

SAINT PATRICK:
ISSUES OF TRANSLATION & HIS ENDURING PASTORAL MESSAGE

A dissertation submitted to the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies
Drew University in partial fulfillment of
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Abstract

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Doctor of Letters Dissertation by

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This dissertation attempts to discover the reason(s) for the worldwide interest in Saint Patrick of Ireland by focusing on the numerous translations of his two writings, the *Confessio* (*The Confession of Saint Patrick*) and the *Epistola* (*The Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*). By analyzing seven specific twentieth century translations of the saint's fifth century writings, the reader will discern subtle differences in each end product, leading to a unique message from Patrick. Working with the assertions that every translation is a political act of some kind and that the translator becomes part of the translation, specific passages from the saint's writings are examined and discussed through the lens of translation theory along with survey responses from accessible translators. After delving into Patrician scholarship, the historical sources presenting Saint Patrick's letters have been called into question, due to the personal agendas and biases of his seventh century biographers. Over the past 1500 years, both political and religious factions have usurped him for their own agendas. The end result of this exploration led to the discovery of a man who went to the end of his world to preach the Gospel, to convert the Irish to Christianity, and to share the love of his God with the

place and people who once enslaved him. His personal struggles of faith and forgiveness make an intimate impression on the reader that has endured.



Dedication

For Papa – on to my plumber's license!



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Preface

The inspiration for this project came from several places throughout my studies at Drew University. My initial interest was in my first class, during the summer of 2012, Isle of the Saints. I had several titles to read, two of which were Philip Freeman's Saint Patrick of Ireland (2004) and John Skinner's The Confession of Saint Patrick (1998). I was struck by the beauty of Skinner's translation, which I read after Freeman. I was also intrigued by the word choices that each translator had made. As a high school teacher of World Literature in which all my students read are translations, I was curious about what impact those choices had on the meaning, both the author's possible original intent as well as the reader's interpretation.

My second ingredient was in another class, Imaging History in Fall 2013. I took the original research on Patrick and wrote an epic poem about him, using certain phrases from those two translations, to incorporate the saint's "original" thoughts. I had a vision of a hybrid project, one that would combine research with creative writing.

Lastly, in one of the sections of the Confessio (Section [23]), Patrick talks about a vision of letters from the Irish, asking him to come back to them. "I was utterly 'pierced to my heart's core,' so that I could read no more" (Skinner 45). With that phrase, the Baroque sculpture "Ecstasy of Saint Teresa" (1652) by Gian Lorenzo Bernini flashed through my mind. It was that moment of complete awareness of the Divine to which I was drawn.

These elements made me more curious about this man, who was so devoted to serving his God, that he was willing to go back to the land that had kidnapped and enslaved him, to bring Christianity and salvation to the end of the world. What does that depth of faith and level of service to others look like? The poem "Patrick's Sheep" is my attempt at another type of translation of Patrick, as a creative expression. It is my interpretation of Patrick, the pastoral priest who wanted to save the Irish and who felt so deeply for them.

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

The impetus for this dissertation project was multi-faceted. The idea of word play, word choice, and the subtleties of the English language was initially fascinating, with regards to two specific translations of Patrick’s writings (works by Philip Freeman¹ and John Skinner²). The politicization of Patrick in the religious and cultural identity of Ireland soon became intertwined in the quest to understand those aforementioned language discrepancies. And lastly, the idea of Patrick as the face of Ireland, or at least the most well-known of the island’s saints, brought about the question – Why him? What was it about this particular Christian missionary that has captured the attention of people for over one thousand years? It is unclear as to the exact reason(s) for the fame and reputation of Patrick over the years. Patrick’s story has been mythologized and appropriated (and/or misappropriated) for political, religious, and theological purposes over the years to where fact and fiction or when fiction became fact one found hard to distinguish. One compelling sign of Patrick’s influence is the many and varied uses of the translations of his writings over the past 1500 years. This is especially interesting considering that there are only two relatively brief letters attributed to the saint.

One essential reason for the focus on Patrick and the subsequent worldwide attention on him is because Patrick’s writings have been translated and interpreted,

¹ Freeman, Philip. *St. Patrick of Ireland*. New York, New York: Simon & Schuster Paperback, 2004.

² Saint Patrick. *The Confession of Saint Patrick*. Trans. John Skinner. New York, New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1998.

in just the past two hundred years, more than a dozen times³ in a purposeful manner in order to advance various, and often contradictory, religious, and political agendas. Given the small body of Patrick's writings, this makes for a particularly compelling subject for study—why so many translations? Patrick is not recognized as a deep theological thinker or a profound observer of society during his life. What has drawn so many scholars and others to translate this man's writing? This project makes the further claim that even though Patrick's persona may have been crafted by others, it is an intimate connection between the saint and God that readers over the centuries have found in those writings, and not on a purely theological level, that has proven both powerful and lasting. For these reasons, certain translations of the works attributed to Saint Patrick will be examined in this endeavor to demonstrate that the final products (the published translations themselves) are affected by many factors including translators' scholarly opinions or personal biases (whether assumed or documented); historic, economic, or social events; and/or language evolution in which these subtleties often lead to differences among translators as to Patrick's meaning, his appeal, and his enduring message (if any). While these translations have many similarities in subject matter and general word choices, it is the subtle differences that are of interest here.

The word *bias* usually has a negative connotation; however, one person's determination of bias might be just another person's perspective. Every translator has a

³ In addition to the seven specific translations chosen to be presented in this study (the reasons for which are elaborated in Chapter Three), there were other notable scholars whose translations were not used. See the works of Binchy, Cahill, Conneely, DeBreffney, DePaor, Hanson, Hennessy, Hood, J. Gwynn, MacNeil, Morris, O'Loughlin, O'Rahilly, Powell, Stokes, or Stone. All of whom can be found in the Bibliography of this project.

perspective and an agenda. The act of translation is a political act, whether to sell books to the general public/college students, or to claim Patrick for Catholic/Protestants, Irish/English, or to present one's own interpretation in response to another. Therefore, *bias* is used throughout this paper, based on this author's interpretation of potential motives by both translators and historians. And yet, in the final analysis, this research effort contends that it is the deep personal connection that readers have with Patrick through his writings rather than the efforts of the translators which has the profoundest impact on Patrick's continuing relevance in modern society.

The crux of this discussion brings the reader to Patrick's own fifth century writings, *The Confession of Saint Patrick (Confessio)* and the *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus (Epistola)*. The difficulty with these documents is two-fold: the original biographies which introduced Patrick's writings to the world were edited and censored, so the audience is reading translations of transcribed copies of his writings. Nothing happens in a vacuum and those translators were subjected to outside forces, some of which will be discussed in this document. Their eventual products create an image of the saint. These interdisciplinary queries are intertwined, and each factor influences the others. All of these issues and questions cannot possibly be answered in this project; partly because irrefutable corroborating sources for all parts of this essay's thesis are difficult to find, as well as, the simple time constraints. And yet, these questions were ones that started the path of the undertaking.

Chapter One and Chapter Two will discuss topics that are central to this dissertation: an overview of Patrician scholarship, issues surrounding Patrick's Latinity, elements of rhetorical writing, and translation theory, as each relates to Patrick's writings.

The remaining chapters of this treatise will deal specifically with the two written works attributed to Saint Patrick. Chapter Three will present short biographies of the translators used for this project, as well as the survey process for those translators whose works will be analyzed in Chapters Four and Five. It will show some of the thought processes from a few of the translators, which reinforce the focus of this dissertation. Chapters Four and Five will present specifically chosen passages from seven different translations of Patrick's writings. The passages and word choices will be analyzed along with a discussion of how those choices shape the reader's understanding of Patrick and his message. Chapter Six will present an original creative composition as an interpretation of Patrick and his message. Chapter Seven will conclude with what image of Saint Patrick and his message is presented, based on those translations.

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS – PATRICIAN SCHOLARSHIP

Saint Patrick of Ireland is certainly the most well-known Irish saint. And yet, what is known about this man? So much of what people know about Patrick is influenced by the myths surrounding him and not from his own words. People assume that he was Irish. He was actually a Romano-British citizen, living on the edge of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, who was captured by Irish raiders, brought to Ireland, and lived as a slave for six years. People are familiar with the myth that he chased the snakes out of Ireland. As far as it can be determined, due to the loss of a land bridge between Ireland and Europe after the Ice Age and its unique bowl-shape topography, there actually were no snakes inhabiting the island.⁴ The snakes are most likely an

⁴ In his 2004 book, *St. Patrick of Ireland*, Freeman refers to a third century Roman author, Solinus who mentioned that "Irish dirt [could be used] as an insecticide and...that there are no snakes in Ireland" (21).

allusion to the Celtic pagan traditions that were driven out in favor of Christianity.

People envision him wearing a green bishop's habit, with a miter (tall pointed cone-shaped hat) and carrying a crosier (tall curved staff). Those garments were from the eleventh and twelfth century, more than 500 years after Patrick lived, so he most likely dressed more like a common fifth century monk.

Patrick's reach goes beyond the borders of Ireland. People worldwide celebrate his feast day on March 17th, the presumed date of his death. That feast day is celebrated quite differently in the United States of America versus the tradition in Ireland. In America, it is a day of Irish arts and culture, frivolity, and liquor – a day when everyone wants to be Irish. In Ireland, it was historically a holy day, although over the past several decades it has come to resemble a modified American type celebration with much less religiosity. Another example of Patrick's impact would be the number of churches around the globe named after Patrick, both Catholic and Protestant, that are too numerous to count.⁵ Lastly, the famous New York City Saint Patrick's Day Parade, the largest parade in the America every year, is only one of countless public ceremonies held in honor of this saint around the world.⁶ This wide-reaching acknowledgment of Patrick is a unique phenomenon.

The study of Ireland's patron saint is complex. Patrician scholarship must rely on primary documents that are over 1500 years old. Those documents are sparse on details

⁵ Although efforts have been made to count them, according to www.wearinofthegreen.com, there are 60 such named churches in Ireland alone and 77 total in the United States, England, New Zealand, Canada, Barbados, and Taiwan; but no claim is made that this data is complete or comprehensive.

⁶ The online site www.wearinofthegreen.com lists 44 major St. Patrick's Day celebrations across the United States but only one of New Jersey's 26 parades is included on that list, so the national total probably totals several hundred.

regarding Saint Patrick's life, education, and missionary work. Amidst all of the research, there are several hurdles that one must attempt to leap over. As with much research into the past these include scantiness of corroborating primary sources, accuracy of those primary sources, possible biases, whether accidental or deliberate from both the writers and translators of those primary documents and then later historians, political motivations of both Church and State, and also development of languages. Those influences cannot be ignored while reading Patrick's writings.

Primary and secondary sources on Saint Patrick are limited: his own writings, entries about him found in the Irish Annals,⁷ the biographies (both ancient and modern) about him, and the translations of his writings. Twentieth century historian Ludwig Bieler (1906-1981) agrees with fellow historian T. F. O'Rahilly (1883-1953) that "the [Irish] Annals are..[the] most reliable evidence of Irish ecclesiastical history during the fifth and sixth centuries" (Bieler, *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship* 41). Yet, there are conflicting details in even the basic facts about Saint Patrick. Some sources propose his life dates as 387-461 A.D., others 387-493 A.D., and others simply agree on the fifth century to avoid the controversy. Since fifth century documents are not easily procured, historians must cross-reference existing events and other accessible documents to pinpoint Patrick's dates, ranging from entries in the Irish Annals, to references to anti-Pelagius⁸ themes found in Patrick's writings, to the wording

⁷ The Irish Annals were a collection of multiple writings that chronicled early Irish history written in the seventeenth century, the most famous of which is the Annals of the Four Masters. Complete electronic text available on-line at CELT, Corpus of Electronic Text, <https://celt.ucc.ie/>.

⁸ Pelagius – Fourth century monk who believed in the goodness of human nature and the ability to achieve salvation through human action, in contrast to Augustine's claim that only God's grace could offer salvation.

from specific type of Bible that historians believed Patrick used. Historian R. P. C. Hanson (1916-1988) affixes his own unique dates of Saint Patrick's life, such as his death to 461A.D., which has been disputed by other historians who put Saint Patrick's death around 493A.D.⁹ To further complicate this issue, the two initial biographies, from which all others build upon, were recorded in the seventh century, some two hundred years after Saint Patrick lived and preached in Ireland. "How much there is in these earliest biographies that reaches back in tradition to the actual facts and how much represents a later legendary growth is a problem not easily resolved" (MacNeill, *St. Patrick* 70).

That the world knows this man simply as Patrick, based on the Latin version of his name, Magonus Succatus Patricius, is an initial bias. It is a Roman prejudice that claims this man for the Church in Rome and not for the land of his birth, Britain, or even the land of his missionary work, Ireland. It was not uncommon at that time for families to give two names to their children, one honoring the Roman Empire and one for the location and culture of their birthplace. Some sources believe that his birth name was actually Maewyn Succat, with some spelling variations. Bieler's *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship* identifies his names as: "Sucat was his name in boyhood, Cothrige in slavery, Magonus when he studied under Germanus, Patricius during his Irish mission" (Bieler 50). Hanson's *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* identifies his name both as Sochet, as found in Muírchú and Magonus, Succetus, Patricius, as found in Tírechán (Hanson, *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* 78,79).

⁹ For an extensive discussion regarding the process of determining Patrick's dates, see Chapter Six (Saint Patrick's Dates) in Hanson's *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career*.

These distinctions are indicative of the difficulties in studying Patrick. By what name should he be called? That depends on how one is looking at the man. This again brings up the issues of biases that runs throughout this project. In the end, the fact that the world knows this man as Patrick, the name of his pastoral work in Ireland is most telling in that this is the name of his genuine self, a missionary for God.

The myths surrounding Saint Patrick are many: he drove the snakes from Ireland, he explained the Trinity with the simple shamrock, and he defeated the druids. He is associated with several amazing, almost miraculous events. These fantastical stories make him to be larger than life. It is possible for one to believe that “Patrick’s life has become subject to a large amount of hagiographical embroidery and fictitious enhancement” (Hanson, *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick* 16). However, scholars must look to two fifth-century ancient texts, the aforementioned *The Confession of Saint Patrick (Confessio)* and the *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus (Epistola)*, for the keys to this man, whoever he was. These are the only two texts that were supposedly written by Saint Patrick himself. And yet, even with these pieces, a mystery remains. To this day, historians are unsure of the authenticity to his authorship or even of his very existence. For this argument, one must assume both authorship and authenticity. The translations, and for that matter, the translators themselves are the ones who provoke questions as to Saint Patrick’s words, intention, and emotional impact for the reader. Hanson insinuates a possible issue around these two texts, stating that “[t]hese two documents must from the very beginning have played a part both in fostering the memory and cult of Patrick and in controlling the later tradition about him” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 93). This is one of the issues that will be discussed in depth later.

The two initial biographies of Saint Patrick, as found in the *Collectanea de Vita S. Patricii* by Tírechán and the *Vita Sancti Patricii* by Muírchú, offer similar details as to the where's and when's of Saint Patrick's life. However, one must look for the possible motives behind each of their texts. Those motives offer a glimpse into the official structure of Christianity in Ireland, and like the country itself, that structure was influenced by ancient rivalries. In the second half of the seventh century, the Bishops of Armagh wanted control of the churches (and by extension Ireland itself) that claimed to have been founded by Saint Patrick himself. These churches called themselves "Heirs of Saint Patrick" (Bieler, *Life and Legend* 43). Both Tírechán and Muírchú attempted to place Saint Patrick in their specific part of Ireland, thus solidifying the power of the Church of Ireland for their "side." Historians are divided as to whose biography was written first. Ludwig Bieler, John Bagnell (J. B.) Bury (1861-1927), and Daniel Anthony (D. A.) Binchy (1899-1989) believe that Tírechán's account was written first, followed by Muírchú's account towards the end of the seventh century. However, Hanson in *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* and Thomas Cahill (b.1940) in *How the Irish Saved Civilization* both suggest that Muírchú's account was the initial biography.

Muírchú moccu Machténi was from Mag Machae, south of Armagh. He was attached to the church of Slebte under Bishop Aed, in Leinster, the eastern part of Ireland. This was one of the Irish churches that affiliated themselves with the Heirs of Patrick. It is therefore quite probable that "he composed his work (very conceivably on higher orders) as a literary homage to the saint and his successors" (Bieler, *The Life and Legend* 43). Historian Thomas O'Loughlin (b.1958) is much blunter in his opinion, stating that Muírchú "wrote [his *Vita*] as part of the propaganda of Armagh to become the principal

church in Ireland” (O’Loughlin 121). Historian Aileen O’Leary¹⁰ in 1996 also claimed that Muírchú also placed emphasis on the importance of Armagh. “The overall intention of Muírchú’s composition is almost certainly a claim for Armagh as the preeminent church of Ireland” (O’Leary 295). Muírchú was considered by some to be a “professional historian” because he attempted to collect “source-material for his biography” (De Breffny 39). Even though Muírchú made no attempts at providing dates to events in Saint Patrick’s life, historians believe that he must have had access to previously written sources, such as “earlier biographies which have not survived, [to which] he refers” in his (Muírchú’s) own, as well as, *The Confession of Saint Patrick* (De Breffny 39). Bieler supports this “professional historian” idea and claims that Muírchú must have based his writings on earlier written material. “The credit of an author who writes two hundred years after the events depends on the quality of his sources and on his competency and fidelity in their renderings... Thus everything depends on the value of Muírchú’s sources” (Bieler, *The Life and Legend* 92).

Tírechán was a native of Tireawly (western Ireland), a disciple of the Bishop of Ulton in Meath, who lived in the seventh century. “From the moment in Tírechán’s account that Patrick reaches Ireland as a bishop it looks very much as if the source of his information, apart from Saint Patrick’s *Confession* and *Epistle*... was simply local tradition” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 92). Hanson believed that Tírechán had a particular motive in his writing his account, unlike Muírchú’s biography. “[Tírechán] was concerned to claim the hegemony of Armagh over all the monasteries of Ireland, and his

¹⁰ No specific biographical information was available for O’Leary.

claim ran parallel to the claim of the dynasty of the Uí Néill to provide high-kings...who would exercise hegemony over all the kings in Ireland” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 80). In addition to aligning himself with a powerful political dynasty, Tírechán also might have been trying to go against “the Columban federation,’ the authorities, ecclesiastical and secular, who supported the hegemony of Iona,¹¹ of Columba and his foundations and successors” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 80).

Therefore, Tírechán’s “account must be approached with more critical caution than Muírchú’s because, written for readers mainly in Meath and Connacht, it was concerned with establishing the extent of Patrick’s foundations” (De Breffny 53). Even Bieler, one of the most renowned historians to whom others look in the twentieth century, believed that Tírechán’s account and motive was “a scheme that was obviously intended to cover the whole of Ireland” (Bieler, *The Life and Legend* 42). Bieler also contends that Tírechán’s sources were focused “mainly by collecting oral traditions from various parts of the country” (Bieler, *The Life and Legend* 25). An interesting pattern in the Patrician research is that most historians refer to Muírchú’s biography, rather than Tírechán’s. Perhaps it is because of that blatant political bias that clouds the latter’s version. In the end, Hanson believes that comparing Tírechán’s and Muírchú’s biographies side by side is an exercise in futility and that Patrick’s works themselves must be the focus:

But still it remains an extremely difficult and delicate operation to compare the later traditions about Patrick with the information which can be gleaned from his authentic works, for the two are not strictly comparable, certainly not in such a way that statements made, for instance, by Muírchú and Tírechán can usually be put side by side with statements made by Patrick himself, in order to supplement or explain or even to correct Patrick’s words, which is the method used by the

¹¹ Monastic center on an island off the west coast of Scotland.

great majority of Patrician scholars hitherto. It is time for another method, using different criteria, to be tried. (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 96)

In her 1994 article “Tírechán’s Motives in Compiling the ‘Collectanea’: An Alternative Interpretation,” author Catherine Swift¹² advances a thesis that she believes is counter to the traditional one espoused by major Patrician scholars, Bieler, Bury, John Gwynn (1827-1917) and Eoin MacNeill (1867-1945). Swift states that Tírechán was not so much looking to solidify Armagh’s place in Irish Christianity, as he was trying to appeal to the rulers of the Uí Néill dynasty for protection. In 1962, historian D. A. Binchy set the groundwork for Swift’s secular, political-based hypothesis with his comment that both Tírechán and Muírchú were “propagandists for the claims for the Uí Néill dynasty” (Binchy, “Patrick and His Biographers” 12). According to Swift, the Uí Néill clan had been supportive of Patrick during his lifetime. In the years that followed, “soldiers and renegades and others were stealing from Patrick’s original *paruchia*¹³ which had originally been almost coextensive with the entire island of Ireland” (Swift 81). Swift claims that Tírechán wanted aid for his own kingdom which “was shrinking in territorial extent” (Swift 81). It seems from her point of view that while this bias was political, it may not have had the fervor of a defense of the Irish Church behind it.

Two sources that both biographers might have used in their writing was first, the *Book of Ultan*¹⁴ which unfortunately has been lost over time, and the second source, the *Tripartite Life* written in the ninth century which added to the legend of Saint Patrick.

¹² No specific biographical information was available for Swift.

¹³ The Hiberno-Latin spelling of *parochia* which is roughly equivalent to parish and in some cases, it refers to the area encompassing the monasteries founded by a specific saint.

¹⁴ The *Book of Ultan* is an assumed manuscript, describing some of Patrick’s life written by a seventh century Bishop Ultan. Tírechán was a pupil of Bishop Ultan and gives him credit for certain facts in his own biography of Patrick.

Significant to the latter, Patrick was presented as “an epic Irish hero rather than a Church saint of the continental model” (Minto 7-8). Those works present incidents from Patrick’s childhood that were “consistent with Irish practices and beliefs, not British ones...[to t]he effect...that Patrick is...transformed into an icon of Irishness and a convenient ‘forgetting’ of his roots in Romanized Britain” (Minto 8). These uncorroborated sources, in addition to writings about the miracles of Patrick, might have lead author William Bullen Morris¹⁵ to write in his 1888 text, *The Life of Saint Patrick: Apostle of Ireland*, that he believed “that the earliest writers of St. Patrick’s history made little use of the Saint’s own writings in their compositions. Their works are principally made up from the statements of those who listened to the Saint’s discourses and witnessed his miracles” (Morris 32). Rather than look to Patrick’s own writings, these early biographers looked elsewhere for their rendition of his life and missionary work, relying on some of the myths surrounding the saint.

The next usurping of Patrick for political purposes occurred after the Norman invasion of Ireland. In an attempt to solidify their presence on the island, the Anglo-Normans commissioned their own biography of the saint. Soon after John de Courcy arrived in Ireland in 1177, he replaced the Irish monks with English ones. Jocelin of Furness (1175-1214) was tasked to create a biography that was “designed for a non-Irish readership” (Minto 11). In her 2006 dissertation, “Saint Patrick: Priest, Politician, & Patriot,” Dr. M. Jean Minto (1954-2020) explores the politicization of Patrick, one of the facets of this project as well. Minto explains that different from the biographies written

¹⁵ No specific biographical information was available for Morris.

before it, Jocelin's version not only presented Patrick in a non-Irish light, the Irish were also belittled for their understanding of the saint. Jocelin presented a Patrick that less Irish and more "continental" (Minto 12). This was not simply one diocese vying for power over another within the same country. This was also pre-Reformation, so there were no Catholic/Protestant agendas. This was a purposeful effort to belittle the Irish for their Irishness by the invading Anglo-Normans. Jocelin's image of Patrick was built on the fact that he was not Irish. This made him "the superior of the three important saints of Ireland (including St. Brigid and St. Colmcille) because he brought the superior religion of Christianity from Britain to Ireland....much like the superior (in their own estimation) Anglo-Norman invaders brought their superior culture..." (Minto 12-13). This early assumption of British superiority over the Irish and the attempt to claim Patrick as their own, is perhaps one of the reasons that the Irish pushed back to keep him as their own, paving the way for Patrick to become the patron saint of Ireland¹⁶.

It would be almost impossible to cover all of the biographies on Saint Patrick that have been published over the years. Therefore, only a few works will be discussed here. Those chosen were selected because other scholars consistently point to those works as crucial or those works bring something unique to the discussion of Patrician scholarship. According to Brian De Breffny (1931-1989),¹⁷ the first modern biography of Patrick was by Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618), published in Antwerp in 1587, followed by James Ussher's (1581-1656) in 1639, which De Breffny said was better because Ussher's sources were more critical, such as his use of the *Book of Armagh*¹⁸ (De Breffny 107).

¹⁶ See Conclusion Chapter for complete discussion.

¹⁷ Biographical information is conflicting about De Breffny's dates.

¹⁸ The *Book of Armagh*, which contained Patrick's two pieces, is believed to have been transcribed

Bieler, in *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship*, claims that the first real history on Patrick was James Henthorn Todd's (1805-1869) *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, which was published in 1864. In his description of historian Todd and his work, Bieler comments that "[u]nfortunately, the author approached his subject with a biased mind: he labored to make St. Patrick a precursor of the Established Church, of which he himself was a minister" (Bieler *Life and Legend* 17). It is intriguing Bieler criticizes Todd's pro-Protestant agenda in 1949. This issue of bias was obvious to historians before this project. Although Bieler points out this bias, he does not address it in detail nor offer an opinion on it either. Ireland was its own republic by 1949, it was no longer under the rule of England. Bieler should have pursued it deeper. It is quite possible; however, that he did not consider it an issue at all.

Margaret Anne Cusack (1847-1906), who wrote under the name M. F. Cusack, was the founding member of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace. Although she was raised by a proud Irish Protestant family, she converted to Catholicism at the age of thirty and became known as the "Nun of Kenmare" (Tobin xi). Cusack was a prolific writer for the Catholic tradition. In the Preface of her 1870 biography of Patrick, she is extremely critical of Todd's bias in his 1864 text. With reference to his dismissal of Patrick's visions as mere imagination, Cusack asks, "...what right, moral or divine, had Dr. Todd...to accuse St. Patrick of having 'imagined' he had a vision, when he distinctly states, in a solemn manner, and in a carefully compiled document, that he had not merely one, but several visions?" (Cusack 4). Yet, in her zeal to criticize Todd for his bias,

somewhere "between A.D. 807 and A.D. 846, by Ferdornach, the official scribe of Armagh" (White 203). It is considered "an important liturgical manuscript of the Church of Armagh during the Middle Ages" (Bieler, "Encoding St Patrick's epistles" 88).

Cusack had her own, regarding the Irish Catholic nation: “The regeneration of Ireland is in the hands of the Irish clergy...The high appreciation of intellect evinced by the clergy in the time of St. Patrick, and his own efforts to promote national education, is an example which should never be forgotten” (Cusack 10).

The idea of claiming Patrick for Ireland for a political crusade can be considered to be reasonable after one reads Ebenezer Josiah (E. J.) Newell’s (1853-1916) 1890 text, *The Fathers for English Readers – Saint Patrick: His Life and Teaching*. Newell was an Oxford-educated Englishman who served as the Headmaster of the Neath Proprietary School in Wales. Many of his comments are laden with anti-Irish and anti-Catholic rhetoric, which was not uncommon at that time. “Patrick is the first great missionary whom Britain sent forth, and if only for this fact, his life should be studied well by all Britons” (Newell 2). He claims Patrick strictly for England and not for the Church of Rome. Most disturbing, he robs the Divine of any part in Patrick’s story. Newell gives credit to the early English church for sending Patrick to Ireland to evangelize and ignores the probability that Patrick was called to serve the Irish. He also relies heavily on the later works, mostly legends about Patrick, rather than Patrick’s own writings. He accuses Muírchú of being vain and in search not of the “historical truth” but of “self-glorification” (Newell 169). The most damaging statement of bias comes towards the end of his text (boldface added here for emphasis):

For there are two Patrick’s: the historic Patrick of the *Confession*, unlearned, with a **Celtic weakness for exaggeration**, but zealous, full of love for human souls, and in all respects an ardent Christian; and the fictitious Patrick of the later legends, headstrong, passionate, and **revengeful; vain-glorious, destitute of natural affection, a relic-stealer, a vulgar wonder-worker**, who overthrew

paganism only to set up in its place a religion of the Pai-Marire¹⁹ type, **a blend of paganism and Christianity**. (Newell 166-167)

His anti-Catholic rhetoric is offensive and misleading, to which he adds an anti-Irish sentiment to his cause. His characterization of Patrick is unflattering, judgmental, mean-spirited, and his reasoning for those insults is founded in Patrick's Irishness, which is illogical given the fact that Patrick was in fact not Irish. It is upon Patrick's connection to the Irish and the people's affection for him that Newell based his rhetoric. It is this type of bias that one must guard against. Newell's bias is not subtle, it is pervasive, and it is mired in its own time period and culture. While it may have reflected the era, one must always be cautious about the author's use of language, which connects directly to one of the assumptions of this research.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there were many forces at work in Ireland. Post-famine Ireland was dealing with land ownership issues, Home Rule²⁰ demands, as well as, nationalist and unionist²¹ ideals. Organizations that were focused on Irish identity, such as the Gaelic League,²² were formalized. There were several publications in Ireland on the major saints associated with the country, Patrick, Brigid, Columba. This peculiar interest, the need to find the face of Ireland at that exact time is fascinating and

¹⁹ The Pai Mārire movement was a Māori religion or cult that flourished in New Zealand from about 1863 to 1874. "Pai Mārire incorporated biblical and Māori spiritual elements and promised its followers deliverance from 'pākehā' (British) domination" ("Pai Mārire"). This is an ironic comparison, given the state of Ireland in relation to England during the nineteenth century.

²⁰ A movement during the 1870s through World War I in an effort to bring about Irish independence.

²¹ Nationalists were those who worked towards Irish Independence. Unionists were those who remained loyal to the English crown and rule.

²² A nationalist organization of Irish Catholics and Protestants founded in 1893 to promote the study of the Irish language and culture.

therefore, this exploration focused on major biographies published in the twentieth century.

J. B. Bury's 1905 biography, *Ireland's Saint: The Essential Biography of St. Patrick*, was important because it was one of the first modern biographies, and it attempted to compile information from previous sources. According to D. A. Binchy's 1962 article "Patrick and His Biographers: Ancient and Modern" from *Studia Hibernica*, "Patrician scholarship in Ireland between 1905 and 1949 stood largely in the shadow of Bury" (Binchy 12-13). The 2008 reprinting of Bury's biography of Patrick, with edits from Jon Sweeney, updated the antiquated language and even corrected minor errors that were in the original. Sweeney also acknowledges that Bury was "a [Irish] Protestant, which might be unnecessary to mention under other circumstances; however, in the case of Irish history, it is unavoidable" (Bury, *Ireland's Saint* 9). Sweeney did acknowledge the possible influence of Bury's Protestantism on the end product of his biography of Patrick; thus putting forth the idea that Bury's own religious faith had some bearing on his biography. This acknowledgment of a possible bias by a biographer furthers one of this project's tenets.

Although Bury's account is considered by many Patrician scholars as a watershed work, it does have some challenges. Hanson points out that Bury was actually an expert in the history of the Roman Empire and that Bury himself stated that he was not "an authority on ancient Irish history and language" (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 26). Sweeney also acknowledges this fact, in his 2008 introduction to Bury's book, in that Bury admitted that his interest in Patrick was not because of some sense of "an important crisis in the history of Ireland, but, in the first place as an appendix to the history of the Roman

Empire, illustrating the emanations of its influence beyond its own frontiers” (Bury, *Ireland’s Saint* 9-10). These distinctions are important for this discussion. One of the scholars to whom other scholars look was not, in his own mind, a Patrician scholar; nor was he intent on perpetuating the Patrician legend, which could be considered to be both an Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant crusade. It does not necessarily cast doubt on the scholarship; but it does make one step back and wonder about the conclusions that Bury made and if his lack of expertise in Patrician scholarship could be considered a hinderance and that ignorance, perhaps a bias. The purpose of Bury’s 1905 biography of Patrick was not to advance the understanding, importance, or influence of the saint in relation to Ireland, Catholics, or Protestants. It was only an exploration of “an appendix to the history of the Roman Empire” (Bury, *Ireland’s Saint* 10).

Eoin MacNeill published his *St. Patrick: Apostle of Ireland* in 1934. MacNeill is pertinent to Patrician scholarship and for this study because not only was he an Irishman, unlike his fellow countryman J. B. Bury, MacNeill was an expert in Irish medieval history. In her 2013 essay “Eoin MacNeill the Historian” Dr. Elva Johnston discusses MacNeill’s contribution to Irish academia. She praises his use of primary sources and yet she also acknowledges some issues with that scholarship, especially as it relates to Patrick:

He gave far too much credence to the supposed historicity of the Ulster Cycle²³ of tales. It is possible that his own background as an Ulster Catholic played a role here. His work on St Patrick had a confessional hue and failed to distinguish the legendary saint from the real man, something typical of the time. (Johnston “Eoin MacNeill the Historian” 2)

²³ A collection of Celtic mythology surrounding heroic legends.

In addition to his status as a historian, MacNeill was an Irish scholar, nationalist, revolutionary and politician. He was a founding member of the Irish Volunteers²⁴ in 1913, although he had no part in the Easter Rising of 1916. It is noteworthy that, despite his nationalist ties, MacNeill claimed Patrick for all of Ireland:

Nowhere in his writings does Patrick make a distinction between one part of the Irish nation and another. He has only one name for them all. It is the Celtic name known to him and them: Hiberionaci, which means the people of Ireland. (MacNeill 2)

That MacNeill was an expert in Irish studies whose book was published after Ireland's independence cannot be ignored. Not only was MacNeill an Irish Studies expert, but he was part of the formation of Ireland as a country. He was a politician of that process; he touted all things Irish, such as preservation of the Irish language and culture; and he was the co-founder of the previously mentioned Gaelic League. That organization's purpose, according to MacNeill and fellow co-founder Douglas Hyde, was to celebrate the Irish culture through "de-Angelicism [which was a refusal] to imitate the English in their language, literature, music, games, dress, and ideas" (Moody and Martin 259). As MacNeill is one of the major Patrician biographers, his background adds to the discussion concerning the question of whether Patrick was destined to become Ireland's patron saint because of his importance to the emergence of Christianity in the country or if he was molded into her patron saint by outside forces for their own reasons. In the previously mentioned article by Dr. Elva Johnston, she states that MacNeill "seems concerned to prove that the Irish deserve freedom from Britain because of their achievements in the

²⁴ A private army of members from groups such as the Gaelic League, Order of Hibernians, and Sinn Féin that was dedicated to the liberties of the people of Ireland, with the final goal of Home Rule.

past” (Johnston “Eoin MacNeill the Historian” 2). MacNeill’s purpose was to praise everything Irish, so it stands to reason that his biography of Patrick was skewed towards making connections between Patrick’s life and the life of the Irish. This idea will be discussed more in depth later in this treatise, with regards both to the cult of Saint Patrick and the imagery associated with the saint.

Ludwig Bieler’s 1949 biography, *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship*, was the next major contribution to Patrician scholarship in the twentieth century. Bieler was born in Vienna in 1906 to a Catholic family. He married a Jewish woman and because of that marriage was forced to emigrate to Ireland in 1939, for fear that the Nazis would arrest him. With no evidence to the contrary, one can assume that Bieler himself had no allegiance to Patrick or a personal motive to enhance the legend of the saint. What is unique to Bieler’s works is that he attempts to coordinate all Patrician scholarship that came before him. He meticulously details the historians who went before him in the search for the details about Saint Patrick. In Binchy’s 1962 text, he compliments Bieler’s translation and notes, which continue to delve further into Patrician issues. Bieler points out flaws in certain authors’ texts, such as the aforementioned Jocelin of Furness and Todd, to name two. According to twelfth century Anglo-Norman tradition, it was customary for the “invaders to ‘adopt’ early Irish saints into their liturgy,” thus leading to the commission of Patrick’s biography (Bieler, *Life* 122). At the end of his piece, Jocelin describes “a vision which Patrick had about the future vicissitudes of the Irish church” giving credit to a future revival at the hands of a Norman (Bieler, *Life* 122-123). These comments on Jocelin are quite telling with regards to this endeavor, in that once again, Patrick is being co-opted by some entity to further its

own claim in Ireland. In relation to Todd, despite his previously mentioned criticism, Bieler lists him as one of the milestones in Patrician scholarship and yet does not list Cusack's 1870 biography, a sexist oversight perhaps. Later in his text, Bieler oddly praises Eoin MacNeill, for being an "outstanding figure of the New Ireland both as a man and a scholar" (Bieler, *Life* 20). It seems to be such a strange thing to comment about a historian. Why comment on this Irishness? Is Bieler making a veiled comment, a back-handed insult to Irish historians? Bieler, who settled in England, could be perpetuating an anti-Irish bias in his own writing. There is no evidence that confirms such a bias. Bieler could be currying favor with Irish academics or he could believe it. However, given the focus of this project it makes the re-reading of these works suspect to such inquiry.

Towards the end of his text, Bieler briefly discusses hagiography, in relation to Saint Patrick. He dismisses it to a certain point, calling it not history.

Since hagiography is a distinct literary genre, it may be well for [readers] to form some clear idea about its nature...Hagiography (literally: "writing about saints") is neither history nor even biography as [it is] now [understood]...on the other hand, it is not all legend, if "legend" is to mean mere fables...Irish hagiographers were particularly fond of adapting to their purposes the saga themes of national treasure. (Bieler, *Life* 108)

The comment on the "Irish hagiographers" is unsettling, for a man who throughout his book points out other authors' flaws. The fact that he singles out Irish hagiographers and not all hagiographers is prejudiced and patronizing. If his argument is that all hagiography is not history, then all hagiographers would have this issue. Bieler also accuses those "Irish hagiographers" of pushing their own agendas. However, in the end, it is Bieler's Latin text of Patrick's writings that bring his name to the forefront of

Patrician scholarship, in that it is a complete representation of each writing. Prior to Bieler, there existed only snippets of Patrick's writing in multiple sources. He condensed them and attempted to reconstruct them as a complete piece (Bieler, *Life* 133). It is to Bieler's Latin text and translation that almost all other translators refer, for their own.

Bieler wrote in his Introduction, "[l]ocal and national patriotism showed as much, if not more, in antiquarian writing as in medieval hagiography. Patriotism is a very conspicuous motive indeed behind early learned literature about St. Patrick" (Bieler, *Life and Legend* 11). This supports this study's idea that even the modern Patrician biographers were indeed biased in their choices. It is no mere coincidence that Bury's biography, the one that others look to as a reference, had its publication date of 1905 leading up to the Easter Rising of 1916. It is no mere coincidence that Eoin MacNeill's biography was published in 1934, by a leading Irish nationalist. In an era when Ireland itself was looking for its own modern identity, multiple biographies of the one of the three patron saints of Ireland were published. Just as Muírchú and Tírechán attempted to lay claims on Patrick for their own purposes in the seventh century, Jocelin made claims on Patrick for the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century, Todd did it again in the nineteenth century for the Protestants, and early twentieth century both Catholic and Protestant Irish also tried to seize him for their own ideology. In an era when they were trying to become their own country, apart from Protestant England, it is possible that Irish nationalist historians recognized Saint Patrick's message of suffering, redemption, anti-

slavery,²⁵ service, and his importance to the Irish Catholic identity that they promoted him to be synonymous with Ireland itself.

However, in Patrick's time, the "idea of nationality did not exist" (Thompson 110). During the fifth century, while Britons aligned themselves with Rome; the Irish did not. The Irish were considered to be barbarians by other cultures and there was never an occasion in which "an Irishman [would] call himself a Roman" (Thompson 112). When readers of "the modern world try to study St. Patrick [they] cannot be content with such a detached attitude" (Thompson 113). In the end, it is the representation of the strength of character of Saint Patrick himself that was so appealing. Twentieth century scholar Douglas Powell²⁶ suggested in 1969 that "[i]t was...neither the Irish nor the British Church but Patrick who wanted Patrick to be made bishop. It was Patrick who was determined to go to Ireland" (Powell 405). Powell's comment, as other historians such as Todd suggest, removes the Divine from Patrick's actions, and puts the impetus for his missionary work in Ireland in the saint's own individual will and desire. Furthermore, for this project's purpose, that strength of character presented by biographers and translators can be considered suspect as to its validity. Traditionally one would look to the evidence, Patrick's own writings. However, as this process has unfolded, his very words are suspect.

Another major biography of Patrick in the second half of the twentieth century, R. P. C. Hanson's work *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* published in 1968, is an extremely well-researched and tightly organized piece of scholarship. He deals with

²⁵ The implications of which will be discussed in the Conclusion Chapter.

²⁶ No specific biographical information was available for Powell.

many of the issues that challenge Patrician inquiry. He discusses Patrician scholars who published before him. He agrees with some and disagrees with others, for example as mentioned before, the issues of affixing dates to Patrick. In relation to this project, Hanson believed that not only the initial biographers, but all subsequent scholars who followed “produced a different account of Patrick’s career in accordance to [their] presuppositions about the later tradition” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 83). It is this presupposition of biographers and translators that is interesting to note in that rather than produce a unbiased biographical account, some writers made assumptions based on their own previous opinions about the saint or needs for the saint. As it has been mentioned before, this becomes one of the issues surrounding biographies and translations of works that were written centuries ago. Recent scholarship has also dealt with outside forces using Patrick for their own agendas.

In an on-line article found on the *eg.patricius* site²⁷ published by the Royal Irish Academy, “St. Patrick’s Writings: *Confessio* and *Epistola*,” twentieth century author David Kelly²⁸ reiterates the importance of Patrick to not just Ireland as a country, but the very essence of what it is to be Irish. “Both Catholic and Protestant church commentators claimed Patrick as their own...[beginning] in the seventeenth century, and continued to do so in the century that followed” (Kelly). That comment is paramount for this project’s exploration. Kelly quotes and references Bridget McCormack’s²⁹ 2000 book *Perceptions of St Patrick in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* in that this idea of promoting Patrick as the

²⁷ See <https://www.confessio.ie/#> sponsored by the Royal Irish Academy (RIA). This website is an amazing resource for Patrician scholarship.

²⁸ No specific biographical information was available for Kelly.

²⁹ No specific biographical information was available for McCormack.

saint for Ireland dates back to the eighteenth century. Ireland, as a country, was in the midst of turbulent times during that century. England continued to bring pressure on the country to submit to their rule, through passage of the Penal Laws.³⁰ These laws were varied in focus. One of the elements was a criminalization of the Catholic faith. “[T]he aim of the anti-Catholic laws were to eradicate the Catholic religion in Ireland” (Moody and Martin 188). The Irish Catholics needed to have a saint upon whom they could rely and call their own, separate from both the Protestant Irish and the Protestant English. The Protestant elite needed to keep the status quo that they had cultivated and attempted to use images of Patrick to that end. This goes against an initial assumption that Patrick’s image and works were being used to forward a religious agenda of Irish Catholics. It is clear that both sides of the religious conflict in Ireland grabbed hold of Patrick and used him for their own means.

McCormack’s book offers extensive evidence of the use of the image of Saint Patrick by the Protestant elite in Ireland to keep control over Catholics. Her basic premise is that

...the perceptions of St. Patrick were moulded by religious, political, intellectual and social circumstances unique to the eighteenth century. Some innovative characteristics of eighteenth-century perceptions, such as the appropriating of popular images by political pamphleteers, the emergence of Patrick as an archetypal Irishman, and the increased secularization of popular religious celebration, also provide a platform for a number of nineteenth-century images of the saint. (McCormack 15)

³⁰ Penal Laws were sixteenth and seventeenth century laws passed to limit the practice of Roman Catholicism in Ireland and impose civil disabilities to the Irish Catholic population. Although they were enforced less and less over time, they were not completely removed from law until the twentieth century.

McCormack initially points to use of pamphlets during the money bill disputes of 1753-1756³¹ where Patrick's image was used to sway readers to believe its contents. The Protestant establishment believed that there was no way Catholics could be loyal to an English King, because of their loyalty to a Roman Pope. Catholics were therefore looked at suspiciously. Since the Church of Ireland was modeled after the Anglican Church of England, it believed that it had authority over Irish Catholics. There was a belief that "in the eighteenth century that religion was an essential basis for a well-ordered society. Religion mirrored and therefore legitimized the existing political ideology" (McCormack 28). It was during that time period that Patrick became a "denominational saint" (McCormack 16). Both Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants used the representation of Patrick to further their cause, in both the political and religious arenas. Catholics used him to present the idea that the Catholic Church had changed and improved after the Reformation. Protestants used him to justify their right to govern.

Therefore, the notion of Patrick representing or protecting a political nation consisting of more than Protestants was never an issue for the majority...Patrick as patriot remained protector of the interests of a Protestant political nation. He could protect Catholics as his children but never involve them in the political nation. (McCormack 65)

McCormack claims that Patrick, his image, and perceptions about him, were clearly influenced by outside forces in Ireland during the eighteenth century. "Perceptions of Patrick were invariably moulded by the contemporary political, religious, literary and social environment. Only rarely if at all was Patrick the subject of direct scholarly analysis" (McCormack 98). That statement gives credence to the premise of this

³¹ The money bill disputes of 1753-1756 were a "debate on the sole right of the king to allocate the surplus in the treasury to the payment of the national debt, as opposed to king and parliament's joint right to take the decision" (McCormack 56).

research. It was perceptions of Patrick and not his own words that were used for others' purposes. Those representations were far-reaching and affected what was written about him later.

Recent Patrician scholarship has attempted to look back at all of the ancient texts, as well as the last century's research, in order to present a more well-balanced view of the saint. In her 2011 dissertation "The relic cult of St. Patrick between the seventh and the late twelfth centuries in its European contexts: A focus on the lives" from the University of Glasgow, Sarah Christine Erskine³² traces the growth of the cult of Saint Patrick. Similar to the historians who came before her, she states that the "seventh-century hagiographers...used and augmented Patrick's own writings...[thus] the process of separating Patrick's own writings from his earliest hagiography is unachievable" (Erskine 15). She points to the fact that the *Book of Armagh*, which is one of the manuscript witnesses that contained Patrick's writings, also contained Muírchú's biography of the saint as well. As previously discussed, the authenticity of Muírchú's biography can be questioned because many of the events were uncorroborated by Patrick's writings. Most of Erskine's dissertation focuses on the cult of Saint Patrick. Evidenced by both Muírchú's and Tírechán's hagiographies, as far back as the eighth century, "Patrick was fast becoming Ireland's premier saint" (Erskine 48). Important to one of this essay's arguments, Erskine discusses Armagh's attempt to become Ireland's Christian stronghold. This attempt at ecclesiastical authority fueled the cult of Saint Patrick. That struggle only became more pertinent after the Norman Conquest of Ireland in the

³² No specific biographical information was available for Erskine.

eleventh century. As evidenced by Jocelin's commissioned biography of Patrick, the power struggle of the Norman-controlled church between Dublin and Armagh was one that "boiled down to economics and not religion" (Erskine 112). As Armagh became more politically weak, the cult of Saint Patrick, which was once so associated with Armagh, began to shift by the twelfth century to Norman control. In relation to this project, this cult of Saint Patrick that was meant to venerate and celebrate him became intertwined with the politics of the nation.

In her 2012 essay "Saint Patrick, folklore, and Irish identity" twentieth century scholar Jenny Butler³³ discusses the connections between Patrick and the essence of Irishness, which could be considered a natural progression of the cult of Saint Patrick. Key to this dissertation is Butler's statement that "the saint [is] associated with Catholic Ireland and is almost synonymous with Irish national identity" (Butler 84). An interesting part of her discussion concerns what she calls "the 'greening' of the saint" (Butler 93). Butler points an Irish patriot Henry Grattan (1746-1820) "who opposed the Act of Union of 1800"³⁴ and that he was the first to use a green flag to identify with the country of Ireland (Butler 93). By the end of the eighteenth century, "the colour green, the shamrock and Saint Patrick [were chosen] to symbolise their separate identity as a nation" (Butler 94). The establishment of Saint Patrick's Day by Irish-Americans, brought Saint Patrick to both sides of the religious debate, in that as the symbol of Irishness, he became "the uniting factor...and a shared historical legacy" – further

³³ No specific biographical information was available for Butler.

³⁴ A bill that was introduced to combine Ireland and Great Britain as one single kingdom.

evidence that Patrick was seen as a political figure to be harnessed for an explicit cause (Butler 97).

Twentieth century scholar Roman Bleier³⁵ published two pieces of amazing scholarship in 2016 regarding the physical manuscripts which contain Patrick's writings. One was his essay "Re-examining the function of St. Patrick's writings in the early medieval tradition" found in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*; the other was his University of Dublin dissertation "Encoding St Patrick's epistles: history and electronic editing of the manuscript witnesses." Bleier discusses in great detail the seven existing manuscript witnesses of Patrick's two writings:

- D = Dublin manuscript, *Book of Armagh*, Trinity College Dublin Library, MS 52
 - P = Paris manuscript, Bibliotheque nationale de France, Lat. MS 17626
 - C = London manuscript, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E.1
 - R = Rouen manuscript, Bibliotheque municipale, MS 1391
 - G = Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 221
 - F = Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 223
 - V = Arras manuscript, Mediatheque municipale, MS 450
- (Bleier, "Encoding St Patrick's epistles" 12)

The *Book of Armagh* is the oldest of the manuscripts. It is unique for a few different reasons. It is the only Irish manuscript, it only contains the *Confessio*, and its version of that piece is much shorter than its English and European counterparts. Bleier presents different scholars' theories as for these issues: a damaged manuscript, an accidental omission, or a deliberate omission made to suit Armagh's propaganda, the more plausible reason based on the collective works of most of the scholars mentioned previously (Bleier, "Re-examining the function of St Patrick's writings" 100, 101). Bleier comments that "it is interesting that in Ireland, where St Patrick played such a central role

³⁵ No specific biographical information was available for Bleier.

as patron saint of Armagh, and later of all Ireland, only one manuscript should survive that contains what seems to be a heavily mutilated version of his *Confessio* (Bleier, “Encoding St Patrick’s epistles” 122). However, “[d]espite the fact that the *Book of Armagh* was the only manuscript to exhibit this short version of Patrick’s *Confessio*, it was considered the authoritative manuscript witness...The main reasons for the authority of the Book of Armagh *Confessio* were its antiquity, and its Irish origin” (Bleier, “Encoding St Patrick’s epistles” 151).

In his dissertation, Bleier also acknowledges that Patrick’s writings should be considered “open letters, meaning that they are not intended to address one person alone, but a larger audience” (Bleier, “Encoding St Patrick’s epistles” 27). As such, “[r]eading letters...aloud was not uncommon in late antiquity, and often carried out by the letter carrier who could take on the role of the absent author and communicate the message on his behalf” (Bleier, “Encoding St Patrick’s epistles” 35). It is because of this practice, that Bleier agrees with Dr. David Howlett’s (b.1944) determination³⁶ (which will be presented and discussed later) in that it is possible that Patrick carefully crafted his letters for a purpose (Bleier, “Encoding St Patrick’s epistles” 57). The idea that Patrick’s letters may have been constructed to be read aloud furthers proves Howlett’s tenet that this was a writer who knew what he was doing and writing for a desired effect. It also attests to the rhetorical writing style attributed to Patrick, which will be discussed later in Chapter Two.

³⁶ Howlett’s theories are presented in Chapter Three and discussed in relation to Patrick’s writings in Chapters 4 & 5.

In his 2018 essay “Reading Muírchú’s Life of St. Patrick as ‘Sacred Narration’” historian Thomas O’Loughlin reaffirms one of this project’s central points in that Muírchú’s biography was indeed written for a specific purpose and Patrick was presented in a certain way for that agenda, to advance the political prowess of Armagh. Indeed, O’Loughlin argues that “if ‘Patrick is the patron of Ireland’, then ‘Muírchú is the patron of Irish nationalism’” (O’Loughlin 37). He further argues that the image of Patrick is built on the foundation of myths put forth by Muírchú in his biography of the saint. He suggests that the *Vita* itself must be looked at not as a simple piece of hagiography but rather as “sacred narration” (O’Loughlin 38). “[T]he sacred narrative is both the tradition of the [Church] fathers and the whole account of how providence has worked in the lives of the people, as a group, and has thus formed them into ‘a Church’” (O’Loughlin 45).

When Muírchú states that he was commissioned by Aed, Bishop of Sletty to write this *Vita*, O’Loughlin raises a good question in his essay: what exactly did Aed ask for in the first place? If he was asking for a biography of Patrick, the product would have been different. It would have attempted to present the holiness of the saint. That is not what Muírchú delivered. As O’Loughlin sees it, Muírchú was tasked with writing about the success of Patrick and his place in Ireland, as an emerging Christian nation. To that end, O’Loughlin believes that Muírchú’s *Vita* was “so transformed...to suit his own purposes that ‘hagiography’ is [no] longer an adequate category for his work” (O’Loughlin 41).

All of these concepts cloud popular interpretations of Patrick. In addition to the issues of Patrician scholarship, when reading Patrick’s *Confessio* and *Epistola*, one must also consider the fluidity of both languages, Latin and English, the elements of rhetorical writing, and translations of those pieces. All of these elements have an impact on the

pieces, how those pieces are presented to the reader, and what image of Patrick they represent. The end results will be discussed in the Conclusion Chapter of this document.

CHAPTER TWO – CONTEXTUAL ISSUES

ISSUES OF PATRICK’S LATIN

Every language is a living entity. It grows, changes, and adapts to its historical time period. Latin as a language is no different. It has seen several transformations across the millennia. Since almost all Patrician scholars who will be discussed here have historically called into question Patrick’s Latinity and his lack of complete mastery of the language, the basics of the development of Latin must be presented here. Even though this study will not focus on Latin itself, it is an element for discussion for that reason alone.

Patrick lived during the Patristic Period/Late Latin period. “The name of the Patristic Period comes from the fact that so much of the vital literature was the work of the Christian leaders, or fathers (*patres*)” (Wheelock *Wheelock’s Latin* xxxiv). With the expansion of the Roman Empire, Latin saw “regional differences” and changes in both “pronunciation and usage” (Hallen). This led to what scholars refer to as the development of Vulgar Latin. Vulgar Latin “absorbed pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar from the indigenous languages of the provinces in which it had come to be spoken by virtue of Roman conquest” (“Vulgar Latin”). According to their on-line article “Vulgar Latin,” authors Marius Sala and Rebecca Posner differentiate Vulgar Latin from prior forms of Latin in that it altered vocabulary by replacing “sober classical words...in favour of more colorful popular terms” (Sala and Posner, “Vulgar Latin”). As it was formed by dialects, Vulgar Latin was more of a spoken language, not one that was written down or codified with grammatical rules, *per se*. Therefore, Late Latin was the

standard written language among the educated class, while Vulgar Latin was the spoken vernacular. This distinction is relevant in relation to Patrick's Latinity.

Some historians note that early Christian texts probably had elements of Vulgar Latin in them, since it was the aim of the writers to get across Christian concepts and convert the pagan common folk. These "'vulgarisms' often called forth apologies from Christian authors, whose false humility seems akin to pride in that they did not succumb to the frivolities of pagan literary style" (Sala and Posner, "Vulgar Latin"). This "false humility" will be discussed later in this dissertation, in relation to Howlett's conclusions on Patrick's Latinity. Classical Latin was influenced by the development of Vulgar Latin, which would also lead to other localized dialects and languages. According to Dr. Cynthia L. Hallen of Brigham Young University, uniformity of the written word posed a problem for early clergymen and there were some attempts "to make Christian Latin more uniform in pronunciation and usage which required training the clergy" (Hallen). In this way, the clergy would be able to continue to preach to their congregations.

Latin changed after Patrick's lifetime. Ecclesiastical Latin was used exclusively by the Church. It was used from the period of Late Latin to the present. Medieval Latin seemed to vary between authors and regions. An interesting note in relation to Medieval Latin is the fact that some scholars believe that that time period "marks a period in [Latin's] history when many political changes were pulling [it] in too many directions to allow for a consistent evolution" (Garger, "Medieval Latin"). Renaissance Latin, in use during the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries attempted to go back to Classical Latin. It attempted to purge some of the vocabulary from Medieval Latin to become a literary language, one meant for scholars. Early Modern Latin was popular until the end of the

seventeenth century, when most scholarly publications and documents were written in Latin. New Latin was used towards the end of the 1890s, by linguists and scientists. Modern Latin continued to be the quasi-official language of the Roman Catholic Church into the twentieth century.

This begs the question, did Patrick then write in Vulgar Latin, the spoken word of his time, rather than the literary standard Late Latin? This would be a logical assumption. Late Latin was often used by the early Christian writers. Hanson attributes the modern assumption that Patrick did indeed write in Vulgar Latin to the work done by Bieler. According to Bieler, Patrick brought with him a unique quality in his writings. “His special grace was the suggestive power of the living word; even in the two short texts [that are still read], his *Confession* and his *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, the style is that of spoken language, not of literature” (Bieler, *The Life and Legend* 33).

With the fluidity and obvious evolution of Latin, it is challenging to come to terms with the particular form of Latin that Patrick used. According to Hanson, even Patrician scholars disagree among themselves as to Patrick’s knowledge of and use of Latin in his writings. On the one hand, Hanson states that “Patrick’s Latin is incomparable” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 159). However, he himself also declares that “[c]learly Patrick’s Latin is Vulgar Latin, not literary Latin...” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 158). Hanson puts forth the theory that Patrick might have been in the process of learning literary Latin, but his kidnapping and slavery interrupted his studies. After all, Patrick himself states that he was of the noble class; so therefore, he would have been eligible for such an education. In the end, Hanson corroborates ideals put forth by translation theory scholar Lawrence Venuti (b.1953), whose theories will be discussed

later in this chapter, that “[a]ll translators of Patrick have to choose between expressing what Patrick appears to mean in his Latin prose and reproducing in English the obscurity, vagueness, and clumsiness of his expressions” (Hanson, *The Life and Writings* 57).

In her 1961 lecture series, later published as *The Latin of Saint Patrick*, scholar Christine Mohrmann (1903-1988) states she believes that Patrick must have learned his Latin during his ecclesiastical studies on the Continent. And yet, she disputes the idea that Patrick was of the monastic tradition or that he studied in Lérins, France as some other historians have concluded. She offers few examples of textual evidence to support her theories. She highlights Patrick’s use of the phrase *nominativus pendens*, which she refers to as an example of “a typical feature of living, unbookish language” (Mohrmann 17). Thus, she perpetuates the scholarly notion that Patrick was unschooled in Latin, referring to his style as one permeated with “dynamic clumsiness” with minimal examples for that criticism, some of which are reproduced in this project (Mohrmann 33). This clumsiness reflects elements of “colloquial late Latin...which cannot possibly belong to his early British Latin. They bear all the marks of living fifth-century Continental Latin” (Mohrmann 47).

Mohrmann puts forth the notions that Patrick’s possible bilingualism affected both “his language and style” as well as an “oral’ [element] of his language, possibly due to the fact that he dictated the text...and hardly corrected it” (Mohrmann 8). At that time, “Latin was at least the second language of higher culture, education and ecclesiastical life, there was a term for this deficiency – rusticity (*rusticitas*)” (Conneely 206). In addition, Patrick’s knowledge of Latin was based on religious subjects, not every day phrases, thus leading him to “[lapse] into very ‘primitive’ colloquial formulae,

which do not match well with his usual language...[highlighting] a possibility of interference from Old Irish” (Mohrmann 10). One such example that she offers is from the *Confessio* (C11):

...sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et ceteris, verumtamen non silerem propter retributionem, et si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc praeponere cum mea inscientis et tardiori lingui, sed etiam scriptum est enim: linguae balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem.³⁷ (Mohrmann 9)

With regards to the above quote, Mohrmann explains that “[t]he way in which he explains his difficulty shows clearly that he really was handicapped. Not only is the quoted sentence clumsy (*sed etiam...enim*), but he has also to recur to biblical wording to formulate his thoughts. There is a lack of culture and of school-education about which he complains” (Mohrmann 9). She refers to his texts, remarking that Patrick’s apologies “are not rhetorical excuses, but the complaints of a man who is struggling with a language which is not his mother tongue” (Mohrmann 9). Mohrmann believes that the issue with Patrick’s Latin is due to the fact that he was either writing in his second language or dictating his letter to someone without reviewing it himself. By reading the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*, it is obvious that he was a man of the Bible as his writings are imbued with quotes, probably recalled from memory.

Hanson disagrees with Mohrmann’s “assumption...that no Vulgar Latin was spoken in Britain” (Hanson, *Saint Patrick* 165). He believed that “Patrick [wrote] his two works in Vulgar Latin and [expected] them to be read and appreciated” (Hanson, *Saint*

³⁷ “But if, consequently, it had been given to me just as also to others,/even so I would not be silent on account of what should be handed back/[from me to God]./And if by chance it seems to certain men that I put myself forward in this,/with my lack of knowledge and my rather slow tongue,/but even so it is, however, written/Stammering tongues will swiftly learn to speak peace” (Howlett translation 59).

Patrick 169). Hanson further poses the questions – if Patrick had studied on the Continent, why didn't he become fluent in Latin? What language did he speak?

Regardless of the specific form of Latin Patrick used in his writings, nineteenth century author Morris proclaimed that text resonates with readers:

So far we have a narrative which, in spite of the imperfections of the Latin text and of our translation, is full of mysterious beauty. Every line vibrates and tells of one who was the organ and the instrument of some power which was as incomprehensible in its operations as it was certain in its results. (Morris 72)

Dr. David R. Howlett, editor of *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British*

Sources, takes a position uniquely opposite to almost every Patrician scholar from the past century. In his 1994 book, *The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop*, Howlett presents the theory that Patrick was not clumsy in his Latinity, but rather that he was purposeful and very much in command of his word choice and structure of his writing. In his translation of Patrick's writings, Howlett chose to arrange them "*per cola et commata* 'by clauses and phrases' to reveal the units of Patrick's thought," although he does acknowledge that such a practice may present an "inelegant translation" (Howlett 12). Through Howlett's extremely detailed analysis of the Latin found in both the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*, he attests that the common misconception regarding Patrick's Latinity "is a grotesque misinterpretation of the thought and prose of a writer who was more than competent...[simply because s]ome scholars...[did] not [attend] to the lexical connections of his thought" (Howlett 115, 12).

Howlett also brilliantly advances the theory that the organization of Patrick's *Confessio* is modeled after the five books of the Pentateuch. As he hypothesizes: Part I detailing Patrick's early years "corresponds to Genesis" (Howlett 110). Part II details his escape from slavery, which relates to Exodus. Part III "corresponds to Leviticus" since it

deals with Patrick's relationship with the "ecclesiastical" authority (Howlett 110). Part IV detailing his conversions of the Irish relates to Numbers. Part V then "corresponds to Deuteronomy" since it deals with Patrick preparing "for death"³⁸ (Howlett 110).

Howlett's text is complex and technical, referencing mathematical, linguistic, and rhetorical patterns that are found within Patrick's writings. He presents an author who knew entirely what he was composing, one who was purposeful in his intent. This theory ultimately calls into question assumptions of his audience as well. His *Confessio* was intended to be read by church officials. Therefore, his use and reliance upon rhetorical writing style would be appropriate and understood. His *Epistola* was meant to be read to the soldiers of Coroticus and therefore its style is slightly different. Howlett sets out to prove that the prevailing historical assumption that Patrick did not understand the subtlety of Latin is completely incorrect:

One should not assume that Patrick mistook anything...Every word of Patrick's Apology is in its correct place...Each paragraph is also carefully ordered...Patrick [appears] to protest his ignorance and inelegance as he produces clausulae and cursus rhythms...he knows how to build toward a rhetorical climax. (Howlett 100, 102)

No other scholar has advanced such a complex theory as this, and it changes the lens through which Patrick should be viewed. What is remarkable about Howlett's theory is the fact that it has not made the impact in Patrician scholarship that one thinks it would, given the fact that it is the complete opposite of the past one hundred years of scholarship. This, of course, begs the question, why? In her review of Howlett's book, Dr. Elva Johnston of the University College of Dublin comments on this lack of impact:

³⁸ See Howlett's chapter entitled *Confessio: Analysis and Commentary*, found in his text *The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop*, page 110 for complete discussion.

“Howlett’s work has had less impact on mainstream early Irish scholarship than one might expect, largely as a result of one of the oddities of the discipline” (Johnston 344).

There were a few other reviews that offered Howlett’s book praise, but they did not discuss its lack of impact in Patrician scholarship.³⁹ One recent scholarly essay, “Saint Patrick” by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín published in 2017, only briefly mentions Howlett’s theory:

The researches of Dr. David Howlett have revealed a wholly unsuspected sophistication in Patrick’s prose, and a degree of artful design in the composition and structure of both the *Confession* and the *Letter* that require a complete revision of previously-held views on the subject. (46)

Ó Cróinín contends that in Howlett’s interpretation, “Patrick’s words take on a whole new meaning and significance” – and yet he only discusses it in a short paragraph (47).

In e-mail conversations with Dr. Howlett himself, he seems to feel that while his colleagues in academia thought his suppositions were fascinating, the ideas were too radical in their opposition to established Patrician scholarship and therefore Howlett’s book had to be published by Four Courts⁴⁰ and not Oxford University Press, the institution that he himself had worked with before. If one believes Howlett’s premise that Patrick’s writings reflect Patrick’s purposeful intent, one then needs to analyze the structure of his writings and elements of early Christian authors’ use of rhetoric in writing.

³⁹ See also Parmentier, Martien. "Book Review: The Book of Saint Patrick the Bishop." *Bijdragen Tijdschrift Voor Filosofie En Theologie* 57.2 (1996): 223-24 or Campbell, Patrick J. "Review: The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop by D.R. Howlett." *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1993, pp. 258–260.

⁴⁰ See Chapter Three for a discussion of the publishing houses of the translations used in this dissertation.

ISSUES OF MEDIEVAL RHETORICAL WRITING

Although the focus of this exploration is not on the technical aspect of rhetorical writing, the methods of such writing must be addressed. As stated previously in discussing Howlett's work, Patrick was purposeful in his writing style; therefore a cursory overview of the style of writing must be presented here. Rhetoric is generally thought of as having mostly oratory properties; however, it also has a written component. The study of rhetoric reaches back to the fifth century B.C. with the famous philosophers of ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle, which was then further developed by the Roman giants of Cicero and Quintilian. "The phrase 'medieval rhetoric' can refer to the period from the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the early fifth century to the early modern period in the fifteen hundreds" (Randall 2).

The basic elements of rhetoric: "invention, arrangement, style...[and] method[s] of systematic inquiry" can also be found in Patrick's writings ("A Brief History of Rhetoric"). According to author Richard Nordquist,⁴¹ the publication in 400 A.D. of Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*, established medieval rhetoric writing. This form of rhetoric contributed to the composition of "letters...sermons...legal documents" and more importantly for the Church, "the canons of interpreting laws and scripture" (Nordquist). The Church used the structure found in rhetoric to perpetuate its doctrine to the faithful. In this, the "emphasis in medieval rhetoric...was the redirection of deliberative discourse from political to religious ends. The goal became saving souls, not leading the state" ("A Brief History of Rhetoric").

⁴¹ No specific biographical information was available for Nordquist.

Daniel Conneely's (1911-1986) posthumous 1993 publication, *St Patrick's Letters: A Study of their Theological Dimension*, is mixture of both criticism and praise for Patrick's Latinity and his use of rhetorical writing devices. Conneely echoes other scholars' opinions when he describes "the poor academic quality of Patrick's Latin" (Conneely 207). And yet, he praises the writing as it is "not entirely without art" (Conneely 210). In alignment with Howlett's appraisal of writing with purpose, Conneely remarks that when looking at Patrick's writing style there are too "many details which are too frequent to be accidental...[such as] parallelism and balanced length of clauses within the paratactic structure" (Conneely 210, 211). Conneely also states that Patrick "does not employ rhetoric; he had missed a higher education and so had missed his training in it" (Conneely 205). Yet later on in his discussion, he points to the "self-deprecatory qualifications" found in Patrick's writings that "were a commonplace of early Christian writers" (Conneely 209-210). The purpose of Conneely's book, however, is more focused on the theological aspects of Patrick's writing, which would take this project down a different path than its original intent.

Jennifer M. Randall's⁴² 2010 dissertation for Georgia State University, "Early Medieval Rhetoric: Epideictic Underpinnings in Old English Homilies," explains that "[i]t took centuries before medieval intellectuals fully realized just how rhetorical Christian writing was and to recognize the rhetoric they had created in blending and repurposing classical rhetorical intellectual and humanistic aims for moral purposes"

⁴² No specific biographical information was available for Randall.

(Randall 98). The Church adapted the classical form of rhetoric into a method of communication with the faithful.

Christian rhetoric is the core of medieval rhetoric, designed for all men, not just the educated or the elite...[it] is focused upon man's communication with God and man's reliance upon God to communicate to other humans in both word and deed, with the constant focus upon the eternal consequences for the soul. (Randall 48)

Patrick's writings reflect the concept "that medieval rhetoric is intuitive and individual as well as social in its emphasis upon communication with God and reliance upon God's words to appeal to the emotions and souls of audiences instead of human intellect"

(Randall 51). His *Epistola* and his anti-slavery message echoes the "Christian emphasis upon the individual and upon personal morality as a means of social reform" (Randall 57).

Brian James Stone's⁴³ 2014 dissertation from the Southern Illinois University Carbondale, entitled "Ars Rhetorica et Sacrae Litterae: St. Patrick and the Art of Rhetoric in Early Medieval Briton and Ireland," argues that Patrick's writing was purposeful, political, and anti-Pelagius⁴⁴. Stone explains in detail the medieval art of rhetoric, as it was taught in the monasteries of that time. Similar to Howlett's conclusions, Stone claims "that Patrick's writings reflect awareness of classical rhetorical exercises, especially *imitatio*, and that the primary text with which Patrick had become familiar with rhetoric was the Latin Bible" (Stone 1). He acknowledges that "Howlett's research does underline a certain level of complexity to Patrick's writing" (Stone 49). However, he does not follow-through with this rather bold statement. He simply makes the

⁴³ No specific biographical information was available for Stone.

⁴⁴ See previous footnote #8 description found in Chapter One.

acknowledgement, does not discuss it, and moves on. Stone then differs from Howlett in that he reiterates the view that Patrick's Latinity "lacks ornamentation, [that] his use of prose is often clumsy, and [that] he demonstrates limited vocabulary" (Stone 61). For Stone, the answer lies in Patrick's audience. That is, Patrick's Latin was purposefully not sophisticated because that is the language that his readers would understand (Stone 64). This is a questionable conclusion. If the *Confessio* was written for church officials, they would have been more than competent to understand Latin. Yet, there is a possibility that those church officials were Irish and may not have been literate in Latin. "While Patrick's Latin is simple, it is not ignorant" (Stone 69). Stone's conclusions also contrast with Christine Mohrmann's notion that Patrick was not from the monastic tradition. He believes that Patrick's use of rhetoric is an example of early monastic curriculum, found in the British Isles. In his work, he demonstrates how Patrick emulated Paul's epistles in his own writing, how his *Confessio* mirrors that of Augustine, and how he used the Bible and basic Christian tenets to reach his pagan Irish soon-to-be converts.

Patrick was trained in a rhetorical curriculum that took the Bible as the primary source of study for training in grammar, rhetoric, and of course, theology. The seeming simplicity of Patrick's texts is not due to a lack of education, but due to the nature of his education. (Stone 145)

For this project, the issues of Patrick's competency and mastery of Latinity, as well as the elements and structure of rhetorical writing must also be studied through the complicated lens of translation.

ISSUES OF TRANSLATION

The issue of translation is often thought of in relation to ancient literature; however, with regards to religious texts there are additional challenges. There is an added element of pressure when dealing with beliefs that are connected to the core of humanity. When translating the Bible, for example, there is the component that the translator must be as close to the original as possible because those words are considered by some to be the words of the Divine. Does this hesitation and concern also transfer to other religious texts, written by flawed human beings, even if they were thought to be divinely inspired, as Patrick's writings could surely be defined? Can one even assume divine inspiration for these works? As previously presented, the words attributed to Patrick have been manipulated by others – biographers, scribes, historians, translators, and editors. In relation to this essay's thesis, the concerns regarding translators also include: knowledge of culture, as well as language, and possible biases and editorial choices that that translator made. Over at least the last half century, there seems to be a growing discussion among scholars as to role of the translator. A translator must not only be knowledgeable of the vocabulary, grammar, and sentence structure of the language that he/she is translating; he/she must also be aware of cultural idioms, history, and cultural nuances.

In her 1990 review article of two texts (*The Craft of Translation* and *The Art of Translation: Voices from the Field*), Janis Forman⁴⁵ claims that “a translator's first readings of a source text open up multiple potential meanings that the translator holds in

⁴⁵ No specific biographical information was available for Forman.

suspension...” (Forman 677). Furthermore, she claims that “[t]ranslators, then, need to select priorities in the course of their research, rereading, and rewriting, and these priorities represent judgements about what is essential to the original and what must be brought across in some approximate form in the receptor language – even and inevitably at the cost of giving up some of other features of the source text” (Forman 678). She calls translators “privileged readers with authority” (Forman 681). In the end, Forman believes that “[t]ranslations generate potentially new meanings and establish new parameters for readers’ responses” (Forman 681). The idea that translators put their own interpretation into their work is key to the development of representation of Saint Patrick, his writings, and this project.

Several sources dealing with issues of translation and the visibility of the translator refer to work done by American translation theorist Lawrence Venuti. According to Venuti’s “Translation and the Pedagogy of Literature” written in 1996, the issue and study of translation “as a field of academic study and as an area of investment in academic publishing” rather than in relation to author’s meaning is a relatively modern one, dating back to the 1970s (Venuti, “Pedagogy” 328). However, Venuti makes a point that the issue is much deeper than the publishing industry’s pocketbooks. He discusses the issue of teaching the Great Books of Western Civilization in relation to high schools and colleges. He quotes one instructor’s issues in teaching Dante’s *Divine Comedy*:

We read the *Divine Comedy* in translation, and no matter how good the translation is, it can never be Dante. No translator can hope to capture the flow and rhythm of Dante’s verse, simply because of the intrinsic differences between English and Italian.... Thus, any translation of the *Divine Comedy* is heavily colored by the translator’s interpretation of it. Interpretative options that exist in Dante’s Italian are eliminated, and ambiguities, perhaps unknown to the original, are created. (Venuti,

“Pedagogy” 329)

The thrust of Venuti’s argument in the above-mentioned article is that there is an American-British monopoly in academic publishing and that teaching translations must be taught differently than works that were originally written in English. Translator bias and interpretation element must be addressed. This caveat can also be applied to the works of Saint Patrick. The translators of his works are no less influenced by multiple biases than those translating a fourteenth century Italian masterpiece.

In a 1997 review of Venuti’s book *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, Thomas Beebee gives credit to Venuti for his “insights into specific translation strategies” (Beebee 95). However, he criticizes Venuti for only presenting a broad-based thesis and highlights the problem that arises “with the attempt to identify translators’ choices...[in regard to] their social classes or their political agendas” (Beebee 96). In Beebee’s opinion, the attention should be focused not on the political, but rather on the personal; what he termed “the very human struggles of the translator against egotism, opacity, and the cunning of history” (Beebee 97). It is both this personal element, as well as the political, that must be considered with regards to Patrician scholarship and this discussion.

With regards to translating literature from a specific dialect, in his 1997 article, Luigi Bonaffini argues that “[a]ny critical discussion of works written in dialect is destined to run up against the heavy legacy of prejudices and misunderstandings that has historically weighed upon literature...” (Bonaffini 279). Although Bonaffini’s research deals with translating Italian poetry, his findings can be applied to translations in general. It is his opinion that there exists “[an] untranslatableness of dialect...its sematic

opacity..[which] is proportional to the idiomatic use of words, slang, and jargon limited to local color” (Bonaffini 285).

Saint Patrick’s writings could be considered to have dialect issues. Patrician scholars have argued over where Patrick received his formal religious training, perhaps in Lérins. If so, there could have been subtle differences in the Latin. In contrast, Patrick also stated in the *Epistola* that he was unlearned and untaught (White 275, Howlett 27). His ultimate meaning may have been obscured because what he meant to say might have been far simpler than what the translator decided he meant to say. The living element of language, as seen by the evolution and wide-spread use of Vulgar Latin, as well as word choices by the translators from the English language vary depending on when it was translated, all affect the final product of a translator. These elements are paramount to this project’s discussion.

Lawrence Venuti continues his discussion of translation theory in his 1998 book, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*. For Venuti, “[t]ranslation is degraded by prevalent concepts of authorship, especially in literature and in literary scholarship...” (Venuti, *Scandals* 2). He writes about the differences between authorship and scholarship, putting translation in the latter category. Translators must combine their knowledge of the original text’s culture and historical concepts with their etymological and grammatical and lexical knowledge of the written language. Lastly, Venuti believes that

[b]ecause the effects of translation are unpredictable and potentially contradictory, determined by many different cultural and social factors, it can be disruptive of scholarly canons and is likely to face repression. Yet this very unpredictability makes translated texts deserving of the scholar’s attention as much as the foreign texts they translate. The

study of translations is truly a form of historical scholarship because it forces the scholar to confront the issue of historical difference in the changing reception of a foreign text. (Venuti *Scandals* 46)

In relation to this project, it is “clear that translations can alter the functioning of any social institution because translating, by definition, involves the domestic assimilation of a foreign text” (Venuti *Scandals* 80).

In Said Shiyab’s 1999 article “The Difficulty of Translating Literary Texts,” he also discusses the problems with translating literature from one language to another. He claims that “[translating] literature is problematic simply because it involves translating the metaphorical or figurative meanings of texts” (Shiyab 205). He believes that “the translator, like a writer, expresses [his/her] own vision of the world; [he/she] gives [his/her] own realization of a specific reality [he/she] wishes to express” (Shiyab 207). In the end Shiyab remarks that “a good translator is not the one who remains faithful and close to the original text, but the one who is close to the mentality and thinking as well as the experience of the writer” (Shiyab 210). This goes to the heart of this paper’s assertion – what was Saint Patrick really trying to say? Are these translators close to his thinking? It is possible that the translators misunderstood Patrick’s musings, which go to the heart of his meaning. Chapters Four and Five of this project will examine translations of Patrick’s writings and ponder those meanings.

In Anna Paterson’s 2006 article “Translation as Editing?,” the author goes a step further than Forman by directly stating that “[no] translator can be immune to the pressure and temptations to stray from the original as part of a process” and that “[d]irect censorship for any reason – usually part of the political and/or moral climate of the time as opposed to, say, a publisher’s foibles – is part of what can be asked of the jobbing

translator” (Paterson 54). This leads to the essential questions at the core of this dissertation. The translators of Saint Patrick’s works could have edited certain words and ideas either in or out of their works for a variety of reasons, such as targeting a specific audience, to align their words for a specific cause. This hypothesis could be applied to the version of Patrick’s writings that can be found in the *Book of Armagh*. In the aforementioned research by Bleier and his examinations of the manuscripts attributed to Patrick, he discusses how the only Irish manuscript witness is an incomplete reproduction of the saint’s letters. Although a damaged physical copy may seem to be a possible answer, the more likely reason would be a deliberate act of censorship of sections of the *Confessio* “that showed him in his most defenceless state...whose anguished tone gives an impression of the saint which the Armagh propagandists deemed unacceptably weak and helpless” (Ó Cróinín, “Saint Patrick” 58). Paterson’s point can also be applied to Jocelin’s biography of Patrick, in which he purposefully touted Patrick’s British roots, while downplaying any positive attributes he might have displayed through his connection with the Irish. While it cannot be absolutely proven that these acts were overtly political in nature, the end product does make a statement, one way or the other.

In his 2009 article “The Visibility of the Translator: The *Speculum Ecclesie* and *The Mirror of Holy Church*,” Atsushi Iguchi reinforces Venuti’s ideas concerning possible issues of issues of translation, speaking with regards to religious texts, rather than the previously presented research pertaining to literary ones. “[T]he predominant, fluent mode of translation in modern-day Anglo-American culture, where the translator is expected to become totally ‘invisible’ by rendering his or her source text as fluent and readable as possible, a situation which is problematised by Venuti (1992)” (Iguchi 550).

The thrust of his article concerns the translations of Latin texts and how they were translated for the Latin-literate reader and the non-Latin literate reader. He implies that some translators made the text more identifiable and more comprehensible by specific word choices. The idea of different translations for the Latin-literate reader versus the non-Latin literate reader is a component which will be discussed this essay, specifically in Chapter Three, as evidenced by translator Philip Freeman's remarks about his two separate translations.⁴⁶

In his 2014 review of Venuti's compilation of essays in his 2013 publication, *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice*, Issa Boulotta points out that Venuti's premise has not changed over the years. The point is that translations are affected by "linguistic, literary, psychological, historical, cultural or societal elements" (Boulotta 79). Every one of those elements can be significant. That significance cannot be ignored when looking at both the biographies and the translations relating to Saint Patrick. Translations and variations of those translations are legitimate areas for scholarship. Readers must consider the historical constructs both in the original writer's era as well as those of the translator's in order to achieve a complete picture of the author's intent, if that is even possible. If Tírechán and Muírchú were vying for domination in Ireland or if Bury, MacNeill, and other early twentieth century biographers were trying to forge a new Irish nation, they would have chosen their words carefully to enhance their own agenda. If a translator had a specific representation of Patrick that he/she wished to put forth, then he/she would choose his/her words carefully. These

⁴⁶ See specific comments in the reproduction of e-mail conversations with Freeman, found in Chapter Three.

possibilities fueled this project. Some of the initial suppositions regarding possible biases by translators were disproved, some were validated, and some of those suppositions were impossible to prove. Chapter Three will present the seven specific translations analyzed for this project, along with biographies of each translator, publishing information on his translation, as well as any correspondence with said translator.

CHAPTER THREE – PRESENTATION OF MODERN TRANSLATORS

As stated in Chapter One, the impetus for this project was the differences of two modern translators of Saint Patrick’s work: Philip Freeman and John Skinner. An example of their respective translations of the word *advocatus* as *advocate* (Skinner) and *spokesperson*⁴⁷ (Freeman) is the best example. In researching those two translators, other translators came to light: Dr. David R. Howlett (previously mentioned in Chapter One and Two) and Padraig McCarthy, whose translation can be found currently on the Royal Irish Academy’s sponsored website entitled “My Name is Patrick.”⁴⁸ The initial hypothesis regarding the differences in translation was that the translator’s own personal experience, education, and especially his (in this case) religious background affected the word choices found in that translation, some of these personal elements are very difficult to identify from simple research. Therefore, survey questions were designed and mailed to the translators. These basic questions, although proposed in an attempt to be unbiased, were clearly focused on specific questions and were asked objectively in the hopes of proving the hypothesis. All translators, except for Oliver Davies, responded. The idea that one’s religious background influences one’s translation proved to be less than successful. Except for Howlett, all translators surveyed are Catholic. Perhaps their own Catholicism did influence them in the choice of their topic. All translators studied Latin extensively and in an academic setting.

⁴⁷ For the complete discussion and analysis, see Chapter Four on the *Confessio*, Passage Comparison #7 for Section [25].

⁴⁸ See <https://www.confessio.ie/#>

N. J. D. (Newport John Davis) White (1860-1936), along with J. B. Bury, is vital in the realm of Patrician scholarship. Biographical information on White is limited. White was from Ireland, held a Doctor of Divinity and he served as the Keeper of Primate Marsh's Library in Dublin, Ireland. He was also an Assistant Lecturer in Divinity and Hebrew at the University of Dublin. Since White attended Trinity College, it can be assumed that he was Protestant, since few Catholics attended the institution during his lifetime.⁴⁹ However, since he is deceased, his purpose and methodology towards his translation must remain a hypothesis.

White's "*Libri Sancti Patricii: The Latin Writings of Saint Patrick*," was published in 1905 by the Dublin University Press (DUP), specifically the printing house of Ponsonby & Gibbs. "Dublin University Press is the oldest printing house in Ireland...founded in 1734...built for...Trinity College Dublin" (Kinane Preface xi). According to the charter for the university, established under Queen Elizabeth I, its intention was to educate the people, whereby "[l]earning...was...allied with military force for the political ends of sweeping away the Gaelic and Catholic traditions of Ireland and of consolidating English power and Anglican Protestantism in their stead" (Kinane 1). This is obviously significant to this endeavor, not only due to the Protestant bias, but more importantly, the anti-Catholic agenda entrenched in the system itself. The DUP also published James Ussher's academic works, which were previously discussed in Chapter One, furthering the effect "to propagate the reformed religion" (Kinane 5).

⁴⁹ See "Trinity College, Dublin, and the Education of Irish Catholics" by Senia Pašeta, found in *Studia Hibernica*, 1998/1999, No. 30, (1998/1999), pp. 7-20 for complete discussion.

According to the 1921 publication, *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, Printers, Booksellers, Publishers, Paper Makers, &c., of England, Scotland and Wales, and the Principal Towns in Ireland, the Channel Islands and Isle of Man*, Ponsonby is listed as a Bookseller-Retail and a Publisher. Ponsonby & Gibbs is listed as a Printer. This indicates that the company was simply a third-party to which the DUP sent printing orders to complete. As a contracted printing house, Ponsonby & Gibbs simply printed the texts they were asked to print and had no control of the choice of content. According to Vincent Kinane's⁵⁰ *A History of the Dublin University Press, 1734-1976*, the "university's close monitoring of its printer's output [had] a twofold purpose: firstly to ensure that the quality of the printing work accurately [reflected] the scholarly standards of the institution; and secondly to ensure that nothing [was] published which would prove an embarrassment to the university either academically or politically" (Kinane 39).

Again, there was an agenda which cannot help but bleed into the published books and their topics themselves. The effect of such anti-Catholic biases was voiced by Irish writers at the time who complained "that...publishers were apathetic in the promotion of their works" (Kinane 170). Thus, the founding of the Catholic University of Ireland in 1854 at last presented those authors with a more sympathetic and feasible way to be published. It was never a real rival to the DUP, although its existence gives some insight into attitudes in Ireland at that time. The administration of the DUP also changed over its tenure as a publishing powerhouse. It is interesting to note that when Henry Joseph of M. H. Gill & Son assumed control of the publishing house in 1879, that "[u]nder his

⁵⁰ According to a 1995 article in the American Antiquarian Society, Kinane served as an assistant librarian in the department of early printed books at Trinity College Library, Dublin. No other specific biographical information was available for Kinane.

guidance nationalist and Catholic (sometimes stridently Catholic) literature came to dominate the firm's lists" (Kinane 202). This date has significance for this project, because the previously mentioned biographies of Patrick by J. H. Todd which was published in 1864 by an independent publishing house, M. F. Cusack's in 1870 which was published by among others, a Catholic based publishing house in America, and finally White's in 1905. Could these changes in attitude have had an effect on these publications? It is possible.

According to White, Saint Patrick's writings "were five times printed in the nineteenth century" (White 202). What makes White's version unique is the fact that he attempted to present a complete text of Patrick's writings, from others that previously had been only presented in segmented versions. In his initial 1905 publication, White claimed that at that time, there were six known manuscripts containing Patrick's writings.⁵¹ After he was made aware of the Paris manuscript, he published a clarifying article⁵² discussing the particulars of that manuscript and when the book was reprinted in 1918, he worked with all seven.⁵³ One of White's issues was the fact that "the exemplar from which the *Confessio* was copied into the Book of Armagh was written on very small folios, possibly not in a neat hand, so that each folio did not contain more words than five or six lines of the present edition, and that a considerable number of leaves are lost" and therefore there are errors and "omissions" (White 206). White emphasized the

⁵¹ For an in-depth reading of these manuscripts, see White's section entitled "The Manuscripts and Text" pages 203-213 found in *Libri Sancti Patricii: The Latin Writings of Saint Patrick*.

⁵² See White, Newport J.D. "The Paris Manuscript of St. Patrick's Latin Writings." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, Vol. 25 (1904/1905), pp. 542-552.

⁵³ Refer to the discussion in Chapter One Section of Patrician Scholarship as well as Roman Bleier's dissertation, "Encoding St Patrick's epistles: history and electronic editing of the manuscript witnesses" for the list of all seven manuscript witnesses.

importance of both the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*, in that they are the only “primary authorities...[and] form the only documentary evidence actually contemporary with the saint” (White 220). In the 1953 text *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of St. Patrick* by Johannes Quasten (1900-1987) and Joseph C. Plumpe (1901-1957), Bieler is quoted wherein he complimented White’s translation by saying: “[o]f earlier translations, only that by Newport J. D. White in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*...[published in] 1905...is a first-hand translation of a critically established text” (Quasten and Plumpe 16).

Dr. David R. Howlett is the editor of the British Academy’s *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* and consultant to the Royal Irish Academy’s *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources*. His text, *The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop*, was published in 1994 by Four Courts Press, an academic book publisher located in Dublin. The founder of Four Courts Press was from Queen’s College, traditionally an Anglican institution that later admitted both Protestants and Catholics. According to the answers to the survey questions, Howlett used his own Latin text for the translation. Through a follow-up e-mail conversation, he indicated that he used all existing Latin manuscripts, but leaned heavily on Bieler’s edition, with some edits of his own. In the preface of his text, this distinction is not presented and the reader would assume that he used only Bieler’s Latin as his base.

Howlett does not specifically identify biblical quotes throughout his translation of Patrick’s writings, although they are there. This was closer to the Bible of Patrick’s time, as chapter and verse identifications were not used until the thirteenth and sixteenth century, respectively. The system of chapter divisions was “devised in 1205 by Stephen

Langton, a professor in Paris, later Archbishop of Canterbury, who put them in the Vulgate edition of the Bible. Robert Stephenus, a book printer in Paris, is credited with [the] divisions of chapters into verses in 1551” (McCarthy, "It Was a Gift from God" 26). As discussed in Chapter Two, Howlett’s conclusions regarding Patrick’s knowledge of Latin and writing style are radically different from notable Patrician scholars over the past century.⁵⁴

John Skinner’s (1934-2018) *The Confession of Saint Patrick* was published by Image Books, the publishing division of Doubleday, which is known for publishing works dealing with the Catholic faith. Skinner studied to be a Jesuit priest. According to his survey answers, he identified as a Catholic. However, he was married to an Anglican and was part of Wells Cathedral, part of the Church of England. He is known for his scholarly translation of the works of other historical figures, such as Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. He was a former journalist, which may help to explain in the simplicity of language in his translation. Perhaps those combinations lend to the tone of his translation. His work identifies biblical quotes and citations in his translation of Patrick’s works. Skinner used Bieler’s Latin text as his base for his own translation of Patrick’s works. Skinner also admitted in his survey answers that he was influenced by Howlett’s translation. Both Skinner and Howlett reproduced Patrick’s writing in a poetic format, rather than prose format, in contrast to the other translators discussed in this treatise. Howlett says in his introduction the reason for using the poetic format was that “it [would enable] readers of English to note Patrick’s repetition of words and ideas”

⁵⁴ Refer to Chapter Two, specifically Issues of Patrick’s Latin

(Howlett 12). The quoted passages from both Howlett and Skinner, found later in Chapters Three and Four, are presented with line breaks to mirror their original translations.

Anthony Oliver Davies (b.1956) has served as a Professor of Christian Doctrine at King's College in London since 2004. He served as editor and translator of *Celtic Spirituality*, published in 1999 as part of *The Classics of Western Spirituality* series. This text was published by Paulist Press, which is known for "publishing the Best of Catholic Thought at the intersection of Faith and Culture Since 1865" (PaulistPress). According to both the King's College home page and his own website, his focus has been on Christian mysticism. Davies' work is used in college courses and consequently his translation of Patrick's writings is accessible to a wide audience. Since the text is one in a series of textbooks sold to universities, the economic motivation for translation as previously mentioned by Lawrence Venuti, may be suspect and therefore it is mentioned here. The word choices used in those texts are aimed at a specific audience and may be not entirely reflective of Patrick's meaning. His translation is written in prose style and it includes, with footnotes, specific biblical quotations throughout. According to the Sources and the Notes sections, Davies references the works of N. J. P. White, Ludwig Bieler, Dr. David Howlett, and Daniel Conneely as sources and he also attributes the specific section divisions to N. J. D. White's edition (Davies 29, 465, 477).

Pádraig McCarthy (b.1943) produced his translation of Patrick's writing at the request of his local parish in County Wicklow, Ireland for their bicentennial in 2003. This small translation was published locally and then added to the aforementioned RIA's website "my name is Patrick." According to his e-mail correspondence and survey

answers, he was attempting to make Patrick's message accessible to his congregation, which has "a strong local tradition about St Patrick" (McCarthy, survey questionnaire response). According to his survey answers, he used several documents when working on his translation: the first two were John Gwynn's *Book of Armagh* and Daniel Conneely's *The Letters of St. Patrick*. His translation is presented in simple prose form and alludes to biblical passages but does not identify specific quotes.

Philip Freeman (b.1961) is the author of a biography on the saint entitled *St. Patrick of Ireland*. This text was published in 2004 by the major publishing house, Simon & Schuster, which has no significant religious institutional affiliation. Until Spring 2017, he taught Classics at Luther College in Iowa and therefore, it was mistakenly assumed that he was a Protestant, perhaps a Lutheran. According to his survey answers, he identifies as a Catholic. Since the Fall 2017, Freeman has been serving as the Fletcher Jones Chair of Western Culture at Pepperdine University in California (Mitchell). Freeman states that he utilized Bieler's Latin text for his translation. In his biography and translation of Patrick, he uses modern English syntax and word choices, such as the use of contractions, unlike Bieler. In his translation, he does not identify specific biblical quotes, similar to Patrick, as it is surmised the saint himself would have also not identified those biblical passages used in his own writings. For all of Freeman's scholarship, there is a wariness of commercialization that is attached to his publications. Freeman seems to want to bring ancient topics to a modern audience, a noble endeavor. To this end, he uses humorous titles to grab their attention: *Oh My Gods: A Modern Retelling of Greek and Roman Myths* and *How to Win an Election: An Ancient Guide for Modern Politicians*. It must be noted, however, that it is not clear

whether or not Freeman himself or the publishing house decided on these titles. From his survey answers and further e-mail conversations, Freeman wanted this book to be appealing to a wide audience and his translation of Patrick's writings reflect that attitude and his representation of and meaning behind Saint Patrick's words.

In 2014, Freeman published another book on Patrick entitled, *The World of Saint Patrick*. This text was published by Oxford University Press, specifically for college courses. Although Oxford's history pre-dates the Protestant Reformation, its allegiance after Henry VIII's reign aligned it to the Anglican Church. Unlike his 2004 biography, this text includes additional information, such as the Synod of Patrick,⁵⁵ as well as short biographies of Saint Brigid and Saint Brendan. In this text, both the *Confessio* and the *Epistola* differ in translation and subtle word choice from his earlier 2004 publication. While it is understandable that translations and word choices will vary from translator to translator, this difference is quite puzzling. Through a follow-up e-mail conversation, Freeman explained that each publication had "different goals, so they differ slightly. [Hopefully] both are accurate, but [...] the first [is an attempt] to give a more readable, looser version while still being faithful to the text. In the second [...] is] more word-for-word literal" (Freeman, 7/24/17 e-mail correspondence). Therefore, pertinent to this project's discussion, a translator's goals and potential audience can affect his word choices and the representation of the original document, thus potentially altering, ever so slightly, Patrick's meaning.

⁵⁵ "A synod...was a gathering of bishops in council to rule on theological and practical issues facing the members of their communities. [This particular synod was] the earliest list of official church decisions...from Ireland...[It contained] information about the practical workings of the church and its members in the earliest days of Irish Christianity" (Freeman, *The World of Saint Patrick* (37,38)).

The survey responses received from these translators made it clear that, as Lawrence Venuti states in his research, the translator cannot remain invisible in his creation. Each translator used his own discretion in his translation and each one had a specific purpose for his translation. McCarthy wanted a translation that was accessible for the members of his parish. Freeman paraphrased Patrick to bring his words to a broad modern audience, as did Skinner, basing his translation on Howlett's literal Latin (Skinner's words⁵⁶) translation so that the general reader would be able to understand Patrick's message. Even Howlett had a distinctive purpose in that he felt that Patrick had been misinterpreted by scholars and therefore he presented a translation reflected "the underlying etymological connections of single words and entire word families" (Howlett, Survey Answers). After reviewing the answers to the survey questions, one can make assumptions about each translator's motives behind the translation. When studying both the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*, each one of the translations can stand out on its own, even though they all claim to represent the writings of Patrick. The inclusion of each translation's publishing house, with regards to any religious institution affiliations especially as it relates to the history of Ireland, is relevant to this project since it adds another level of possible bias in the presentation of Patrick's words and message.

The survey questions and answers are reproduced in the following pages. As stated previously, there were some occasions that called for follow-up e-mails with the translators, some of those conversations are produced within this document⁵⁷. An analysis of the survey questions and the translations are discussed further in Chapters

⁵⁶ See Skinner's response to Survey Question #9 in this chapter.

⁵⁷ See Appendix 3 – Original E-Mail Correspondences for complete conversations.

Three and Four, in connection with the final comments for both the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*.

Christina McGrath – Candidate for a Doctor of Letters (D.Litt.)
Drew University – Casperson School of Graduate Studies

Saint Patrick – Dissertation Questionnaire

1. Name
2. Date of Birth
3. Education
4. Religious Affiliation
5. Years of Latin Study
6. Why did you write about Saint Patrick?
7. What original document(s) did you use for your translation?
8. What research did you do on Patrick prior to writing your own translation?
9. Which Latin text did you use to translate?
10. Did you research and/or use other translations of Saint Patrick's writings while doing your own? If so, which ones?

Please type your answers for the survey questions. You may be as detailed as you wish. I truly appreciate your time and effort on my behalf. Thank you so much!

Saint Patrick – Dissertation Questionnaire

1. Name David Robert Howlett
2. Date of Birth 3 January 1944
3. Education BA in Classics University of Montana 1966, BA Honours in English, University of Oxford 1968, later MA, D.Phil 1975
4. Religious Affiliation Church of England
5. Years of Latin Study 8 to first BA
6. Why did you write about Saint Patrick? I believed that he had been radically misunderstood and misrepresented by modern scholars.
7. What original document(s) did you use for your translation? All the extant manuscripts of Patrick's works.
8. What research did you do on Patrick prior to writing your own translation? I edited his works.
9. Which Latin text did you use to translate? My own.
10. Did you research and/or use other translations of Saint Patrick's writings while doing your own? If so, which ones? I examined all the earlier editions and translations, but laid them all aside when translating for myself. It seemed essential to retain in my translation the underlying etymological connections of single words and entire word families.

E-mail received 2/22/17

1. John Skinner
2. 10/10/1934
3. Educated aged 9 - 19 by the Jesuits at Wimbledon College, a day grammar school.
4. I am a Catholic married to an Anglican: we worship at Wells Cathedral where I am storyteller to Wellsprings, our children's liturgy celebrated apart from the main Sunday Eucharist.
5. 11- 19 school Latin passing O level, the lowest exam grade. But on joining the Jesuits, we were lectured in Latin for our Philosophy and Theology courses. And exams were taken in the same language - this was in the 50s & 60s. Not so today. I left the Society after 13 years with a Theology degree, 8/10.
6. My American publisher, Doubleday, had already published my translation of Julian of Norwich, *A Revelation of Love*. And my editor asked me to tackle Patrick.
7. None
8. Grace of the internet, I found David Howlett's *The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick* the Bishop, Four Courts Press 1994, and knew at once I was in safe hands. You perhaps know this title already: if not, it should be of immense help to your thesis. His aim is to reinstate Patrick as a gifted Latinist, familiar with the poetic intricacies of that tongue and using it to his purpose, both rebuke to Coroticus and Evangelising by telling of his own conversion and labours in Ireland. Here, in one small yet scholarly book, was all the research I needed.
9. Howlett uses Professor Ludwig Bieler's text for his translation in his work. His approach is literal, literally word for word. And this cannot work for the general reader, so that all through I veered here and there to achieve rhythm and readability without, I trust, traducing the Patrick's original Latin.
10. No. As said, Howlett had ploughed the field ahead of me and I was confident following in his furrows. He is a pre-eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar who has contributed to the awakening interest in our local Wessex saint and hero, Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and first bishop of Sherborne. I am currently working, with very little straw to fashion bricks, on his life and achievements, the seed of our present Wells Cathedral being one of them.

E-Mail Received 6/17/16

Name: Pádraig McCarthy
 Date of Birth: 18 November 1943
 Education: Synge Street Christian Brothers' School, Dublin
 University College, Dublin.
 Lateran University, Rome.

Religious affiliation: Catholic

Latin Study: Five years at Secondary (High) School
 One year at University College, Dublin

At the Lateran University, Rome, most of the lectures were through the medium of Latin, with oral and written examinations also through the medium of Latin.

Why? I first read the Confession of St Patrick (in English) when about 10 years of age.

I was serving in Avoca parish in Co Wicklow in 2003, where we had a church dedicated to St Patrick which was celebrating its bicentenary. There is a strong local tradition about St Patrick.

I could not at that time find an accessible non-academic translation to make available to the parish. This was the reason for the translation.

The principle of translation was to provide a text in everyday English as far as possible, while being faithful to the Latin text.

Documents:

Text as given in *Book of Armagh* manuscript – facsimile and diplomatic transcription by John Gwynn.

Daniel Conneely:	<i>The Letters of St Patrick</i>
Lima de Paor:	<i>St Patrick's World</i>
Máire de Paor:	<i>Patrick: The pilgrim apostle of Ireland</i>
D R Howlett:	<i>The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop</i>
Joseph Duffy:	<i>Patrick in his own words</i>
Liam Mac Philibín:	<i>Mise Pádraig</i>
Thomas O'Loughlin:	<i>St Patrick: The man and his work</i>
Latin text:	As in Daniel Conneely, above.
Translations used:	Translations as given in the documents listed above.

E-Mail Received 4/18/16

Christina McGrath – Candidate for a Doctor of Letters (D.Litt.)
Drew University – Casperson School of Graduate Studies

Saint Patrick – Dissertation Questionnaire

1. Name Philip Freeman
2. Date of Birth July 1961
3. Education PhD Harvard (Classics & Celtic Studies)
4. Religious Affiliation Catholic
5. Years of Latin Study 4 undergrad + graduate school
6. Why did you write about Saint Patrick?
7. What original document(s) did you use for your translation?
8. What research did you do on Patrick prior to writing your own translation?
9. Which Latin text did you use to translate?
10. Did you research and/or use other translations of Saint Patrick's writings while doing your own? If so, which ones?

Please type your answers for the survey questions. You may be as detailed as you wish. I truly appreciate your time and effort on my behalf. Thank you so much!

6. Mostly because the letters are so vivid and provide a window into 5th century Ireland

7. Ludwig Bieler's edition of the letters (+ medieval mss. copies)

8. I read everything written about him

9.

10. No, I did my own translation

The translations in ST PATRICK OF IRELAND are fairly loose and at times close to a paraphrase. I did this deliberately to give the flavor of the originals.

Best wishes in your project.

Philip Freeman

2/7/2016

Received via postal mail: 2/18/16

CHAPTER FOUR – *The Confessio (The Confession of Saint Patrick)*

Both the *Confessio (The Confession of Saint Patrick)* and the *Epistola (Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus)* were written in Latin. The issue for translators becomes choosing “between what Patrick appears to mean in his Latin prose and reproducing in English the obscurity, vagueness and clumsiness of his expressions” (Hanson, *Life and Writings* 57). Even that phrase regarding Patrick’s Latinity is unfair.⁵⁸

The title of Saint Patrick’s writings is also problematic. At the end of *The Confession of Saint Patrick*, he writes “this is my declaration (*confessio mea*) before I die” (O’Loughlin 141). Some modern, casual readers may wonder – Is this letter a modern confession, a repentance of a transgression or sin? If so, what was Saint Patrick’s sin? Could there be something that Patrick must confess? In Section 27 of the *Confessio*, Patrick alludes to some action that he “had done one fateful day as a boy” (Skinner 49). He never elaborates as to what he did. What was this sin from years ago? Patrick alludes to some action in his past, but scholars only can speculate as to the true nature of that crime.

Or was Patrick prompted to write the text due to accusations from Church superiors for not adhering to Rome’s regulations? In Section 49 of the *Confessio*, he explains that many of the newly baptized Irish gave him gifts in gratitude, “[tossing] them onto the altar, trinkets and suchlike” (Skinner 68). Was that considered a form of embezzlement? Or is the text a religious confession, a declaration of his faith? Was this

⁵⁸ See Chapter Two – Issues of Patrick’s Latin for discussion

his documentation of his service to both the Church and the Irish people? Perhaps this “confession” is simply “another part of [Patrick’s] own service to God” – giving credit where credit is truly due (O’Loughlin 142). As with many facets of Saint Patrick, such as the previously mentioned issues regarding his confirmed birthplace, dates, education, Patrick’s allusion is another mystery that historians have been unable to solve.

In the end, the *Confessio* is not an autobiography. Patrick was not attempting to put down the facts of his life. He was focused on how it was that God called him back to Ireland to fulfill his missionary work. It is “a spiritual document” (Quasten and Plumpe 10). Its three themes are: “thanksgiving to God for His guidance and graces, a justification of Patrick’s episcopate before his critics and a frank confession of his sinful youth and his human weaknesses” (Quasten and Plumpe 8-9). Some scholars, with a dissenting opinion from Christine Mohrmann, suggest that Patrick may have been emulating the same style that was used by Saint Augustine in his *Confessions*. It was Augustine who “gave rhetoric a different focus than that of the Ciceronian tradition, namely the focus upon morality and on the soul as opposed to that of a political science” (Randall 32). In his previously mentioned 2016 dissertation for the University of Dublin, Roman Bleier points to writings of 1950s Irish scholar D. S. Nerney⁵⁹ that state that Patrick’s writings were modeled after Saint Paul’s in an attempt “to portray himself as a St. Paul of the Irish” (Bleier 66).

Patrick’s writings present a man who is neither Augustine nor Paul, but one who is capable of bringing Christianity to Ireland. Even though each translator discussed in

⁵⁹ No specific biographical information was available for Nerney.

this dissertation (White, Howlett, Skinner, Davies, McCarthy, and both Freeman publications: 2004 and 2014) may paint a uniquely and subtly different portrait of Saint Patrick, it is through Saint Patrick's own words that one can measure the quality of this man. "The writings of Patrick do not enable [the reader] to delineate his character, but they reveal unmistakably a strong personality and a spiritual nature" (Bury, *Life* 205). Since *The Confession of Saint Patrick* is considered to be the basis of all that is known about Saint Patrick, it is the best place to start analyzing the difference in these translations and in the corresponding portraits of the saint.

For this exploration, the Latin text presented is from Ludwig Bieler's 1950 edition which can be found on the "My Name is Patrick" website, through the Hypertext Stack Project, hosted by the Royal Irish Academy. The English translations that were chosen for analysis all date from the twentieth century. Although M. F. Cusack's and J. H. Todd's translations are interesting in their own right, not all translations could be used. The translations analyzed herein are arranged in chronological publishing order, to illuminate any language changes, along with possible political, personal, or economic influences. All quotes reproduced herein have been presented in italics, to indicate they are direct quotes from the translations. In White's translations, the biblical quotes, which he noted were taken from the King James Version or "the English Version of 1611" are offset from the rest of the quote and are not italicized for differentiation, as they were originally presented (White 260). The Section Identification numbers are taken from White's 1905 translation, as they are consistently used by other translations. Howlett and Skinner's translations are reproduced as they are found in each of their publications, in poetic format, with line breaks noted. The entire *Confessio* is not analyzed here, only

certain sections that present obvious etymological differences among the translations. An analysis of the effects of the translations and possible reasons for word choices will follow each passage. The analysis for this study focuses on these writings as pieces of literature, not theological texts. The analysis that follows is a discussion of specific word choices and how their lexical definitions can offer unique practical and theological meanings.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #1 – Section [1]

- Ego Patricius peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos...
- White: *I, Patrick the sinner, am the most rustic and the least of all the faithful, and contemptible in the eyes of very many.* (260)
- Howlett: *I, Patrick, a sinner, very rustic,/and the least of all of the faithful,/ and very contemptible in the estimation of most men.../* (53)
- Skinner: *I am Patrick, yes a sinner, and the simplest of peasants,/so that I am despised by the majority of men./* (26)
- Davis: *I am Patrick. I am a sinner: the most unsophisticated of people; the least among all the Christians; and, to many, the most contemptible.* (67)
- McCarthy: *My name is Patrick. I am a sinner, a simple country person, and the least of all believers. I am looked down upon by many.* (3)
- Freeman (2004): *I am Patrick – a sinner – the most unsophisticated and unworthy among all the faithful of God. Indeed, to many I am the most despised.* (176)
- Freeman (2014): *I am Patrick, a sinner and a very unsophisticated man. I am the least of all the faithful and to many the most despised.* (17)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #1 – Section [1]:

In this opening passage, White's translation sets itself apart at the very beginning.

While the other translators describe Patrick as *a sinner*, White presents Patrick as *the*

sinner, as if it is a moniker and he is either the only or the preeminent one of the world. He could be using that term because that is what the Church authorities referred to him as, in whatever accusatory document that prompted this *Confessio*. He also could be insinuating that Patrick is innately sinful, perhaps due to a unperceived bias on White's part. To be *a sinner* suggests that all those reading this document are also sinners and Patrick is just one among many. White and Howlett's translations are very similar, using the word *rustic*, which appears in the original as *rusticissimus*, rather than the ones that followed that used *unsophisticated* or *simple*. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, the word *rustic*, from the Latin *rusticus*, dates back to 1440 (obviously much later than Patrick's lifetime) referring to someone from the country and not town, which then leads way to the other translators' interpretation of the original Latin, *peasant* or *unsophisticated*. In Skinner's translation, Patrick refers to himself simply as a peasant, that does not illuminate the reason he might be despised by others. Nor does it indicate even who those others are, whether fellow Christians, Church officials, or the Irish. Davies' translation is similar to Freeman 2004; however, he identifies the group that looks down on Patrick as Christians. McCarthy's use of the phrase *simple country person* might be because the translation for meant for his specific twentieth century congregation in County Wicklow. Freeman's 2004 verbiage is more self-deprecating than Skinner's, in that Patrick describes himself as unworthy when compared to every person who believes in God. That self-deprecating language would be typical of rhetorical writing of the time period. Freeman's 2014 language is less self-deprecating and not as lyrical in its writing style. Skinner and McCarthy's use of *peasant* and *country person* also bring Patrick to the same level, either educationally or

economically, as those he wishes to serve. All of the translators break up the “original” Latin text into individual sentences and phrases, which would read better by a modern audience.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #2 – Section [11]

- *Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et ceteris, uerumtamen non silerem propter retributionem...*
- White: *But if I had had the same privileges as others, nevertheless I would not keep silence on account of the reward. (262)*
- Howlett: *But if, consequently, it had been given to me just as also to others,/even so I would not be silent on account of what should be handed back/[from me to God]. (59)*
- Skinner: *But if, in fact, I had been given the same advantages as all the rest,/I would certainly not have stayed silent “for the sake of paying back” the Lord./ (34)*
- Davies: *But if I had been given the same chance as the rest, then without a doubt, “for the sake of the reward,” I would not keep silent. (69)*
- McCarthy: *If I had been given the same chance as other people, I would not be silent, whatever the reward. (5)*
- Freeman (2004): *If I had been given the same education as others, I could not keep silent because of my feelings of thankfulness to God. (178)*
- Freeman (2014): *If only I had been given the same opportunity as others, then I would not be silent, hoping for my reward. (20)*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #2 – Section [11]:

Once again White differentiates his translation from the others by using the word *silence* rather than *silent*. *Silence* can be considered an atmosphere, a state that one is in; whereas *Silent* is an action. *Silence* could also have a spiritual nature to it, for to be in that silence, one exists in a void, due to a distancing from God. The focus shifts to

Patrick if he remains *silent*. This opens up conjectures regarding his motives to both remain silent and to speak. It also might simply have been a time period issue, but there is weight to *silence* that is not there in *silent*. Howlett's translation here is unique because it is especially choppy and does not flow as well as the others, which is one of the issues that he himself admitted in his book. Based on his survey questionnaire answers as presented in Chapter Three, since Howlett was concerned about the etymology of the Latin, he acknowledges that it might be less lyrical in its delivery (Howlett email 2/22/17).⁶⁰ Howlett, Skinner, and Freeman 2004 show that Patrick is giving back to God. This is very different from the other translators and would infer that the gift is coming from God to Patrick. Freeman 2014 is looking forward to his own personal reward; while McCarthy's suggests that Patrick is silent no matter what the reward is, whether it is given to him or others.

Other interesting word choice differences are the use of *privileges*, *advantages*, *chance*, *education*, and *opportunity* all which refer to Patrick's upbringing. As presented previously in Chapter One, by all accounts, Patrick was raised in a well-to-do family. His family was economically stable enough to educate young Patrick and to have a large compound, from which he was captured and enslaved. One would assume then that those word choices would refer to such a life. Yet Patrick says that he did not have the same benefits as others. In each translation, he puts forth the disclaimer that he was somehow denied the same opportunities that were given to others. These others could be fellow Christian missionaries or Church officials. This could be a continuation of self-

⁶⁰ See Chapter Three, Presentation of Modern Translators, David Howlett, Answer #10

deprecation to connect with his converts. If one looks at the beginning of the document, discussed in the previous passage [Section 1], Patrick is lamenting the fact that he cannot compose eloquently the true nature of his emotions and their meaning succinctly, as other writers can. Davies and McCarthy's use of *chance* is distinctive, in that there is an element of luck suggested with the word *chance*. It is different from the options found in other translations. Therefore, those word choices - *privileges, advantages, chance, education, and opportunity* – refer to his own writing style and his inability to write smoothly and perhaps poetically, to move his audience on an emotional level. Howlett, once again, stands out amongst the translators in the syntax and word choices of his sentence. He does not utilize any of the above-mentioned possibly charged words. Instead, he uses an ambiguous *it*, which could mean a multitude of things.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #3 – Section [12]

- Unde ego primus rusticus profuga indoctus scilicet, qui nescio in posterum providere, sed illud scio certissime quia utique priusquam humiliarer ego eram velut lapis qui iacet in luto profundo: et venit qui potens est et in sua misericordia sustulit me...
- White: *Whence I who was at first a rustic, an exile, unlearned as everybody knows, who know not how to provide for the future – but this I do know of a certainty that verily before I was afflicted I was like a stone lying in the deep mire, and He that is mighty came, and in His mercy lifted me up, ... (262)*
- Howlett: *Whence I, the extreme rustic,/a refugee, untaught, doubtless,/who do not know how to look forward into the future,/but that I do know most certainly, that indeed before I was humbled//I was like a stone that lies in deep mud,/and He Who is powerful came/and in His pity He raised me up.../ (59)*
- Skinner: *So there it is. I began life more rustic than any man you care to name:/an*

- exile, unschooled – that much is plain –/a man, what’s more, “who does not even know how to/make out for his future”;/yet I am sure in my mind of one thing:/that before I was brought low,/I was like some great stone lying deep in mud,/until “He who is power” came/and “in his mercy” lifted me up./ (35-36)*
- Davies: *So at first, I was a rustic and a wanderer without any learning who knew not how to provide for what would come later. But I know one thing without any doubt and with the greatest assurance that “before I was punished” I was like a stone lying in the deepest mire, and then, “he who is mighty” came and, in his mercy, raised me up. (70)*
 - McCarthy: *So I am first of all a simple country person, a refugee, and unlearned. I do not know how to provide for the future. But this I know for certain, that before I was brought low, I was like a stone lying deep in the mud. Then he who is powerful came and in his mercy pulled me out,.... (5)*
 - Freeman (2004): *Once I was a crude and ignorant exile who didn’t even know how I would take care of myself in the future, This much I know for certain – before God humbled me I was like a stone stuck deep in a mud puddle. (179).*
 - Freeman (2014): *In my youth I was indeed a rustic, an ignorant exile who did not know how to look to the future. But this I know without a doubt – before I was humbled I was like a stone stuck deep in the mud. Then he who is powerful in his mercy lifted me up... (21).*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #3 – Section [12]:

Howlett’s phrase *the extreme rustic* is similar to White’s phrasing in Section [1] of the sinner. It implies that he is the most rustic in all the world, rather than just *a rustic*, the phrase used by the other translators. Skinner suggests that Patrick feels that he is the most rustic man that anyone would know. The words *exile* and *refugee* are very different choices for the translators to make. White, Skinner, and both Freeman publications use *exile*. An *exile* is “a banished person” (*OED* 925). Howlett and McCarthy use *refugee*.

While a refugee is “one who, owing to religious persecution or political troubles, seeks refuge in a foreign country” (*OED* 2468). A secondary definition for *refugee* is a fugitive (*OED* 2468). Patrick was none of those; except when he fled his bondage, then he did become a fugitive. He was stolen from his home country, brought to a new country, and forced to work as a slave there. So that particular word choice by the translators is most unsettling.

Although the Latin original *profuga* could be translated into English as *exiled*, *fugitive*, *fleeing*, the translation does not fit the circumstance (Mahoney). Perhaps that is how Patrick felt about himself, his time in Ireland, his homeland, and the Church itself. Patrick could have felt as if he was an exile, in that he put himself into that position of being banished. It is clear, from all the translations studied for this project, that Patrick spoke less of himself, for whatever reason. He might have felt that he was not “good enough” to be of service to God anywhere else but in Ireland. It is as if to say, Ireland was where the “bad preachers” went. Patrick could have felt ashamed, enough to be banished in the eyes of God and needed to be punished. Was this exile a state of being that was put upon him by God? Or was it a self-initiated one? Patrick readily admits in the first section of the *Confessio* that he had “‘turned [his] back upon God’ [and] ‘did not keep his commands’” (Skinner 26). He also could have felt like a refugee, who had to take solace and protection, not only in the Irish countryside but in God’s forgiveness, however harsh and distant it might be.

Davies’ use of the word *wanderer* adds a completely different element to the thought behind the quote. The word itself conjures up images of confusion and being lost. Davies could be suggesting that Patrick was truly lost before the power of God

lifted him out of that state. This connects well with the following metaphor in the quote. Patrick uses the image of a stone stuck in a mire or in mud to symbolize the dire straits of his slavery, both physically and spiritually. This mire could have referred to the vast wasteland that was Ireland at that time, considered to be the end of the known world; while the finite space of mud could be the intimate space of Patrick's soul. One could argue that he was stuck in Ireland, for that is where the Church sent him for his missionary work; however, he said that it was God who called him to go there. But he also might have been stuck in his own belief regarding the strength of his faith.

Skinner's use of *power* versus *powerful* stands out because it is biblical quote. However, there is another element that differentiates the two ideas. The phrase "*He who is power*" is a similar phrasing to "In the beginning was the Word" (John 1:1). *Power* could have been capitalized as a proper noun, an entity in itself, and an allusion to God Himself. White's phrase *as everybody knows* suggests that everyone and anyone who read the *Confessio* would know of Patrick's inadequacies. Despite those inadequacies, Patrick became a bishop. For a man of God, why would it matter that other people thought he might be inadequate? All that matters is what God thinks. Davies' use of the phrase *before I was punished* is distinctive and raises the question, punished for what? Is he talking about being kidnapped? Is his slavery his punishment? In most of the translations, Patrick gives credit to God for lifting him out of that state. In Freeman's 2004 passage, Patrick let it be known that he was humbled by God, but that doesn't necessarily indicate that he was lifted out of the state he was in. In his 2014 translation, Freeman simply says that Patrick was humbled, not indicating by whom. Howlett also uses the word humbled. To come to a place where one has a low opinion of one's own

importance is a Christian mindset, the opposite of the sin of pride. However, does one get to this place by prayer and divine insight or do others point out one's insufficiencies?

Freeman 2004's credit to specifically God for that state of mind is unique.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #4 – Section [13]

- Unde autem ammiramini itaque magni et pusilli qui timetis Deum et uos domini cati rethorici audite et scrutamini. Quis me stultum excitauit de medio eorum qui uidentur esse sapientes et legis periti et potentes in sermone et in omni re, et me quidem, detestabilis huius mundi, prae ceteris inspirauit si talis essem — dummodo autem — ut cum metu et reuerentia et sine querella fideliter prodessem genti ad quam caritas Christi transtulit et donauit me in uita mea, si dignus fuero, denique ut cum humilitate et ueraciter deseruirem illis.
- White: *Wherefore then be ye astonied, ye that fear God, both small and great, and ye rhetoricians, hear and search out. Who was it that called up me, fool though I be, out of the midst of those who seem to be wise and skillful in the law, and powerful in word and in everything? And me, moreover, who am abominated of this world, did He inspire beyond others – if such I were – only that with reverence and godly fear and unblameably I should faithfully serve the nation to whom the love of Christ conveyed me, and presented me, as long as I live, if I should be worthy; in fine that I should with humility and in truth serve them. (262-263)*
- Howlett: *Whence, moreover, be astonished, consequently, you great and small who fear God, and you, sirs, [lords], clever rhetoricians, hear therefore and examine/who roused me up, a fool, from the midst of those/who seem to be wise and learned by experience in law/and powerful in speech and in everything/and inspired me, assuredly, beyond the others of this execrable world//if I should be such – if only moreover [I were] -/that with fear and reverence/and without complaint I should proceed faithfully to that gentile people/and granted me during my life, if I will have*

- been worthy,/that at last with humility and truthfully I might serve them/... (59,61)*
- Skinner: *Now on this account, be amazed “all you who fear/God, both great and small,”/ and even your masters in the art of rhetoric,/ listen and take careful note./Who stirred up me, a fool, from the midst of those/who are considered wise and learned in the practice of law,/as well as “persuasive in their speech” and in every other way/and, ahead of these others, inspired me who is so/despised by the world,/to be fit to help (if only I could!)/faithfully and “in fear and trembling”/and without any complaint that race of people/to which the love of Christ drew me/and thus spend the rest of my life, if only I might prove worthy;/simply to serve them in humility and truth./... (36-37)*
 - Davies: *So now, be amazed “you both small and great that fear God” and all you learned ones, all you clever speakers, listen and examine what you hear. [Now tell me:] Who was it that raised me up a fool from the midst of you who seem to be wise men and “experts in the law” and “powerful in word” and in every other matter? But indeed, [God] inspired me, the detestable of this world – if that is what I am, above others so that I should faithfully serve, “with fear and reverence” and “without blame,” the people to whom Christ’s love brought me, and to whom he gave me for the rest of my days should I be found worthy. In effect, that is that I should truly serve them with humility. (70)*
 - McCarthy: *So be amazed, all you people great and small who fear God! You well-educated people in authority, listen and examine this carefully. Who was it who called one as foolish as I am from the middle of those who are seen to be wise and experienced in law and powerful in speech and in everything? If I am most looked down upon, yet he inspired me, before others, so that I would faithfully serve the nations with awe and reverence and without blame: the nations to whom the love of Christ brought me. His gift was that I would spend my life, if I were worthy of it, to serving them in truth and with humility to the end. (6)*
 - Freeman (2004): *So listen to me well, all of you, great and small, everyone who has any fear of God – especially you wealthy landowners so proud of your education – listen and consider this carefully: God chose foolish little me from among all of you*

who seem so wise and so expert in the law and so powerful in your eloquence. He picked ignorant Patrick ahead of all of you – even though I am not worthy – he picked me to go forth with fear and reverence – and without any of your complaining at the time – to serve the Irish faithfully. The love of Christ carried me here to be a help to these people for the rest of my life, if I may be worthy, and to work for them with humility and in sincerity. (179)

- Freeman (2014): *So be amazed all of you both great and small who fear God, all you wealthy and learned men. Listen to me and consider what I say. Who was it who raised me a fool, up from among you – all you who seem wise, learned in the law, powerful in speech and in every other way? Indeed it was God himself who inspired me, despised by this world, and put me ahead of others to serve faithfully throughout my life, if I am able, with fear and reverence, the people brought here and bought by Christ’s love. He dedicated me to this task, if I am worthy to serve my people with true humility. (21)*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #4 – Section [13]:

White’s translation is a lexical picture of his time period, with the use of the word *ye* and *astonied*. White, Howlett, and Skinner use the word *rhetoricians* and Davies uses *speakers*, perhaps to further his (Davies) own theory that Patrick himself was a trained rhetorician in disguise. *Speakers* is also a common word, thus decreasing the distance between Patrick and his audience. McCarthy uses an exclamation point in his passage. This is problematic since, based on rudimentary research, that form of punctuation was not in use during Patrick’s lifetime. In fact, it was a possible editing error on the part of medieval monks. “One theory for the exclamation mark (!) posits that the symbol comes from the Latin word for an exclamation of joy, *io*. The letter “i” was eventually moved above the “o,” the dot and line of “i” connected, and the “o” shrunk to the size of a period today” (Timms). This suggests that McCarthy may have imagined this passage being

read aloud and wanted to emphasize that part. An additional issue with the use of punctuation is that perhaps an editor, separate from the translator, could have inserted a specific punctuation. This possibility adds another separate issue on top of mere translator bias.

Although Freeman 2004 added the caveat *even though I am not worthy*, the phrase *[h]e picked ignorant Patrick ahead of all of you* could possibly be interpreted as an arrogant comment on those to whom Patrick is writing. There are several times within the piece that indicate that Patrick is addressing Church officials directly and this is his declaration that he was worthy of God's Grace because he was chosen, and they were not. Skinner's *[w]ho stirred up me, a fool, from the midst of those who are considered wise and learned in the practice of law*, is a more humble comment on God's choice of messengers. Davies' translation mirrors Skinner's, in that Patrick considers himself unworthy to be the mouthpiece of God. There are also levels of intensity regarding God's choice of Patrick found in each translation. White's Patrick was *called up*. Howlett's and Skinner's Patrick was both *roused* or *stirred up*. Davies' and Freeman 2014's Patrick was *inspired* by God. McCarthy and Freeman 2004 show that a *foolish* Patrick was chosen by God. Howlett refers to the world that looks down on Patrick as *execrable*, an emotionally charged word. Skinner's Patrick is simply *despised* by the world. Freeman's publications are unique in that in the 2004 version Patrick points out that there was no initial *complaining at the time* that he went to start his missionary work in Ireland, so why was there suddenly an issue? In his 2014 publication, Freeman indicates an intimate connection between Patrick and his converts, with the simple phrase *to serve my people*. Lastly, Freeman 2004 uses the phrase *you wealthy landowners so*

proud of your education. To whom is he referring – church leaders, the chieftains, fellow bishops? This is not an easily answered question, as most researched scholars do not have an answer.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #5 – Section [15] (Boldface added)

- ...et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc Dominus seruulo suo concederet post aerumnas et tantas moles, post captiuitatem, post annos multos in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret; quod ego aliquando in iuuentute mea numquam speraui neque cogitaui.
- White: *And I was not worthy, nor such an one, as that the Lord should grant this to **His poor servant** after calamities and such great difficulties, after a life of slavery, after many years; that He should bestow on me so great grace towards that nation, a thing that formerly, in my youth, I never hoped for nor thought of.* (263)
- Howlett: *And I was not worthy nor such/that the Lord should allow this to **His little servant**,/after troubles and such great burdens,/after captivity,/after many years among that gentile people,/that He should grant such great grace to me,/which I never at any time in my youth hope for nor thought about.* (61).
- Skinner: *Not that I was in any way worthy nor even the kind of man/that the Lord would grant such a thing to me, **his/humble servant**,/after so many hardships and great burdens,/after my captivity,/after so many years spent living among this people/that he should grant me so great a grace - / something which, as a boy, I could never have hoped/for or even dreamt possible.* (38)
- Davis: *And I was not worthy in any way for what the Lord was to grant to **his servant** after tribulations, many setbacks, captivity, and many long years. He gave me a great grace toward that people [among whom I had been captive]. This was something I had never thought of, nor hoped for, in my youth.* (70)
- McCarthy's section 15 has no reference to servant at all.
- Freeman (2004): *I wasn't worthy nor was I really the sort of person for God to*

choose as his servant. God granted me this mission among the Irish after such hardship and so many troubles, after slavery, after many years – a future I certainly never hoped for or planned on when I was young. (180).

- Freeman's 2014 publication has no reference to servant at all.

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #5 – Section [15]:

The boldfaced phrases were the initial phrases that stood out between the different translations to note discussion. White's use of *poor* could indicate either an economic or a spiritual status. Howlett's *little* probably was meant to be subservient in relation to the Divine. In Skinner, the addition of the word *humble* truly makes a difference in how one sees Patrick, as one who serves willingly and without expectations of remuneration. The word choice of *humble* was a device of medieval rhetorical writing, as previously mentioned, in that early Christian writers used humility to connect to their audience. It is very interesting that in both McCarthy and Freeman 2014, there was no mention of servant; which is very odd since Freeman did have it in his 2004 translation. This begs that question, why the omission ten years later? One possible reason is that, per Freeman himself, the 2004 publication by Simon and Schuster was written as a general audience book, while the 2014 published by Oxford University Press was meant for college courses. The Freeman 2004 publication was meant to be sold to a wide, non-scholarly audience, so the word choices were specifically made to be understood by the general reader. The allusions crafted were not as narrow; but were rather easily made. The Freeman 2014 publication was written for university students who would have had an above-average understanding of the period, history, and other allusions. In addition, the vocabulary used would have been of a higher caliber, simply because it was assumed that those reading the book would have no trouble in their comprehension. The 2014 book's

purpose was to educate on a deeper level, while the 2004 book's purpose was simply to introduce the readers to Patrick.

In addition to those phrases, how each translator refers to the Irish is unique. White uses *that nation* and Davis uses *that people* – which suggests distance from the people to whom Patrick brought this new religion. Skinner uses *this people*, suggesting a closeness and intimacy between Patrick and his converts. Howlett's *gentile people* could have a double meaning, first using the ancient term of other, meaning in this case, pagan and/or second, that the Irish were in fact a kind and peace-loving people. Freeman 2004 uses *the Irish* to specifically indicate exactly to whom Patrick is referring.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #6 – Section [17]

- 'Ecce nauistua parata est'... et deinde postmodum conuersus sum infugam et intermisi hominem cum quo fueram sex annis et ueni in uirtute Dei, qui uiam meam ad bonum dirigebat et nihil metuebam donec perueni ad nauem illam,...
- White: *“Lo, thy ship is ready...And thereupon I shortly took to flight, and left the man with whom I had been for six years, and I came in the strength of God who prospered my way for good, and I met with nothing to alarm me until I reached the ship. (263)*
- Howlett: *“Look, your ship is ready.” ...and then later I turned to flight,/and I abandoned the man with whom I had been for six years,/and I came in the power of God,/Who was directing my way toward the good,/and I was fearing nothing until I came through to that ship,/. (63)*
- Skinner: *“Come and see, where your ship is waiting for you.”/...I turned on my heel and ran away,/leaving behind the man to whom I had been bound for/six years./Yet I came away from him in the power of God,/for it was he who was guiding my every step for the best./And so I felt not the least anxiety until I reached the/ship.” (39, 39-40)*

- Davis: “Behold! Your ship is prepared”Soon after that I took flight leaving the man I had been with for six years. And I traveled “in the power of God,” who directed my path toward the good, and I feared nothing until I arrived at the ship. (71)
- McCarthy: “Look – your ship is ready.” ...So I ran away then, and left the man with whom I had been for six years. It was in the strength of God that I went – God who turned the direction of my life to good; I feared nothing while I was on the journey to that ship. (6,7)
- Freeman (2004): “Behold, your ship is ready.” ...But I soon ran away and fled the master I had served for six years. I left trusting in God, who took care of me on my journey, and I wasn’t afraid – at least until I came to the ship. (180)
- Freeman (2014): “Behold, your ship is ready.” ...But soon after this I ran away and left the man I had served as a slave for six years. I traveled with courage from God, who guided my way toward good. I feared nothing – until I came to the ship. (22)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #6 – Section [17]:

White’s omission of a demonstrative command, such as *Look, Come and see*, or *Behold*, in favor of *Lo* is more than simple age-related language differences. Yes, *Lo* is era-specific, but it also takes away the specificity and grandeur of God’s comment. It seems to diminish the initial calling, similar to the modern phrase, “yo” or “hey” said just to get someone’s attention. In all of the translations, Patrick traveled to the ship either in the *strength* or *power* of God. Davies offsets the phrase with quotation marks, indicating that it is a biblical phrase (1 Corinthians 2:5); yet Skinner does not mark it as such. White, Howlett, and McCarthy suggest that God was not only directing Patrick to the ship, but He was also directing the path of his life as a whole. McCarthy stands out towards the end of his translation by saying that Patrick *feared nothing while [he] was on the journey to that ship*. All of the others used the word *until*, which suggests that he did

worry once he arrived at the ship. McCarthy's focus is on the journey itself and the fact that Patrick felt safe in God's care.

With regards to emotional impression of the translations, there is something inherently different between the beginning of Freeman's and Skinner's translations. The language in both of Freeman's translations is commanding, while Skinner's is more caring and compassionate. Skinner and Freeman both use the image of God guiding Patrick's steps. Freeman's 2004 beginning verbiage does give credit to God for taking care of Patrick on the journey. It is also interesting to note that only Freeman, in both publications, identifies the relationship between Patrick and the man he was with for six years. In the 2004 version, Freeman only refers to the man as Patrick's master. However, in the 2014 version, Freeman clearly states that this man was Patrick's master and more importantly, that Patrick was a slave. Freeman's publications also give credit to a personal God who traveled with him and one who took care of him as well.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #7 – Section [25]

- *Spiritus adiuuat infirmitates orationis nostrae: nam quod oremus sicut oportet nescimus: sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus, quae uerbis exprimi non possunt; et iterum: Dominus aduocatus noster postulat pro nobis.*
- White: The Spirit helpeth the infirmities of our prayer, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, which cannot be expressed in words. *And again, The Lord our Advocate maketh intercession for us. (266)*
- Howlett: *The Spirit helps the weaknesses of our prayer./For we do not know, as is fitting, what we should pray for,/but the Spirit Himself demands for us with groans*

- that cannot be narrated//things which cannot be expressed in words./And again, The Lord our advocate demands for us./ (69)*
- Skinner: ... *"The Spirit comes to support the failings in our prayer./For we do not know how we should pray as we ought./But the Spirit himself asks for us, with so many groans/that may not be described."/And once more it is written, "The Lord himself is our/advocate who asks on our behalf." (47)*
 - Davis: *"Likewise the Spirit helps the weaknesses of our prayers; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with ineffable sighs which cannot be expressed in words." And again it says: "The Lord is our Advocate, he intercedes for us." (73)*
 - McCarthy: *"The Spirit helps the weaknesses of our prayer; for we do know what it is we should pray, but the very Spirit pleads for us with unspeakable sighs, which cannot be expressed in words." And again: "The Lord is our advocate, and pleads for us." (9)*
 - Freeman (2004): ... *"The Spirit helps us when we don't know how to pray or what we ought to pray for. The Spirit prays with a language which goes beyond mere words." And again, "The Lord is our spokesman who prays for us. (183)*
 - Freeman (2014): *"The Spirit helps the weakness in our prayers. For we do not know what we should pray for, but the Spirit himself prays for us with unspeakable sighs that cannot be expressed in words." And again: "The Lord our advocate speaks for us." (25)*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #7 – Section [25]:

As Mohrmann stated, Patrick was a man of "only one book, Holy Scripture. This book he almost knew by heart" (Mohrmann 34). This entire passage is a reference to 1 John 2:1 – "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous" (KJV, Blue Letter Bible). It is interesting that Freeman's 2004 translation is only one that uses the

word *spokesman* and it is even more interesting that in his 2014 translation, he used the word *advocate*. As an advocate, God is supporting His believers in their prayers, even when they don't know what exactly they want or need. There is a difference between being someone's spokesperson and someone's advocate. A spokesperson may offer prepared statements, which may not reflect his/her personal ideas. An advocate is meant not only to speak for a person's interest, but will also foresee all that one needs in anticipation. An advocate is one who will fight for whom he/she is in charge. In Freeman's 2004 passage, God Himself is doing the action for the believers. God is also helping the believers themselves, rather than helping their prayers. Howlett may have used the word *advocate*, but in his translation, God *demands*; this suggests an angry God, the opposite of Skinner's image of a God who *asks for us*.

There also is a difference between the phrases *the failings in our prayer* (Skinner) and *the weaknesses of our prayers* (Davies). Do prayers really fail or, due to the limitation of the human experience, are those prayers simply weak? The first question that arises from this is what constitutes a failing prayer? Is it not getting what one asked for? Or is it more likely that due to humans' inability to see all that the Divine sees, they ask for things that they either do not need or for things that would be detrimental, hence *the weaknesses of our prayers*? White's use of *infirmities* also suggest that human beings' prayers are sick and are in need of divine healing. Lastly, White, Howlett, and Skinner use the word *groans* while Davies, McCarthy, and Freeman 2014 use the word *sighs*. There is an element of pain associated with groans, in that the Divine feels the pain and suffering of humans. There is a defeatist connotation with the word *sigh*, which is questionable with regards to God.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #8 – Section [33]

- ...ab omnibus iniquitatibus...
- White: *...and He preserved me from all iniquities* (267)
- Howlett: *...and He kept me from all iniquities...* (73)
- Skinner: *And he kept me safe from all evils...* (53)
- Davis: *...he preserved me from all inequities.* (75)
- McCarthy: *...and he protected me from all evils...* (11)
- Freeman (2004): *He rescued me from all evil....* (185)
- Freeman (2014): *...and he saved me from all evil.* (27)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #8 – Section [33]:

Being *rescued* (Freeman 2004), *protected* (McCarthy), and being *kept safe* (Skinner and Freeman 2014) are slightly different concepts, both in a practical sense, as well as a spiritual one. Patrick was most definitely in a physically dangerous situation, being a slave and then fleeing towards freedom. Additionally, by his own explanation, Patrick had not kept the Commandments and was in spiritually dangerous situation. Being rescued indicates that one is incapable of getting out of whatever the situation is that surrounds him/her. The only way the person, in this case, Patrick, would be safe is if God Himself pulled him physically from the harmful situation to one of safety. Whereas being *protected* or *kept safe* doesn't necessarily mean that one does not go through an "evil" situation, but that permanent damage is kept from happening. In this sense, Patrick's soul, spirit, inner being, was kept protected while he was surrounded by terrible events that were happening to his physical body. It is a subtle difference, but one that makes sense, in a Christian's eyes. Terrible evils do befall believers; however, they do not undo those who believe. That faith in God is an insulator to outside forces and the

crux of belief. It is thought-provoking to note another difference between Freeman's two publications: *rescued* (Freeman 2004) and *kept safe* (Freeman 2014). If the 2004 publication was for the masses, presenting Patrick as someone who had to be *rescued* is a more dynamic action and more appealing than the passive *kept safe*. Another possible reason for that word choice might be that the theological allusion might have been lost on a general audience. Lastly, White's, Howlett's, and Davies' use of the word *inequities* seems to sanitize the horrors that might have befallen Patrick on his trek through Ireland into freedom.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #9 – Section [51]

- ...ego impendi pro uobis ut me caperent, et inter uos et ubique pergebam causa uestra in multis periculis etiam usque ad exteras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat qui baptizaret aut clericos ordinaret aut populum consummaret: donante Domino diligenter et libentissime pro salute uestra omnia generaui.
- White: I spent for you *that they might receive me, and both amongst you, and wherever I journeyed for your sake, through many perils, even to outlying regions beyond which no man dwelt, and where never had anyone come to baptize or ordain clergy, or confirm the people, I have, by the bounty of the Lord, done everything, carefully and very gladly, for your salvation.* (272)
- Howlett: *I have spent for you that they might receive [lit. 'capture'] me,/and among you and everywhere I proceeded in your cause in many perils,//even as far as remote parts,/where there was no one had ever come through,/who would baptize/or ordain clerics/or bring the people to the highest perfection./With the Lord granting,/with loving care and most willingly,/I have begotten all things for your salvation./* (87)
- Skinner: *On the contrary, I have spent generously on your/behalf so that I would be*

accepted./I traveled among you and went to every place for your/sake,/I was threatened with danger on every side./I came to the remotest places,/beyond which no man has ever gone/and where no one had ever reached before,/who was able to baptize/or ordain priests/and confirm those people in their faith./By God's own gift,/I have done all that was needed,/worked tirelessly and with a will for your salvation.
(69)

- Davies: *"I spend myself" for you that you might lay hold of me. Indeed I have traveled everywhere for your sake: I have gone amid many dangers; I have gone to places beyond where anyone lived; and I have gone where no one else had gone to baptize people, or ordain clergy, or complete people. With God's help, I have carried out all these things lovingly, carefully, and most joyfully for your salvation.* (81)
- McCarthy: *I spend myself for you, so that you may have me for yours. I have traveled everywhere among you for your own sake, in many dangers, and even to the furthest parts where nobody lived beyond, and where nobody ever went to baptise and to ordain clerics or to bring people to fulfillment. It is only by God's gift that I diligently and most willingly did all of this for your good.* (16)
- Freeman (2004): *In fact, it was just the opposite. I spent money to bribe the local kings to receive me. For your sake, my Irish Christians, I traveled everywhere among great dangers. I even went to the most remote parts of the island – places at the very edge of the world, places no one had ever been before – to baptize and ordain clergy and confirm people in the faith. I did it all, with the help of God, gladly and joyfully for your sake.* (191)
- Freeman (2014): *On the contrary, I spent myself for you so that they would receive me. I traveled among you everywhere risking many dangers for your sake even to the farthest places beyond which no one lived. No one had ever gone that far to baptize or ordain clergy or serve the people. With the help of God, I did this with great care and most gladly for your salvation.* (33-34)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #9 – Section [51]:

White and Howlett use phrase *receive me* which has overtones of hospitality to strangers, a common value, dating back to the ancient world. Skinner's use of *I would be accepted* is unique in that it is individual, personal, and indicates that Patrick wants the Irish to do more than simply allow him access in their homes. He wants them to understand and agree with his ministry. Freeman 2004's translation stands out in the fact that it makes reference to one of the possible allegations brought against Patrick by his superiors – *I spent money to bribe the local kings to receive me*. Some believed that Patrick either took bribes or at least gifts from some of the Irish chieftains during his missionary work. Freeman 2004's version explains that Patrick may have had to do that in order to continue to bring the word of God to the Irish and to provide himself and his fellow missionaries some very needed protection during the process. Another significant difference in Freeman 2004 and Freeman 2014 is the concept of spending *money* and spending *myself*. Freeman 2004 clearly refers to actual money that was needed for protection.

In Freeman 2004, the phrase *my Irish Christians* is layered in connections. Patrick relates to these people because they are Christians. He relates to them because they are Irish. He relates to them because they are his. He was the one who acted on God's behalf to save them. Freeman 2014 builds on that connection and infers that Patrick used up all of his personal strength in order to save Irish souls. He is emotionally spent and has nothing else to give. Although he did not die for them, the implication is that he did so on a spiritual level. McCarthy (*for your good*) and Freeman 2004 (*for your sake*) suggest that Irish salvation was not specifically Patrick's goal, but rather, for their

general benefit. Davies' translation is perplexing in that he offsets "I spend myself" as a direct quote from 2 Corinthians 12:15. However, it is not a direct quote, only an allusion to the biblical text.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #10 – Section [62]

- Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere uel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione conscripsit, ut nemo umquam dicat quod mea ignorantia, si aliquid pusillum egi uel demonstraerim secundum Dei placitum, sed arbitramini et uerissime credatur quod donum Dei fuisset. Et haec est confessio mea antequam moriar.
- White: *But I pray those who believe and fear God, whosoever shall have deigned to look upon or receive this writing which Patrick the sinner, unlearned as everybody knows, composed in Ireland, that no one ever say it was my ignorance that did whatever trifling matter I did, or proved in accordance with God's good pleasure, but judge ye, and let it be most truly believed that it was the gift of God. And this is my confession before I die. (274)*
- Howlett: *But I beseech those believing/and fearing God,/whoever will have deigned to look on/or receive this writing,/which Patrick, a sinner, untaught, to be sure, wrote down in Ireland,//that no man should ever say that by my ignorance,/if I have accomplished or demonstrated any small thing/but that you judge and it must be most truly believed/that it was the gift of God,/and this is my Confession/before I die./ (93)*
- Skinner: *But I beg and beseech all those who believe/and fear God,/whoever comes across this writing/and takes the trouble to read it through,/namely the writing of Patrick, a sinner who, though he/was never taught,/wrote it down in Ireland,/that no man ever say, if in my ignorance/I have accomplished any small thing, however trivial,/or if I have shown the way/according to God's good purpose,/that this was my own ignorance at work:/but rather, know and believe it to be the undeniable/truth/that it was a gift of God./This is my Confession/before I come to die.*

(76)

- Davis: *now pray for anyone who believes in, and fears, God who may perchance come upon this writing which Patrick the sinner and the unlearned one, wrote in Ireland. I wrote it so that no one might say that whatever little I did, or anything I made visible according to God's pleasure, was done through ignorance. Rather, you should judge the situation and let it be truly believed that it was "the gift of God." And this is my declaration before I die. (83)*
- McCarthy: *I pray for those who believe in and have reverence for God. Some of them may happen to inspect or come upon this writing which Patrick, a sinner without learning, wrote in Ireland. May none of them ever say that whatever little I did or made known to please God was done through ignorance. Instead, you can judge and believe in all truth that it was a gift of God. This is my confession before I die. (18)*
- Freeman (2004): *My final prayer is that all of you who believe in God and respect him – whoever you may be who read this letter that Patrick the unlearned sinner wrote from Ireland – that none of you will ever say that I in my ignorance did anything for God. You must understand – because it is the truth – that it was all the gift of God. And this is my confession before I die. (193)*
- Freeman (2014): *I do pray that any of you who believe in God and fear him – whoever you might be who comes upon these words written in Ireland by Patrick the ignorant sinner – that none of you will say that in my ignorance I did anything worthy, but that you might realize and truly believe that any small thing I accomplished or did that was pleasing to God was done through his gift. This is my declaration before I die. (36)*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #10 – Section [62]:

White, Davies, and both Freeman publications distinguish Patrick again as *the sinner*, rather than one sinner among many. McCarthy uses *reverence for God* which is much different from the others who assign *fear* in relation to God. Reverence has

elements of awe, honor, and respect. Upon initial reading of Patrick's *Confessio*, one might believe that he is writing to a group of Church officials regarding some transgression. However, Freeman's 2004 word usage suggests that this is Patrick's final prayer for those who will read the letter on how to judge both Patrick the man and Patrick the missionary. Skinner's version suggests that he is appealing to his Church superiors, by using the phrase *whoever comes across this writing/and takes the trouble to read it through*. Davies' passage is directed at anyone who believes in God. Freeman's 2004 sentence is only concerned with an eventual death. Skinner's writing style gives the impression that perhaps Patrick felt like a lamb going to a slaughter, in retribution for his transgressions, whatever they were.

Davies and Freeman 2014 differ from the other translators with the use of the word *declaration* rather than *confession*. As previously mentioned, Howlett put forth the theory that Patrick was trained in rhetoric. Whether Patrick was in fact trained specifically in that writing style or not is moot: the use of the word confession was specific as an allusion to Augustine's *Confession*. This is compounded with the fact that Skinner and Howlett both capitalize the word, making it proper and more than its lower-case version. Did they choose capitalization to give the word more weight in meaning? Or is it because this writing piece is in the rhetorical writing trope of a confession? Or was it a modern editor's decision? The word, confession, also would have weight for those of the Roman Catholic faith, as one of the sacraments. However, this interpretation is problematic, as the sacraments were not codified at the time of Patrick's mission. And yet, this differentiation is crucial in the conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants and who would claim Patrick as their own.

CONFESSIO CONCLUSIONS

Analyzing only the *Confessio* in this chapter and the *Epistola* in the next, the reader is met with different translations, sometimes subtle, sometimes thought-provoking and profound.⁶¹ White's translation is a throwback to the early twentieth century, in terms of word choice, with his use of *thy*, *ye*, *deign*, etc. Those words may be considered old-fashioned by today's standards, but they are the words that were used in the *King James Version* of the Bible, one of White's sources used in his translation. White also included biblical quotes, woven in with Patrick's writing, without identification. If Patrick was writing to Church officials, that audience would have been familiar with them. Perhaps Patrick wanted to weave biblical language into his writing to demonstrate intimate knowledge of the Holy Book. The Patrick who comes through this translation seems distant to the modern reader.

Howlett's translation is concerned with representing, in his estimation, the proper Latin to English translation, drawing on Howlett's extensive knowledge of Latin. This adherence to an etymologically based translation does not produce a flowing, emotional view of Patrick. Howlett's theory that Patrick was deliberate in his writing, in a precise, almost mathematical manner, further takes away from any intimacy with Patrick. He no longer is a simple missionary, writing down his thoughts haphazardly. This sense of deliberateness brings in an element of calculation, detachment, coldness.

Skinner's translation incorporates the biblical quotes with footnoted citations for the modern audience, a poetic or lyrical style,⁶² along with subtle word choices that

⁶¹ See the Conclusion Chapter for a complete discussion of both pieces

⁶² Poetic or lyrical writing is writing that evokes an emotional response, through the use of figurative language, akin to that reaction music might elicit.

present a simple man. Phrases such as “the splendor of that sun flooded over/me” or “I woke up full of joy” produce a reaction, based on imagery and sentiment (Skinner 43, 46). This gives the reader the intimacy that is lacking in Howlett’s. However, is this intimacy from Patrick or from Skinner? Based on emails, from the initial introductory one to follow-up correspondences with Skinner, it is evident that his own personality and writing style comes through in the translation. It is also interesting that both Howlett and Skinner were the only translations used in this essay that reproduced Patrick’s writings in a poetic format, rather than prose. Since Skinner admits to using Howlett’s text as his guiding force for his own translation, it makes sense that they both use a poetic layout rather than prose. This choice ties back to Patrick’s use of rhetoric, in that there was a poetic component to that particular writing style. In Howlett’s introduction, he clearly states that his translation is arranged “per cola et commata ‘by clauses and phrases’ to reveal the units of Patrick’s thought” (Howlett 12). The nature of poetry and simple layout of words and phrase force the reader to pause and possibly ponder what Patrick was trying to say so many years ago.

Davies’ translation is reminiscent of White’s, in that there is a properness and formalness to it, which again removes Patrick from the reader. Davis’ sentence syntax, from Section 18 of the *Confessio*, such as: “The ship was about to depart on the very day I arrived and I said [to those on board] that I wanted to sail with them from there” is very structured and proper (Davis 71). In contrast, Skinner’s syntax for the same section uses more imagery: “And on the very day when at last I came to the harbor,/I saw a ship being put into the water/” (Skinner 40). Perhaps that formality stems from the fact that Davies’ translation was found in a college textbook. McCarthy’s translation is unique in

that it was written for a modern congregation, in celebration of Patrick, with the purpose of reconnecting that parish to the saint. The word choices that he made do just that. There is an ease to his translation, from the very beginning where he uses the phrase “a simple country person” (McCarthy 3).

It is amazing to analyze Freeman’s two translations side by side. What is fascinating about reading through and analyzing those two pieces, is that they were translated by the same person, who admittedly had different purposes for each. His 2004 publication is very contemporary and is accessible to that audience, with its use of conjunctions and unattributed biblical references; while his 2014 publication for college courses is closer to the more traditional ones of White, Howlett, and Davies. The conclusion that audience does matter to the translator is obvious; however, to receive validation from Freeman himself was gratifying.

This discussion of these seven translations presented here illuminates the premise of this argument, in that each one is purposeful in its presentation of the image of Patrick. Although each one of the translators presents his “version” of what Patrick wrote, Skinner’s translation is the most lyrical and personal of all the translations. There is something about the writing style of Skinner, not Patrick, that comes through those word choices and sentence structures that is for some reason missing in the others. In his Preface of the *Confessio*, Skinner writes that in this work, “Patrick lays bare his soul” and that “Patrick the bishop was a real man, holy and passionate” (Skinner 17, 25). With those comments, Skinner’s own writing style comes across and offers the reader a Patrick who is open and accessible. This fact connects back to the work of Lawrence Venuti discussed in Chapter Two, in that the translator is never invisible, if not in his word

choices, then in his own personal writing style to present them. Yes, these seven translations all relatively say the same thing; however, Skinner's "version" seems to present an actual, flawed human being, one who credits God for all he has been able to do and one whose opinions on certain topics would be further explored in his other writing, *The Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, also known as the *Epistola*.

CHAPTER FIVE – The *Epistola (The Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus)*

As previously mentioned in Chapter One, specific details concerning the accuracy about what is known to be historical fact regarding Patrick, as well as fourth and fifth century Britain is difficult to determine. The Roman Empire did reach into the Isles, with some German, Frank, and Gaul influences. However, Ireland was considered the end of the world and the Irish were barbarians in the eyes of the “civilized” world. Historians have differing opinions concerning Coroticus and who exactly he was. In his book, *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career*, scholar R. P. C. Hanson explores his identity. He puts forth the theory that Coroticus was, in fact, Ceretic of Dumbarton. Hanson also refers to scholar T. F. O’Rahilly, who he believes inaccurately identified Coroticus as the son of Cunedag, a Welsh prince.⁶³ Suffice it to say that there was a man of some power and influence, with ties to the Roman Empire, with a group of soldiers who did his bidding, who at one point in history encountered newly baptized converted Irish, and it was that contact that involved Patrick. Scholars confirm that the impetus that drove Patrick to write this letter was an incident where Roman soldiers under Coroticus’ command attacked a group of Irish Christians, killing most of them, men, women, and children, while kidnapping and enslaving some of “a few especially beautiful women” (Freeman, *St. Patrick of Ireland* 132).

Historians will never be sure if Patrick’s letter, requesting the return of the Irish converts, was successful. In his book, *St. Patrick of Ireland*, Philip Freeman presents the notion that Patrick’s letter did have some influence. It was Church policy at the time that

⁶³ See Hanson *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career*, pp. 22-24 for complete discussion

bishops and priests did not interfere with parishioners of other bishops and priests. In this respect, Patrick should have contacted the bishop where Coroticus lived to issue a formal reprimand (Freeman, *St. Patrick of Ireland* 140). It is unlikely that if Patrick had done that, he would have been successful in his quest to save the converts. The sitting bishop probably would have turned a blind eye towards the heinous infraction because the Church needed the protection that Roman soldiers provided. The other issue that was working against Patrick was time. Captors do not keep their prisoners long, especially when the slave market is calling. Freeman hypothesizes that this was the event, going outside his own episcopate jurisdiction, that forced Patrick to face some sort of formal review, which then led to his writing the *Confessio* (Freeman, *St. Patrick of Ireland* 140-142).

In as much as the *Confessio* gives the readers a glimpse into Patrick's belief in his God and his mission to serve that God, the *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus* (also referred to as the *Epistola*) further reflects his personal story, as it relates to his anti-slavery beliefs, fueled by his time in captivity. While it is true that Patrick is writing as the spiritual leader for those whom the Romans had captured and enslaved, his passion must have been fueled by personal reflections of his own servitude. It is also interesting to note that Patrick is writing to the soldiers of Coroticus – whether they read it themselves or if it was read to them, not to the Roman general himself. Perhaps Patrick was hoping to appeal to their connection as foot soldiers to a commander, the Romans to Coroticus, himself to God. Perhaps Patrick was hoping to appeal to their humanity, with regards to their recent inhumane actions towards the new converts. Regardless, Patrick's language in the letter's structure is different than the *Confessio*, in that there is more

emotion in the *Epistola*, whether that is because of the genre or the subject shall be discussed later in the Conclusion. All of the formatting parameters mentioned in Chapter Three in regard to the *Confessio* are maintained here, with regard to both the Latin text and the English translations. Again, as in Chapter Three with the *Confessio*, the entire *Epistola* is not analyzed here, only certain sections that present obvious differences among the translations.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #1 – Section [1]

- Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hibernione constitutus episcopum me esse fateor. Certissime reor a Deo accepi id quod sum.
- White: *I, Patrick the sinner, unlearned as everybody knows: - I confess that I have been appointed a bishop in Ireland. Most assuredly I deem that I have received from God what I am. (275)*
- Howlett: *I, Patrick, a sinner, untaught, to be sure, established in Ireland, profess/myself to be a bishop./Most certainly I consider that I have received from God that which I am. (27)*
- Skinner: *I am Patrick, yes a sinner and indeed untaught; yet I/am established here in Ireland where I profess myself/bishop./I am certain in my heart that “all that I am,” I have received from God. (1)*
- Davies: *I Patrick, a sinner and one truly unlearned, declare myself to be a bishop set up by God in Ireland. I most certainly hold that what I am, I have received from God. (84)*
- McCarthy: *I declare that I, Patrick, - an unlearned sinner indeed – have been established a bishop in Ireland. I hold quite certainly that what I am, I have accepted from God. (20)*
- Freeman (2004): *I am Patrick the ignorant sinner and, I declare, a bishop in Ireland – a position I believe I was appointed to by God himself. (169)*

- Freeman (2014): *I am Patrick, a sinner and very ignorant man. I declare that I have been appointed as a bishop in Ireland – and I believe that I have received this position from God himself.* (8)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #1 – Section [1]:

Just as he did in *Confessio*, Patrick continues with the self-deprecating language. This could be Patrick’s tactic of relating to his audience; but more probably, he was simply following the common rhetorical writing style. All of the translators introduce him as a sinner, in an attempt to “level the playing field” with the soldiers to whom the *Epistola* is written. It was an attempt by Patrick to acquaint himself with the everyday person, under the eyes of God. However, this “leveling” does not work because Patrick was a bishop at the time. Although that position during his lifetime might not have the same elevated status it has in modern times, he was no longer a simple missionary. White repeated the phrase “the sinner” as he did in the *Confessio*. White, Davies, and McCarthy use the word *unlearned*. Howlett and Skinner use *untaught*. Freeman just simply claims Patrick to be *ignorant*. Although all words are possible translations, there is a difference between being *ignorant* and *untaught* or *unlearned*. One can be ignorant of traditional customs or specific knowledge, through no fault of one’s own. Being *untaught* or *unlearned* simply means that he wasn’t given a specific schooling, in this case, with regards to Church theology.

Another interesting word choice difference is how Patrick claims his episcopate. White and Freeman 2014 use the word *appointed*. This begs the question, appointed by whom: God? Rome? There is no definitive scholarship on how and where Patrick became a bishop. Howlett and Skinner use *profess*, while Davies and Freeman 2004 use

declare, both terms could be taken as a self-centered declaration. Patrick makes that claim, based on what he received from God, not himself alone. Howlett and McCarthy use the word *established*. This connects back to White and Freeman 2004, in that, is Patrick stating that he established himself or did the Church or God Himself set him up in Ireland? Lastly, Patrick gives credit to God for all that he has he *received from Him*. However, McCarthy once more is unique with the phrase *accepted from God*. It is a very subtle difference, but the inference with the word *accepted* versus *received* is that with the former, Patrick had an option to refuse or in the very least, he becomes the doer in the exchange and not God.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #2 – Section [1]

- Non quod optabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere; sed cogor zelo Dei, et ueritas Christi excitauit,...
- White: *Not that I desired to utter from my mouth anything so harshly and so roughly; but I am compelled, roused as I am by zeal for God and for the truth of Christ; ... (275)*
- Howlett: *Not that I preferred to pour out from my mouth anything so harshly and/so savagely,/but I am compelled by the zeal of God, and the truth of Christ has roused [me] up... (27)*
- Skinner: *I never would have wanted these harsh words to spill/from my mouth; I am not in the habit of speaking so/sharply./Yet now I am driven by the zeal of God, Christ's truth/has aroused me. (1)*
- Davies: *Not that I wished to utter anything so harshly or so roughly, but the zeal of God forces me and the truth of Christ raises me up for the love of neighbors and sons... (84)*

- McCarthy: *It is not that I would choose to let anything so blunt and harsh come from my mouth, but I am driven by the zeal for God. And the truth of Christ stimulates me, ...* (20)
- Freeman (2004): *I don't like to use forceful words or hard language, but I will do it because the anger of God and the truth of Christ force me to.* (169)
- Freeman (2014): *I have never wanted to speak harshly and sternly, but the zeal of God and the truth of Christ have forced me to do it...* (8)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #2 – Section [1]:

In this passage, Patrick couches his comment by saying that he really did not want to speak in the manner that he is going to, but he was compelled to do so. On first reading, one might believe that this is Patrick using the rhetorical self-deprecating trope tone. However, if, as previously stated in Freeman's 2004 publication, Patrick was working against the clock to retrieve those Irish Christians, then he had decided to take matters in his own hands. He could not wait for the territorial bishop to contact and plead with Coroticus. As the bishop who baptized these people, Patrick felt an obligation and responsibility to continue to act as their spiritual, and almost literal, shepherd to keep them safe from those "[r]apacious wolves" (Howlett 33).

White's use of *compelled*, *roused* suggests that not only did God prod him into action, but Patrick himself was awoken with a realization that he must act. This is different from Howlett (*simply compelled*), McCarthy (*driven by*), and Freeman 2014 (*forced*). Those words clearly put the action on God, not Patrick. In Davies' version, Patrick is speaking because of his *love of neighbors and sons*. Both of Freeman's versions insinuate that Patrick knows how God feels, that He is angry at what Coroticus'

soldiers have done. However, Skinner’s language shows what drives Patrick, personally, his zeal and love for God and his intent on serving Him as best he can.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #3 – Section [2]

- *Manu mea scripsí atque condidí uerba ísta danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotící, non dico ciuibus meis neque ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum sed ciuibus daemoniorum, ob mala opera ipsorum.*
- *White: With mine own hand have I written and composed these words to be given and delivered and sent to the soldiers of Coroticus; - I do not say to my fellow-citizens or to the fellow-citizens of the holy Romans, but to those who are fellow-citizens of demons because of their evil works. (275)*
- *Howlett: With my own hand I have written and composed these words,/to be given and handed over, dispatched to the soldiers of Coroticus,/I do not say to my fellow citizens, nor to fellow citizens of the holy Romans,/but to fellow citizens of demons because of their evil works. (27)*
- *Skinner: I myself have composed and written these words with/my own hand, so that/they can be given and handed over, then sent swiftly to/the soldiers of/Coroticus./I am not addressing my own people, nor my fellow/citizens of the holy/Romans, but those who are now become citizens of/demons by reason of/their evil works. (2)*
- *Davies: These words, which I have composed and written with “my own hand,” are to be sent, given, and proclaimed to the soldiers of Coroticus. In doing this I do not speak to my compatriots not to “fellow citizens with the” Roman “saints”; but to those who by their evil deeds are servants of the demons. (84)*
- *McCarthy: With my own hand I have written and put together these words to be given and handed on and sent to the soldiers of Coroticus. I cannot say that they are my fellow-citizens, nor fellow-citizens of the saints of Rome, but fellow-citizens of demons, because of their evil works. (20)*

- Freeman (2004): *With my own hands I write this letter – given to my messenger, carried on its way, and handed over to you, the soldiers of Coroticus. Notice I don't call you "my fellow Romans" – no, your crimes have made you citizens of Hell!* (169)
- Freeman (2014): *I have composed and written these words with my own hand, to be taken, sent, and delivered to the soldiers of Coroticus. I don't call them my countrymen or blessed Roman citizens, because of their evil deeds they have become fellow citizens with demons.* (8)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #3 – Section [2]:

Davies' translation is unique in that he identifies biblical allusions with quotation marks. Perhaps he felt that his audience may not be as versed with the Bible and wanted to make sure that the references were understood. If the quotation marks were not used, a person unfamiliar with biblical text may mistakenly assume that those phrases were Patrick's words. Davies' use of *compatriots* is also interesting because that word infers a relationship between Patrick and the soldiers. Other than the soldiers serving under Coroticus, the claim that they are all from the same nation seems farfetched. Were they from the British Isles or from Rome? It is possible that Coroticus was a Roman general living on the west coast of Britain and therefore Patrick considered him part of the Empire and a fellow Christian as well (Freeman, *St. Patrick of Ireland* 133).

In Davies' Footnote Section for the *Epistola*, he states that "Patrick uses *ciues* (literally "citizens" or "those who dwell in the same city with"). The basic idea [Patrick] wished this word to convey is a notion of alliance with others" (Davies 491). It is interesting to deduce the mindset of the translator in this process. Davies clearly knew what the Latin word that Patrick used meant, yet he chose a different word for his English

translation. A fellow citizen could suggest one who is from not only the same county, but the same town, which makes the relationship more finite and intimate. A compatriot also has an element of imbedded sympathy between the parties, not only due to the common country they shared but also because of a common core of beliefs that they hold. White's *citizens of the holy Romans*, Howlett's *citizens of the holy Romans*, and Skinner's *citizens of the holy/Romans* are most likely references to the Holy Roman Empire. While McCarthy's *saints of Rome* and Freeman 2014's *blessed Roman citizens* add an element in relation to the Church, in addition to the political entity of the empire. Freeman's 2004 language is the harshest and angriest of all the translations, especially when he called them *citizens of Hell*. The use of the exclamation point is clearly an attempt to emphasize Patrick's anger with the soldiers. However, as it was stated before, the exclamation point is not from Patrick's lexicon, thus bringing a modern emphasis to the emotion that he wishes to convey. Given the established general audience for which the 2004 publication was written, the heightened sense of emotion is tantalizing and engrossing. The other translators' language is not dripping with disdain; but they are direct and to the point, demonstrating Patrick's anger and sorrow due to the ordeal.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #4 – Section [5]

- Quapropter resciat omnis homo timens Deum quod a me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo, pro quo legationem fungor, patricida, fratricida, lupi rapaces deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis,...
- White: *Wherefore let every man that feareth God know that aliens they are from me and from Christ my God, for whom I am an ambassador; patricide, fraticide! ravening wolves eating up the people of the Lord as it were bread. (275-276)*

- Howlett: *On which account let every man fearing God get to know/that they are estranged from me/and from Christ my God,/for whom I perform an embassy./Parricide, fratricide, rapacious wolves devouring the folk of the Lord as a/meal [lit. 'food'] of bread. (27-29)*
- Skinner: *Because of this, let every God-fearing man mark well/that to me they are outcasts:/cast out also by Christ my God, whose ambassador I/am./Patricides, they are, yes and fratricides, no better than/ravening wolves devouring God's own people like a/loaf of bread. (4)*
- Davies: *So let everyone who fears God know that [the soldiers of Coroticus] are strangers to me and to Christ, my God, "for whom I am an ambassador." The father-killer and the brother-killer are raging wolves, "eating up" the Lord's "people like bread." (85)*
- McCarthy: *For this reason, let every God-fearing person know that those people are alien to me and to Christ my God, for whom I am an ambassador: father-slayers, brother-slayers, they are savage wolves devouring the people of God as they would bread for food. (21)*
- Freeman (2004): *Therefore, let everyone who fears God know that these murderers are enemies to me and to Christ my God – the one I serve as an ambassador. They have killed their own fathers and brothers in Christ! These wolves devour the people of God as if they were eating bread! (170)*
- Freeman (2014): *So let all who fear God know that these men are strangers to me and to Christ my God, the one I serve as ambassador. They are murderers of fathers and brothers, ravaging wolves who devour the people of God as if they were bread. (9)*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #4 – Section [5]:

This is the passage from the Epistola wherein Patrick publicly excommunicates Coroticus and his men. The phrase *alien to me*, found in White and McCarthy, simply means that these people to whom Patrick is referring are from another country. However,

Patrick could have meant that their actions are *alien* to him, in that he would have never enslaved a fellow Christian and treated them so maliciously. To be *estranged from* as found in Howlett suggests that there was an established relationship between Patrick and the soldiers prior to his need to write this letter, which is highly doubtful. Skinner's use of *outcasts* indicates what Patrick is going to do to these men, as bishop. Davies uses *strangers*, as does Freeman 2014. However, Freeman's translations are fascinating because *enemies* (Freeman 2004) and *strangers* are two totally different concepts. An *enemy* is someone with whom one is engaged in conflict. A *stranger* may refer back to the idea that Patrick was stunned by their actions and in his mind, it was strange to treat fellow Christians in such a manner. Since his 2004 publication was intended for a general audience, with the hopes of book sales, it is logical that the word choice is more inflammatory in nature than the one intended for college courses. The use of *enemy* projects the idea that Patrick was this lone shepherd fighting a violent group of Roman soldiers to protect his sheep is more exciting. That edition also sports exclamation points, as does White, that punctuation only emphasizes the emotional component of the words.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #5 – Section [9]

- *Non concupisces rem proximi tui. Non occides. Homicida non potest esse cum Christo... Quanto magis reus est qui manus suas coinquinavit in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper adquisiuit in ultimis terrae per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae?*
- White: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods. Thou shalt do no murder. A murderer cannot be with Christ...*How much more guilty is he that hath stained*

his hands with the blood of the sons of God whom he recently purchased in the ends of the earth through the exhortations of my littleness. (276)

- Howlett: *You shall not covet the possessions of your neighbour./You shall not murder./A homicide cannot be with Christ./...How much more guilty is he/who has defiled his own hands in the blood of the sons of God,/whom He has recently acquired in the furthest parts of land through the exhortation of our insignificance. (31)*

- Skinner: *You shall not covet your neighbor's goods./You shall not murder./A homicide may not stand beside Christ./...Therefore how much more guilty is he,/who has stained his own hands in the blood of the sons/of God,/those very children whom only just not he has won/for himself in this distant land by means of our/feeble encouragement./ (6-7)*

- Davies:

- *"You shall not covet you[r] neighbor's goods"*
- *"You shall not kill."*
- *"A murderer cannot be with Christ."*

How much more guilty is the man who stains his hands with the blood of "the sons of God" whom [God] had acquired recently in the very ends of the earth through the preaching of us who are so insignificant. (86)

- McCarthy: *Do not covet your neighbour's goods. Do not kill. The murderer can have no part with Christ...How much more guilty is the one who stained his hands in the blood of the children of God only lately acquired in the most distant parts of the earth through the encouragement of one as unimportant as I am! (22)*

- Freeman (2004):

- *Do not desire your neighbor's property.*
- *Do not murder.*
- *No murderer can be with Christ...*

If all this is true, imagine how much worse it is to bathe in the blood of God's own children – the Irish who only recently have come to know God by my humble effort. (171)

- Freeman (2014):
 - *Do not desire the good of your neighbor.*
 - *Do not murder.*
 - *No murderer can be with Christ...*

So how much worse is the man who stains his own hands with the blood of the children of God? These children are the very ones he recently acquired at the ends of the earth through me, though I am insignificant. (10-11)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #5 – Section [9]:

The use of a few of the Ten Commandments is highlighted in some of the translations either by listing them, putting them in quotes, or using a different font. White's use of the word *purchased* is an interesting one, in that, it conjures images of slavery. While yes, these converts were being forced into slavery, they were certainly not bought, they were taken by force. Furthermore, in White's sentence, God is the One who did the buying, which is a rather odd and unsettling concept for a modern audience, but not for Patrick's. These words that refer to some type of slavery might also be a reference to the theological concept of the Atonement, also referred to as the Devil's Rights Theory. This concept suggests that due to original sin, the Devil is entitled to all human souls, except with Jesus' death, the ransom for those enslaved souls was paid. If that connection and allusion is solid, it shows that Patrick was not a bumbling, uneducated writer, as previously mentioned biographers and scholars have put forth. Howlett, Davies, McCarthy, and Freeman 2014 used the concept of God acquiring the souls, which is more benign. Skinner uses the word *won*, which has a more triumphant implication.

Freeman 2004 stands alone with its phrase *the Irish who only recently have come to know God*. It focuses on the relationship between the converts and God rather than God's relationship to them, as the other translators do. It implies that this is for whom Patrick mourns. He does not mourn for God. He mourns for the Irish who gave themselves to Christianity. Howlett, Skinner, and Davies also have Patrick referring to himself in the plural, with the use of *our insignificance*, *our/feeble encouragement*, or of *us who are so insignificant*. The use of use of the plural pronoun has echoes of royalty and begs one to question whether Patrick saw himself as either royal or noble, each of which have its own implications. Royal deals with social status. Noble could mean that as well or it could indicate one's motives as morally superior. The plural usage could have meant not only Patrick, but also his fellow missionaries. Based on his writings, Patrick felt compelled by God to evangelize in Ireland. It was only through and with the help of God that he was able to complete his mission. In Patrick's eyes, he and God were working together to convert the Irish to Christianity. Lastly, the plural pronoun could mean that God is everywhere.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #6 – Section [10]

- *Numquid sine Deo uel secundum carnem Hiberione ueni? Quis me compulit? Alligatus sum Spiritu ut non uideam aliquem de cognatione mea. Numquid a me piam misericordiam quod ago erga gentem illam qui me aliquando ceperunt et deuastauerunt seruos et ancillas domus patris mei? Ingenuus fui secundum carnem; decorione patre nascor. Uendidi enim nobilitatem meam— non erubesco neque me paenitet — pro utilitate aliorum; denique seruus sum in*

*Christo genti exterae ob gloriam ineffabilem perennis uitae quae est in
Christo Jesu Domino nostro.*

- White: *Did I come to Ireland without God, or according to the flesh? Who compelled me – I am bound in the spirit – not to see any one of my kinsfolk? Is it from me that springs that godly compassion which I exercise towards that nation that once took me captive and harried the menservants and maidservants of my father’s house? I was freeborn according to the flesh. I am born of a father who was a decurion, but I sold my noble rank, I blush not to state it, nor am I sorry, for the profit of others. In short, I am slave in Christ to a foreign nation on account of the unspeakable glory of the eternal life which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. (276-277)*
- Howlett: *Can it be that I came to Ireland without God or according to the flesh?/Who compelled me?/I am bound by the Spirit that I should not see anyone from my kindred./Can it be from myself that I perform a pious act of pity toward that gentile/people/who once captured me/and ravaged the slaves and handmaids of my father’s house?/I was freeborn according to the flesh./I am born of a decurion father./But I have sold my nobility,/I do not blush nor does it cause me regret,/for the advantage of others. At the last I am a slave in Christ for that remote gentile people/because of the unutterable glory of everlasting life/which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. (31)*
- Skinner: *Could I have come to Ireland without thought of God,/merely in my own interest?/Who was it made me come?/For here “I am a prisoner of the Spirit” so that I may/not see any of my family./Can it be out of the kindness of my heart that I carry/out such a labor of mercy on a people/who once captured me/when they wrecked my father’s house and carried off/his servants?/For by descent I was a freeman,/born of a decurion father;/yet I have sold this nobility of mine,/I am not ashamed, nor do I regret that it might have/meant some advantage to others./In short, I am slave in Christ to this faraway people/for the indescribable glory of “everlasting life/which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.” (7-8)*

- Davies: *Was it without God, or “according to the flesh” that I came to Ireland? Who forced me to come? “I am bound in the Spirit” so that I cannot see any of my relatives. Is it from within me that the holy mercy arises which I show toward this people – a people who once took me prisoner and destroyed the servants, male and female, of my father’s estate? I was a free man “according to the flesh,” my father is decurion, and I sold my status for the benefit of others. I am neither ashamed of this nor sorry, but thus I have arrived at this point: I am a servant in Christ to a foreign people for the ineffable glory “of the eternal life which is in Christ Jesus our Lord,” ... (86)*
- McCarthy: *Surely it was not without God, or simply out of human motives, that I came to Ireland! Who was it who drove me to it? I am so bound by the Spirit that I no longer see my own kindred. Is it just from myself that comes the holy mercy in how I act towards that people who at one time took me captive and slaughtered the men and women servants in my father’s home? In my human nature I was born free, in that I was born of a decurion father. But I sold out my noble state for the sake of others – and I am not ashamed of that, nor do I repent of it. Now, in Christ, I am a slave of a foreign people, for the sake of the indescribable glory of eternal life which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. (22)*
- Freeman (2004): *Did I come to Ireland just because I wanted to, without God’s direction? Did someone force me to come here? God’s spirit ordered me here, far away from my family. Was it my idea to feel God’s love for the Irish and to work for their good? These people once enslaved me and devastated my father’s household! I am of noble birth – the son of a Roman decurion – but I sold my nobility. I am not ashamed of it and I don’t regret it because I did it to help others. Now I am a slave of Christ to a foreign people – but this time for the unspeakable glory of eternal life in Christ Jesus our master. (172)*
- Freeman (2014): *Did I come to Ireland without the help of God because I chose to? It was God who brought me here. I am bound by the Holy Spirit, so that I can’t even see my own family. Is it my own doing that I feel blessed mercy toward the very people who once enslaved me and killed so many male and female*

servants from my father's household? I am a freeborn man by the measure of this world and the son of a decurion. But I sold my noble birth to serve others. I am not ashamed of this nor do I regret it. I am a slave of Christ for a foreign people for the sake of the indescribable glory of life everlasting which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. (11)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #6 – Section [10]:

This passage highlights the essence of the phenomenon of Patrick's missionary work in Ireland. How could he go back to the land that enslaved him and robbed him of his family? How and why would he return to the land of his captivity, if not propelled by an outside force, namely God? White highlights this with the question – *Is it from me that springs that godly compassion which I exercise towards that nation that once took me captive and harried the menservants and maidservants of my father's house?* The phrase *Is it from me* suggests that Patrick himself could not have compassion for the Irish on his own, therefore it was God's doing. Howlett's *without God* suggests that God was with him on his mission, as well as God was the driving force in the first place. Skinner's *without thought of God* suggests that Patrick was thinking about his service to God when he went to Ireland. Both Howlett and Skinner state that Patrick was compelled/made to go to Ireland by God. In Howlett's translation, the use of *pious act of pity* indicates a superiority, to a certain extent that Patrick felt towards the Irish. In Skinner's, the phrase *Can it be out of the kindness of my heart*, could be read as either a true kind-hearted gesture on Patrick's part or the true magnanimity of God, who worked through Patrick. White also alludes to the financial ability with regards to Patrick's to return to Ireland: *but I sold my noble rank, I blush not to state it, nor am I sorry, for the profit of others.* If Patrick liquidated his assets in England, he would have had the financial means to not

only return, but also secure protection for himself and his fellow missionaries during their travels. This was one of the issues that he discussed in his *Confessio*. In most of the translations, Patrick is not sorry for having done this act, for it brought about new converts for his God. Davies, McCarthy, and both of Freeman's versions put some emotional distance between Patrick and the Irish when he refers to them as *a foreign people*. This makes one pause and wonder if Patrick felt connected to the Irish. That concept is quite different from the other versions that refer to the *nation* as foreign, which it was.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #7 – Section [12]

- Inuidetur mihi. Quid faciam, Domine? Ualde despicior. Ecce oues tuae circa me laniantur atque depraedantur, et supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico hostili mente.
- White: *Men look askance at me. What shall I do, O Lord? I am exceedingly despised. Lo, around me are Thy sheep torn to pieces and spoiled, and that too by the robbers aforesaid, by the order of Coroticus with hostile intent. (277)*
- Howlett: *Jealousy is shown to me./What shall I do, Lord?/I am especially despised./Look, Your sheep are torn to pieces around me and looted,/even by the abovesaid wretched little thieves, with Coroticus commanding/from his hostile mind. (33)*
- Skinner: *They are jealous of me./What am I to do, Lord?/How bitterly they despise me!/Just see how your sheep are torn apart and despoiled,/any by those gangsters I have named, bound to the last/man by the inimical mind of Coroticus. (9)*
- Davies: *They despise me, oh, how they look down on me! What am I to do, O Lord? Behold around me are your sheep torn to pieces and afflicted by those robbers under the command of the bad-minded Coroticus. (86)*

- McCarthy: *They watch me with malice. What am I to do, Lord? I am greatly despised. See – your sheep around me are mangled and preyed upon, and this by the thieves I mentioned before, at the bidding of the evil-minded Coroticus.* (22)
- Freeman (2004): *God, these soldiers despise me and have ignored my appeals – what can I do? My flock has been torn to pieces and scattered by these wicked men, under the orders of the evil-minded Coroticus.* (172)
- Freeman (2014): *These people hate me, but what can I do, O Lord? I am deeply despised. My God, see how your own sheep all about me are torn to pieces and driven away by these thieves – by the orders of this wicked Coroticus.* (12)

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #7 – Section [12]:

Since this letter is written to the soldiers of Coroticus, this passage highlights the question of whether Patrick felt that they had free will of their own. White, Howlett, Davies, and both Freeman translations all contend that they were following the *orders* or *command* of Coroticus. Skinner insinuates something unique with his phrase *bound to the last*. Are they bound to Coroticus because they are soldiers? If they are bound, does that not imply that they have an individual sense of honor and duty? And if they have honor, how could they do this horrific inhumane act? It seems that that phraseology presents a question of conscience for the soldiers, one which they failed. It is remarkable to look at the word choice, with regards to Coroticus as well. White and Howlett refer to him as having *hostile intent* or a *hostile mind*. Skinner uses a synonym, possibly unfamiliar to modern audiences, *inimical*. McCarthy uses the word, *bidding*, which sounds quite harmless, an unusual choice under the circumstances. It is comical how Davies only subtly insults the Roman general by referring to him as *the bad-minded Coroticus*. This is very different from both Freeman versions: *the evil-minded Coroticus* or *of this wicked Coroticus*. Freeman's language highlights the malicious nature of the

act. In the end, one wonders whether Patrick was placing the blame on the soldiers or on Coroticus.

PASSAGE COMPARISON #8 – Section [13]

- Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare uel conuiuium frueri cum talibus? De spoliis defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas, de rapinis uiuunt.
- White: *Which of the saints would not shudder to jest or feast with such men? They have filled their houses with the spoil of dead Christians. They live in plunder. (277)*
- Howlett: *Which of the holy ones would not be horrified to rejoice/or to enjoy a banquet with such men?/From the spoils of deceased Christians they have refilled their houses./They live from plunderings. (33)*
- Skinner: *Which of the saints would not refuse to feast and/decline the company of such men?/See how they have filled their houses with the spoils of/dead Christians?/Why, they devote their lives to plunder!/(10)*
- Davies: *Which of the saints would not be horrified at the prospect of fun, parties, or enjoyment with the likes of these men? They have filled their homes with plunder taken from dead Christians and they live by this. (87)*
- McCarthy: *Who among the holy people would not be horrified to take pleasure or to enjoy a banquet with such people? The[y] have filled their homes with what they stole from dead Christians; they live on what they plundered. (23)*
- Freeman (2004): *Christians should be ashamed to enjoy the parties and dinner of these evil men. They live by plunder, filling their houses with loot stolen from dead Christians. (173)*
- Freeman (2014): *Who among the Christian community would not recoil from laughing with such men or feasting with them? They decorate their homes with the spoils of dead Christians and live on plunder. (12)*

ANALYSIS PASSAGE #8 – Section [13]:

In this passage, to which *saints* are White, Skinner, and Davies referring? If they felt that Patrick was referring to the Church's founding members, would not the word have been capitalized? Howlett and McCarthy seem to be more general by simply saying *holy ones* or *holy people*. This could mean any person who is leading a good, morally sound life. However, it is more probable that it is meant to be taken more specifically, as found in Freeman 2004, a *Christian*. The differences are interesting to discuss. Patrick could be referring only to the Christian community when he questions associating with these soldiers. As previously mentioned in Freeman 2004, Church officials were aware of the raids and plunders that supplied the slave trades and yet they did nothing to stop it. Patrick could have also been speaking in a more general manner to all people who hear his letter, Christian or pagan. In attempting to reach a wider audience, Patrick furthers his cause of speaking out against slavery, from a theological point of view. If he speaks to Christians, he is counting on their common language of forgiveness and compassion. If he speaks to the pagans, perhaps he is attempting to convert them by showing them how isolated and "other" they are. Another difference between Freeman 2004 and Freeman 2014 is the assumption of how those Christians should feel about this horror. Freeman 2004's *Christians should be ashamed* implies that if Christians were to associate with Coroticus and his men, then they should feel shame. Freeman 2014's use of *recoil* suggests that no Christian would even dare consider the possibility. All of the translations point out that the soldiers have strewn their homes with the goods that they took from these recently captured or killed Christians. Skinner makes the distinction that these men also *devote their lives to plunder!* – again, not a form of punctuation in use

during Patrick's lifetime. With respect to modernity, Davies also paints a modern portrait with his phrase *fun, parties, or enjoyment*.

EPSITOLA CONCLUSIONS

As with the *Confessio*, the impression of Patrick that the reader takes away after reading the *Epistola* depends on the translator.⁶⁴ It is probable that there was a previous letter that was sent directly to Coroticus, that generated a less than desirable response for Patrick and his newly converted Christians, and that prompted this as a follow-up letter. Historian Bury contends that Patrick had sent emissaries to Coroticus to acquire the release of the newly baptized Christians; however, he was mocked and his request was denied – "...on the next day he dispatched one of his most trusted priests, one whom he had trained from childhood, to the soldiers of Coroticus" (Bury *Ireland's Saint: The Essential Biography of St. Patrick* 173). This idea is corroborated in Howlett's translation of Section 3, "I dispatched an epistle with a holy presbyter" as well as Skinner's description of the incident in his introduction (Howlett 27, Skinner xviii).

The letter that has survived is one that was more than likely meant to be read aloud to as many of the public as possible. It was meant to call out Coroticus for his abysmal actions. It was meant to put him on the watch list as a hypocritical, violent man who attacks the innocent. Some researchers, such as Freeman, claim that it was as close to a public excommunication, since the letter was to be read aloud to a wide audience, as Patrick dared to do (Freeman, *St. Patrick of Ireland* 133). If, as previously mentioned, Coroticus was out of Patrick's episcopate, then this would have been out of his authority.

⁶⁴ See Conclusion for a complete discussion of both pieces

Freeman suggests in his 2004 publication that this is what drove Church officials to bring him up on the charges that forced his writing of the *Confessio*.

What is uniquely different from the *Epistola* and the *Confessio* is that human image of Patrick. This letter shows his anger. He is not meekly pleading for his converts' return; he is demanding it. He damns the soldiers who carried out these orders and the Roman general who gave them. White's translation presents an in-control Patrick, one who is dignified as his role of bishop would suggest. His language is not emotion-filled. Howlett's translation is organized, falling back on basic rhetorical writing devices. His structure of translation, "*per cola et commata* ('by clauses and phrases')," again presents a dignified Patrick (Howlett 12). From his very first sentence – *I, Patrick, a sinner, untaught, to be sure, established in Ireland, profess/myself to be a bishop./* - there is sense of command of words (Howlett 27). This is not the rustic, unsophisticated writer of whom most scholars speak. He knows what he wants to say to Coroticus and his men from the onset. By not offsetting biblical language, Patrick is infusing the word of the Divine Himself with his own accusation when Patrick himself calls these men sons of the Devil. Yet, even in this show of command, the Patrick that Howlett presents uses charged words such as *savagely, hostile, bloody men* (Howlett 27). These words choices present a Patrick who, although dignified in his episcopate, is furious about their actions and not afraid to say so.

Since Skinner used Howlett's version as his base, it is no wonder that his specific word choices are also filled with emotions. Skinner's use in Section 4, although not analyzed here, of the short phrase *I am at a loss* depicts Patrick coming to grips with his own limited human ability to feel both anger and grief over the actions of Coroticus' men

(Skinner 3). It is a raw emotional place, one that is not present in White or Howlett. Skinner's language, regarding his going back to the land of his captivity, is one filled with basic, human questions. How could he go back to Ireland? Skinner chooses to offset the biblical language with the use of quotation marks. However, the repetitive phrasing of questions, in relation to that return are tender and most heartfelt. Davies is also similar to White and Howlett in that he presents a Patrick, who, from the very first sentence, is in command of this letter and is unapologetic in his use of his episcopacy. Davies' Patrick does not come across as viscerally angry, as Skinner's Patrick does. His word choices are refined, ones expected from a bishop. There are some word choices that are questionable, in that they are restrained, from Davies, such as in Passage Comparison #7 – Section [12], when he simply and unpoetically refers to the Roman general as *the bad-minded Coroticus* – not that inflammatory (Davies 86).

McCarthy weaves in modern-day phraseology into his translation. From his first declarative sentence – *I have accepted from God* – McCarthy presents a Patrick to whom his congregation can relate (McCarthy 20). Since he confirmed in his survey responses that this was his purpose from the very beginning, it is only fitting that his language would attempt to bridge the fifth and twentieth centuries. McCarthy chooses words such as *stimulates* in Passage #2 or *slaughtered* in Passage #6 – Section [10] as highly charged emotional words to draw his audience in towards Patrick (McCarthy 20, 22). With modern audiences, who are used to fast-moving cinematic visuals, one might need to use more vivid and picturesque words to grab their attention.

Freeman's side-by-side translations, as they were with the *Confessio*, are uniquely fashioned for each one's specific audience. As presented in Passage Comparison #2 –

Section [1] of Freeman's translations, Patrick points to *the anger of God* as the reason that he is writing the letter in the 2004 publication; while in the 2014 one it was due to *the zeal of God* (Freeman/2004 169 and Freeman/2014 8). Since the first one was for the general public, the idea of an angry God is more titillating than someone feeling compelled by zealous emotions. Freeman continues this charged emotional word choice throughout the 2004 version: *you citizens of Hell!, Blood, blood, blood!, child of Satan, murderers, beg and cry to God* (Freeman/2004 169, 170, 171). Not only are these choices more audience-gripping, they serve to confirm the theory put forth by Howlett and Skinner that Patrick was indeed using rhetorical devices, as it is obvious. If this letter was to be read aloud to the masses, those phrases could be delivered with same level of emotion that one would hear in a fire and brimstone sermon. None of the corresponding phrases in Freeman's 2014 can match that level of intensity. That was not his purpose.

In the end comparison, if one is to believe in the rhetorical purpose of the *Epistola*, with its intent to argue and persuade, then Freeman's 2004 version is most successful in pulling the audience in and stirring anger towards Coroticus and his men. If it is possible for a translator to try to capture the essence of Patrick, who by his own words was a simple missionary, then Skinner's audible anguish is a more successful translation. In his book, *How the Irish Saved Civilization*, Thomas Cahill praised Patrick as "the first human being in the history of the world to speak out unequivocally against slavery" (Cahill 114). It reveals another picture of Patrick, different from the *Confessio*. While both pieces contain emotion, the *Epistola* is more relatable because of that outrage at the injustice that has befallen these new converts. It is that outrage and anger that possibly connected the Irish to Patrick. Patrick's desire to defend and protect the Irish is

relevant and forms a bond between the Irish and their patron saint. They knew all too well what it was like to be oppressed by those claiming to be their own countrymen.

Although England and Ireland were very separate entities, the former had authority over the latter for many centuries and generations. This inability to self-determine their destiny on the part of the Irish makes their connection to and affinity for Patrick visceral.

His self-sacrifice to return to the land of his worst suffering, his ability to express his outrage and his desire for social justice touched the Irish to their core. It is that desire that has sustained Patrick's role in the Irish identity. It is only proper that he became the patron saint to this small island.

CHAPTER SIX – ORIGINAL CREATIVE TRANSLATION

As it was stated in the Preface of this project, the following epic poem is an original creative interpretation or translation of Patrick's words, life, and works. During its many revisions, phrases that had been presented by other translators as Patrick's words, replaced Skinner's or Freeman's, and were woven in. Word and phrase choices within this piece were deliberate. Those choices were based on personal preference, noting poetic or lyrical elements, as well as emotional depth, in an attempt to present the Patrick by whom this author was captivated.

Patrick's Sheep

In the dark of night, the silent ships lowered their sails to a single mast.

Raiders slipped over the sides,
 into the water,
 towards the shore,
 in darkness
 no fires
 no talking.

The villa and its courtyard stood before them.
Over the wall and into the main house,
The Irishmen overtook a sleeping young man.

Bound, gagged, chained by the neck.
 Wrenched into that forced march.
 Linked to other hapless souls,
 Towards that wild island,
 Away from civilization.
 With each wave crash,
 Cries from the hull.

Sucat had been enslaved.



The green grass is my shelter,
 through the heat and the rain.
 The summer sky is my roof
 A stone wall, my headboard
 Animals are my constant companions,
 my only companions.

Alone
 Exposed to the elements
 Starved

Images of home waft before me.
 Grandfather
 Father
 Oh how I yearn to return to my lessons.
 Is this my fate?
 Retribution for my hushed sin?
 I lie in humiliation.

I remember the night they came and took me so long ago.
 Beaten.
 Left...with savages.

We had slaves,
 But to be a slave, here,
 Among the barbaric Irish.

I curse my plight.



Years of brooding, cursing
Forced silence among my captors.
Their tongues are harsh.

Do as I am told, if not, the whip.
Who would share this life with me?
Another slave?
For whom?
My master, the great matchmaker?
For what?
I will not see my children endure this.

Keep to myself, mind and body.
Observe and learn their ways, but never let them in.

Alone

With the animals

My sheep,
my sheep,
my focus.



Grandfather's teachings come to my mind.
Who was this God that he spoke?
What kind of God would allow this?

But I am unschooled in such matters.
Tales of old, flood back to me.
Stories or sermons?
What could those priests know?
Forced to sit and listen
I heard but little.

And yet

Dreams

Voices

They must be

Mustn't they?



How does one pray?
 What kind of God would listen to me now?

A sinner, and the simplest of peasants¹
A refugee, untaught, doubtless²
A man who began life more rustic than any man³

A hundred prayers a day

Snow

Frost

Rain

Night after night, I prayed.

Prayers from memory,
 Incomplete
 Broken
 Seemingly fruitless

I was like some great stone⁴ lying in the deepest mires
until "He who is power" came⁶ and, in his mercy, raised me up.⁷

It is clear to me now, that this was due to the fervor of the Spirit within me.⁸

"That crazy boy!"
 "What is he doing?"
 "Holy boy!"⁹ – stop your incessant praying!
 Pray to Lugus only for what you need, nothing more.
 No need to listen for answers.
 No need to look for signs.

Years of prayers
 Years of fasting
 What kind of Divine Plan is this?

I am doomed.

And yet, my words were heard.



The dream woke me with a start.

“You have fasted well – soon you will be going home.”¹⁰

What?

Escape?

How?

“Come and see, where your ship is waiting for you.”¹¹

To escape would be to defy my master.

I could take nothing.

If I was captured,

no King,

no Druid could spare me.

Could I ignore the Divine?

I am an *élúdach*¹² now.

Fugitive

Thief

Murderer

Alone.



Miles across this harsh landscape.
 Careful in the bogs.
 I waded the Shannon.

*And he kept me safe from all evils*¹³

The seaport at last
 The Irish Sea lay before me.
 The smells.
 The spray.
 A ship!

But is it mine?

Another leap of faith.
 Can I trust these men?
 I am an éilúdach.
 What can I offer for my passage?

Weak from my trek.
 A dream dashed

I turned to prayer.

“Hurry up, these men are shouting for you.”¹⁴

No, not if I must defy my God with your pagan ways.

“Come aboard, we will take you as you are”¹⁵

A prayer heard.

The emerald green hills of Ireland
 Fade into distant misty images over the waves.
 Three days at sea.

Homeward.



Villa Bannaventa Berniae welcomed me home.

The prodigal son.

Assumed dead.

All rejoiced.

Banquets abound.

But, I returned to my father's home,
no longer a spoiled boy.

I have seen too much.

The pain is too raw.



How does one train to become God's messenger?
To whom do I go?
My father?
My grandfather?

Lérins

Surrounded by the sea
Surrounded by my cell walls

Consumed with the fire of my studies

Service to God



Who is this Victoricus?
 This vision in my dreams?
 Letters?
 From whom?
 “The Voice of the Irish.”¹⁶

“Holy boy!”¹⁷
 That taunting nickname!
 “Come here and walk among us”¹⁸
 Voices
 Pleading

*I was utterly “pierced to my heart’s core,”*¹⁹

What?!
 I survived my slavery under those savages.
 Why would I go back?
 Why would I return to a people whose ways are not true?

I could not understand the words.
 Such it is with the Divine.

A local church is not my calling.
 And my role is clear.
 It is laid by the hand of God, not my own.

No, it is Ireland.

To Ireland I must go.



I labored hard in slavery for an earthly master.
I studied hard in obedience to my Heavenly Master.

The voices of my Irish brethren kept calling me.
Awaiting my return.

I am not the first to hold this staff.

Palladius came before me.
His name will be remembered surely.
I return to preach to the unbelievers.
I return to endure insults and slanders.

*And should I prove worthy, I am ready and willing to give up my life,
Without hesitation for his name.”²⁰*

I long to become a *humble servant*.²¹



*I am Patrick
I have been appointed a bishop in Ireland.²²
I am certain in my heart that "all that I am,"
I have received from God.²³*

Coroticus!
You *and your gangsters*,
*Rebels all against Christ*²⁴
These harsh words spill from my mouth;
I am not in the habit of speaking so sharply.
I am driven anew by the zeal of God,
*Christ's truth has roused me.*²⁵

You came upon my people,
Wayward souls who had joined my flock.
Cleansed and clothed in the Word.
Slaughtered
Raped
Kidnapped
In the name of Christ?!

I weep for those whose innocence you stole.
I know their fears.
I feel their lashes.

I know the bands of slavery
Forged in that chain so long ago!
It was what brought me to God.

Oh, my most beautiful, my lovely brethren...
*What can I do to help you now?*²⁶

Soldiers of Coroticus!
Return those who you have stolen!
So that then they may deserve to live to God
*And be made whole once more*²⁷



*I am Patrick,
yes a sinner,
and the simplest of peasants,
despised by the majority of men.²⁸*

Prosecuted for my sin
*From thirty years before –
A deed I had confessed just before I was made deacon.²⁹*

*Even if I am imperfect in so many ways
I want my brothers and my family to know
my mettle,
So that they may clearly recognize the set of my soul.³⁰*

I have traveled among the Irish,
Where no man has

Clothed in a worn cuculla
Clad in the color of the Druids.

To remote places
To baptize
To ordain
To confirm in the true faith.

I have labored for these simple souls.
*I am one of those God has called and chosen
To preach the good news
To the ends of the earth.³¹*

I long to remain on this wild island.

*I want to “await his promise,”³²
So that whatever will come my way,
whether good or bad,
I may accept it calmly,
and always give thanks to God.³³*



Ripped from my home as a young man.
Forced to live as an animal, amongst savages.

Touched by God in the wilderness.
Delivered home,
I am called back to my true home.

This isle of Kings
 Druids
 Fairies
 gods and goddesses

My message is simple
 God's love and
 Grace to humanity.

Savages I once did curse
 became my sheep.

 My beloved sheep.
 My sheep,
 my sheep,
 my focus.



Glossary

Bannaventa Berniae – Patrick’s family home in south-west Britain, now Wales

Coroticus – fifth Century British General of the Roman Empire

cuculla – traditional monk’s habit

élúdach – Irish word for runaway slave

Lérins – fifth Century monastic community, located in the Mediterranean Sea, across the water from Cannes

Lugus – Lugus was a deity of the Celtic pantheon

Palladius – first bishop in Ireland, arriving in 431 A.D.

Sucat – according to Bieler, this was his boyhood name

Poem Citations

¹Skinner 26, *Confessio* [1]

²Howlett 59, *Confessio* [13]

³Skinner 35, *Confessio* [12]

⁴Skinner 36, *Confessio* [12]

⁵Davies 70 [*Confessio* 12]

⁶Skinner 36, *Confessio* [12]

⁷Davies 70 [*Confessio* 12]

⁸Skinner 39, *Confessio* [16]

⁹Freeman 2004 publication 29

¹⁰Freeman 2004 publication 33

¹¹Skinner 39, *Confessio* [17]

¹²Freeman 2004 publication 35

¹³Skinner 53, *Confessio* [33]

¹⁴Skinner 40, *Confessio* [18]

¹⁵Skinner 40, *Confessio* [18]

¹⁶Freeman 2004 publication 50

¹⁷Freeman 2004 publication 50

¹⁸Freeman 2004 publication 50

¹⁹Skinner 45, *Confessio* [23]

²⁰Skinner 57, *Confessio* [37]

²¹Skinner 38, *Confessio* [15]

²²White 275, *Epistola* [1]

²³Skinner 1, *Epistola* [1]

²⁴Skinner 14, *Epistola* [19]

²⁵Skinner 1, *Epistola* [1]

²⁶Skinner 12, *Epistola* [16]

²⁷Skinner 16, *Epistola* [21]

²⁸Skinner 26, *Confessio* [1]

²⁹Skinner 49, *Confessio* [27]

³⁰Skinner 31, *Confessio* [6]

³¹Freeman 2004 publication 120

³²Skinner 58, *Confessio* [39]

³³Skinner 54, *Confessio* [34]

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Author's Note:

Poetic license was taken with some of the quotations of cited sources.

CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning of this dissertation, the impetus came from reading Philip Freeman's *St. Patrick of Ireland* and *The Confession of Saint Patrick* translated by John Skinner. The differences in word choices, writing style, and tone of voice that came through each publication was significant. This observation and question as to why there was the disparity lead to the extensive world of Patrician scholarship. The sheer volume of writings available for scholarly research is enormous and impossible to go through all of them. There are still debates among scholars over topics such as whether there even was only one missionary named Patrick or two, the dates when Patrick lived, the dark secret from his youth that he confessed to a friend, the quality of his Latin, the authority of his episcopacy, and the nature of his Christianity. Even among the works of such Patrician scholars as Bury, MacNeill, Bieler, Hanson, or O'Loughlin, there appears to be no consensus.

There is a consensus, with one dissention, regarding Patrick's Latin. Every single scholar researched for this project has agreed that Patrick's Latin was rustic, unschooled, bumbling, etc. "The twentieth-century image of Patrick was strongly shaped by the biography of Bury who saw Patrick as unlearned and rustic" (Bieler 68). Thomas Cahill wrote "[h]is whole life [was] shadowed by his ignorance of Latin style, and his consequent inability to communicate with distinguished men on their own level" (Cahill 106). After doing research for this project, this is a glaring, and most unfair, criticism. Patrick obviously was able to communicate, if he did not, why still study him over 1500 years after he lived? Perhaps, as the premise of this research has presented, his writings

have been appropriated by varying factors throughout history to be used for their own self-interested purposes. It could be that once a scholarly consensus is presented, it is hard to go against it. Or perhaps his supposed imperfections are what are so appealing. That is why Patrick has endured.

The only scholar who disagreed with this Latin criticism was D. R. Howlett. His 1994 book is an amazing work of scholarship that shows how Patrick's writing was purposeful and deliberate, mathematical in nature. In his review, Martien Parmentier wrote that Howlett's book presents a "Patrick [who] was not an uneducated rustic but a literary artist" (Parmentier 224). It is remarkable that Howlett's conclusions did not make a more significant impact in Patrician scholarship. In his dissertation, Roman Bleier wrote that "Howlett's edition was very welcome by Patrician scholars" (Bleier 71). In personal e-mail conversations⁶⁵ with Howlett, it became clear that his attempts to translate Patrick's Latin were just as deliberate in nature, trying to stay close to what he believed was a proper translation of the Latin, in an attempt to capture the possible meaning that Patrick wrote. His translation is ultimately not as lyrical in its tone as Skinner's; but as previously discussed in Chapters Three and Four, that clearly is due to the nature and motive of the personal translator.

The idea that a reader will be presented with a "different" Patrick depending on the translator was an obvious conclusion, even before the research studied for this

⁶⁵ See Appendix 3 for correspondence from Freeman, Howlett, and Skinner

project. However, it was confirmed by the works of Laurence Venuti, which were presented in Chapter Two and even Ludwig Bieler, who wrote:

An author who translates from one language into another or writes under the influence of a foreign language will normally choose the nearest equivalent to the determining idiom, or, if no such equivalent exists, imitate that idiom as closely as possible in his actual language. (Bieler, “The Place of Saint Patrick in Latin Language and Literature” 73)

As previously discussed in Chapters Four and Five, the specific word choices are subtle, but they are worth noting. In some cases that different word choices and their tones are glaring, such as “Advocate” versus “spokesman” (*Confessio* 25).⁶⁶ Yes, it is most probably that Patrick who was a man of one book, as Mohrmann states. So, using *advocate* is closer to the original because that is the word that was used in the Bible that Patrick was using. This begs the question, why then would a translator, in this case Freeman’s 2004 publication, use *spokesperson* in the first place? Is he trying to connect to modern audiences? Or was it a misstep? Based on the translator’s works, there is no doubt that it is the former. The preceding chapters that dealt with Patrick’s two specific works present what the reader may glean from each translation and what Patrick probably meant.

There is also a difference in tone and style found between the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*. After reading Howlett’s book, his claim that Patrick’s writing was purposeful seems valid. There is a command of construct, that Patrick attempts to mask with self-deprecation, that runs through the *Confessio*. While Patrick claims to be unschooled, the structure, as pointed out by Howlett, is anything but unschooled. The mirroring of the

⁶⁶ For specific passage discussion, refer to Chapter Four, *Confessio*, Passage Comparison #7 – Section [25].

first five books of the Bible, as mentioned in Chapter One, with his own life experiences is genius. It demonstrates Howlett's stance that Patrick's writing was purposefully planned. Patrick's weaving in of biblical text to suit his needs is more than capable. If he was ever accused by Church officials to be unschooled, he demonstrated that he was the opposite.

The *Epistola*, on the other hand, reflects Patrick's love for the Irish. Even though he was a citizen of the Roman Empire, he chose Ireland and "he *became* Irish because he considered his faith to involve being a witness for Christ and a brother to souls in need wherever the Almighty might decide to send him" (Biagini 215). It is this love for his adopted brothers and sisters in Christ that drove him to pen the letter in the first place. It is no giant leap to believe that his own experience of slavery fueled the *Epistola*. Patrick allows his anger and pain to be reflected in his language. He called the soldiers of Coroticus out for their deeds, referring to them as *wolves*, *shameful*, etc. He also uses public shame and humiliation as a tool to retrieve the lost converts. Patrick's clearly uses the oral tradition of rhetoric when he demands that his letter *be read before all folk* (Howlett 39).

The other questions that arose during this process were – why Patrick and was there a connection between Patrick, Irish identity, and perhaps even the fight for Irish independence? These questions are multifaceted and beyond the parameters of this discussion. However, there is ample existing evidence that proves that Patrick was used by many different factors throughout history, for a variety of causes, be they religious, political, or secular. Patrick is clearly linked to the Irish identity, as he was used historically by so many. As previously mentioned, both his original biographers,

Muirchú and Tírechán, had their own reasons for trying to claim Patrick for their own corner of Ireland. They attempted to create not a biography, but rather “a saga...of the traditional heroic type” (MacNeill, “The Hymn of St. Secundinus in Honour of St. Patrick” 151). Scholar Erskine wrote “the seventh-century Patrician *vitae* in the context of political rivalries between Armagh, Kildare and Iona [were connected to] Patrick’s status as an icon of modern Irish identity” (Erskine iv). In the Middle Ages starting in the ninth century when pilgrimages to Rome were discouraged by the Church, Ireland was forced to look inward to their own, thus shining the light on Patrick, Brigid, and Colmcille. It was Patrick upon whom the mantle of Ireland’s patron saint fell, thanks to another crafted biography by Jocelin of Furness.

Patrick’s importance to the Irish identity intensified in the seventeenth century, during the Counter Reformation. He was claimed as “the founder of two churches: the Church of Ireland [Protestant]...and the Roman Catholic Church” (Erskine 2). The Church of Ireland’s claim to Patrick was cemented by the Archbishop of Armagh James Ussher, mentioned earlier in Chapter One. Ussher’s *A discourse of the religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, published in 1622, presented “the Irish church as part of an unbroken tradition with the early Christians..[and] that the Church of Ireland [was] descended from a pristine Patrician ideal” (Monaghan 22).

After the Penal Laws of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were eased, Irish Catholics attempted to claim Patrick as their own. “[I]n the context of the politicization of religion in seventeenth-century Ireland, St. Patrick [was] made to take sides” (Cunningham and Gillespie 98). What was at stake was the claim to “the national church of Ireland” (Hill 55). Historians such as Richard Stanihurst and Peter Lombard (1555-

1625) both tried to present Irish Catholicism as the true church, due to its antiquity, its connection to Patrick, and to Rome (Lyons 9,10). Biographers such as Todd and Cusack, mentioned previously in Chapter One, tried to show how Patrick's writings exemplified Protestantism and Catholicism, respectively. Protestant writers pointed out that Catholic biographers overemphasized miracles of Patrick and insinuated that Patrick did not speak of transubstantiation, a Catholic staple of belief. They also presented the idea that Patrick's church in Ireland "was not then under any form of subjection of Rome" (Kirkpatrick 94). Catholics countered with the notion that Patrick's church "predated the sixteenth-century Reformation" and therefore they could claim him (Kirkpatrick 94).

Nineteenth-century Protestant scholar Ernest Bateman (1886-1979) believed "that Patrick came to Ireland not with a papal commission, but merely impelled by the call he felt, one that was rooted in his reading of the bible and the example of the apostle Paul" (Biagini 214). Perhaps this is where Patrick wants to remain, a man of one book, a man who was attempting to share his beliefs in a foreign wilderness. All of the sectarian infighting and insults in the end only perpetuate Patrick's reach and appeal. Patrick has emerged "as a patriarchal figure, similar to Moses" (McCormack 23). His "Irishness" or connection to Catholicism perhaps is linked to his time as a slave, in that "the record of suffering and endurance [has] become central to the construction of Catholic Irish identity" (Whelan, "History and Destiny in the Making of the Irish Spiritual Empire" 184).

The nineteenth century also brought to Ireland The Great Hunger (1845-1852), An Gorta Mór, also known as the Irish Potato Famine. With no choice but to flee the devastation of the country, hundreds of thousands of Irish immigrated to Australia,

Canada, and the United States. For these new Irish Americans, who felt as if they were forced into this exile, Patrick took on a new significance. He was their connection to their homeland and family left behind. Those Catholic Irish who came to a mostly Protestant United States needed their own identity. Patrick was shaped into “an icon of Irish nationalism...[as well as] the protector of the Irish in their exile, giving comfort that on Judgement Day, they will not be left behind even if they had to leave the land of their ancestors” (Minto 122).

Patrick’s importance to Irish identity was further enhanced after Irish independence. “[T]here was a complete interdependence between national and Christian duty” (Biagini 217). In articles found in *Representing Irish Religious Histories: Historiography, Ideology and Practice*, edited by Jacqueline Hill and Mary Ann Lyons, scholars Brian Walker and Ian d’Alton, discuss the importance of Saint Patrick’s Day celebrations throughout Ireland.⁶⁷ The day became politicalized on both sides of the Atlantic, in that for years, government officials, specifically Eamon de Valera (1882-1975), used the day to reiterate the Catholic connections between Ireland and Rome. De Valera’s speeches “reminded people that Ireland had been a Christian and Catholic nation since St Patrick’s time” (Walker 250). However, as in the centuries that preceded, “[e]ach of the main denominations took advantage of the occasion to reaffirm its belief that St Patrick belonged exclusively to its own tradition” (Walker 251).

The remainder of the twentieth century brought about many changes for Ireland – the fight for independence, a civil war, the division of the country, economic depression,

⁶⁷ See Chapter 13 - “Religion as Identity: The Church of Ireland’s 1932 Patrician Celebrations” and Chapter 16 - “St Patrick’s Day: Commemoration, Conflict and Conciliation, 1903-2013” for complete discussion.

the sectarian Troubles, the economic boom of the Celtic Tiger during the 1990s, and the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 – just to name a few. All of these events played a role in the identity of the country. This identity still includes Patrick. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three in the discussion about the specific translators and dates of their publications analyzed in this project, the influence of historical events may have shaped the each of those final products. For example, aside from White’s 1905 publication, all of the other translations were published during or after the Celtic Tiger economic boom in Ireland: Howlett/1994, Skinner/1998, Davies/1999, McCarthy/2003, and Freeman/2004/2014. Howlett, Skinner, and Davies were English translators who were probably unaffected by that event. McCarthy is the only Irish translator among the group and Freeman is an American. Why make this connection? Simply because it is curious that six different translations of the same person’s writings were published in a very short time, a time of major changes in Irish society. If, as previously proposed, Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland, would it not make sense that there would be an increase in the public’s fascination with this man? According to *The Course of Irish History*, edited by T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin, the Celtic Tiger boom brought about “politic stability...prosperity and high employment...the return of many Irish nationalists...[and a] decline of the institutional Catholic Church” (Moody & Martin 333-334). This boom was fueled in part by an “intense publicity campaign” to encourage the Irish people to become invested in everything Irish (Moody & Martin 336). It stands to reason that this interest could be extended to Patrick.

However, within the Celtic Tiger economic fever, there were still inequalities throughout Ireland. “Figures on unemployment showed that Catholics continued to be

twice as likely to be unemployed as Protestants” (Kinealy 297). Further criticism of the movement “argued that the real, if hidden cost of the rapid economic growth lay in ‘wider social inequality, declining community life, too much emphasis on work and competition, a more selfish...materialistic approach to life’” (Kinealy 297). Add to this “the secularization of Irish society” and there is a perfect moment for Patrick and his message to reappear (Kinealy 299). Patrick’s message of salvation and the importance of faith was desperately needed. Therefore, the leap between the publishing dates of six out of the seven translations discussed within this document and a need to rediscover Patrick’s grounding message is not one that is too difficult to believe.

What is remarkable about Patrick is his longevity, even into the twenty-first century. The Christian Broadcast Network (CBN), along with NorthStar Studios, produced the docudrama *I am Patrick*, released in March 2020. The film, written, directed, and produced by Jarrod Anderson, combines scholarly interviews along with dramatic re-enactments of incidents from Patrick’s life, as based on his actual writings and not on traditional myths surrounding the saint. In the credits, the film lists both Pdraig McCarthy (one of the specific translations used in this dissertation) and scholar Thomas O’Loughlin as the translators for the *Confessio* and McCarthy for the *Epistola*. Additional credit was given to Bieler’s *The Life of Saint Patrick* and to The School of Celtic Studies of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. The mere existence of this film in 2020 speaks to the power of Patrick, years after his death. The film can be considered a new translation in its own right.

What was fascinating about the film, and relevant to this project, was the use of specific translations and the choice of specific phrases throughout the film. After

watching the film multiple times and transcribing the quotes that were attributed to Patrick, a startling observation arose. The language in the film does not match McCarthy's translation, either the one that he offered for analysis in this project nor the one that is published on the previously mentioned Royal Irish Academy's website. So, the question remains, why? A follow-up email was sent to McCarthy, inquiring how the dual translation worked between him and O'Loughlin. According to McCarthy, the producers of the film did contact him and "asked permission to make use of [his] translation...they adapted it freely....[However] less than 10 percent of the words in the film were from [his] translation or adapted from it" (McCarthy, email correspondence 7/16/20).⁶⁸ If this is the case, why list McCarthy as the translator in the credits? There are more lines in common between the film and O'Loughlin's translation of the *Confessio*, found in his 2005 *Discovering Saint Patrick*, than there are with McCarthy's. A final interesting comment was McCarthy's assertion that "[s]ome of the adaptation struck [him] as not good, but that was their [the filmmakers'] decision" (McCarthy, email correspondence 7/16/20).

In addition to the specific translation used in the film, the other issue is the specific phrases from Patrick's writings that were used. There were far more recognizable phrases from the *Confessio* than from the *Epistola*. Why is that? What message can be gleaned from using the one piece over the other? Requests were sent to both the Christian Broadcast Network, Jarrod Anderson, and NorthStar Studios to answer a few survey questions,⁶⁹ ones that were similar to the ones that were sent to the

⁶⁸ See Appendix 3 – Original E-mail correspondences

⁶⁹ See Appendix 3 – Original E-mail correspondences

translators analyzed in this project. The initial request for an interview, sent to CBN, was denied. Given the pandemic of 2020, this response was understandable. The follow-up inquiries were sent directly to Mr. Anderson, the creative force behind the film. Ultimately, those requests were also denied, and any further correspondence was demanded to cease.⁷⁰ Therefore, any hypothesis as to the manner of presentation of certain elements in the film remains unanswered.

According to the Christian Broadcast Network's website, their mission is "to prepare the nations of the world for the coming of Jesus Christ and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.... In achieving [this] mission, [the] chief method is the strategic use of mass communication and education that will train the young and old to understand how the principles of the Kingdom of God relate to those spheres of human endeavor which play a dominant role in [the] world" ("Mission Statement" CBN). As it has been stated over and over in this project, this specific translation from CBN had a specific point of view and specific goal when it produced the film. This cinematic translation is obviously a political act, one that aligns with CBN's mission. It makes sense that the *Confessio* was quoted more than the *Epistola*. It is in the *Confessio* where Patrick speaks of the fervor and spirit of God, working through him to evangelize the Irish. The *Epistola* reveals a human, angry man of God who condemns those who slaughter his new converts. The message in that piece does not align with CBN's mission and therefore only a few quotes were used from it. Phrases such as *blood stained* are

⁷⁰ See Appendix 3 – Original email correspondences

tantalizing and work in a mass media production like a film. Once again, Patrick is being used for a specific agenda and specific audience.

In an extremely complicated political backdrop that has spanned over fifteen hundred years, this man stands apart. Much of that political fervor seems steeped in the myths about Patrick and not his writings themselves. Whereas translators are bound to the fidelity of the language, biographers are not. Although the *Confessio* is looked to in order to glean Patrick's Christian tenets, it is in the *Epistola* where one can feel Patrick's passionate love for God and his desire to bring the Irish to salvation through Christianity. His outrage over the kidnapping and killing of his fellow Christians is not because he claimed them for God, but because of the sheer inhumanity and unchristian nature of the act itself. He deeply feels for the victims. "The reader will recall St. Patrick's language in his letter to Coroticus, wherein [there is] such eloquent revelations of [the] Saint's passionate love for those whom he had begotten in Christ, and of that sympathy which made their sufferings his own" (Morris 243). The *Epistola* presents Patrick's anger, which made this human reaction accessible. He is not a removed saint. Patrick is a human saint.

In both of Patrick's writings, the reader does not come to know intimate details about the man or the saint. What comes through is a man who has truly found a personal relationship with his God. This relationship is unlike any that Patrick has had before in his lifetime. It is that deeply personal reliance on an unseen entity, with the promise of care, that is so appealing. Patrick states over and over in his writings that none of the accomplishments in his life are through his talents or skills. He always praises God. In his Preface to John Skinner's translation, John O'Donohue writes about this intimate

divine connection in relation to the Irish concept of “[t]he *Anam-cara* is the Friend of the soul” (Skinner viii). It is through this intimacy that Patrick realizes his own faults and shortcomings. This makes him so real and so relatable. He is empathetic to those he converts because he too was lost before he found God. His sufferings in slavery make him the appropriate saint for the Irish. He understands that living in either iron, social, economic, or political chains can be borne, if one has complete faith and trust in God.

The issues and questions raised from this exploration seem at first glance to be simple. Yes, translators use their own personal ideas on which words they choose to use. Yes, translators’ personal writing styles become evident in their presentations of the original. Yes, the original biographers of Patrick’s life wrote about him in a way that would assist their cause. Yes, both Catholics and Protestants used Patrick to support their own claim to Ireland. And yet, with all things about Ireland, there are subtleties to these issues. Nothing is black or white. This research has proven that there is never just one interpretation to events, people, or their “own” words. The translations presented herein demonstrate that each one had some agenda, that their very existence was a political act of some kind, and that they presented their own Patrick, framed by that act.

Patrick’s allure is a mystery. He is not the most theological of the saints. He does not offer contemplations on the Bible, Church teachings, or the intricacies of faith. His message is more pastoral and personal. Who knows what would convince a man to return to the land of his own enslavement and to treat those who enslaved him with love and kindness. Patrick’s clear love of service, for the Irish, and for God comes through in his writings. His attempts to hide a masterful writing ability only endear him to the reader. He is not the one who has the skill. His skill comes from the Divine, a gift for

which he so repeatedly states that he is unworthy. Patrick's lasting message is one of endurance through faith. That is why biographers, ministers, priests, parishioners, and politicians want to claim him. That is why Patrick's legacy lives on.

APPENDIX 1 – CONFESSIO, LATIN TEXT

Latin Text from Ludwig Bieler's edition as found: ""'My Name Is Patrick...' 'My Name Is Patrick... eg.patricius.' Royal Irish Academy, 2011. 12 July 2018.

I. CONFESSIO - LIBRI EPISTOLARUM SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI

1. Ego Patricius peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos patrem habui Calpornium diaconum filium quendam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit uico bannauem taburniae; uillulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim. Deum enim uerum ignorabam et Hiberione in captiuitate adductus sum cum tot milia hominum — secundum merita nostra, quia *a Deo recessimus et praecepta eius non custodiimus* et sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus, qui nostram salute admonebant: et Dominus *induxit super nos iram animationis suae et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terrae*, ubi nunc paruitas mea esse uidetur inter alienigenas,
2. et ibi *Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae*, ut uel sero rememorarem delicta mea et ut *conuerterem toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum*, qui *respexit humilitatem meam* et misertus est adolescentiae et ignorantiae meae et custodiuit me antequam scirem eum et antequam saperem uel distinguerem inter bonum et malum et muniuit me et consolatus est me ut pater filium.
3. Unde autem tacere non possum, *neque expedit quidem*, tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi Dominus praestare dignatus est *in terra captiuitatis meae*; quia haec est retribution nostra, ut post correptionem uel agnitionem Dei *exaltare et confiteri mirabilia eius coram omni natione quae est sub omni caelo*.
4. Quia non est alius Deus nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a quo est omne principium, omnia tenentem, ut didicimus; et huius filium Iesum Christum, quem cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse testamur, ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem inenarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, et per ipsum facta sunt uisibilia et inuisibilia, hominem factum, morte deuicta incaelis ad Patrem receptum, *et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei quia Dominus et Deus est Iesus Christus*, quem credimus et expectamus aduentum ipsius mox futurum, *iudex uiuorum atque mortuorum, qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua*; et *effudit in nobis abunde Spiritum Sanctum, donum et pignus* immortalitatis, qui facit credentes et oboedientes, ut sint *filius Dei et coheredes Christi*: quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in trinitate sacri nominis.
5. Ipse enim dixit per prophetam: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis tuae et liberabo te et*

- magnificabis me. Et iterum inquit: Opera autem Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum est.*
6. Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum opto *fratribus et cognatis* meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere uotum animae meae.
 7. Non ignoro *testimonium Domini mei*, qui in psalmo testatur: *Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium. Et iterum inquit: Os quod mentitur occidit animam.* Et idem Dominus in euangelio inquit: *Uerbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent pro eo rationem in die iudicii.*
 8. Unde autem uehementer debueram *cum timore et tremore* metuere hanc sententiam in die illa ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere uel abscondere, sed omnes omnino *reddituri sumus rationem* etiam minimorum peccatorum *ante tribunal Domini Christi.*
 9. Quapropter olim cogitauit scribere, sed et usque nunc haesitauit; timui enim ne *incederem in linguam* hominum, quia non didici sicut et ceteri, qui optime itaque iura et sacras litteras utraque pari modo combiberunt et sermones illorum ex infantia numquam mutarunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt. Nam *sermo et loquela* nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest probari ex salua scripturae meae qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus, quia, inquit, *sapiens per linguam dinoscetur et sensus et scientia et doctrina ueritatis.*
 10. Sed quid prodest excusatio *iuxta ueritatem*, praesertim cum praesumptione, quatenus modo ipse adpeto in senectute mea quod in iuuentute non comparauit. quod obstiterunt peccata mea ut confirmarem quod ante perlegeram. Sed quis me credit? Etsi dixero quod ante praefatus sum? Adolescens, immo paene puer in uerbis, capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid adpetere uel quid uitare debueram. Unde ergo hodie erubesco et uehementer pertimeo denudare imperitiam meam, quia desertis breuitate sermone explicare neque, sicut enim spiritus gestit et animus, et sensus monstrat adfectus.
 11. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et ceteris, uerumtamen non silerem *propter retributionem*, et si forte uidetur apud aliquantos me in hoc praepone cum mea inscientia et *tardiori lingua*, sed etiam scriptum est enim: *Linguae balbutientes uelociter discent loqui pacem.* Quanto magis nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus, inquit, *Epistola Christi in salutem usque ad ultimum terrae*, et si non deserta, sed ratum et fortissimum *scripta in cordibus uestris non atramento sed spiritu Dei uiui.* Et iterum Spiritus testatur *etrusticationem ab Altissimo creatam.*
 12. Unde ego primus rusticus profuga indoctus scilicet, *qui nescio in posterum prouide*, sed illud scio certissime quia utique *priusquam humiliarer* ego eram uelut lapis qui iacet in *luto profundo*: et uenit *qui potens est* et in sua misericordia sustulit

- me et quidem scilicet sursum adleuauit et collocauit me in summon pariete; et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficiis eius hic et in aeternum, quae mens hominum aestimare non potest.
13. Unde autem ammiramini itaque *magni et pusilli qui timetis Deum* et uos domini cati rethorici audite et scrutamini. Quis me stultum excitauit de medio eorum qui uidentur esse sapientes et legis periti et *potentes in sermone* et in omni re, et me quidem, detestabilis huius mundi, prae ceteris inspirauit si talis essem — dummodo autem — ut *cum metu et reuerentia* et *sine querella* fideliter prodessem genti ad quam *caritas Christi* transtulit et donauit me in uita mea, si dignus fuero, denique ut cum humilitate et ueraciter deseruirem illis.
14. In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere, sine reprehensione periculi notum facere *donum Dei* et consolationem aeternam, sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere, ut etiam *post obitum meum* exagallias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizauit tot milia hominum —
15. et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc Dominus seruulo suo concederet post aerumnas et tantas moles, post captiuitatem, post annos multos in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret; quod ego aliquando in iuuentute mea numquam sperauit neque cogitauit.
16. Sed postquam Hiberione deueneram — cotidie itaque pecora pascebam et frequens in die orabam — magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius et fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter, ut etiam in siluis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per niuem per gelu per pluuiam, et nihil mali sentiebam neque ulla pigritia erat in me — sicut modo uideo, quia tunc spiritus in me feruebat —
17. et ibi scilicet quadam nocte in somno audiui uocem dicentem mihi: ‘Bene ieiunas cito iturus ad patriam tuam’, et iterum post paululum tempus audiui *responsum* dicentem mihi: ‘Ecce nauistua parata est’ — et non erat prope, sed forte habebat ducenta milia passus et ibi numquam fueram nec ibi notum quemquam de hominibus habebam — et deinde postmodum conuersus sum infugam et intermisi hominem cum quo fueram sex annis et ueni in uirtute Dei, qui uiam meam ad bonum dirigebat et nihil metuebam donec perueni ad nauem illam,
18. et illa die qua perueni profecta est nauis de loco suo, et locutus sum ut haberem unde nauigare cum illis et gubernator displicuit illi et acriter cum indignatione respondit: ‘Nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetes ire’, et cum haec audiissem separauit me ab illis ut uenirem ad tegoriolum ubi hospitabam, et in itinere coepi

- orare et antequam orationem consummarem audiui unum ex illis et fortiter exclamabat post me: ‘Ueni cito, quia uocant te homines isti’, et statim ad illos reuersus sum, et coeperunt mihi dicere: ‘Ueni, quia ex fide recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam quo modo uoueris’ — et in illa die itaque reppuli *sugere mammellas eorum* propter timorem Dei, sed uerumtamen ab illis speraui uenire in fidem Iesu Christi, quia gentes erant — et ob hoc obtinui cum illis, et protinus nauigauimus,
19. et post triduum terram cepimus et uiginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et *fames inualuit super eos*, et alio die coepit gubernator mihi dicere: ‘Quid est, Christiane? tu dicis deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est; quare ergo non potes pro nobis orare? quia nos a fame periclitamur; difficile est enim ut aliquem hominem umquam uideamus’. Ego enim confidenter dixi illis: ‘*Conuertimini ex fide ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum, quia nihil est impossibile illi*, ut hodie cibus mittat uobis in uiam uestram usque dum satiamini, quia ubique habundat⁷¹ illi’, et adiuuante Deo ita factum est: ecce grex porcorum in uia ante oculos nostros apparuit, et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi duas noctes manserunt et bene refecti et canes⁷² eorum repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis *defecerunt* et secus uiam *semiuiui relict*i sunt, et post hoc summas gratias egerunt Deo et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum, et ex hac die cibus abundanter⁷³ habuerunt; etiam *mel siluestre* inuenerunt et *mihi partem obtulerunt* et unus ex illis dixit: ‘*Immolaticium est*’; Deo gratias, exinde nihil gustauit.
20. Eadem uero nocte eram dormiens et fortiter temptauit me satanas, quod memor ero *quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore*, et cecidit super me ueluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum meorum praeualens. Sed unde me uenit ignaro in spiritu ut Heliam uocarem? Et inter haec uidi in caelum solem oriri et dum clamarem ‘Helia, Helia’ uiribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius decidit super me et statim discussit a me omnem grauitudinem, et credo quod a Christo Domino meo subuentus sum et spiritus eius iam tunc clamabat pro me et spero quod sic erit *in die pressurae* meae, sicut in euangelio inquit: *In illa die, Dominus testatur, non uos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis.*
21. Et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi. Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis. *Responsum autem diuinum* audiui dicentem mihi: ‘Duobus mensibus eris cum illis’. Quod ita factum est: nocte illa sexagesima *liberauit me Dominus de manibuse orum.*
22. Etiam in itinere praeuidit nobis cibus et ignem et siccitatem cotidie

⁷¹ Presented in Howlett’s Latin as *abundabat* (64)

⁷² Presented in Howlett’s Latin as *carne* (64)

⁷³ Presented in Howlett’s Latin as *abundante* (64)

- donec decimo die peruenimus homines. Sicut superius insinuauit, uiginti et octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et ea nocte qua peruenimus homines de cibo uero nihil habuimus.
23. Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannia eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt et ex fide rogauerunt me ut uel modo ego post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli nusquam ab illis discederem, et ibi scilicet *uidi in uisu noctis* uirum uenientem quasi de Hiberione, cui nomen Uictoricus, cum epistolis innumerabilibus, et dedit mihi unam ex his et legi principium epistolae continentem ‘Uox Hiberionacum’, et cum recitabam principium epistolae putabam ipso momento audire uocem ipsorum, qui erant iuxta siluam Uocluti quae est prope mare occidentale, et sic exclamauerunt *quasi ex uno ore*: ‘Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut uenias et adhuc ambulas inter nos’, et ualde *compunctus sum corde* et amplius non potui legere et sic expertus sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem illorum.
24. Et alia nocte — *nescio, Deus scit*, utrum in me an iuxta me — uerbis peritissime, quos ego audiui et non potui intellegere, nisi ad postremum orationis sic effitatus est: *Qui dedit animam suam pro te*, ipse est qui loquitur in te’, et sic expertus⁷⁴ sum gaudibundus.
25. Et iterum uidi in me ipsum orantem et eram quasi intra corpus meum et audiui super me, hoc est super *interiorem hominem*, et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus, et inter haec *stupebam et ammirabam et cogitabam* quis esset qui in me orbat, sed ad postremum orationis sic effitatus est ut sit Spiritus, et sic expertus sum et recordatus sum apostolo dicente: *Spiritus adiuuat infirmitates orationis nostrae: nam quod oremus sicut oportet nescimus: sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus, quae uerbis exprimi non possunt*; et iterum: *Dominus aduocatus noster postulat pro nobis*.
26. Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantibus senioribus meis, qui uenerunt, et peccata mea, contra laboriosum episcopatum meum, utique illo die fortiter *impulsus sum ut caderem* hic et in aeternum; sed Dominus pepercit proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum benigne et ualde mihi subuenit in hac conculcatione. Quod in labe et in obprobrium non male deueni! Deum oro ut *non illis in peccatum reputetur*.
27. *Occasionem* post annos triginta *inuenerunt me aduersus* uerbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus. Propter anxietatem maesto animo insinuauit amicissimo meo quae in pueritia mea una die gesseram, immo in una hora, quia necdum praeualebam. *Nescio, Deus scit*, si habebam tunc annos quindecim, et Deum uiuum non credebam, neque ex infantia mea, sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi donec ualde castigatus sum et

⁷⁴ Presented in Howlett’s Latin as *expergefactus* (68)

- in ueritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate, et cotidie.*
28. Contra, Hiberione non sponte pergebam, *donec prope deficiebam*; sed hoc potius bene mihi fuit, qui ex hoc emendates sum a Domino, et aptauit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, ut ego curam haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando autem tunc etiam de me ipso non cogitabam.
29. Igitur in illo die quo *reprobatus sum* a memoratis supradictis ad noctem illam *uidi in uisu noctis* scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore, et inter haec audiui *responsum diuinum* dicentem mihi: Male uidimus faciem designati nudato nomine, nec sic praedixit: Male uidisti, sed: Male uidimus, quasi sibi se⁷⁵ iunxisset, sicut dixit: *Qui uos tangit quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi mei.*
30. Idcirco *gratias ago ei qui me* in omnibus *confortauit*, ut non me impediret a profectioe quam statueram et de mea quoque opera quod a Christo Domino meo didiceram, sed magis ex eo *sensi in me uirtutem* non paruam et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus.
31. Unde autem *audenter dico* non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum: *teste Deo* habeo *quia non sum mentitus* in sermonibus quos ego retuli uobis.
32. Sed magis doleo pro amicissimo meo cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum. Cui ego credidi etiam animam! Et comperi ab aliquantis fratribus ante defensionem illam (quod ego non interfui nec in Britannis eram nec a me oriebatur) ut et ille in mea absentia pulsaret pro me; etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat: ‘Ecce dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus’, quod non eram dignus. Sed unde uenit illi postmodum ut coram cunctis, bonis et malis, et me publice dehonestaret quod ante sponte et laetus indulserat, et Dominus, qui *maior omnibus est?*
33. Satis dico. Sed tamen non debeo abscondere *donum Dei* quod largitus est nobis *in terra captiuitatis meae*, quia tunc fortiter inquisiui eum et ibi inueni illum et seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus (sic credo) *propter inhabitantem Spiritum eius, qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me. Audenter* rursus. Sed scit Deus, si mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset, forsitan tacuissem propter *caritatem Christi.*
34. Unde ergo indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, qui me fidelem seruauit *in die temptationis* meae ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium ut *hostiam uiuentem* animam meam Christo Domino meo, qui me *seruauit ab omnibus angustiis meis*, ut et dicam: *Quis ego sum, Domine*, uel quae est uocatio mea, qui mihi tanta diuinitate cooperasti, ita ut hodie *in gentibus* constanter *exaltarem et magnificarem nomen tuum* ubicumque loco fuero, nec non in secundis sed etiam in pressuris, ut quicquid mihi euenerit siue bonum siue malum aequaliter debeo suscipere et Deo gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem eum

⁷⁵ Presented in Howlett’s Latin as *me* (70)

- sine fine crederem et qui me audierit ut ego inscius et *innouissimis diebus* hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum auderem adgredere, ita ut imitarem quippiam illos quos ante Dominus iam olim praedixerat praenuntiaturus euangelium suum *intestimonium omnibus gentibus ante finem mundi*, quod ita ergo uidimus itaque suppletum est: ecce testes sumus quia euangelium praedicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.
35. Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum uel per partes. Breuiter dicam qualiter piissimus Deus de seruitute saepe liberauit et de periculis duodecim qua periclitata est anima mea, praeter insidias multas et *quae uerbis exprimere non ualeo*. Nec iniuriam legentibus faciam; sed Deum auctorem habeo, qui nouit omnia etiam antequam fiant, ut me pauperulum pupillum ideotamen⁷⁶ *responsum diuinum* creber⁷⁷ admonere.
36. *Unde mihi haec sapientia*, quae in me non erat, qui nec *numerum dierum noueram* neque Deum sapiebam? Unde mihi postmodum donum tam magnum tam salubre Deum agnoscere uel diligere, sed ut patriam et parentes amitterem?
37. Et munera multa mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrimis et offendi illos, nec non contra uotum aliquantis de senioribus meis, sed gubernante Deo nullo modo consensi neque adqueiui illis — non mea gratia, sed Deus qui uincit in me et resistit illis omnibus, ut ego ueneram ad Hibernas gentes euangelium praedicare et ab incredulis contumelias perferre, ut *audirem obprobrium peregrinationis meae*, et persecutiones multas *usque ad uincula* et ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate aliorum et, si dignus fuero, *promptus* sum ut etiam *animam meam* incunctanter et *libentissime* pro nomine eius et ibi opto *impendere eam usque ad mortem*, si Dominus mihi indulgeret,
38. quia ualde *debitor sum* Deo, qui mihi tantam gratiam donauit ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur et postmodum consummarentur et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper uenientem ad credulitatem, quam sumpsit Dominus *ab extremis terrae*, sicut olim promiserat per prophetas suos: *Ad tegentes uenient ab extremis terrae et dicent: sicut falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola et non est in eis utilitas; et iterum: Posui te lumen in gentibus ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae*.
39. Et ibi uolo *expectare promissum* ipsius, qui utique numquam fallit, sicut in euangelio pollicetur: *Uenient ab oriente et occidente et recumbent cum Abraam et Isaac et Iacob*, sicut credimus ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes.
40. Idcirco itaque oportet quidem bene et diligenter piscare, sicut Dominus praemonet et docet dicens: *Uenite post me et faciam uos fieri*

⁷⁶ Presented in Howlett's Latin as *idiotam* (74)

⁷⁷ Presented in Howlett's Latin as *crébre* (74)

*piscatores hominum; et iterum dicit per prophetas: Ecce mitto piscatores et uenatores multos, dicit Deus, et cetera. Unde autem ualde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita ut *multitude copiosa et turba* Deo caperetur et ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarent populum indigentem et desiderantem, sicut Dominus inquit in euangelio, ammonet⁷⁸ et docet dicens: *Euntes ergo nunc docete omnes gentes baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti docentes eos obseruare omnia quaecumque mandauit uobis: et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi; et iterum dicit: Euntes ergo in mundum uniuersum praedicate euangelium omni creaturae; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit; qui uero non crediderit condemnabitur; et iterum: Praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis; et item Dominus per prophetam praenuntiat inquit: Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem et prophetabunt filii uestri et filiae uestrae et iuuenes uestri uisiones uidebunt et seniores uestri somnia somniabunt et quidem super seruos meos et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de spiritu meo et prophetabunt; et in Osee dicit: Uocabo non plebem meam plebem meam et non misericordiam consecutam misericordiam consecutam et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs mea uos, ibi uocabuntur filii Dei uiui.**

41. Unde autem Hiberione qui numquam notitiam Dei habuerunt nisi idola et inmunda usque nunc semper coluerunt quomodo *nuper facta est plebs Domini* et filii Dei nuncupantur, filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi et uirgines Christi esse uidentur?
42. Et etiam una benedicta Scotta genetiua nobilis pulcherrima adulta erat, quam ego baptizauit; et post paucos dies una causa uenit ad nos, insinuauit nobis responsum accepisse a nuntio Dei et monuit eam ut esset uirgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret: Deo gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et audissime arripuit illud quod etiam omnes uirgines Dei ita hoc faciunt — non sponte patrum earum, sed et persecutiones patiuntur et impropria falsa a parentibus suis et nihilominus plus augetur numerus (et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt nescimus numerum eorum) praeter uiduas et continentas.
Sed ex illis maxime laborant quae seruitio detinentur: usque ad terrores et minas assidue perferunt; sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis suis, nam etsi uentantur tamen fortiter imitantur.
43. Unde autem etsi uoluero amittere illas et ut pergens in Britannias — et libentissime *paratus eram* quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum sed etiam usque ad Gallias uisitare fratres et ut uiderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei: scit Deus quod ego ualde optabam, sed *alligatus Spiritu*, qui mihi *protestatur* si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat et timeo

⁷⁸ Presented in Howlett's Latin as *admónet* (78)

- perdere laborem quem inchoaui, et non ego sed Christus Dominus, qui me imperauit ut uenirem esse cum illis residuum aetatis meae, *si Dominus uoluerit* et custodierit me ab omni uia mala, ut non *peccem coram illo*;
44. spero autem hoc debueram, sed memet ipsum non credo *quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore mortis*, quia fortis est qui cotidie nititur subuertere me a fide et praeposita castitate religionis non fictae usque in finem uitae meae Christo Domino meo, sed *caro inimica* semper trahit ad mortem, id est ad inlecebras inlicitate perficiendas; et *scio ex parte* quare uitam perfectam ego non egi sicut et ceteri credentes, sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in conspectu ipsius, *quia non mentior*, ex quo cognoui eum *a iuuentute mea* creuit in me amor Dei et timor ipsius, *et usque nunc* fauente Domino *fidem seruauit*.
45. Rideat autem et insultet qui uoluerit, ego non silebo neque abscondo signa et mirabilia quae mihi a Domino monstrata sunt ante multos annos quam fierent, quasi qui nouit omnia etiam *ante tempora saecularia*.
46. Unde autem debueram sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui saepe indulsit insipientiae meae neglegentiae meae et de loco non in uno quoque ut non mihi uehementer irasceret, qui adiutor datus sum et non cito adqueui secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat et sicut *Spiritus suggerebat*, et *misertus est* mihi Dominus *in milia milium*, quia uidit in me quod *paratus eram*, sed quod mihi pro his nesciebam de statu meo quid facerem, quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, etiam inter se ipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant: ‘Iste quare se mittit in periculo inter hostes qui Deum non nouerunt?’ — non ut causa malitiae, sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, intellegi propter rusticitatem meam — et non cito agnoui gratiam quae tunc erat in me; nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram.
47. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuauit fratribus et conseruis meis qui mihi crediderunt propter quod *praedixi et praedico* ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem uestram. Utinam ut et uos imitemini maiora et potiora faciatis! Hoc erit gloria mea, quia *filius sapiens gloria patris est*.
48. Uos scitis et Deus qualiter inter uos conuersatus sum *a iuuentute mea* in fide ueritatis *et in sinceritate cordis*. Etiam ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestauit et praestabo. Deus scit *neminem* illorum *circumueni*, nec cogito, propter Deum et ecclesiam ipsius, ne *excitem* illis et nobis omnibus *persecutionem* et ne per me blasphemaretur nomen Domini; quia scriptum est: *Uae homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur*.
49. Nam *etsi imperitus sum in omnibus* tamen conatus sum quippiam seruare me etiam et fratribus Christianis et uirginibus Christi et mulieribus religiosis, quae mihi ultronea munuscula donabant et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis et iterum reddebam illis et aduersus me scandalizabantur cur hoc faciebam; sed ego propter spem perennitatis,

- ut me in omnibus caute propterea conseruarem, ita ut non me in aliquo titulo infideli caperent uel ministerium seruitutis meae nec etiam in minimo incredulis locum darem infamare siue detractare.
50. Forte autem quando baptizauit tot milia hominum sperauerim ab aliquo illorum uel dimidio scriptulae? *Dicite mihi et reddam uobis.* Aut quando ordinauit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam et ministerium gratis distribui illis, si poposci ab aliquo illorum uel pretium uel *calciamenti mei, dicite aduersus me et reddam uobis.* Magis
51. ego *impendi pro* uobis ut me *caperent*, et inter uos et ubique pergebam causa uestra in multis periculis etiam usque ad exterarum partes, ubi nemo ultra erat et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat qui baptizaret aut clericos ordinaret aut populum consummaret: donante Domino diligenter et libentissime pro salute uestra omnia generaui.
52. Interim praemia dabam regibus praeter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum qui mecum ambulant, et nihilominus comprehenderunt me cum comitibus meis et illa die audissime cupiebant interficere me, sed tempus nondum uenerat, et omnia quaecumque nobiscum inuenerunt rapuerunt illud et me ipsum ferro uinxerunt, et quartodecimo die absoluit me Dominus de potestate eorum et quicquid nostrum fuit redditum est nobis propter Deum et *necessarios amicos* quos ante praeuidimus.
53. Uos autem experti estis quantum ego erogauit illis qui iudicabant *per omnes regiones* quos ego frequentius uisitabam. Censeo enim non minimum quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis, ita ut me *fruemini* et ego *uobis* semper *fruar* in Deum. Non me paenitet nec satis est mihi: adhuc *impendo et superimpendam*; potens est Dominus ut det mihi postmodum ut meipsum *impendar pro animabus uestris.*
54. Ecce *testem Deum inuoco in animam meam quia non mentior*: neque ut sit *occasio adulationis* uel *auaritiae* scripserim uobis neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo uestro; sufficit enim honor qui nondum uidetur sed corde creditur; *fidelis autem qui promisit: numquam mentitur.*
55. Sed uideo iam *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 conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam diuitiae et diliciae (sed et *Christus Dominus pauper* fuit *pro nobis*, ego uero miser et infelix etsi opes uoluero iam non habeo), *neque me ipsum iudico*, quia cotidie spero aut internicionem aut circumueniri aut redigi in seruitutem siue occasio cuiuslibet; *sed nihil horum uereor* propter promissa caelorum, quia iactauit meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis, qui ubique dominatur, sicut propheta dicit: *Iacta cogitatum tuum in Deum et ipse te enutriet.*
56. Ecce nunc *commendo animam meam fidelissimo Deo* meo, *proquo legationem fungor* in ignobilitate mea, sed quia *personam non accipit* et elegit me ad

- hoc officium ut *unus* essem *de suis* minimis minister.
57. Unde autem *retribuam illi pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi*. Sed quid dicam uel quid promittam Domino meo, quia nihil ualeo nisi ipse mihi dederit? Sed *scrutator corda et renes* quia satis et nimis cupio et *paratus eram* ut donaret mihi *bibere calicem* eius, sicut indulsit et ceteris amantibus se.
58. Quapropter non contingat mihi a Deo meo ut numquam amittam *plebem* suam *quam adquisiuit* in ultimis terrae. Oro Deum ut det mihi perseuerantiam et dignetur ut reddam illi testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum,
59. et si aliquid boni umquam imitatus sum propter Deum meum, quem diligo, peto illi det mihi ut cum illis proselitis et captiuis pro nomine suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ipsam etiam caream sepulturam aut miserissime cadauer per singula membra diuidatur canibus aut bestiis asperis aut *uolucres caeli comederent illud*. Certissime reor, si mihi hoc incurrisset, lucratus sum animam cum corpore meo, quia *sine ulla dubitatione* in die illa *resurgemus* in claritate solis, hoc est *ingloria* Christi Iesu redemptoris nostri, quasi *filius Dei* uiui et *coheredes Christi* et *conformes futuri imaginis ipsius*; quoniam *ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso* regnaturi sumus.
60. Nam sol ipse⁷⁹ quem uidemus ipso iubente propter nos cotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit neque permanebit splendor eius, sed et omnes qui adorant eum in poenam miseri male deuenient; nos autem, qui credimus et adoramus solem uerum Christum, qui numquam interibit, neque *qui fecerit uoluntatem* ipsius, sed *manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus manet in aeternum*, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu Sancto ante saecula et nunc et per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.
61. Ecce iterum iterumque breuiter exponam uerba confessionis meae. *Testificor* in ueritate et in *exultatione cordis coram Deo et sanctis angelis eius* quia numquam habui aliquam occasionem praeter euangelium et promissa illius ut umquam redirem ad gentem illam unde prius uix euaseram.
62. Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere uel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione conscripsit, ut nemo umquam dicat quod mea ignorantia, si aliquid pusillum egi uel demonstraerim secundum Dei placitum, sed arbitramini et uerissime credatur quod *donum Dei* fuisset. Et haec est confessio mea antequam moriar.

⁷⁹ Presented in Howlett's Latin as *iste* (90)

APPENDIX 2 – EPISTOLA, LATIN TEXT

Latin Text from Ludwig Bieler's edition as found: ""'My Name Is Patrick...' 'My Name Is Patrick... eg.patricius.' Royal Irish Academy, 2011. 16 July 2018.

EPISTOLA AD MILITES COROTICI

1. Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione constitutus episcopum me esse fateor. Certissime reor a Deo *accepi id quod sum*. Inter barbaras itaque gentes habito proselitus et profuga ob amorem Dei; testis est ille si ita est. Non quod optabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere; sed cogor zelo Dei, et ueritas Christi excitauit, pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum, pro quibus *tradidi patriam et parentes et animam meam usque ad mortem*. Si dignus sum, uiuo Deo meo docere gentes etsi contempnor aliquibus.
2. Manu mea scripsi atque condidi uerba ista danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico ciuibus meis neque ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum sed ciuibus daemoniorum, ob mala opera ipsorum. Ritu hostili in morte uiuunt, socii Scottorum atque Pictorum apostatarumque. Sanguilentos sanguinare de sanguine innocentium Christianorum, quos ego in numero⁸⁰ Deo genui atque in Christo confirmaui!
3. Postera die qua crismati neophyti in ueste candida — flagrabat in fronte ipsorum dum crudeliter trucidati atque mactati gladio supradictis — misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero quem ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid indulgerent depraeda uel de captiuis baptizatis quos ceperunt: cachinnos fecerunt de illis.
4. Idcirco nescio quid magis lugeam: an qui interfecti uel quos ceperunt uel quos grauiter zabulus inlaqueauit. Perenni poena gehennam pariter cum ipso mancipabunt, quia utique *qui facit peccatum seruus est et filius zabuli* nuncupatur.
5. Quapropter resciat omnis homo timens Deum quod a me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo, *pro quo legationem fungor*, patricida, fratricida, *lupi rapaces deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis*, sicut ait: *Iniqui dissipauerunt legem tuam, Domine*, quam in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime benigne plantauer atque instructa erat fauente Deo.
6. Non usurpo. Partem habeo cum his *quos aduocauit et praedestinauit* euangelium praedicare in persecutionibus non

⁸⁰ Presented in Howlett's Latin as *innumerum numerum* (26)

7. *paruis usque ad extremum terrae, etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici, qui Deum non ueretur nec sacerdotes ipsius, quos elegit et indulsit illis summam diuinam sublimam potestatem, quos ligarent super terram ligatos esse et in caelis.*
8. *Unde ergo quaeso plurimum, sancti et humiles corde, adularia talibus non licet nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis nec elemosinas ipsorum recipi debeat donec crudeliter per⁸¹ paenitentiam effusis lacrimis satis Deo faciant et liberent seruos Dei et ancillas Christi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus.*
9. *Dona iniquorum reprobatur Altissimus. Qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperum quasi qui uictimat filium in conspectu patris sui. Diuitias, inquit, quas congregauit iniuste euomentur de uentre eius, trahit illum angelus mortis, ira draconum mulcabitur, interficiet illum lingua colubris, comedit autem eum ignis inextinguibilis. Ideoque: Uae qui replent se quae non sunt sua, uel: Quid prodest homini ut totum mundum lucretur et animae suae detrimentum patiatur?*
10. *Longum est per singula discutere uel insinuare, per totam legem carpere testimonia de tali cupiditate. Auaritia mortale crimen. Non concupisces rem proximi tui. Non occides. Homicida non potest esse cum Christo. Qui odit fratrem suum homicida adscribitur. Uel: Qui non diligit fratrem suum in morte manet. Quanto magis reus est qui manus suas coinquinauit in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper adquisiuit in ultimis terrae per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae?*
11. *Numquid sine Deo uel secundum carnem Hiberione ueni? Quis me compulit? Alligatus sum Spiritu ut non uideam aliquem de cognatione mea. Numquid a me piam misericordiam quod ago erga gentem illam qui me aliquando ceperunt et deuastauerunt seruos et ancillas domus patris mei? Ingenuus fui secundum carnem; decorione patre nascor. Uendidi enim nobilitatem meam— non erubesco neque me paenitet — pro utilitate aliorum; denique seruus sum in Christo genti exterae ob gloriam ineffabilem perennis uitae quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.*
12. *Et si mei me non cognoscunt, propheta in patria sua honorem non habet. Forte non sumus ex uno ouili neque unum Deum patrem habemus, sicut ait: Qui non est mecum contra me est, et qui non congregat mecum spargit. Non conuenit: Unus destruit, alter aedificat. Non quaero quae mea sunt. Non mea gratia sed Deus qui dedit hanc sollicitudinem in corde meo ut unus essem de uenatoribus siue piscatoribus quos olim*

⁸¹ This word was not in Howlett's Latin (28)

- Deus *in nouissimis diebus* ante praenuntiauit.
13. Inuidetur mihi. Quid faciam, Domine? Ualde despicio. Ecce oues tuae circa me laniantur atque depraedantur, et supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico hostili mente. Longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. *Lupi rapaces* deglutierunt gregem Domini, qui utique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat, et filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi et uirgines Christi enumerare nequeo. Quam ob rem *iniuria iustorum non te placeat; etiam usque ad inferos non placebit.*
14. Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare uel conuiuium frui cum talibus? De spoliis defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas, de rapinis uiuunt. Nesciunt miseri uenenum letale cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos, sicut Eua non intellexit quod utique mortem tradidit uiro suo. Sic sunt omnes qui male agunt: *mortem perennem poenam operantur.*
15. Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum: mittunt uiros sanctos idoneos ad Francos et ceteras gentes cum tot milia solidorum ad redimendos captiuos baptizatos. Tu potius interficis et uendis illos genti exterae ignoranti Deum; quasi in lupanar tradis *membra Christi*. Qualem spem habes in Deum, uel qui teconsentit aut qui te communicat uerbis adulationis? Deus iudicabit. Scriptum est enim: *Non solum facientes mala sed etiam consentientes damnandi sunt.*
16. Nescio *quid dicam* uel *quid loquar* amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei, quos gladius supra modum dure tetigit. Scriptum est enim: *Flete cum flentibus*, et iterum: *Si dolet unum membrum condoleant omnia membra*. Quapropter ecclesia *plorat et plangit filios* et filias *suas* quas adhuc gladius nondum interfecit, sed prolongati et exportati in longa terrarum, ubi *peccatum* manifeste grauiter impudenter *abundat*, ibi uenundati ingenui homines, Christiani in seruitute redacti sunt, praesertim indignissimorum pessimorum apostatarumque Pictorum.
17. Idcirco cum tristitia et maerore uociferabo: O speciosissimi atque amantissimi fratres et filii *quos in Christo genui* enumerare nequeo, quid faciam uobis? Non sum dignus Deo neque hominibus subuenire. *Praeualuit iniquitas iniquorum super nos*. Quasi *extranei facti sumus*. Forte non credunt *unum baptismum* percepimus uel *unum Deum patrem* habemus. Indignum est illis Hiberionaci sumus. Sicut ait: *Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?*
18. Idcirco doleo pro uobis, doleo, carissimi mihi; sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum: non gratis *laboraui* uel peregrinatio mea *inuacuum* non fuit. Et contigit scelus tam horrendum ineffabile, Deo gratias, creduli baptizati, de saeculo recessistis ad paradisum. Cerno uos: migrare coepistis ubi *nox non erit neque luctus*

- neque mors amplius, sed exultabitis sicut uituli ex uinculis resoluti et conculcabitis iniquos et erunt cinis sub pedibus uestris.*
19. Uos ergo regnabitis cum apostolis et prophetis atque martyribus. Aeterna regna capietis, sicut ipse testatur inquit: *Uenient ab oriente et occidente et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum. Foris canes et uenefici et homicidae, et: Mendacibus periuris pars eorum in stagnum ignis aeterni. Non inmerito ait apostolus: Ubi iustus uix saluus erit, peccator et impius transgressor legis ubi se recognoscet?*
20. Unde enim Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis, rebellatores Christi, ubi se uidebunt, qui mulierculas baptizatas praemia distribuunt ob miserum regnum temporale, quod utique in momento transeat? *Sicut nubes uel fumus, qui utique uento dispergitur, ita peccatores fraudulentum a facie Domini peribunt; iusti autem epulentur in magna constantia cum Christo, iudicabunt nationes et regibus iniquis dominabuntur in saecula saeculorum, Amen.*
21. *Testificor coram Deo et angelis suis* quod ita erit sicut intimauit imperitiae meae. Non mea uerba sed Dei et apostolorum atque prophetarum quod ego Latinum exposui, qui numquam enim mentiti sunt. *Qui crediderit saluus erit, qui uero non crediderit condempnabitur, Deus locutus est.*
22. Quaeso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei promptus fuerit ut sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut nequaquam subtrahatur uel abscondatur a nemine, sed magis potius legatur coram cunctis plebibus et praesente ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus inspirat illos *ut quandoque Deo resipiscant*, ita ut uel sero paeniteant quod tam impie gesserunt — homicida erga fratres Domini — et liberent captiuas baptizatas quas ante ceperunt, ita ut mereantur Deo uiuere et sani efficiantur hic et in aeternum! Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, Amen.

Appendix 3 – Original E-mail Correspondences

Note: Some E-mail formatting has been changed to compile with dissertation guidelines

E-mail Correspondences with Philip Freeman

Christina McGrath 7/24/17

Professor Freeman,

You were so kind last year to fill out my survey questions regarding the translation of Saint Patrick's writings found in your 2004 biography of the saint. I thank you for that.

I recently purchased your 2014 publication, *The World of Saint Patrick*, and noticed that there were subtle differences in word choice between the two translations. I didn't go through each one side by side yet, but the first and last sentences are different. For example, in 2004 you ended with the word confession and in 2014 you used declaration. So I was wondering why?

Thank you for your time.

Philip Freeman 7/24/17

I'm glad to help. The translations have different goals, so they differ slightly. I hope both are accurate, but in the first I'm trying to give a more readable, looser version while still being faithful to the text. In the second I'm being more word-for-word literal.

Best wishes, Philip

Christina McGrath 7/24/17

Thank you so much for the feedback. Yes, it is very helpful! Thank you again and good luck at Pepperdine!

Christina McGrath 7/24/17

Nagging lingering question, in your mind what were the two different purposes of the publications?

Philip Freeman 7/24/17

The first was for the general public, the second for use in college courses

Christina McGrath 7/25/17

2004 - general public
2014-college course

or the other way around?

Philip Freeman 7/25/17

The way you have it is correct

Christina McGrath 7/25/17

Thank you again!!

Sent from my iPhone

*E-mail Correspondences with David Howlett***Christina McGrath 4/12/17**

Dr. Howlett,

Thank again so much for your speedy response to my survey. If I could trouble you again, I actually have some follow-up questions.

Your conclusions, that Patrick was not a "rustic" and that he was purposeful in his word choice and structure, are radically different than other scholars who I have read thus far. I read a review by Elva Johnston that echoed the same thought that crossed my mind after reading your translation - why is it that this hasn't made more of an impact in Patrician scholarship? Your conclusions go against about 100 years of scholarship. I find that wonderfully fascinating, and frustrating, because it gives me pause in my own work.

So, my question is, why do you think your conclusions have not made more of an impact?

Thank you again!

David Howlett 4/12/17

Dear Christina,

My 'real' job was to edit the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, now complete in hard copy and in two online versions. The ten books and forty chapters in collaborative books and a hundred or so articles (I haven't counted them) were works of private passion, not works to pad my CV or advance my career. Before I had published much, in submitting articles to learned journals, I learned quickly that what I was writing aroused intense animosity. Readers would demand changes, and if I complied, others would demand opposite changes, all of which seemed to me to be diversionary tactics in order to avoid dealing with the fundamental propositions I was advancing. There seemed to be something that antagonised various groups of persons. Jews didn't like it that I was presenting New Testament Greek texts as part of a seamless tradition from Old Testament Hebrew, mostly written by Jews who supposed that they were writing Scripture. Classicists in Oxford dislike the Judaeo-Christian tradition, preferring the earlier pagan culture to the conversion of the later empire, and they disliked that I was presenting Christian Latin literature as a continuum of the ancient tradition of thought and mode of composition. There is a certain sort of Englishman who disinclines to acknowledge contributions to his own culture from earlier Insular Celtic cultures. And Anglo-Saxonists, under the spell of Tolkien (whose memory I venerate) wanted Anglo-Saxons to be like the Rohirrim, not scholars deeply immersed in traditions of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew thought and literature.

The usual procedure at OUP is to submit a proposed book to two readers, and if they disagree, to a third. The editor to whom I submitted 'British Books in Biblical Style' said she had asked six scholars for their opinions. When I asked what the Hebraist had said, as if I was wrong about the Hebrew everything else would fail, she replied that she had not consulted a Hebraist. Ditto for the Hellenist. Ditto for the Latinist. She said that she had consulted Anglo-Saxonists, all of whom said either that they didn't like what I had written, or that, as they knew what else I had written and disliked that, they wouldn't read it.

When I submitted the same book to Yale the editor said 'I have learned something about my own profession that I don't like, that there is an intellectual mafia, as well as the other kind, and you have crossed it'. One professor whom she consulted said 'This is a brilliant but dangerous book. Take the risk and publish it.' When she said that as an academic publisher she would need that written on his departmental stationery, he declined to write. So did his partner, also a professor. They could affirm that they had said it should be published, but knew that declining to write would sink the ship.

Much of my work lay unpublished for twenty years because the usual venues were all denied. I thought that I would be happy to debate with anyone who had serious objections, but not with blockheads who believed 'This cannot be true because I do not believe that it is'. It was more fun to discover new texts and to share those with scholars who knew Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Insular literatures.

There is another form of deep-seated antagonism. My tutors at the University of Montana had been present when Duckworth gave his famous lecture about mathematical composition in Vergil. Husband and wife, he a code-breaker during the Second World War and she a genius, they took the argument on board immediately and laughed at an antagonist who said 'If Vergil wrote like this, I don't want to know about it'. When I told them about an Oxford professor who had said to me 'I don't believe you about the Old English because I don't believe you about the Latin. If this were true, it would have been seen long ago by some scholar of the eminence of Mommsen or Winterbottom', they smiled and said to ignore him, which I did.

Modern humanist scholars, unlike their predecessors, don't like mathematics, musicologists being the honourable exception. As mathematics is nothing if not exact, all that is required is to verify my work. Anyone who does that will see that it is correct. The opinion of anyone who doesn't bother to verify it isn't worth consulting. I think you will find in the scholarly literature that no one has convicted me of erroneous transcription or translation or calculation. I am the only one who has detected mathematical errors, which I have corrected. The only response from those who oppose the work is to ignore it, largely because they refuse to equip themselves with the knowledge to deal with it.

You can see something comparable in the responses of historians to the work of Dan McCarthy, who has single-handedly established the chronological framework for the

entire tradition of medieval Irish chronicles. The man is an outsider, an Aussie of Irish descent, who worked as an engineer and mathematician at Trinity College Dublin.

I wish you well in your work.

Best to you.
David

Christina McGrath 4/12/17

So I am to understand that you did get push back in the initial publishing? Who would think that academia could be cut-throat and petty? As if those ivory towers were stainless. Ha! You have given me so many things to think about. I will put Dan McCarthy on my list of people to research as well. Again, thank you!

David Howlett 4/12/17

Christina, again,

There was a positive review to what I had written about Patrick in the festschrift for Jim Carney, and a good review of the Patrick book by Jane Stevenson, who worked her way through the parallels to discover that they function as I say they do. Anthony Harvey, editor of the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, wrote positively that regardless of what readers made of my other work, they all seemed to accept the change in attitudes to Patrick's writings. Also a lengthy review of several books by A.B.E. Hood in *Early Medieval Europe*, to which I replied in a subsequent issue. There was a dismissive review of my contribution to the book on the Westminster opus sectile pavements by a man so ignorant that he couldn't recognise the texts as Latin verse, to which I responded in a later issue of the same online journal. A terrible review of *Insular Inscriptions* by the McKees in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* merited a reply in a later issue of the same, after which the editor declared the issue closed, preventing further discussion.

Some of my critics behave like Trump in repeating manifest untruths, even after they have been corrected in public. The McKees are particular offenders in this regard, as is Scott Gwara. These people affirm that no one in Antiquity or the Middle Ages even alluded to, much less discussed explicitly, the techniques on which I based my analyses, notwithstanding my citations of the Talmud, Cicero, Boethius on arithmetic and on music, the Venerable Bede *De Temporum Ratione*, and a spectacular little Anglo-Norman poem addressed to Edward III on the day of his accession. The Greek code that Bede shows how to operate is the basis of the Bamberg Cryptogram that I edited for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín's festschrift, and that is the basis for a little quatrain in the same Greek code in the very manuscript, the Cambridge *Juvenius*, that Mrs McKee edited! Gwara's

complaint about never having seen my principles discussed is answered exactly in two Latin poems, one of the seventh century and another of the tenth, that he edited himself! Therein you see part of the problem. The evidence is where it has always been, even in texts edited by the very people who affirm that there is no evidence. As I have not attacked these people or their work, I assume that they are discomfited by the implication that they have not understood works that they have published.

Besides the medieval musicologists, whose discipline is intensely mathematical, another group who have responded positively is the computists gathered round Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (who wrote a review of *The Celtic Latin Tradition*). I have contributed to the first several of their conference proceedings, published by Brepols under the editorship of Immo Warntjes.

Because I have friends who know things, Leofranc and Dáibhí and Anthony and Immo and Dan and Colin Ireland and David Pelteret, who read scripts and save me from error and suggest things I didn't understand before, I have not felt hard done by. One day a Romanian Israeli came to the Dictionary office, introduced himself, and said that whenever a copy of *Peritia* arrived he went to the National Library in Jerusalem and read the whole thing. He had read everything I had written and felt therein guts and passion and wanted to come to Oxford to study Hiberno-Latin with me. I told him that it would be better for him if we found a respectable supervisor, which we did in Richard Sharpe, and I would read whatever he wrote, but no one here would know that he had anything to do with me. The man earned a congratulatory viva at his D.Phil. examination by Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Thomas Charles-Edwards and now teaches at UCD. It takes few such encounters to outweigh the rubbish dished out by the ignorant.

Imagine scholars as a flock of sheep, bleating about the craziness or inauthenticity of my work without having done the work necessary to confirm or refute it. At some moment, after a critical mass of evidence will have been adduced, they will move to the other side of the field and bleat about its orthodoxy, ditto. Without doing the work and internalising the processes of thought and composition, their approval then will be as worthless as their disapproval now.

Best to you.

David

E-mail Correspondences with John Skinner

wordman@sky.com <wordman@sky.com>

6/14/16

Dear Christina

I replied to yr Gracewing email, but thought it best to send a second greeting direct.

I shd be only too happy to help in any way with yr Doctorate.

peace and joy

John Skinner (*le vrai*)

Christina McGrath cmcgrath@drew.edu 6/14/16

Mr. Skinner,

Thank you so much for contacting me back.

I am currently a graduate student, pursuing my Doctor of Letters, at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. I have attached a short fact sheet about Drew for your information.

My doctoral dissertation is focusing on Saint Patrick and, in part, translation choices. Your translation of *The Confession* and the *Letter to Coroticus* (1998) is one of the translations that I am interested in specifically.

I would appreciate it if you could assist me by answering the attached questionnaire for my research. The responses will be published in my dissertation.

Please e-mail your responses back to me at cmcgrath@drew.edu.

Thank you so much for your time and contributions towards my final manuscript.

Sincerely,

Christina McGrath

6/17/16

Dear Christina

Delighted to help you in your taxing task ahead!

May I attend to yr questionnaire and accept yr invitation to expand, but not expend yr time unnecessarily.

I wish you well in your scholarly labours (labors, as Coleridge wd have written, which is why you do so now).

Proficiet as the Jays have it or as I prefer the Carthusian.

Peace and Joy

John

PS Please feel free to communicate further if I can be of more help. I am voting OUT: but don't let that give you LEAVE to Trump!

wordman@sky.com <wordman@sky.com>

6/22/16

Mr. Skinner....John,

I can not tell you how much your reply and survey answers mean to me, both for my dissertation and for me personally. Your translation **is** the reason why I'm doing my project on Patrick and issues of translation!

I had to read Philip Freeman's biography of Patrick for my first graduate class at Drew, three years ago. Your book was also on the reading list. At first, I was dismissive of the small book. But I heard a voice say "You're in Graduate School, read everything." And so I did. Your translation was so different, both in tone and specific word choices, from Freeman's. I thought that your version was beautifully written. Getting your e-mails made me realize that there may be some of your own beautiful writing style woven into Patrick! I want you to know how much your book touched me. It made me want to know who Patrick was, what that moment of grace was like for him, and what made him go back to Ireland to complete his missionary work.

When I first heard back from you, I was ecstatic. Now that I have your unbiased answers to the survey questions, I just wanted you to know, on a personal level, how much of an impact, your little book made - at least on me.

I may take you up on your offer to answer more questions as I continue through the process. In the meantime, thank you again, for your time, your answers, and your little book that inspired me. God bless.

6/27/16

Dear Christina (and John to you, please)

I was very touched by yr latest email, revealing your encounter with Patrick and all that means to you. Plus the hono(u)r of my 'little book' coming under the microscope of your learning!

Seriously, I am here at your bidding with any queries along the way; and if that grows into a dialogue, I will be all the richer.

You are right about Patrick. His *Confessio* reveals an extraordinary youth growing into sturdy manhood in Christ's own vision. And his legacy was to generate a stream of missionaries who over the decades to follow sowed Christ's gospel across the whole of Europe.

Our West Country place names tell the tale - St Kew, St Keverne. St Teath, St Tudy : the list is endless. And then, from Crediton, comes Boniface, 'the greatest Englishman', apostle of Holland and Germany.

Persevere with your exciting labours, which I feel sure will be their own reward.

Peace and Joy
John

Christina McGrath cmcgrath@drew.edu 7/29/18

John,

You were so kind last year to answer not only my survey questions on translations and Saint Patrick, but also follow-up ones via e-mail correspondence. Would you mind if I put those conversations in my dissertation's appendixes? Thank you!

Judith Skinner jude.skinner42@gmail.com 8/28/18

Dear Christina

My son Charlie, found your email and forwarded it to me yesterday.

I'm afraid I have very sad news, my husband John died a couple of months ago, quite suddenly after a very short illness.

I know he would be delighted for you to use whatever you needed in whatever way you felt fit.

All good wishes for your dissertation and do keep in touch if you would like to.

Judith Skinner

Christina McGrath cmcgrath@drew.edu 8/28/18

Judith,

I am so sorry for you and your family's loss. I thought that might be the case when I hadn't heard back. Please know that his work with Saint Patrick's translation is what fueled me and inspired me for my project. Wishing you comfort.

With gratitude for your and John's kindness,
Christina

E-mail Correspondences regarding I am Patrick docudrama

Attempts were made to contact: Christian Broadcast Network, Jarrod Anderson, and Northstar Studios

Sent: Wednesday, May 27, 2020 6:13 PM

To: chris@rc-pr.com

Subject: Feedback - I am Patrick

Name: Christina McGrath

I am currently working on my doctoral dissertation at Drew University in Madison, N.J. on the writings of Saint Patrick. I would very much like to get in contact with the director and producer of the docudrama to ask questions about the translation and quotes used from his writings. Is there any way that your organization can pass my contact information along so I could interview them? Or if you can give out their contact information directly to me, I would really appreciate it. Thank you so much!

Chris Roslan chris@rc-pr.com 5/28/20

Christina,

Thanks for reaching out. I spoke with the team at CBN, however no one is available for interviews at this time.

Chris Roslan
President
Roslan & Associates Public Relations LLC

Christina McGrath cmcgrath@drew.edu 7/14/20

Mr. Anderson,

If you would kindly read the attached letter of introduction and take time to answer the accompanying questions, I would greatly appreciate it. Thank you so much for your time and consideration.

Christina McGrath

DLITT Candidate

Northstar Studios On-line Contact Form

Date: 11/28/20

Message: I have been trying to get into contact with Jarrod Anderson, regarding the film I am Patrick. This is my fourth attempt. I am simply a doctoral candidate, working on a dissertation on Saint Patrick. I wanted to ask him a few questions about the film. I would appreciate any assistance in reaching him.

17 Smith Street
Butler, New Jersey 07405
United States

July 14, 2020

Mr. Jarrod Anderson
Managing Director
NorthStar Studios
Email: Jarrod@NorthStarStudios.com

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I am currently a graduate student, pursuing my Doctor of Letters, at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. My doctoral dissertation focus is on Saint Patrick, translation choices, as well as his enduring message.

I viewed your recent film, *I Am Patrick*, and would very much like to ask you, as both the writer and director, a few questions regarding its production. I am interested in connecting the Patrician scholarship from the past century to today, in relation to Patrick's appeal. Obviously, a film made in 2020 about Patrick would attest to his continued presence. My deadline is fast approaching, and your answers on the film would be a vital part of my conclusions.

I would appreciate it if you could assist me by answering the accompanying questionnaire for my research. The responses will be published in my dissertation. Please return the survey questionnaire answers to the above mailing address (as soon as possible) or you may simply e-mail them back to me at cmcgrath@drew.edu. Thank you so much for your time and contributions towards my final manuscript.

Sincerely,

[Christina McGrath](#)

I am Patrick Docudrama – Dissertation Questionnaire

1. Name
2. Date of Birth
3. Education
4. Religious Affiliation
5. Years of Latin Study
6. Why did you choose to do a film about Saint Patrick?
7. How long was this film in pre-production/development?
8. What specific research did you do on Patrick, prior to the film's production?
9. Why did you choose to do the film as a docudrama, not as a documentary or as a drama?
 - In the credits, Padriag McCarthy's translation is listed as the one that you used to pull Patrick's actual words, from the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*, for the voiceovers in the film:
10. Why did you choose that specific translation?
11. Did you consult any other translations of Patrick's works? If so, which ones?
12. Why and/or How did you choose the specific phrases that were in the film over others from his writings?
13. Why were the more quotes from his *Confessio* and less from the *Epistola*?
14. What specific role, if any, did the transcriptionists (Kristin Cooney & Joyce E. Jackson) play in the film's production and the presentation of Patrick's writing?

Please type your answers for the survey questions. You may be as detailed as you wish. I truly appreciate your time and effort on my behalf. Thank you so much!

Chris Roslan chris@rc-pr.com 11/30/20

Christina,

We corresponded several months ago about your request to speak with the producers of *I Am Patrick*. The producers have asked me, again, to let you know they do not wish to be interviewed about the film and also wish to not be contacted further.

Chris Roslan
President
Roslan & Associates Public Relations
(212) 966-4600, ext 101
Reach me anywhere at (917) 538-5629
chris@rc-pr.com
<http://rc-pr.com/>

E-mail Correspondences with Padraig McCarthy

Christina McGrath cmcgrath@drew.edu 7/16/20

TO: Pádraig McCarthy

Mr. McCarthy,

You were kind enough four years ago to answer my survey questions regarding your translation of Saint Patrick's writings for my doctoral dissertation. Life being what it is, I am still working on it. I am hopefully in the final stages of edits. However, my production delay had its benefits. I am speaking of the docudrama, *I Am Patrick*, released through the Christian Broadcasting Network this year. It is a wonderfully recent piece of evidence that Patrick and his message is still vital. After viewing it and transcribing what I thought were direct lines from Patrick's writings, I was curious to see in the credits that both you and scholar Thomas O'Loughlin contributed to the translation for the Confessio. How exactly did that work, with both of you, contributing to the "words" of Patrick? The verbiage is very similar to the piece that you had forwarded to me years ago. But there are some phrases that are different. Could you speak to those differences? I would very much appreciate the clarification. Thank you again for your assistance. I appreciate your time.

Christina McGrath

Thu, Jul 16, 2020

Dear Christina,

Thank you for your email.

I watched the docudrama *I Am Patrick*. They had asked permission to make use of my translation.

I do not have the script of the drama. My impression is that, while they used some of the words and phrases of my translation, they adapted it freely. I would put this down to the need to adapt material for the film drama format. Popularization of the material would seem to have been a principal objective. The film was well acted; some scenes were dramatised fiction for the purposes of the narrative, since there is much that Patrick did not tell us.

If you have seen a film derived from a book which you have previously read, usually you will find considerable adaptation.

I would imagine that less than 10 percent of the words in the film were from my translation or adapted from it.

Having received my permission, I did not hear from the producers again; they did not ask me for any remarks before the film was released. Some of their adaptation struck me as not good, but it was their decision.

This is all I can say about the differences in the words used. I hope it is of some assistance.

Grace & Peace –

Pádraig McCarthy

Christina McGrath <cmcgrath@drew.edu>

Thu, Jul 16, 2020

Thank you again!!

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