, this perspective requires an adherence to the belief that the destination was in fact Britain and not Gaul, and more troublesome, that if Britain was revered as the status of Promised Land for Patrick, it would call into question Patrick's motives for converting his new found Irish land.

I support an alternative view. The idea of a desert in Late Antique and Early Christian writings were suggestive of a renunciation of the world and a movement toward asceticism. Jerome employed the motif to allude to the asceticism that grew out of the deserts of the Levant and Egypt in the second century¹². The ascetics that came out of the desert were seen as participating in a 'white martyrdom' as they let their earthly selves die in the barren wasteland of a desert. Such a martyrdom, as was common for all martyrdoms throughout the history of Christianity, elevated the faithful 'martyr' to a legendary status.¹³ Patrick was attempting to negotiate his position in the growing field of holy martyrs and literary Christians. His allusion to the suffering in a desert recalls this tradition which began in the bible, and which contemporary Christians had now put into practice.

This argument also suggests that Patrick has adopted a ascetic Christian faith which has serious implications for his preaching and influence in Ireland. His choice of

¹¹ Charles-Edwards 2000, 217-18

¹² The Gospel of Mark's description of John the Baptist, as in the writings of Jerome, seem to be influential.

¹³ Williams 2006, 10

the word "desertus" implies a certain level of gravity to the level of hardship he wishes the reader to understand he went through to come to his full conversion. Rather than chose a word like *solitudo* or *vastitas*, he chose a substantive version of the verb *desero*, a usage first utilized in Vergilian poetry. ¹⁴ The word also emphasizes the completely forsaken land in which he left his previous life to emerge as a new devotee to Christianity.

The saint is challenged by his compatriots in the desert to call upon his bizarre God to save them. Patrick answers this challenge and tells his fellow vagrants to pray to God to send them food. Suddenly, a "herd of swine appeared on the road" in front of their eyes (*Conf.* 20). Patrick is not only showing the power of his God to hungry men with him, but also encountering another great miracle of divine intervention on his wanderings away from captivity.

Patrick's journey and challenges are reminiscent of the Greek mystery religions which had influenced the religious climate of Rome since their beginnings. When he was considering Aristophanic criticisms of sophistic rhetoric and their relations to mystery cults popular at the time of Old Comedy, Bowie describes an initiation as one which radically changes a person to seek the conquering of death by experiencing death first hand. Such an initiate comes out of a "soul-journey" cleaned of sin and living an ascetic lifestyle. These mystery cults which were popular especially in the Hellenized east had been incorporated into the religious culture of Christianity. Another influence on those who became known as the "desert" fathers were the writings of Stoics like Seneca who

¹⁴ Simpson 1968, 182

¹⁵ Bowie 1993, 113; Edmonds 2003, 181-200

wrote at some length, especially in *De Otio*, about what was concerned good and frivolous leisure. The movement of turning away from earthly pleasure and leisure caught on further among Patristic writers (Jerome, Augustine, et al.) in the Latin tradition from the influence of writers such as Tacitus, Apuleius and Seneca.¹⁶

This suffering and detachment from the life of luxury he once lived (*Conf.* 1) doesn't just indicate a religious asceticism, but a moral authority due to his extraordinary suffering to reach the God he sought to teach to others. He treats his captivities, especially his second captivity, with a broad brush stroke, choosing to only briefly mention, rather than narrate, his ordeal. His second capture, while two months and more than two times the amount he spent in the desert, is given only a short section and a few lines (*Conf.* 22). Thus, it was the transformative effects of the desert and his biblical and 'desert father' experiences that he wishes to relate to promote himself as a proper church father.

Indeed, Patrick's *Confessio* reads more as an imitation of Patristic prose than as a reliable historical document. Patricks establishes a certain level of initiatory experience to justify to his established Christian audience in Britain and on the Continent that his conversion and his work was earnest.

Conclusion and Remarks

In conclusion, the exact locations to which Patrick traveled may never be known precisely. Scholars continue to debate where each spot Patrick visited may have been.

¹⁶ Williams 2006, 11

However, the need to know exact locales is unnecessary and ignores the true message of his work. He seeks to convince the reader as to the gravity of his conversion and the moral authority he had gained through the hardships he had endured. Patrick didn't seek to give the reader a historical treatise of the fifth century condition of the British Isles, but rather the capability of a sinner to convert with the help of the divine.

Chapter 3

Patrick's Audience

As with Patrick's ambiguous locations, so too is his intended audience difficult to properly ascertain. The scholarship on Patrick's audience is inconsistent between its thoughts on the intended audience being the Irish, the residents of Roman-Britain, or both. It is certain that Patrick intended the *Confessio* for a Christian audience, as he peppers his prose with biblical allusion and continually seeks to justify himself as a legitimate Christian leader and learned scholar. Indeed, Patrick was undergoing accusations and calls for his demotion in Britain which he seeks to counter in this work. Thus, it is clear that the intended audience for this work was indeed his accusers back in Britain.

Let us first return to some of the ambiguities latent in this work. The confusion over Patrick's hometown can be most easily cleared up by arguing that his audience would have understood the location by simply reading the name. Thus, the audience could not simply be an Irish one, as there are already plenty of allusions of which they would have had absolutely no understanding. Furthermore, Patrick dismisses the locations in Ireland as simply foreign places on his journey. As was discussed prior in this paper, Patrick gives a cursory report on his journey from servitude to a boat, and then his confusing journey through a "desert."¹⁷ It is unlikely that these locations would have been

¹⁷

glanced over without even the slightest mention of landmarks if he meant the work for his local converts.

Charles-Edwards supports a view that the work was divided between direct address of the British community (those accusing him of treachery) and the Irish community (the converts he extols). ¹⁸ This view compelling. I believe, however, that it neglects the language barrier that was extant at the time. Thompson argues that only the most learned Irishmen were literate. ¹⁹ Therefore, it is incredibly unlikely that Patrick would write his defense and confession for an audience that could scarcely understand his writing.

In what is likely the most famous of Christian Confessions, Augustine also makes the case for his humility and admits his previous sins while defending himself through his claims of repentance. Clark believes that not only was Augustine writing an *apologia*, but he was also seeking to further his own repute throughout the Latin world, which at this point was widespread and often went hand-in-hand with Christianity. ²⁰ It is likely that Patrick meant for his work to also be a promotion of his own authority. Peripheral Christianity was fragmented and inconsistent; as such, it served his own interests to spread his own acclaim while also defending his previous, and mysterious, "sin."

It is also worth pointing out the ways in which Patrick treats his Irish converts in his writing. More often than not, they sound initially unwitting and perhaps even of lower than average intellect. Indeed, in some parts of his writing, Patrick stops short of

¹⁸ Charles-Edwards 2000, 219

Thompson 1985, 113-5; Irish was not a fully literary language at this point, and scholarship in Latin was in its infancy in Ireland.

accusing the Irish of savagery. Of course, the capture of a Roman subject for the purpose of servitude would be seen as simply barbaric by a Latin audience. To think that he would describe the horrors of Irish slavery to the Irish while also trying to defend himself and portray his humility is extremely unlikely. Indeed in section XIII we hear the way his British audience would have classified the Irish: they are *hostes*, foreign enemies.

It is therefore most likely that Patrick was addressing his home, for which he often longs. If he meant to speak to the Irish, he would have likely spoken to them in a sermon, which he very well many have done. However, this work is clearly an attempt at Latin Patristic scholarship, despite its sub Latinity. Thus, this work was almost certainly meant for the community back home, not only as a defense, but also as an argument for his authority and superiority.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

Patrick has been sanctified for generations primarily because of his national and religious importance. Much of the scholarship on Patrick approaches him as a religious figure, and neglects the political aspects of his life. Indeed, an appropriate level of cynicism is required to properly understand Patrick. The possibility that Patrick may have simply been lying is often dismissed. Of course, such a possibility is difficult to pursue given what little we know of the saint. I believe, however, that the idea of seeing Patrick in a classical lens is often neglected.

Patrick is curious because of the little that can ever be truly known about him yet how much we ascribe to him. This paper has argued that a critical approach toward the *Confessio* should incorporate the classical background and understand that writers in this tradition, do not have historical accuracy as their priorities. As such, Patrick is a writer who seeks to defend himself and extol his virtue to the British and Continental Church.

There is much to be done in the study of Patrick's life and writings. If the ambiguities of his writing tell us anything it's that we cannot simply take his authorship at face value. Rather, Patrick is part of a new movement in an area that was previously ignored and is attempting to establish him self as the father of a new church which he had little other justification to claim.

Appendix A

Patrick's Confessio, Latin

Latin²¹

S. PATRICII CONFESSIO, IN EPISTOLA AD HIBERNOS EXPLICATA.

I. Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonavem Taberniae: villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim. Deum verum ignorabam; et Hiberione in captivitate adductus sum, cum tot millibus hominum, secundum merita nostra, quia a Deo recessimus et praecepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non obedientes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant: et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suae, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terrae, ubi nunc parvitas mea esse videtur inter alienigenas. Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae, ut vel sero rememorarem delicta mea, et ut converterer toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum; qui respexit humilitatem meam, et misertus est adolescentiae et ignorantiae meae, et custodivit me antequam scirem eum, et antequam saperem vel distinguerem inter bonum et malum, et munivit me et consolatus est me, ut pater filium.

II. Unde autem tacere non possum, neque expedit quidem, tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi (Dominus praestare) dignatus (est) in terra captivitatis meae: quia haec est retributio nostra, ut post correctionem vel agnitionem Dei exaltaremur, et confiteremur mirabilia ejus coram omni natione quae est sub omni coelo: quia non est alius Deus, nec unquam fuit nec erit post hunc,

²¹ From Patrologia Latina vol. 53

praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum sine principio, a quo est omne principium, omnia tenens, ut diximus: et hujus Filium Jesum Christum, quem cum Patre scilicet fuisse semper testamur, ante originem saeculi, spiritualiter apud Patrem, inenarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, et per ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia, hominem factum devicta morte, in coelos ad Patrem receptum. Et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen coelestium et terrestrium et infernorum, ut omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus (*Philip*. II, 10, 11): quem credimus, et exspectamus adventum ipsius; mox futurus judex vivorum et mortuorum, qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua, et infudit in nobis abunde Spiritus sancti donum et pignus immortalitatis, qui facit credentes et obedientes, ut sint filii Dei Patris et cohaeredes Christi, quem confitemur et adoramus, unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nominis. Ipse enim dixit per prophetam: Invoca me in die tribulationis tuae, et liberabo te, et magnificabis me (*Jer.* XXIX, 12; *Psal.* XII, 7).

III. Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratres et cognatos meos scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere votum animae meae. Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei qui in psalmo testatur: Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium (*Psal*. V, 7) et iterum: Os quod mentitur occidit animam (*Sap*. I, 11). Et idem Dominus in Evangelio inquit: Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent pro eo rationem in die judicii (*Matth*. XII, 36). Unde autem vehementer (debueram) cum timore et tremore metuere [*Col*.0802D] hanc sententiam in die illa, ubi nemo poterit se subtrahere vel abscondere, sed Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere, sed usque nunc haesitavi. Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam hominum: et quia non legi, sicut caeteri qui optime itaque jure et sacras litteras utroque pari modo combiberunt, et sermonem illorum ex infantia nunquam mutaverunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt.

IV. Nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest probari ex saliva scripturae meae, qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus; quia inquit

Sapiens: Per linguam dignoscitur et sensus, et scientia, et doctrina veritatis (*Eccli*. IV, 29). Sed quid prodest excusatio juxta veritatem, praesertim cum praesumptione? quatinus modo ipse appeto in senectute mea, quod in juventute non comparavi, quia obstiterunt (peccata mea) ut confirmarem quod ante non perlegeram. Sed quis me credit? Etsi dixero quod ante praefatus sum; adolescens, imo pene puer imberbis capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid peterem, vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ego hodie erubesco et vehementer pertimeo denudare imperitiam meam, quia diserti brevitate sermonis explicare nequeo, sicut spiritus gestit et animus, et sensus monstrat et affectus. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut caeteris, verumtamen non silerem propter retributionem. Et si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc praeponere cum mea inscitia et tardiori lingua (scriptum est enim: Linguae balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem [*Isai*. XXXII, 4]), quanto magis nos appetere debemus qui sumus, inquit, Epistola Christi, in salutem usque ad ultimum terrae, etsi non diserta, sed rata et fortissime scripta in cordibus vestris, non atramento, sed Spiritu Dei vivi (II *Cor*. III, 2, 3).

V. Et iterum Spiritus testatur: Et rusticatio ab Altissimo creata est (*Eccli*. VII, 16). Unde ego primus rusticus perfuga, indoctus scilicet qui nescio in posterum providere: sed scio illud certissime, quia utique priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo: et venit qui potens est, et in sua misericordia sustulit me; et quidem scilicet sursum allevavit et collocavit me in summo pariete. Et inde fortiter debueram exclamare, ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Domino ei pro tantis beneficiis ejus, hic et in aeternum, quae mens hominum aestimare non potest. Unde autem admiramini magni et pusilli qui timetis Deum(*Apoc*. XIX, 5), et vos ignari Domini rhetorici: audite ergo et scrutamini quis me stultum excitavit de medio eorum qui videntur sapientes esse et legis periti, et potentes in sermone et in omni re. Et me quidem detestabilem hujus mundi prae caeteris inspiravit, etsi talis essem: dummodo autem ut cum metu et reverentia et sine querela fideliter prodessem genti ad quam caritas Christi transtulit, et donavit me in vita mea, si dignus fuero: denique, ut cum humilitate et veraciter deservirem illis.

VI. In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere et sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei et consolationem aeternam, ac sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere, ut etiam post obitum meum Gallicis relinquerem fratribus et filiis meis quos ego in Domino baptizavi, tot millia hominum. Et non eram dignus neque talis, ut hoc Dominus servulo suo concederet; et post aerumnas et tantas moles, post captivitatem, post annos multos, in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod ego aliquando in juventute mea nunquam speravi neque cogitavi. Sed postquam Hiberionem deveneram, quotidie (igitur) pecora pascebam et frequens in die orabam, magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius, et fides augebatur, et spiritus augebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes, et in nocte prope similiter; ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam: et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sicut modo video, quia tunc in me spiritus fervebat. Et ibi scilicet quadam nocte, in somno audivi vocem dicentem mihi: Bene jejunas, cito iturus ad patriam tuam. Et iterum post paululum tempus, audivi responsum dicens mihi: Ecce navis tua parata est. Et non erat prope, sed forte habebat ducenta millia passus: et ibi nunquam fueram, nec ibi notum quemquam de hominibus habebam.

VII. Et deinde postmodum conversus sum in fugam, et intermisi hominem cum quo fueram sex annis. Et veni in virtute Domini qui viam meam ad bonum dirigebat, et nihil metuebam donec perveni ad navem illam. Et illa (die) qua perveni, profecta est navis de loco suo, et locutus sum, ut haberem unde navigarem cum illis. Et gubernatori displicuit, et acriter cum indignatione respondit: Nequaquam tu nobiscum appetas ire. Et cum haec audissem, separavi me ab illis, ut venirem ad tuguriolum ubi hospitabam; et in itinere coepi orare, et antequam orationem consummarem, audivi unum ex illis fortiter exclamantem post me: Veni cito, quia vocant te homines isti. Et statim ad illos reversus sum; et coeperunt mihi dicere: Veni quia ex fide recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam, quomodo volueris. Et in illa die itaque repuli fugere

propter timorem Dei. Verumtamen speravi ab illis, ut mihi dicerent: Veni in fide Jesu Christi; quia gentes erant. Et hoc obtinui cum illis (et protinus navigavimus).

VIII. Et post triduum terram cepimus, et viginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus, et cibus defuit illis, et fames invaluit super eos. Et alia die coepit gubernator mihi dicere: Quid, Christiane, dicis: Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est? Quare ergo non potes pro nobis orare, quia nos fame periclitamur? Difficile est enim ut aliquem hominem unquam videamus. Ego enim evidenter dixi illis: Convertimini ex fide et ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum nostrum, quia nihil est illi impossibile, ut hodie cibum mittat vobis in viam vestram, usque dum satiamini: quia ubique abundat illi. Et adjuvante Deo, ita factum est. Ecce grex porcorum in via ante oculos nostros apparuit: et multos ex illis interfecerunt, et ibi duas noctes manserunt bene refecti; et carne eorum relevati sunt, quia multi ex illis defecerunt, et secus viam semivivi derelicti sunt. Et post haec summas gratias egerunt Deo, et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum.

IX. (Et ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt.) Etiam mel silvestre invenerunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt. Et unus ex illis dixit. Hoc immolatitium est. Deo gratias exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero nocte eram dormiens, et fortiter tentavit me satanas, cujus memor ero quandiu fuero in hoc corpore. Et cecidit super me veluti saxum ingens, et nihil membrorum meorum praevalens. Sed unde mihi venit, ignoro, in spiritum ut Heliam vocarem. Et inter haec vidi in coelo solem oriri; et dum clamarem: Heliam! Heliam! totis viribus meis, ecce splendor solis decidit super me, et statim discussit a me omnem gravitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo (subventus sum, et Spiritus ejus jam tunc) clamabat pro me, et spero quod sic erit in die pressurae meae, sicut in Evangelio inquit (In illa die) Dominus (testatur): Non vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis (*Matth.* X, 20).

X. Et iterum post annos (non) multos adhuc capturam dedi. Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis. Responsum autem divinum audivi dicens mihi: Duos menses eris cum illis; quod ita factum

est. Nocte illa sexagesima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum. Ecce in itinere providit nobis cibum et ignem, et siccitatem quotidie: donec quarto decimo die pervenimus ad homines. Sicut superius insinuavi, viginti et octo dies per desertum iter fecimus, et ea nocte qua pervenimus ad homines, de cibo vero nihil habuimus. Et iterum post paucos annos in Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt: et ex fide rogaverunt me, ut vel modo ego (post tantas tribulationes quas pertuli) nunquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet vidi in visu nocte virum venientem quasi de Hiberione cui nomen Victoricius, cum epistolis innumerabilibus: et dedit mihi unam ex illis, et legi principium epistolae continentem: Vox Hiberionacum. Et dum recitabam principium epistolae, putabam ipso momento, audire vocem ipsorum qui erant juxta silvam Focluti, quae est prope mare Occidentale. Et sic exclamaverunt quasi ex uno ore:

Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut venias et adhuc ambules inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde, et amplius non potui legere, et sic expergefactus sum. Deo gratias, quia post annos plurimos praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem eorum.

XI. Et alia nocte, nescio, Deus scit, utrum in me, an juxta me, verbis peritissimis quae ego audivi et non potui intelligere, nisi ad postremum orationis sic affatus est:qui pro te animam suam posuit. Et sic expergefactus sum gaudibundus. Et iterum vidi in me ipsum orantem, et eram quasi intra corpus meum: et audivi super me, hoc est, super interiorem hominem; et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus. Sed ad postremum orationis sic effatus est, ut sit spiritus. Et sic experrectus sum, et recordatus sum, Apostolo dicente: Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostrae orationis. Nam quid oremus sicut oportet, nescimus; sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus (*Rom.* VIII, 26), quae verbis exprimi non possunt. Et iterum: Dominus advocatus noster postulat pro nobis (Ibid., 34). Et quando tentatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis qui venerunt, ob peccata mea, contra laboriosum episcopatum meum: utique in illo die fortiter impulsus sum ut caderem hic et in aeternum. Sed Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino propter nomen suum benigne; et valde mihi subvenit in hac conculcatione, quod in labem et in opprobrium non male

deveni. Deum oro ut non illis in peccatum reputetur occasio: nam post annos triginta invenerunt me, et adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus.

XII. Propter anxietatem, moesto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo, quae in pueritia mea, una die gesseram, imo in una hora, quia necdum praevalebam. Nescio, Deus scit, si habebam tunc annos quindecim, et Deum vivum non credebam, neque ex infantia mea; sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum, et in veritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate; et quotidie contra Hiberionem non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam. Sed hoc potius bene mihi fuit, quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino, et aptavit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum; quando tunc etiam de meipso non cogitabam. Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratis supradictis (ad noctem illam), vidi in visu noctis scriptum contra faciem meam, sine honore. Et inter haec, audivi responsum (divinum) dicens mihi: Male vidimus faciem designati nudato nomine. Nec sic praedixit: Male vidisti; sed: Male vidimus, quasi ibi se junxit, sicut dixit: Qui vos tangit, quasi tangit pupillam oculi mei (*Zach*. II, 8). Idcirco gratias ago ei qui me in omnibus confortavit, ut non me impediret a profectione quam statueram, et de meo quoque opere quod a Christo didiceram: sed magis ex eo sensi in me virtutem non parvam, et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus.

XIII. Unde autem audenter dico: Non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum. Testem Deum habeo quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ego retuli vobis. 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, nec in Britanniis eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in mea absentia, pro me pulsetur. Etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat: Ecce dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus, quo non eram dignus. Sed unde venit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis bonis et malis in me publice dehonestaret, quod ante sponte et laetus indulserat? Est Dominus, qui major omnibus est. Satis dico: sed tamen non debeo abscondere donum Dei

quod largitus est nobis in terra captivitatis meae: quia tunc fortiter inquisivi eum, et ibi inveni illum, et servavit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus. Sic credo, propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus, qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me audenter rursus. Sed scit Deus, si mihi homo effatus fuisset, forsitan tacuissem, propter caritatem Christi.

XIV. Unde ergo indefessam gratiam agam Deo meo, qui me fidelem servavit in die tentationis meae, ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium, ut hostiam viventem animam meam Christo Domino meo, qui me servavit ab omnibus angustiis meis: ut et dicam: Quis ego sum, Domine, vel quae est vocatio mea, qui mihi tantam divinitatem cooperuisti? ita ut hodie in gentibus constanter exsultarem et magnificarem nomen tuum, ubicunque fuero; nec non in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris: ut quidquid mihi evenerit, sive bonum sive malum, aequaliter debeo suscipere et Deo gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem eum sine fine crederem, et qui me audierit: ut et ego inscius sim in novissimis diebus hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum adire aggrederer, ita ut imitarer quospiam illos quos ante Dominus jam olim praedixerat praenuntiaturos Evangelium suum, in testimonium omnibus gentibus, ante finem mundi. Quod ita ergo (ut vidimus itaque) suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Evangelium praedicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.

XV. Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum, vel per partes. Breviter dicam qualiter piissimus Deus de servitute saepe liberavit ex duodecim periculis, quibus periclitata est anima mea, praeter insidias multas, et quae verbis exprimere non valeo: nec et injuriam legentibus faciam. Sed dum auctorem habeo, qui novit omnia, etiam antequam fiant (ut me pauperculum pupillum). Ideo tamen responsum divinum creberrime admonuit, unde mihi haec sapientia quae in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noveram, neque Deum sapiebam: unde mihi postmodum donum tam magnum, tam salubre, Deum agnoscere, vel diligere: sed ut patriam, et parentes amitterem; et munera multa mihi offerebantur, cum fletu et lacrymis: et offendi illos, nec non

contra votum, aliquantis de senioribus meis. Sed, gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi, neque acquievi illis, non mea gratia, sed Deus qui vicit in me, et restitit illis omnibus, ut ego venirem ad Hibernas gentes Evangelium praedicare, et ab incredulis contumelias perferre, ut haurirem opprobrium peregrinationis meae, et persecutiones multas, usque ad vincula, et ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate aliorum.

XVI. Et si dignus fuero, promptus sum ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine ejus, et ibi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus mihi indulgeret: quia valde debitor sum Deo, qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit, ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur, et postmodum consummarentur; et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nupervenientem ad credulitatem quam sumpsit Dominus ab extremis terrae, sicut olim promiserat per prophetas. Ad te gentes venient ab extremis terrae, et dicent: Sicut falsa comparaverunt patres nostriidola, et non est utilitas in eis (Jer. XVI, 19). Et iterum: Posui te lumen in gentibus, ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae (Isai. XLIX, 6). Et ibi volo exspectare promissum ipsius, qui utique nunquam fallit, sicut in Evangelio pollicetur: Venient ab Oriente et Occidente, et recumbent cum Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob (Matth. VIII, 11), sicut credimus, ab omni mundo venturi sunt credentes. XVII. Idcirco oportet quidem bene et diligenter piscari, sicut Dominus praemonet, dicens: Venite post me, et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum (Matth. IV, 18). Et iterum dicit per prophetas: Ecce ego mitto piscatores et venatores multos, dicit Dominus (Jer. XVI, 16), etc. Unde autem valde oportebat retia [Col.0809C]nostra tendere, ita ut multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur, ut ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarentur populum indigentem et desiderantem, sicut Dominus in Evangelio admonet et docet, dicens: Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti; docentes eos observare omnia quaecunque mandavi vobis. Et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi (*Matth.* XXVIII, 19, 20). Et iterum dicit: Euntes ergo in mundum

universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur (*Marc*. XVI, 15, 16). Et iterum: Praedicabitur hoc Evangelium regni universo mundo, in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc veniet finis (*Matth*. XXIV, 14). Et item Dominus per prophetam praenuntians, inquit: Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiae vestrae, et filii vestri visiones videbunt, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt. Et quidem super servos meos, et super ancillas meas, in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo, et prophetabunt (*Joel*. II, 28, 29). Et in Osea dicit: Vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam, et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam (*Oseae* II, 24; *Rom*. IX, 25; I *Petr*. II, 10). Et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs mea vos, ibi vocabuntur filii Dei vivi (*Oseae* I, 10; *Rom*. IX, 26).

XVIII. Unde autem Hiberionae qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerunt, nisi idola et immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt; quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini, et filii Dei nuncupantur? Filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum, monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur. Et etiam una benedicta Scotta genitiva nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi. Et post paucos dies, una causa venit ad nos: insinuavit nobis responsum accepisse a nuntio Dei, et monuit etiam ut esset virgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret. Deo gratias: sexta ab hac die optime et avidissime arripuit illud, quod etiam omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non sponte patrum earum, sed persecutionem patiuntur, et improperia falsa a parentibus suis: et nihilominus plus augetur numerus, et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt, nescimus numerum eorum, praeter viduas et continentes. Sed et illae maxime laborant, quae servitio detinentur, usque ad terrores et minas assidue perseverant. Sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis suis; nam etsi vetantur, tamen fortiter imitantur.

XIX. Unde autem etsi voluero amittere illas, et ut pergens in Britannias et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam etScit Deus quod ego valde optabam; sed alligatus Spiritu, qui mihi protestatur si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat; et timeo perdere laborem quem inchoavi. Et non ego, sed Christus Dominus qui me imperavit ut venirem, esse cum illis residuum aetatis meae; si Dominus voluerit et custodierit me ab omni via mala, ut non peccem coram illo. Spero autem hoc debueram, sed memet ipsum non credo, quandiu fuero in hoc corpore mortis, quia fortis est qui quotidie nititur subvertere me a fide et a proposita castitate, usque in finem vitae meae, Christo Domino meo: sed caro inimica semper trahit ad mortem, id est, ad illecebras illicite perficiendas. Et scio ex parte, quare vitam perfectam ego non egi, sicut et caeteri credentes. Sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in conspectu ipsius, quia non mentior: ex quo cognovi eum a juventute mea crevit in me amor Dei et timor ipsius, et usque nunc favente Domino fidem servavi.

XX. Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit: ego non silebo, neque abscondam signa et mirabilia quae mihi a Domino ministrata sunt ante multos annos quam fierent, quasi qui novit omnia, etiam ante tempora saecularia. Unde autem debueram sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui saepe indulsit insipientiae meae.... Et de loco non in unoquoque, ut non mihi vehementer irasceretur, qui adjutor datus sum et non cito acquievi, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat, et sicut Spiritus suggerebat. Et misertus est mihi Dominus in millia millium, quia vidit in me quod paratus eram, sed quod mihi pro his nesciebam de statu meo quid facerem, quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, et jam inter seipsos post tergum non causa malitiae; sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, intellexi, propter rusticitatem meam. Et non cito agnovi gratiam quae tunc erat in me: nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram.

XXI. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuavi fratribus et conservis meis qui mihi crediderunt. Propter quod praedixi et praedico ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem vestram. Utinam et vos

imitemini majora, et potiora faciatis. Hoc erit gloria mea; quia filius sapiens gloria patris est (*Prov.* XI, 1; XV, 20). Vos scitis et Deus, qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a juventute mea, in fide veritatis et in sinceritate cordis: etiam ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestavi et praestabo. Deus scit neminem illorum circumveni, nec cogito propter Deum et 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 (*Lev.* XXIV, 16). Nam etsi imperitus sum in omnibus, tamen conatus sum quispiam servare me etiam et fratribus Christianis, et virginibus Christi, et mulieribus religiosis, quae mihi ultronea munuscula donabant et super altare reddebant, ex ornamentis suis, et iterum reddebam illis. Et adversus me scandalizabantur, cur hoc faciebam. Sed ego (hoc faciebam) propter spem perennitatis, ut me in omnibus caute propterea conservarem, ita ut me in aliquo titulo infideles non carperent vel ministerium servitutis meae, nec etiam in minimo incredulis locum darem infamare sive detrectare.

XXII. Forte autem, quando baptizavi tot millia hominum, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel dimidium scriptulae? Dicite mihi et reddam vobis: aut quando ordinavit Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam et ministerium, gratis distribui illis. Si poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium calceamenti mei, dicite; dicite adversus me, et reddam vobis. Magis ego impendi pro vobis, ut me caperet: et inter vos et ubique pergebam causa vestra in multis periculis, etiam usque ad exteras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi nunquam aliquis pervenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum consummaret, donante Domino, diligenter et libentissime pro salute vestra omnia generavi. Interim praemia dabam regibus, propter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum qui mecum ambulant, et nihil comprehenderunt me cum comitibus meis. Et illa die avidissime cupiebant interficere me: sed tempus nondum venerat. Et omnia quaecunque nobis invenerunt, rapuerunt illa, et me ipsum ferro vinxerunt: et quarto decimo die absolvit me Dominus de

potestate eorum; et quidquid nostrum fuit, redditum est nobis, propter Deum et necessarios amicos quos ante providimus.

XXIII. Vos autem experti estis quantum ego erogavi illis, qui judicabant per omnes regiones quas frequentius visitabam. Censeo enim non minimum pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis. Ita ut me fruamini, et ego vobis semper fruar in Deum, non me poenitet nec satis est mihi, adhuc impendo et super impendam: potens est Dominus ut det mihi postmodum ut meipsum impendam pro animabus vestris (II *Cor.* XII, 15). Ecce testem Deum invoco in animam meam, quia non mentior, quod neque, ut fit, causa adulationis vel avaritiae scripserim vobis, neque ut honorem sperarem vestrum. Sufficit enim [*Col.*0813A] mihi honor qui non videtur, sed corde creditur; fidelis autem qui promisit, nunquam mentitur. Sed video jam in praesenti saeculo me supra modum exaltatum a Domino. Et non eram dignus neque talis, ut hoc mihi praestaret: dum scio certissime quod mihi melius convenit paupertas et calamitas, quam deliciae et divitiae. Sed et Christus Dominus pauper fuit pro nobis. Ego vero miser et infelix, et si opes voluero, jam non habeo, neque meipsum (dignum) judico, quia quotidie spero aut internecionem, aut circumveniri, aut redigi in servitutem, sive occasionem cujuslibet. Sed nihil horum vereor propter promissa coelorum, quia jactavi meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis qui ubique dominatur, sicut propheta dicit: Jacta cogitatum tuum in Deum, et ipse te enutriet (*Psal.* LIV, 23).

XXIV. Ecce nunc commendo animam meam fidelissimo Deo meo, pro quo legatione fungor in ignobilitate mea (II *Cor*. V, 20). Sed quia personam non accipit, et elegit me ad hoc officium, ut unus essem de suis minimis minister: Unde autem retribuam illi pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi (*Psal*. CXV, 12). Seu quid dicam, vel quid promittam Domino meo? Quia nihil valeo, nisi ipse mihi dederit; sed scrutatur corda et renes, quia satis et nimis cupio, et paratus eram ut donaret mihi bibere calicem ejus, sicut indulsit caeteris amantibus se. Quapropter non contingat mihi a Deo meo, ut unquam amittam plebem suam quam acquisivi in ultimis terrae. Oro Deum ut det

mihi perseverantiam, et dignetur ut reddam illi testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum. Et si aliquid boni unquam imitatus sum propter Deum meum quem diligo, peto illum det mihi ut cum illis proselytis et captivis pro nomine suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ipse etiam caream sepultura aut miserrime cadaver per singula membra dividatur canibus aut bestiis asperis, aut volucres coeli comederint 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 Jesu redemptoris nostri, Filii Dei vivi, et cohaeredes Christi (*Rom.* VIII, 17) et conformes futurae imaginis ipsius (Ibid., 29): quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, regnaturi sumus.

XXV. Nam sol iste quem videmus, Deo jubente, propter nos quotidie oritur, sed nunquam regnabit, neque permanebit splendor ejus. Sed et omnes qui adorant eum, in poenam miseri male devenient. Nos autem credimus et adoramus Solem verum, Christum qui nunquam interibit; neque qui facit voluntatem ipsius, sed manebit in aeternum, quomodo et Christus manebit in aeternum, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu sancto, ante saecula, et nunc, et per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. Ecce iterum iterumque breviter exponam verba confessionis meae. Testificor in veritate et in exsultatione cordis, coram Deo et sanctis angelis ejus, quia nunquam habui aliquam occasionem, praeter Evangelium et promissa illius, ut unquam redirem ad gentem illam unde autem prius vix evaseram. Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicunque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam Patricius peccator, indoctus scilicet, Hiberione conscripsit, ut nemo unquam dicat quod mea ignorantia, si aliquid pusillum egi vel demonstraverim, secundum Dei placitum. Sed arbitramini, et verissime credatur, quod donum Dei fuisset. Et haec est confessio mea antequam moriar.

Appendix B

Patrick's Confessio, English

English

I. I am Patrick, a sinner,²² the most rustic and the least of all the faithful, the most contemptible for many. I had a father who was the Deacon Calpornius, who was the son of the Presbyter Potius, who lived in the area of Bonavem Tabarniae²³: he had a small estate nearby where I was captured. I was sixteen then. I was ignorant of the true God; and I was abducted into Irish captivity, with many thousands of men. Thus followed according to our desserts, for we had retreated from God and we were not mindful of his Commandments, and we were not obedient to our priests, who were warning us about our "health": the Lord poured upon us from above his wrath of his spirit, and he dispersed us into many races, and even to all ends of the earth, where now my littleness is seen among foreign folk. And then the Lord opened my sense to my own incredulity, and however late I may be reminded of my transgressions, so as to turn my heart to the Lord my God; it was he who looked upon my humility²⁴, and upon my misery of my foolishness and my ignorance, and he saved me before I knew him, and before I was knowledgeable or could

²² Patrick begins with self-deprecation familiar to Patristic Confessions. See Augustine's Confession for a particularly well-crafted example of greater Latinity.

²³ Or Bannaventa Burniae; Certainly in Britain. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the ambiguity of this location.

²⁴ However contrived, Patrick establishes the reasons for his insistence on his "humility."

distinguish between good and evil, he fortified me and he was a consolation for me, as a father for a son.

Thus I am not able to be quiet²⁵, nor am I permitted to be, as so many blessings II. and so many graces The Lord deemed to give to me in my land of captivity. Because these things are our punishment, after accepting or acknowledging them we exalt God, and we avow his marvels to the hearts of all nations which are under heaven. Because there is no other God, nor was there any nor will there be after this, except God the Father unbegotten and without progenitors, from whom is the beginning of all things, possessing all things, as we have pronounced. And his son Jesus Christ, who we testify has evidently been with the Father before the beginning of the ages, spiritually along with the Father, inexpressibly begotten before the beginning of all things; and things visible and invisible were created by him. He was made man, he conquered death, and returned to the Father in heaven. And he gave to him all power over all names in heaven, in earth, and in hell, that the tongues²⁶ of all might avow him, because Jesus Christ is Lord and God:We believe this and we await his return to us; thereupon the judge of the living and the dead to come, who will return to each according to their deeds, and he poured upon us with abundance the Holy Spirit and the gift and insurance of immortality, which makes the believing and the obedient, that the might be the children of God the Father and the co-

²⁵ The concept of keeping quiet and silence is recurrent. The idea Patrick wishes to promote is that his divine inspiration must be relayed in his *Confession*. In doing so, he formulates an argument for his humility.

²⁶ Patrick's own experience with multiple languages is obvious, yet his discussion on the matter is lacking. See Thompson xv, 40 for a discussion on Patrick's linguistic capabilities.

inheritors of Christ. He whom we acknowledge and we adore, one God in the Trinity of the holy name. The very same was said by the prophet: Call upon me in your day of tribulation, and I will free you, and you will marvel at me. And again he said: It is honorable to reveal and to acknowledge the works of God.

III. Although I am imperfect in many ways, I wish for my brothers and kinsmen to know my nature, that they might be able to the ascertain the desire of my soul. I am not unacquainted with the testimony of my Lord which is testified in the Psalm: You destroy those who speak lies (*Psalms* 5:7) and again: Those who lie murder the soul. (*Wisdom*: 1:11). And again the Lord says in the Gospel: For every lazy word men shall speak, they shall be repaid in kind on the Day of Judgement. (*Matthew* 12:36). And thus I ought to vehemently fear with terror and trembling that sentence on that day, when no one will be able to scurry away or hide themselves, but we shall receive our reckoning, absolutely all of us, even the least of sinners before the Tribunal of Christ the Lord. On that account, some time ago, I thought of writing, But until now I hesitated. For I feared that I should incur the criticism of men: and because I have not read like the others who expertly soak up both law and holy texts in an equal way, and who have never changed their manner of discourse since infancy, but always add more toward perfection.

IV. For my discourse and speech has been translated into a foreign language, such that it is easily possible to judge from the flavor of my writing, of what nature I am in discourse having been instructed and polished; because it is said of Wisdom: It is

recognized through language and perception, and wisdom, and doctrines of old. (Eccli. IV, 29). But why offer excuses together with the truth, especially with presumption? And how much even now that I strive for in my old age, that which I did not equal in my youth, because they obstructed me (my sins) from at first growing in strength as I had not read through them. But who believes me? Although I will say again what I said before; a youth, thus nearly a beardless boy I was given into captivity, before I knew what I sought, or for what I ought to live thenceforth to this day I blush and vehemently fear that my inexperience be revealed, because I am not able to explain, with a brief speaking discourse, as my spirit and my soul exults and my sense and my disposition demonstrates. But if what had been given to others were given to me, truly I would not be quiet with recompense at hand. And if by chance it should seem that I offered myself before others with my uncouth and slow tongue, such is it is written: The blabbering tongues shall learn to speak calmly (*Isai*. XXXII, 4), for how much more ought we strive for, we for whom it is said, "You are an epistle of Christ, in salutation to the end of the world, although not spoken, but calculatingly and boldly was written on your hearts, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God. (II *Cor.* III, 2, 3).

V. And again the Spirit testifies: rustic life was created by the Most High (*Eccli*. VII, 16). Thence I am first a rustic exile, clearly uneducated, who doesn't know how to plan ahead: but I do know this is most certain, that before I was humbled, I was like a stone which lies in a deep mud-pit: and he who is powerful comes, and in his pity lifted me up; and indeed he clearly lifted me up and set me on the highest wall. And then I ought to

have declared, in return for so many good things from the Lord, here and in eternity, of which the mind of men is not able to comprehend. Therefore marvel all you great and small who fear God (*Apoc*. XIX, 5)and you, the inexperienced rhetoricians: listen and examine thoroughly who who awakened me, a simpleton, from the midst of those who appear to be wise and experienced in law, and powerful in speaking and in all things. And he inspired me, detestable me, before others of his world, that I may be: such as one who is with fear and reverence and without complaints that I might faithfully benefit the people to whom the care of Christ has brought me, and he gave me in my lifetime, if I may be worthy: that then I may serve them with humility and fervor.

VI. Thus it is appropriate in good measure to distinguish faith in the Trinity and without fear of danger to make known the gift of God and the consolation of eternity, and without fear to confidently propagate the name of God everywhere, so that even after my death that I might leave something behind for my Gaelic brothers and sons who I baptized in the Lord - so many thousands of men. For I was not worthy and nor was I of that nature that the Lord should concede this for his little servant; and after hardships and so many burdens, after captivity, after so many years, he should give to me so much friendship among these people, whom in my youth I certainly never hoped for nor gave a thought. Yet after I was diverted into Ireland, everyday I would shepard the flocks and frequently I would pray during the day, and more and more my love and fear of God himself increased, and my faith augmented, and my spirit augmented, so that in a day I would pray from one all the way up to a hundred prayers, and close to the same at night; I

would even remain in the woods or on a mountain and I would rise before daylight to pray in the snow, the ice, and the rain²⁷: I discerned no evil, nor any weaknesses for me, for as I now see, the Spirit burned here within me. And then apparently on that night, I heard a voice speaking in my dream to me: You should fast well, for soon you shall return to your homeland. And again after a little bit of time, I heard an answer spoken to me: "Behold! A ship has been prepared for you!" But it was not nearby, but by chance was two hundred miles away: and I had never been there, nor did I have an understanding of what sort of people were from there.

VII. And then I turned into a fugitive, and I left the man who I was with for six years. And I went in the grace of the Lord who set my course to my benefit, and I feared nothing so long as I reached that boat. And on that day I reached it, the ship was setting off from that location, and I said that I had the ability to ship off with them. This was displeasing to the pilot, that he responded harshly and with indignation: "In no way are you going to go with us." And when I had heard these things I was separated from them so that I might go to the little hut where I was staying; and I began to pray on my journey, and before I had completed my praying, I heard one voice from among them boldly shout behind me: "Come quickly, because these men are calling for you."And I immediately spun around to them; and they began to speak to me: "Come because we are accepting you out of trust; make us friendly in any manner you might wish." And on that day I

²⁷ Patrick is clearly experiencing the joys of Irish weather. While Ireland is typically wetter and colder than Britain, his wholly negative outlook is certainly exaggerated to emphasize the burden of his predicament.

resisted fleeing on account of my fear of God. For truly I hoped that one from them would say to me: "I have come to faith in Jesus Christ." For they are foreigners. And once I had embarked with them we set sail immediately.

VIII. We landed after three days, and for twenty-eight days we made a journey through a desert. And when food ran out for them, hunger conquered them. Then one day the pilot began to say to me: Tell us, Christian: Isn't your God great and all-powerful? Why then can't you pray for us, because now we are faced with starvation? It is unlikely that we should seen any other human. I said clearly to them: Convert by faith and by all of your heart to our Lord God, because nothing is impossible with him, that he might give your daily food to you on your road, up until you are sated: because he is abundant everywhere. And with the aid of God, it came to be. Behold a swarm of pigs appeared before our eyes in the road: and the slaughtered many from them, and they remained there for two nights, well restored; and they were relieved by the meat, as many had broken away from them, and otherwise would have been left half-alive on the way. And after this they sent their greatest thanks to God, and I was honored in their eyes.

IX. From this day forward they had food abundantly. They even found honey in the forest, and they offered a bit to me. And one of them said: "This is a sacrifice." By the grace of God, at that point I had tasted none of it. On that very same night I was dreaming, and Satan boldly grabbed me, a memory of which I shall have so long as I have this body. And he fell from above me like a huge stone, and there was no power in

my limbs. But then he came to me, unaware in spirituality, that I might call upon "Helias." At that point I saw the sun rise into heaven; and at once I exclaimed: "Helias! Helias!" with all of my power, and behold all of the suns splendor fell from above upon me, and at once it dispersed all of my burdens from me. And I believe that I was aided by my Christ, the Lord, and that then his Spirit called out for me, and I hope that it will be so on my day of burden. Thus as is said in the Gospel, the Lord testifies that on that day:It is not you who speaks, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks within you (Matthew X, 20).

X. And after many years I was again given into captivity. And I stayed with them on that very same night. And I heard a divine revelation speaking to me: "For two months you will be with them." It happened like this. On the sixtieth night the Lord liberated me from their hands. Behold he provided us with food and fire on my journey, and dry weather everyday: until the fourteenth day when we came upon men. Thus as I hinted above, we made our journey through the desert for twenty-eight days. And on that very day on which we came upon men, we had no food. And then after a few years I was again in Britain with my parents, who took me in as their son: and they questioned me out of faith, whether now, since I had endured so many trials, I would never depart them. And

²⁸ This section causes a great deal of concern for scholarship. Translators with a seemingly Christian bend such as Davies (1999, 481) typically assert that Patrick must not be calling out to Helias, as in the sun, but rather (H) Elias. This conclusion is troubling for multiple reasons. For one, the following line indicates that Patrick is using the thematic element of the sun. Second, Patrick's Latin was unlikely to have favored initial aspiration, due to the lack of such influence or need for such hyper-correction in Britain or Ireland. Finally, Patrick's biblical allusions are primarily "New Testament" and rarely rely on Hebrew Bible to augment his case. Indeed, his knowledge of any Hebrew or Jewish history is incredibly unlikely.

then I evidently say in my eyesight at night a man came as if from Ireland whose name was Victorius, with an incalculable amount of letters: and he gave to me that one of those, and I read the contents of the beginning: "The Voice of the Irish"And while I read the beginning of the letter, I reckoned at that very moment that I heard a voice of the very same people who were near the woods of Foclut, which is near the Western (Occidental) Sea. And they exclaimed as if from one voice: "We ask you, oh holy youth, that you come and walk among us!"And I was powerfully struck in my heart, and I was unable to read the remainder, and thus I was caused to be awoken. Thanks be to God, because after many years the Lord fulfilled for them according to their cry.

XI. And another night, God knows, I don't, whether within me or beside me, although I had encountered the words which I heard but I was not able to understand them, not until the end of the prayer when this was spoken: "It is he who laid aside his life for you." And thus I was awoken being joyful. And another time I saw Himself praying in me, and I was almost inside my own body: and I heard Him above me, that is, above the inside of my person; and there he boldly prayed with sighs. Meanwhile I was stupefied and in awe, and I pondered who it was who prayed within me. But at the end of the prayer it was determined that it was the Spirit. Thus I woke up, and I recalled what was dictated by the Apostle: "The Spirit helps the weakness of our prayers, for we do not know how we should pray as is appropriate; but the Spirit prays on our behalf with inexplicable murmurs", (Rom.VIII, 26), for they who are not able to squeeze out such words. And again: the Lord, our advocate, prays on our behalf. Then I was touched by a

great number of my elders who came on account of my sins against my laborious episcopate. And on that day I was forcefully struck that I may have fallen here in this place for eternity. But the Lord saved me, a convert and a foreigner for the good of his name; and he strongly saved me in that state of being trampled on. And it was not due to evil fell and arrived in a state of disgrace. I pray to God that he not consider them guilty for this event: for after thirty years they found something against me which I had confessed before I was a deacon.

XII. Because of my anxiety, and on account of my remorseful mind I laid in front of my best friend what I did in one day which was against my purity, no in one hour, as I was not yet strong. I do not know, God does, if I was fifteen at the time, and I did not believe in a life in God, not since my infancy; but I stayed in death and disbelief until I was strongly rebuked, and in truth I was humbled by hunger and nudity; at any rate I did not proceed into Ireland by my own will, until I nearly gave up. But this was well possible for me, because this was fixed for me by the Lord, and he fitted me that today I might be something what was once far from me, that I would have concern or that I should care about the health of others, when I didn't even ponder about my own piss. Then again on the day which I was reproached, as I have recalled above, at night I saw in my eyesight a document across from my face, without honor. And during these things, I heard a divine messenger saying to me: "We have unfortunately seen the face of the chosen with divested name." Yet he did not say "You have unfortunately seen"; But: "We have unfortunately seen", as if he included himself, thus he said "He who touches you, is

as if he touches the pupil of my eye." (*Zach*. II, 8). For that reason I give thanks to he who comforted me in all things, that I not be impeded on my going away which had been set up, and also my work which was taught to me by Christ: but more from the thing I felt within me, no little virtue, and my faith which was tested before the hearts of God and man.

XIII. Therefore, I boldly declare: My conscience does not hold me back here or in the future. I have the God as my witness that I have not lied in the words which I am retelling to you. But I am pained more for my best friend, on whose account we deserved to hear such an answer, to whom I entrusted with my soul. And I was informed by many of my brothers, before my defense, which I was not a part of, nor was I in Britain, nor was it argued by me, that in my absence he would fight for me. He said to me with his very own mouth: "Behold, you are granted the rank of bishop, of which I was not worthy." But thereafter how did it come to him that in the presence of all, good and bad, he dishonored me publicly, when previously he freely and happily granted me favor? It is (after all) the Lord who is greater than all others. I've said enough: but still I ought not hide away the gift of God which he distributed to us in my land of captivity, because then I sought him fervently, and I found him there and he saved me from all of my iniquities. Thus I believe through the dwelling of his Spirit who works within me on this day, again, boldly. But God knows, if man had been told this by myself, perhaps I would have kept silent on account of my love for Christ.

XIV. Therefore, I shall give unwavering thanks to my God, who built-up my faith in on the day of my temptation, such that today I might confidently give sacrifice to him, that is my soul the living sacrifice to my Lord Christ, he who saved me from all of my trials. And thus I said: "Who am I, Lord, or what is my calling, that you completely overwhelmed me in such divinity?" For today I shall exalt you continuously among the peoples and I shall magnify your name, wheresoever I shall be; and not only while secure but also when under pressure. Thus whatever shall happen to me, whether it be good or bad, I should accept it all the same and give thanks to God who has showed me that I might have faith in him indubitably and without end. And it is he who makes me bold, so that ignorant I may on the very last days I might go forth to approach this work so piously and so miraculously, that I might imitate that which the Lord had prescribed before at that time for his prophets of his Gospel in testimony to all peoples before the end of the world. Thus as we have seen, thus it is completed. Behold, we are witnesses because the Gospel has been prescribed and there is nothing more important than it.

XV. Yet it is a long task to recount all of my labors in a single section. rather I shall in parts. I shall briefly tell the nature of the most loyal God often liberated me from servitude and from twelve trials which threatened my soul, from many snares as well, and which I am not brave enough to express in words: nor shall I cause injury to my readers. But I have my Creator who knows all things, even before they existed (such as me, his

tiny little pupil). Regardless he warned me repeatedly with divine prophesy. Thence came the wisdom to me which was not my own, for I who neither knew the number of days nor had the knowledge of God. There after came a great and saving gift, that of knowing or even to value God. But I lost my fatherland and my parents. And they offered many gifts to me with tears and weeping. And I offended them, and even went against the wishes of some of my elders. But with God as my pilot I neither conceded nor acquiesced, not through my own graces but through God's who is victorious within me and keeps all evils at bay so that I might come to the Irish people and preach the Gospel and endure contempt from nonbelievers, that I might be stabbed my scandals on my journey, and many persecutions, and to be in chains, so that I might give my ingenuity for the utilization of others.

XVI. And if I should be worthy, I would expose my spirit without hesitation and freely for his name, and I would choose to devote it to him even until death, if my Lord might indulge me, because, truly I am your debtor, Lord. You, who give me such grace that many people are reborn in God through me and after that are completed, and that clergy might be ordained everywhere for them, the public who had recently arrived to belief whom the Lord had grabbed from the ends of the earth, as was once promised by the prophets. The came to the people from the ends of the earth, and they said: "Our fathers have come with fake things hewn together, that are of no use." (*Jer.* XVI, 19). And again: "I place you in the light of the nations, that you might be in health to the end of the

earth." (*Isai*. XLIX, 6). And I want to wait there for his promise, which never disappoints, as is promised in the Gospel: "They shall come from the East and the West, and they shall rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." (Matth.Thus we believe that the believers shall come from all of the world.

XVII. For this reason it is reasonable for one to fish well and diligently, thus the Lord advises, teaching: "Follow me, and I shall make you fishers of men." (Matth. IV, 18). And again he said through the prophets: "Behold, I am sending many fishers and hunters, says the Lord." (Jer. XVI, 16), etc. Thus it is necessary for us to boldly spread our net that we might catch a huge supply and crowd for God, so that there may be clergy everywhere who baptize and exhort the needy and desirous populous. As the Lord warns and teaches in the Gospel saying, "Therefore, going, teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to maintain those things which I have ordered of you. For behold, I am with you everyday until the end of time." (Matth. XXVIII, 19, 20). And again, he said, "Therefore going to the entirety of the world proclaim the Gospel to all of creation."He who believes and is baptized shall be saved. Truly, he who does not believe shall be damned. (Marc. XVI, 15, 16). And again, "The Gospel of the Kingdom shall be proclaimed to the entirety of the world, in testimony to all peoples, and then the end shall come." (Matth. XXIV, 14). And again the Lord foretells through the prophet and says, "And it will be in the last days, says the Lord: I shall pour out my spirit from above upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your sons shall see visions, and your elders shall dream their dreams. And from above upon my manservants, and my maidservants, and on those days I shall pour out my Spirit, and they shall prophesy. (*Joel.* II, 28, 29). And Hosea said, "I shall call those who are not my people, my people, and those who do not have my pity follow them, my pity shall follow" (*Oseae* II, 24; *Rom.* IX, 25; I *Petr.* II, 10). And it will be in this location where it is said, "You are not my people, where they shall be called "Sons of the Living God." (*Oseae* I, 10; *Rom.* IX, 26).

XVIII. Then how is it in Ireland where no one had any notice of God, where they had always cultivated idols and unclean things, who have now been newly made people of God, and they are now called Children of God? The sons of the Irish (Scots)²⁹ and the daughters of the kings seem to be monks and nuns in Christ. And there was a blessed, most beautiful, adult woman born of Irish stock whom I baptized. And after a few days, one cause made her come to us. She insinuated to us that she had received a vision from a messenger of God, and he advised her that she should be a virgin (nun)³⁰ of Christ, and that she should thus grow closer to God. Thanks be to God: six days from that day she began, in the best and most fervent way, that which all the virgins of God do, that not by the will of her parents, but through enduring persecutions, and false accusations of her parents. Nonetheless their number ever increases (of those who are born from our own

Blaise's *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* defines "Scotti" as either the Irish or the Scottish. The Roman perspective on the people beyond Roman-Britain seems to have ascribed a similar ethnonym.

The word is virgin, but in relation to the previous mention of monks clearly means a religious woman who has vowed her virginity for Christ, or a nun.

flock, we do not know the number) other than the widows and those stay in their old path. But those who labor the most are those who are detained in servitude, as they endure terrors and constant threats. But the Lord has given grace for his maidservants, for although they are not permitted, they still bravely imitate him.

Thus even if I should wish to leave them and to return to Britain and I was freely XIX. prepared to see my homeland and my parents, and not there alone, but also I would visit my Gallic brothers, and that I might see the faces of the holy men of my Lord (God knows how strongly I want this) but I am bound by the Spirit who declared to me if I should do this that he would consider me to be for future punishment. And I fear wasting the work which I have begun. And it is not I but Christ the Lord who orders me that I should come to be with them for the remainder of my life, if God should wish it and deliver me from all evils ways, that I not sin in my heart. I hope that I did as a I ought for Christ my Lord, but I do not trust myself for however long I may be in this mortal body because he is strong who strives to turn me away from the faith and understood purity, until the end of my life. But the unfriendly flesh always draws me to death, that is, to illicit perfidious charms. And I know for my part, why I did not live a perfect life like the other faithful. I confide in my Lord and I do not blush in his presence, because I do not lie: from that point which I knew him in my youth and the love and fear of God was distinguished within me, until now with God's favor, I have served the Faith.

XX. May any who wishes laugh at me and insult me: I shall not be silent, nor shall I hide away the signs and miracles which were shown to me by the Lord many years before they happened. He knows all things, even before worldly time. Thus I ought to give thanks to God without ceasing, who often forgave my senselessness. And not only in one instance, so that he would not be vehemently angry with me. I am placed as his aid, although I did not acquiesce quickly to that which was being revealed to me, and the Spirit urges. And the Lord pitied me thousands upon thousands of times, because he saw within me that I was ready, but that I did not know what I should do for him in my situation as there were many trying to impede my missionary work. They would tell stories among themselves behind my back and they would say, "Why is that guy sending himself into danger among barbarians who do not know the Lord?" Not out of a cause of malice but rather for not caring for them. With myself as witness, I understood intellexi, it was on account of my rustic nature. And I did not quickly understand the grace which was in me. Now I know that I out to have earlier.

XXI. Now I have clearly put forth to my brothers and fellow slaves who believed in me, because I foretold and still do so as to strengthen and confirm your faith. So that you might imitate greater and more powerful deeds. This will be my glory, because "A wise son is the glory of his father." (*Prov.* XI, 1; XV, 20). You know, as does God, how I dwelt among you in my youth, in faith of truth and in the sincerity of the heart. So too do I live among those peoples, I have offered them faith and still do. God knows I did not deceive

any of them, nor did I think of it on account of God and his very Gospel, lest I should agitate them and a persecution of them and us, and lest through me the name of the Lord is blasphemed, because it is written, "Woe to the men through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed." (*Lev.* XXIV, 16). For although I am inexperienced in all things, nevertheless I tried to serve myself and my Christian brothers, and virgins of Christ, and religious women, who granted me another small present and the things which they gave from their own wealth to the altar, which I returned to them. And they would be offended by me because I did as such. Yet I did this in the hope of eternity that I might save myself with care in all things, and that the nonbelievers might not seize from me my title or office on account of my servitude, and so not in the least might I give the nonbelievers a situation to defame or offend me.

XXII. When I bravely baptized so many thousands of men, did I hope for even half of a tiny note from any of them? Tell this to me and I shall return it to you. And when the Lord ordained clergy through my modesty and my office, I freely gave it to them. If I demanded the price of my shoes from them, tell me. Tell it directly to me, and I shall return it to you. More so, I spent on your behalf that you might take me. And I proceeded out among you for your cause among many dangers, even to far off parts where there was no one else, and where no one else had arrived who had baptized, ordained clergy, or confirmed its peoples. By God's grant I diligently and freely did these things for all of your salvation. Meanwhile, I would give gifts to the kings, and also I gave payment to

their sons who walked with me. This was all for nothing as they seized me with my friends. And on that day they lusted to kill me, but the time did not come. And all which they found on us they took and they fixed me in chains. On the fourteenth day the Lord freed me from their power. And whatever was ours was returned to us, because of God and the helpful friends we had met prior.

XXIII. You know first hand how much I sought from them who adjudicated for all the regions which I would frequently visit. I estimate that I distributed to them not less than the price of fifteen men. I did this that you might enjoy me and that I might always enjoy you in God. It is not a regret for me nor is it enough. I still pay and shall pay some more. The Lord is powerful as he gives to me even now that I might pay for your souls. (II Cor. XII, 15). Behold, I call God as my witness in my heart that I do not lie. Nor would I right to you for adulation and on account of jealousy, nor do I hope for your honor. The honor which is not seen is enough but in which the heart believes. He who promises i faith does not lie. But I see at this present time that I have been exalted beyond measure by the Lord. And I was not worthy of such honor as he has granted me. While I know most certainly that poverty and misfortunes fit me better than luxury and wealth. But Christ the Lord was a poor many for our behalf. Truly I was sad and unhappy, and even if I wished to be rich, I have nothing. Nor do I judge my own worthiness, because day to day I expect murder, or being cheated, or being returned to servitude should that occasion occur. But I fear nothing on account of the promises of heaven, because I have thrown

myself into the hand of the Almighty God who reigns everywhere. Thus his prophet says, "Throw your concerns to God and he shall support you." (*Psal.* LIV, 23).

XXIV. Behold, I now commend my spirit to my most trusting God, for whom I perform my mission without recognition. (II Cor. V, 20). But he does not accept people, and yet he chose me to this office, that I might be one from the least of his ministers. Thus I pay him back for all of the things which he has given to me. (*Psal.* CXV, 12). Whatsoever shall I say or what should I promise to my Lord? Because I am capable of nothing, lest he gives me the capability. May my heart be searched and my ways, as I seek enough, perhaps excessively. And I am prepared for him to give me to drink his chalice, that he has provided for the others loving him. Thus may it never occur that I am sent by God from his people who I won at the ends of the earth. I pray to God that he gives me stamina, and that he deems that I might give a testimony of faith to the time of my passing on account of my God. And if I did anything good for my God whom I chose, I ask that he grant that I pour out my blood with his converts and captives for his name, or that I might not have a burial or that my miserable body be ripped apart by dogs or wild beasts, or that vultures from the heavens should eat me. I certainly reckon that should this happen to me, I had won both my mind and my body. Because, without any doubt, on that day we shall rise in the splendor of the son, that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus, our savior, and we will be living sons of God, and companions of Christ. (Rom. And we shall be made in his image, for we shall reign from him, through him, and in him.

XXV. For the sun which we see, by God's command, rise everyday, yet it shall never reign, nor shall its splendor remain. But all who adore it, deviate poorly into the penalty of misery. Yet we should believe and adore the true Sun, Christ, who will never set. Nor shall he who has done his will, but he shall remain in eternity, just as Christ remains in eternity, who reigns with God the Father Almighty with the Holy Spirit, before time, no, and forever. Amen. Behold, again and again I would briefly set out the words ofmy confession. I testify in truth and in the exulting of my heart, before God and his holy angels, that I haven't had the occasion, except the Gospel and his promises, that I might return to those people from whom I had scarcely escaped previously. But I pray that those believers and fearers of God, who, whosoever should deem it worthy to inspect and receive this writing, by this sinner Patrick, obviously uneducated, written in Ireland, that no one speaks of my ignorance if I did or showed some petty mistake, but rather that it is pleasing to God. But may you accept, and may it be believed truly, that this is a gift to God. This is my confession before I die.

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EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

The Schreyer Honors College

Phi Beta Kappa

Bachelor of Arts in Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies - Ancient Languages

Dean's List: 6/6 semesters

Expected Bachelor of Arts with Honors, May 2011

An Acadamh, National University Ireland, Galway

Summer 2009

Studied second level Modern Irish in An Ceathrú Rua, Ireland

Trinity College, Dublin

Spring 2010

- Read fourth-year Latin and Greek, and introductory Old Irish in a Semester Abroad Program
- Earned an average of First Class Honors

RELEVANT COURSE WORK

Two Graduate level Latin Courses, in addition to previous undergraduate work

- Late Antique Latin: Ammianus, Jerome, and Augustine (Fall 2009)
- Roman Satire: Juvenal (Fall 2010)

One Graduate level Greek Course, in addition to previous undergraduate work

• Xenophon and Lysias (Fall 2010)

Two courses on Hieroglyphic Egyptian

• Mid0po90--0podle (Fall 2008) and Late (Spring 2009)

One Course on Sumerian (Spring 2011)

RELATED EXPERIENCE

Honors Thesis, University Park, PA and Ireland

April 2010- May 2011

- Examined the Romanization of Ireland through Christianization
- Studied the socio-linguistic impact of Latin in Ireland

Classics Department Research Project, University Park, PA June 2009 – July 2009

• Researched instances where Saint Jerome, in his *On Famous Men*, echoed or copied from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*.

- Required translation of Jerome's text from Latin, and Eusebius's text from Greek.
- Drafted the findings in a final report

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The Daily Collegian, Staff Writer

September 2007 – June 2008

- Wrote three stories a week as the Senior Administration Reporter, Spring 2008
- Traveled to Harrisburg, PA and Washington, D.C. to report on the University's Administration

Rep. Pat Dooley Campaign for Georgia State House District 38 June-November 2008

- Worked on a winning campaign as a Fundraiser, Webmaster, and Office Manager
- Contacted constituents and Discussed Issues

Campaign for Change (Obama) Intern

Fall 2008

• Registered voters, Phone-banked, and Organized Events in a key swing state

College Historical Society, Trinity College

Spring 2010

• Debated in the world's oldest college society

University Park Undergraduate Association

Fall 2010- Present

- Serve as an At-Large Representative on the Committees for Internal Development and Student Life and Diversity
- Serve as an Elections Commissioner for the 2011 UPUA Elections

AWARDS

The Phi Beta Kappa Society	Spring 2011
Robert E. Dengler Classics Prize O Top award in the Department of Classics	Spring 2010
Judge Benjamin F. Keller Latin Prize	Spring 2010
Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society	Spring 2010

The Reverend Thomas Bermingham, S.J. Fall 2007 and Spring 2009 Scholarship in the Classics

Selected as a member of the $H\Sigma\Phi$: National Honorary

Spring 2009

Classical Fraternity