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WULFILA 311–2011

International Symposium

Uppsala University June 15–18, 2011

Edited by Anders Kaliff and Lars Munkhammar

Editorial board:

Anders Kaliff, Lars Munkhammar, Ulrika Centerwall



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET



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Wulfila 311–2011

Uppsala, Sweden, June 15–18

Wednesday June 15

19.00 Welcome reception for early arrivers

Thursday June 16

08.30–09.30 REGISTRATION

Venue: University Main Building

10.00–11.30 OPENING OF THE SYMPOSIUM

by Dr. **Irina Bokova**, Director-General of UNESCO

Venue: Carolina Rediviva, the University Library

Venue for the remaining day: University Main Building

12.00–12.30 Prof. **Herwig Wolfram**

»Ulfla pontifex et primas Gothorum minorum« (Iordanes, Getica 267)

12.30–13.00 Prof. **Tore Nyberg**

Euseb's Tricennial Oration and Wulfila's Christian Faith

13.00–14.30 LUNCH

14.30–15.00 Prof. **Jan Paul Strid**

Retracing the Goths

15.00–15.30 Monsignore **J.M. Ferrer Grenesche**

The living traditions of the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy and its Visigothic roots

15.30–16.00 COFFEE BREAK

16.00–16.30 Prof. **Andrzej Kokowski**

The Goths in ca. 311 AD

16.30–17.00 Dr. **Svante Fischer**

Literacy and text production in the age of Germanic kleptocracy – The elusive case of Theoderic

19.00 DINNER

Venue: Västgöta nation

Friday June 17

- Venue:* University Main Building
- 09.30–10.00 Prof. **Magnús Snædal**
Naiswor
- 10.00–10.30 Dr. **Rossen Milev**
Wulfila's Cultural Heritage in Bulgaria and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition
- 10.30–11.00 Mrs. **Svetlana Lazarova**
The Gothic Alphabet of Bishop Wulfila and the Cyrillic Alphabet Culture
- 11.00–11.45 COFFEE BREAK
- 11.45–12.15 Prof. **Carla Falluomini**
The Gothic version of the New Testament – Text-critical remarks
- 12.15–12.45 Prof. **Antoaneta Granberg**
Establishing New Alphabets (300–900 AD)
- 12.45–13.00 SHORT BREAK
- 13.00–13.30 Prof. **Hans Frede Nielsen**
The Gothic language of Bishop Wulfila – Phonology, typology and purported linguistic purity
- 13.30–14.00 Prof. **Ingmar Söhrman**
Wulfila, Arianism and the Gothic language in Visigothic Spain
- 14.00–14.20 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION
- 14.20 LUNCHEON
- 17.30–20.30 VISIT TO GAMLA UPPSALA MUSEUM AND
MOZARABIC MASS IN GAMLA UPPSALA CHURCH

Saturday June 18

- 11.00–16.30 EXCURSION TO SKOKLOSTER CASTLE

Anders Kaliff & Lars Munkhammar

Preface by the Editors

As early as 1970, Associate Professor Ulf Erik Hagberg, later Director of the Swedish Historical Museum in Stockholm, gathered scholars from different European countries to a multidisciplinary conference on the Goths and their history. The conference was arranged in connection with a Romanian exhibition called *Goldschätze aus den Karpaten* with the Swedish title *Gyllene forntid* ('Golden Past'). It was on display in Stockholm and Gothenburg and attracted 40,000 people. The Swedish King was one of the most interested visitors.

It came up for discussion some years ago that there should be a 40th anniversary – a revival – of Ulf Erik Hagberg's conference. After some further discussion it was observed that in 2011 it would be 1,700 years since Bishop Wulfila was born according to tradition. Wulfila is often called 'The Apostle of the Goths', not least for his Gothic Bible translation, and the probable creator of the Gothic alphabet. And would this not also be a suitable reason for a jubilee? So 2011 was proclaimed the Wulfila Year in different places in Europe, first unofficially, but later on officially in Sofia, Bulgaria, a country that includes the old province Moesia where Wulfila once lived and worked, and in Uppsala, where the world famous *Codex Argenteus*, the 'Silver Bible', the most important physical remnant of Bishop Wulfila's work, has been kept since the 17th century. In Sofia there was an international symposium on the Goths in April, and a jubilee volume of the series *Gotite* was published and dedicated to Wulfila. In Uppsala the University opened the exhibition *Wulfila and the Gothic Bible* in the University Library on May 25 and arranged the international symposium *Wulfila 311–2011* on June 15–18. And as a lucky coincidence the *Codex Argenteus* was inscribed on UNESCO's World Memory List in May 2011. When Dr. Irina Bokova, Director of UNESCO, visited Uppsala on June 16, she could not only manifest the inscription of the *Codex Argenteus* on the World Memory List but also open the Wulfila symposium.

The symposium *Wulfila 311–2011* was a joint arrangement between the *Department of Archaeology and Ancient History* and *Uppsala University Library*. It was planned and realised in collaboration with the *Academy Steward's Office*, where the practical, formal and ceremonial achievements of Dr. Per Ström, Academy Steward, and Mrs. Gabriella Jönsson, Deputy Academy Steward, gave the



symposium a logistically efficient basis and a wonderful aura of festivity and celebration.

Looking back, it seems that the Wulfila jubilee in Sweden in 2011 had a three-fold *raison d'être*: the revival of Ulf Erik Hagberg's 'Gothic' conference in 1970, the 1,700th anniversary of Bishop Wulfila's birth, and exaltation of the *Codex Argenteus* to the Memory of the World sphere. But, of course, the main reason for the festivity was Wulfila. Without him there would have been no Silver Bible in Uppsala and probably no conferences about the Goths. We would have known very little about the Gothic people at all and absolutely nothing about the Gothic language. So, Happy Birth Year, Wulfila!

Thanks to Wulfila and his *Gothi Minores* ('little Goths', the group of Christian Goths in Moesia, whose bishop Wulfila was), we can draw on a whole different



The symposium had an aura of festivity and celebration. Photo: Lars Munkhammar

picture of the Gothic than the violent and warlike image of Gothic history so often handed down to posterity. Piety, love of peace, culture and education are the hallmarks of this alternative representation.

There are few sources of information about Wulfila. Auxentius of Durostorum, Philostorgius of Cappadocia, Socrates of Constantinople, or Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Theodoret, Jordanes, Isidore of Seville, or Isidorus Hispalensis are some of the witnesses and historiographers mentioning Wulfila. They have different points of view, but generally Wulfila is looked upon as the translator of the Bible into Gothic and the creator of the Gothic alphabet. By some of them he is also looked upon as a heretic: an Arian or at least a semi-Arian.

Wulfila was descended, via a female line traced to one of his grandparents, from Greek-speaking Cappadocian Christians taken prisoner in Gothic raids and transferred to the province of Dacia, which officially came to be called *Gothia*. So, on the one hand, Wulfila had his roots in the original primitive Christianity. On the other hand, he was raised in a largely pagan Gothic society.

We know nothing about Wulfila's education but have it that he assumed the post of *lector* at the church in Gothia by the age of 30. Philostorgius relates that the Visigoths under Constantine's rule sent Wulfila and several other emissar-



ies to the Roman Empire and that Wulfila was made a bishop by ‘Eusebius and the bishops around him’. The Eusebius in question was Eusebius of Nicomedia, one of the era’s most prominent bishops and an Arian, who in 337 baptised Constantine the Great at the latter’s deathbed. It has been disputed exactly when Wulfila was made a bishop and whether Eusebius in fact performed the office.

The years 347–348 saw the first wave of persecution of Christians in Dacia/Gothia, to be followed by a number of others, the most extensive of which spanned the years 369–372.

Of the first wave of persecution, Auxentius writes that many men and women were martyred. The emperor Constantine II sent word to Wulfila that he and his multitudes were welcome in the Roman Empire, where they might settle in an agricultural area outside the city of Nicopolis ad Istrum (meaning ‘victory city on the Danube’) in Moesia. Much suggests that Wulfila’s Gothic settlement was situated south of the city at the foot of the north slope of the Balkan Mountains. It is there that Jordanes finds the descendants of the *Gothi Minores*, of whom he writes that they ‘occupy the Nicopolitan region to the foot of Haemus Mons,’ using the name given in antiquity to the Balkan Mountains (Bulgarian: *Stara Planina*). Here, on the fields and slopes separating Nicopolis from the Balkan Mountains, was situated the Gothic settlement that Wulfila presumably regarded as a kind of nation. It was not, being part of the Roman Empire, a nation in the 19th-century romantic meaning, but represented an ethnically coherent group of people sharing a language and religion. They were farmers for the most part. But Wulfila clearly entertained the ambition of developing a learned culture within the Gothic nation. The alphabetisation programme and the Bible translation are results of these aims.

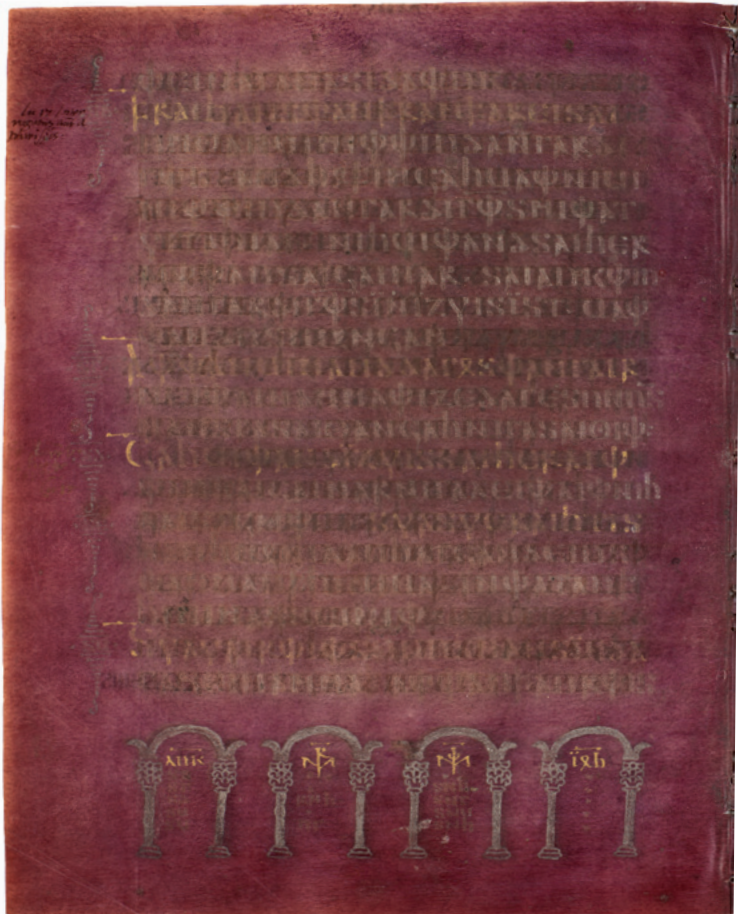
The surviving parts of Wulfila’s Bible translation are the only witnesses today of the Gothic language. Without Wulfila there would not be any text that we today could certainly identify as Gothic. We would know nothing of the Gothic language, just as we know nothing of most of the other East Germanic languages (those of the Burgundians, Gepids, Heruli, Rugians, Scirii and Vandals). Our knowledge of the Gothic language is a cornerstone of German philology.

Wulfila’s contribution to European culture was not only linguistic in nature. His distinctive brand of Arianism is, of course, a thing of the past, but many

have followed in his footsteps in combining the roles of ecclesiastical and popular leader, often in the name of peace, ecumenism and humanism. Figures like Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Sweden, Makarios of Cyprus and Desmond Tutu of South Africa come readily to mind. Wulfila is also interesting in terms of prefiguring early Europeanism. The Gothic element in European history has served both constructive and destructive roles. As a symbol of this element, Wulfila represents decidedly greater benefit and appeal than the entire collection of warring barbarian chieftains.

The speakers of the symposium *Wulfila 311–2011* are accomplished scholars in their own different fields. Despite their widely disparate academic specialities they have one thing in common: each of their specialities has at least one single thread leading back to Wulfila in one or another way. It is a pleasure to present their papers in this volume.

Codex Argenteus, fol. 167v, Luke 17:
19–25. Photo : Uppsala University Library



Ulf Göranson

A Word of Welcome by the Library Director

Madam Director-General, Madam Deputy University President,

It is with honour and pride I have the pleasure to welcome the participants of the Symposium Wulfila 311–2011 to the main reading room of Carolina Rediviva, the old library building of Uppsala University. That Dr. Irina Bokova, the Director-General of UNESCO, has taken the time to visit and open the Symposium and soon will address us has double significance, to which I will soon return. We are also happy to greet Professor Kerstin Sahlin as representative of our ancient University. A large number of scholars with different interests in the history and language of the Goths have come to Uppsala to explore and detect more knowledge of their time and culture these symposium days, filled with interesting papers, discussions and excursions.

Bishop Wulfila was – probably, I have to say – born 1,700 years ago. He was both a religious and a political leader of his people at a time when politics and religion were strongly, and from our perspective differently, intertwined, even if contemporary history also gives us many examples of their interaction to the detriment of individuals. Why Wulfila is so closely related to Uppsala, all of you and many others are well aware of. Here is kept the most complete remnant of his great philological effort, the Bible translation into Gothic.

Our *Codex Argenteus*, the Silver Bible, written in Ravenna with silver and gold ink on purple parchment two centuries after Wulfila's translation and far away from where he completed his work, is a major treasure in the world's cultural heritage. Dr. Bokova's presence today gives us an extraordinary confirmation of the very recent decision by UNESCO to include the Silver Bible in its Memory of the World List. The original of this venerated manuscript and all the printed editions of it are now available to the world at large thanks to the Library's digitising efforts.

The gratitude of the Library goes also to its mother University, which through its long history has known the essential value of such an institution for the dissemination of humanistic and scientific knowledge. And finally, a warm thank to the organisers of the Symposium, the Library's own prolific expert on Wulfila and the Silver Bible, Senior Librarian Lars Munkhammar,



responsible also for the digital publication, and Professor Anders Kaliff of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, the co-host of our meeting.

I am convinced that you all, dear participants, will have interesting and rewarding Gothic days in Uppsala.

Kerstin Sahlin

Welcome by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Uppsala University

*Your Excellencies, General Director Irina Bokova, Honoured guests, Colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen*

It is a great pleasure and honour for me and for Uppsala University to receive this acknowledgement that our Silver Bible is now listed by UNESCO as a memory of the world. A very direct consequence of this appointment is that we now have the honour to welcome you, General Director Irina Bokova, to our University and to our magnificent library Carolina Rediviva. And what could be more appropriate than announcing this honourable appointment in connection with the international conference on Wulfila that is now being held here at Uppsala University, and with the exhibition on Wulfila that we will have the pleasure of visiting in a short while.

The appointment of the Silver Bible as a memory of the world is of course also a very honourable and prestigious confirmation for all those – at Uppsala University and elsewhere – who have put so much work into making the history of the Silver Bible known. This is truly a key to European history.

Most importantly, this listing of the Silver Bible as a UNESCO memory of the world, will guide future generations of researchers, students, and all those who with curiosity and an eagerness to learn to Carolina and to the Silver Bible. This appointment, and the plaque informing of this that we can set up by the front door of Carolina Rediviva, will direct the attention of many to this unique historical document. And I like to think it will direct the attention of researchers, students and the general republic to the unique collections at Carolina Rediviva more generally.

In times characterized as a knowledge society and marked by information overflow, appointments such as the list of memories of the world help researchers, students, and the general public to navigate through history and through all those object that can open whole new worlds of historical knowledge.

I am certain we all share the belief that historical knowledge – and world memories – may be more important than ever in turbulent times like these.



Dr. Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO, Professor Ulf Göranson, Library Director, and Professor Kerstin Sahlin, Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Uppsala University. Photo Lars-Owe Wennman

With this perspective in mind I am very happy to note that the Silver Bible – and several other historical treasures we have here – has become much more accessible to research with its digitization. The digitized historical books seem not only to have made them more accessible to researchers, but have also served as points of attraction and as navigating tools for people who – guided by their curiosity – search the net for objects, knowledge and venues for further knowledge enhancement.

So this encounter and mutual support between our oldest historical treasures and our most modern technologies is certainly a way to open the memories of Uppsala University and of Europe and the world to new kinds of research and to new generations of researchers.

When receiving visitors we never fail to remind our guests of the long and rich tradition of Uppsala University. The University is the oldest in the Nordic countries, it was founded in 1477 and it does draw much of its strength and reputation from this history – and the many excellent scholars that have worked here throughout the years, but also, as we are reminded of today – of the many prestigious objects in our collections.

And we want to stress to that there is no contradiction between, on the one hand, being old and having a long tradition and, on the other hand, being extremely modern, looking to and working for the future. The Silver Bible and the collections here at Carolina are excellent examples of this. With the digitization and the studies of these very old treasures we make these objects – and hence the history they tell us – more widely known and more accessible to research, and with this research and with the extremely modern digitizing techniques we find tools for making texts and pictures more accessible to open venues for new research and for knowledge enhancement. This is in fact – to generalize a bit – what a true University is about – combining many kinds of knowledge in order to make sense of our experiences and memories and to generate valuable knowledge for the future.

Again, General Director Irina Bokova, I would like to express our sincere gratitude for this prestigious appointment and for your visit to our University.

Irina Bokova

Address by the Director-General of
UNESCO on the occasion of the inauguration
of the Silver Bible on the Memory
of the World Register

Vice-Chancellor Anders Hallberg, Excellencies, Professors, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to be here. This is my first official visit to Sweden as Director-General of UNESCO, and I must say it is a real pleasure to be here, at Uppsala University, in this beautiful hall of the Carolina Rediviva.

This is a special place. Scandinavia's oldest university, Uppsala University has been one of the world's greatest centres of learning since 1477. The University has always been a place for humanism — where the minds of men and women are nurtured, where faith is put in the ingenuity of individuals, in their capacity to shape themselves and the world for the greater good.

It is also an honour to be here for the *Wulfila 311–2011 Conference* and to inaugurate the inscription of the *Codex Argenteus* – the 'Silver Bible' – on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register.

The sum total of collective wisdom assembled this morning about Bishop Wulfila and the Goths is inspiring. It is also quite daunting! I think it is safe to say that you have *forgotten* more about Wulfila than most people will ever *know* about the Bishop. So, please forgive me if I start my intervention this morning with the caveat that I am not a historian or a philologist ...

That being said, I have always been intrigued with how history and languages interact, how languages are created and how they have themselves changed history. Bishop Wulfila is one of the 'signal men of history' – whose personality and actions changed the course of the train of human development by opening up new horizons for evolution. As Bishop of *Gothia*, Wulfila did much to transform the culture of the Goths, upon whose history he left an indelible mark. As you know, Wulfila migrated with his flock of converts to Moesia, settling near Nicopolis ad Istrum, in what is now northern Bulgaria.

I see that Professor Rossen Milev is speaking tomorrow on the subject of ‘Wulfila’s Cultural Heritage in Bulgaria and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition.’ We owe a great deal to the dynamism of Professor Milev and the Wulfila Foundation – thanks to whose action we see a revival of interest in Bulgaria for the Gothic past of our lands. Professor Milev has helped also to craft a new image of the Goths – one that runs counter to the associations often held in popular culture. This is an image of the Goths as learned and peaceful, as cultivated and ecumenical.

Of course, as Professor Lars Munkhammar from this University has put it, Bishop Wulfila was a ‘typographic pioneer.’ The importance of the creation of the Gothic alphabet is hard to overestimate. Without Wulfila, we would know very little about the Gothic language, thought also to be a forerunner for the Cyrillic alphabet.

This leads me, ladies and gentlemen, to the *Codex Argenteus*. The Codex is one of the world’s most famous manuscripts. As a non-expert, I wish to share three points with you. The first point concerns the unique value of the Codex. This is the remnant of a deluxe book of the four Gospels, an *evangelarium*, written in the early 6th century in Northern Italy. It is *the* mainspring of Gothic literary heritage and one the most important remaining artefacts of Gothic culture. The only extensive remaining document in an ancient Eastern Germanic language, the manuscript provides a unique resource for understanding the evolution of European languages. It opens insight to a people and a language at the heart of European culture.

My second point concerns the beauty of the Codex. I stray here from the scholarly context of this conference, but I think it matters. The ‘Silver Bible’ is striking. The gold and silver ink – predominantly silver, of course – is remarkable for its simplicity, as is also the regularity of the script itself – all of this on high quality, very thin, purple parchment. The manuscript was completed according to the principle of the ‘Golden Section’ – where the height and width of each page is perfectly balanced. In a word, this Bible is a magnificent display of the human mind.

My last point concerns the mysteries surrounding the Codex. I mean especially the so-called ‘mystery of the thousand years’ – the disappearance of the Bible from Ravenna in the 6th century to its ‘re-discovery’ in the 16th century at the Monastery of Werden upon the Ruhr. Where did the tides of history carry the ‘Silver Bible’ during this period? I know there are several schools of thought on what happened during this thousand year hiatus, but I will certainly not venture into such dangerous territory as academic debate...

I am struck by the role of fortune in the survival of the manuscript. When the manuscript was brought to Sweden in 1662, the good ship *St Joris* from



Amsterdam struck ground after a storm, coming very close to losing the Codex forever. The Codex also survived a violent robbery in 1995, when a double leaf and the silver covers were stolen – only to be returned intact one month later ...

All of this reminds us of the fortuitousness that lies at the heart of our knowledge of the past. It makes one wonder about the countless treasures of human ingenuity and culture that failed to survive the passage of time.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The importance of the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme lies here. Our goal is to put fortune on our side. It is to identify the treasures of humanity that we must preserve for the knowledge of future generations.

Our vision is clear – it is that the world’s documentary heritage belongs to all, it should be preserved and protected for all and, as much as possible, it should be accessible to all. I am certain this vision resonates strongly with all assembled here – as scholars, philologists, and librarians. We facilitate the preservation of the world’s documentary heritage through assistance, advice, and training. We assist in opening universal access to documentary heritage – including through

digitization and catalogues on the Internet, and the distribution of books, CDs and DVDs as appropriate. We seek also to raise awareness across the world of the existence and significance of documentary heritage – through the Memory of the World registers, the media, as well as promotional and information publications.

More than 200 documentary heritage items have been inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of the World Registrar. These include manuscripts, films, photographs and maps, and much more – from all parts of the world. These range is simply stunning – the Book of Kells, the documentary Fonds of the Royal Audiencia Court of La Plata which after 1825 came to be known as Bolivia, the documents relating to the Construction and Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of 1990, the Yellow Emperor’s Inner Canon which is the earliest and most important written work of traditional Chinese medicine, compiled over 2,200 years ago. These are but a few recent examples. Each is unique, and each embodies the importance of heritage and memory for human identity, for collective knowledge, and for cultural diversity. Each encapsulates the spirit of a particular time for a particular community at a particular place. At the same time, every item plays a part in the universal story of humanity. Capturing and sharing this wealth is one of UNESCO’s core goals.

Our Constitution calls on us to work for ‘the conservation and protection of the world’s inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science.’ This objective guides all of our work to preserve the memory of the world.

We have to do much more – especially, I underline, to raise awareness about the Memory of the World Programme. This is why we have launched a global campaign – through pilot projects, the publication of CDs, and the creation of web sites.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The *Codex Argentens* is an integral part of humanity’s documentary heritage. It was my honour to approve its inscription on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. Humanity’s documentary heritage matters for our memory and for our identity. It provides insight to the great diversity of human cultures and the wealth that still lies hidden in the mists of history. It is an irreplaceable means to pass on traditions, customs and knowledge.

I thank you for your work and commitment to this shared vision.

Thank you for listening.

Vulfila pontifex ipseque primas Gothorum minorum

Describing the ethno-political situation in the aftermath of the battle of Nedao (454 rather than 455) Jordanes finally mentions ‘other Goths called the minor ones, an extremely numerous people, with their *pontifex ipseque primas* Vulfila who is said to have taught them the letters.’ For the last part of the sentence Jordanes relies on Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV 33, ‘Vulfila the bishop of the Goths invented the Gothic letters (τὰ γράμματα ἔφειψε Γοτθικά)’. But Jordanes also provides some other important information so that we may ask two questions: First, what did Jordanes mean by calling Vulfila’s people the minor Goths? They were in his own words an extremely numerous but unwarlike pastoral people or, rather, poor semi-nomads who did not crop wine but drank only milk. They were settled on Roman soil around Nikopolis/Stari Nikub between the right bank of the Lower Danube and the Balkan mountain range. In other words they lived in the *ripa Gothica*, a fortified military zone installed by Emperor Constantine the Great, which Jordanes did not mention at all. Instead, the author calls this *gens multa sed paupera* the *Gothi minores*. Well, in antique and medieval political theory and geographical terminology the adjectives *small*, *minor* and the like were used to name those peoples that were us and those lands that were part of our world as opposed to the big, huge, and greater areas in the outer-world, beyond the pale of the Romania or simply colonized land. See, for instance, *Magna Graecia* with her great many Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy south of the River Volturno. The area to the east of the Rhine River was called *Germania magna*/Γερμανία μεγάλη as opposed to the two Roman provinces *Germania superior* and *Germania inferior*. *Asia minor* belonged to the Roman Empire while *Asia magna* was the huge continent beyond the Roman boundaries. The same held true for *Scythia minor* versus *Scythia magna*, and for Greater Moravia north of the Danube as opposed to Moravia south of what is now Belgrade. Still Snorri Sturluson speaks of Russia as Greater Sweden. Thus the *Gothi minores* were the Roman Goths. They consisted of Gothic groups who had already been admitted to the Roman Empire before 376 when the great invasions started that affected not only the Balkan Peninsula but the whole Roman world.

Second question: *Vulfila pontifex ipseque primas*, bishop and likewise secular leader. Without pretending to have found the Gothic blueprint of this double title I suggest the translation *atpiskaitpus jah kindins Gutane seinaiže*, bishop and exarch of his Goths. To prove the point let's start with *kindins*. Vulfila and his helpers translated the Bible into Gothic that reflected a barbarian society and necessarily provided a rich political terminology, too. How then are we to determine Vulfila's social and official position using the biblical Gothic he created? Elsewhere in his *Getica* Jordanes refers to *primates* and *duces* who reigned the Gothic peoples as *vice regum*. So Vulfila's being the only *primas* of his people makes him a king-like figure. The confederation of the North-Danubian Goths of the 4th century had no monarchical king, no *thiudans*, but in times of external or/and internal threat they elected a 'judge of the people' or even a 'judge of (petty) kings'. In 348 Vulfila and his followers were driven from their homeland by a 'godless and law-breaking judge of the Goths'. There is good reason to assume that the Goths called this monarchical judge their *kindins*. In deviation from the etymology, the word meant no longer the lord of a **kind*s, a kin, a community of common descent, but the judge with authority over a people or a whole province. On Roman soil Vulfila was welcomed by Constantius II as the Moses of his time and probably officially installed by the same emperor as sort of *iudex gentis* since his words 'were like law to them'.¹ Probably, Vulfila can be compared with other late-antique bishops and clerics whom the imperial government bestowed upon the *cura provinciae* or the *cura gentis* so that they functioned as local or regional governors also called judges.² To be sure, in the Gothic bible it is the governor and *iudex provinciae* Pontius Pilate who is called *kindins*. This functionary received his commission from the Roman emperor in his role as 'judge among the children of the Jews' – as he is still called in the Saxon Heliand of the 9th century. Although Pontius Pilate is certainly no good example for a Christian bishop, the term *kindins* is not monopolized let alone damaged by this less sympathetic *iudex provinciae*. Likewise the royal title is used for Jesus, King of the Jews, and Herod, King of Judaea, who both are called *thiudans* as any king in the Gothic Bible and, moreover, Emperor Constantius II in a non-biblical Gothic text. In fact, both Vulfila's worldly leadership and spiritual-linguistic heritage succeeded in safeguarding the Gothic identity of his people so that it survived for centuries. Not only Jordanes in the 6th century but even Walahfrid Strabo in the 9th century mentions these Balkan Goths as having religious texts in their own language. To sum up: It certainly does not do justice to the evidence to belittle the bishop's secular position. Of course, the same holds true even more for Vulfila as bishop and theologian.

Vulfila's episcopacy and biography are intrinsically interwoven with each other. As a young man, Vulfila made his first trip to Constantinople between 332 and 337. The purpose of his first visit to Constantinople was to accompany a delegation of the Gothic tribal federation to the emperor. The young man was only in his late twenties then. His name is Gothic and means 'little wolf', a diminutive that nevertheless reveals nothing about the social stratum he belonged to (cf. Attila's name as a diminutive from Gothic *atta*=father). But he could never have become a member of an official Gothic delegation without a certain social standing; otherwise the emperor would have been insulted and might have turned down the Gothic emissaries or not even admitted them. But what is really known about Vulfila's origin? Philostorgius, to whom we are indebted for much important information about him, was a Cappadocian. He knew that the ancestors of Vulfila had also come from Cappadocia, a region in Asia Minor with which the Gothic community had always maintained close ties. Vulfila's *πρόγονοι* were captured by plundering Goths and were carried off to Transdanubia in 257. Vulfila's birth is placed around 311, which is why we have been invited to this fine conference. Whatever Vulfila's Cappadocian ancestors meant to him, he was by birth a Goth, about whose grandparents we have reliable information, in contrast to the ancestry of many of his fellow tribesmen. So we may infer: Vulfila did not win renown among Goths and Romans only as a result of his priestly office and the way he administered it; rather, he became bishop because he already possessed some socio-political standing. He rose from lector to bishop without ever having been deacon or presbyter. Since Vulfila's episcopal commission was apparently valid not only for the Gothic peoples but for all 'Christians of the Getic land', he must have been recognized also by the non-Gothic peoples of the *Gútthiuda*, above all by the Romans.

In the eyes of Auxentius (Mercurinus), the bishop of Durostorum-Silistria, Vulfila was a saint, and so he wrote his biography after hagiographic models: Vulfila was consecrated a bishop at the age of thirty. He stayed north of the Danube for seven years, was then driven away to Moesia where he settled and led the Gothic community for another thirty-three years. Vulfila died after having been a bishop for a total of forty years. This biography follows the model of David, who stepped into public light at age thirty, ruled over Hebron for seven years and over all of Israel for thirty-three years. Christ too began to preach the gospel at age thirty.

When Auxentius was writing his pro-Arian tract, the Arians were already a beleaguered minority and had to make credible points to back their cause. He must therefore have avoided excessive invention. Still, we may expect that the author did manipulate his figures somewhat. But on the whole his biography



Stamp found on Corfu 1875 by E. Schlumberger. Possibly once belonging to Wulfila ('OURFILA' on the stamp). After Fiebiger-Schmidt, *Inscriptensammlung zur Geschichte der Ostgermanen* 1917

of Wulfila, which could have been easily checked by any contemporary reader, must have been reasonably accurate.

But there are some problems left. You read: When the lector Wulfila came to Constantinople with a (or another) Gothic delegation, he was consecrated a bishop 'by Eusebius and the bishops who were with him'. This report raises some puzzling chronological problems. The Goths came to see Constantine in his imperial city, which they could have done in 337 at the latest. But it was not until 338, one year after the death of his father, that Constantius II made Eusebius, then bishop of Nicomedia, the imperial bishop of Constantinople. If we calculate the date of Wulfila's consecration as bishop from the forty-odd-year period he served in that capacity, we once again come up with a date when the great Constantine was already long dead. So it is generally believed that Wulfila was made bishop in 341 at the council of Antioch. Thus Wulfila must have come into the Roman Empire once as a member of the Gothic delegation before 337 and then in 341 to Antioch where the imperial, not local, bishop Eusebius ordained him 'bishop of the Christians in the Getic land'. Wulfila's ordination in 341 reveals that an Arian imperial mission to the Goths was planned, and in itself attests the existence of a Christian community in the Gothic land. The translation of the Bible also reflects earlier efforts of both Latin and Greek missionaries among the Goths. Thus the Cappadocian Eutyches, whom the anti-Arian apologetic made into 'the apostle of the Goths', was probably an older contemporary of Wulfila's. Of course, the beginnings of the Christian teachings reach back as far as the third century. Supposedly as early as 251 Transdanubian Goths dragged off Roman Christians who then turned 'their masters into brothers'. It was only in 348 that the first persecution of Gothic Christians took place, most likely and tellingly after a war with the

Romans. Vulfila was among those expelled, and for the remainder of his life he bore the honorary title ‘confessor’. South of the Danube Vulfila did not change his conception of his mission, namely, as the Christian leader of his people to resolve *in Christo* the ethnic difference between Goths and Romans. Thus the parents of the Roman provincial Mercurinus – who later in Milan called himself Auxentius – brought their son to Vulfila, who raised him and was in return loved and revered by Mercurinus beyond his death.

The Catholic authors of the early 5th century turned Vulfila into a supporter of Fritigern, who led the Visigothic refugees to Moesia in 376 and an enemy of Athanaric, the persecutor of Gothic Christians between 369 and 372. The latter was probably true, although there is as little proof for such enmity as there is for the direct cooperation between Fritigern and Vulfila before or after 376. Besides, Fritigern acted an Arian role solely to please Emperor Valens and gain his support against Athanaric in a civil war that was still taking place north of the Danube. But the bishop’s minor Goths were vital to Fritigern if he wanted to live up to his promise that his Goths would accept the imperial creed. In the battle of Adrianople in August 378 the Arian Emperor Valens lost his life and was succeeded by the most Catholic Emperor Theodosius I. So the Ambrosian offensive received imperial support in its fight against conservative Arianism. Of course, Theodosius had to act cautiously lest he drive the Gothic barbarians and the Roman opposition into each other’s arms. Nevertheless, the emperor took the first anti-Arian measures and in the spring of 381 convened a synod at Constantinople, which is known as the second ecumenical council. Among the Arian bishops who interceded with Theodosius was Vulfila. The emperor had called for him expressly, which would at least indicate some sort of connection of the Gothic bishop to the warlike bands of Fritigern. The Arians were also promised a new council in 382. Vulfila probably died in Constantinople in 383 during the third synod convened on this religious controversy.

With large-scale participation by the people of Constantinople and perhaps also by the authorities, Vulfila was carried to his grave. His cause was doomed, for the synod of 383 followed the council of 381 in condemning Arianism.

Vulfila as theologian. After having been ordained bishop he composed theological tracts and exegetical writings in both Latin and Greek; thus he not only learned the classical languages but must have also enjoyed some kind of rhetorical training. He also preached in the three languages he knew. The majority of his theological works, as well as the translation of the Bible, were probably written in Moesia. The task of inventing and spreading the Gothic alphabet, which added to its base of Greek characters elements from Latin and runic writing, must have taken some time before he could start the translation. Vulfila

translated from the Greek; his source for the New Testament ‘should be sought in the so-called koine version of the 4th century’. So ‘the Gothic Bible offers only in part an idiomatic and for the most part a Graecizing Gothic’.³ In accordance with the ‘fundamentalism’ with which all translators before Saint Jerome approached the original, Vulfila and his assistants paid scrupulous attention to bringing the Gothic Bible as close as possible to the Greek source. A translation was made of both the Old and the New Testament, but only the greater part of the latter has survived. According to Philostorgius, Vulfila deliberately left out the Book of Kings, ‘which contains the history of the wars, in order to dampen the battle lust of a people who delighted in warfare, instead of stirring them up for it’.⁴ What strikes us as intentional could be the result of incomplete survival. Nonetheless, biblical Gothic does lack certain military and political terms, the reason for which one could assume to be deliberate omission. It is also possible that Philostorgius’s story was meant to emphasize the pacifying effect of Vulfila’s mission on his Gothic followers who were ‘peace-loving’ as the Romans saw it with relief.

Vulfila’s independent theological achievement, however, ranks much lower at least in the eyes of the Catholic apologetics from the 5th century onward. Auxentius claims that Bishop Vulfila participated in many synods. His presence is attested at the Council of Antioch in 341, at the ‘Arian’ Council of Constantinople in 360, and finally at the councils of Constantinople in the early 80s. The fathers at the council of Antioch in 341 were trying to reach a compromise between the Nicene Creed and dissenting pre- or anti-Nicene doctrines. Vulfila’s position agreed completely with the theological position of this council. Again the council of 360 settled on a similar compromise formula which posterity labelled Arian. The same happened to all mediators, who in one way or another subordinated the Son to the Father. There is no doubt that Vulfila did believe in the Son’s subordination. Still on his deathbed he declared his creed: ‘There is one eternal, unbegotten, and invisible God, who before time existed alone. Within time he created the Son, the only-begotten God. He is the creator of all things, the Lord of the Holy Spirit whom the Father created through the Son before all things. The Holy Spirit is obedient and subject to the Son like the Son to the Father.’ But Vulfila was no Arian; he rejected the Homoiousian position and regretted the Arian Homoiousian doctrine. The Arians also used *substantia* and *ὁὐσία* to confess the similarity of God Father and God Son who was created within time. Vulfila’s position was pre-Nicene. That means he was against borrowing the concepts of *substantia* and *ὁὐσία* from Greek philosophy to confess the Holy Trinity, the essential identity of the three divine persons, as the fathers did in 325. Vulfila was, rather, an homoean from Greek *ὁμοῖος*,

similar, and believed himself to be Catholic as did his fellow-believers down to the 6th century. Only years before the Spanish Visigoths officially converted to Catholicism in 589 King Leovigild still speaks of the Gothic Homoean creed as *catholica fides* as opposed to the *religio Romana* that we would call the Catholic confession. Anyway, neither Vulfila's contemporaries nor the next generations were ready to accept his traditional, but out-dated theology as a compromise. At most they would concede either that Vulfila was originally Catholic and well meaning in his error, or that he was intellectually incapable of understanding the correct christology. On the other hand, Vulfila was not only called the Moses of his time but also compared to Elijah, who both evokes and stands for Messianic expectations. This was the heritage Vulfila left to his followers, which enabled them to lay the foundation from which the highly successful Gothic mission started. Initially it reached only the other Gothic peoples, especially the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Gepids, Vandals. Vulfila's charismatic personality; the standardizing force of the Gothic Bible; the religious zeal of the new converts; the support of the Roman crypto-Arians in the settlement areas of the Gothic peoples; a Gothic faith, *lex Gothica*, as a means of preserving ethnic identity while the Roman environment became more and more radically Catholic – all these reasons and motifs were responsible for the conversion to homoean Christianity of the overwhelming majority of the Gothic-Germanic peoples. Even the Frankish king Clovis very nearly converted to the Gothic faith, as one of his sisters certainly did. In the Bavarian-Austrian language we have still some remainders of the Gothic mission, for example Dult for feast deriving from Gothic *dulth* = Eucharist, Arestag-Irchttag for Tuesday, Pempti Hemera-Pfinztag for Thursday, *muta*-Maut instead of toll, perhaps Pfaffe from *papa* for priest. Little wonder that Saint Boniface was horrified when in the first half of the 8th century he came to Bavaria only to discover how much the Bavarians seemed to enjoy their religious nonconformity. Meanwhile things have thoroughly changed. The Bavarians have long since ceased founding bishoprics in the middle of nowhere and baptizing their children *in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*. Not long ago one of them was even elected bishop of Rome.

Notes

- 1 Migne 1859
- 2 See Eugippus 1877, pp. 4 & 9
- 3 Stutz 1999
- 4 Philostorgius & Bides 1972

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Eusebius' Tricennial Oration and Wulfila's Christian Creed

In Bishop Eusebius of Cesarea's speech to celebrate Emperor Constantine's thirty years' reign in the year 336, the name of Christ and other outspoken Christian notions seem to be lacking entirely, at least in the edition by H. A. Drake 1976.¹ This so-called Tricennial Oration is handed down to us together with another speech by the same bishop called *On Christ's Sepulchre*, dedicated to Constantine's and his mother's finding of the Holy Cross and the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. According to Drake, the two speeches cannot originally have been given at the same time and to the same audience. To prove this, he thoroughly analyzes several words and passages in order to demonstrate how modern translators so far have presupposed a Christian meaning in both these speeches, since Constantine was assumed at least to have died as a Christian. Drake saw the openly Christian vocabulary of the speech *On Christ's Sepulchre* as contrasting with the ambivalent terms for God and Logos in the Tricennial Oration, with many words meaningful in a pagan, philosophical context rather than in a Christian one.

The problem originated in the search for the date and meaning of Constantine's so-called 'conversion to Christianity' and the real meaning of this event. Earlier scholars used to place Constantine's baptism from 312 onwards with very different terminus posts. Recently scholars have tended to place the Emperor's baptism in his last year, 336/337. This is also the opinion that Drake adheres to and tries to verify. So for example, as Eusebius in chapter one hails 'This One, the Supreme Sovereign,' as a model of obedience to his Father's teaching, a Christian listener would take it that Christ was introduced here, whereas a non-Christian would understand this Supreme Sovereign to be the Emperor, Caesar, participating in the Logos of the Supreme Being and powerful by dint of exhibiting the virtue of piety to God. To pagan philosophy, the 'Logos of God' would be the Teacher and the Savior of the Omnipotent Father, upon whom it would not be necessary to confer the Hebrew title of Messiah/Christ.

In chapter two Eusebius introduces the 'friend of God,' who turns out to be the Emperor participating in God's Logos by force of his virtues. To describe

the joy of heavenly beings at the celebration, in chapter six Eusebius uses images that associate to images of the New Testament, such as the martyr crown, side by side with notions from pagan philosophy to describe the joy of the heavenly choirs at the triumph of true knowledge, Logos.

Drake assumes that Eusebius must have performed the Tricennial Oration in the Emperor's own palace in Constantinople on the day of the jubilee, 25 July 336, in front of a select assembly consisting of – besides the Emperor himself – high senators, officials and officers belonging to the inner circles of the imperial court and comprising Christians as well as non-Christians – an assembly where notions of a philosophical and religious nature would have been used in ways acceptable to both Christian and non-Christian listeners without creating open disagreement among them. In the sermon to a Christian audience in Jerusalem, dated by Drake to September 17, 335, he assumes Eusebius dealt with partly the same issues, hailing the Emperor and the queen mother Helena for their part in the construction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, all in an outspoken Christian context. Here therefore, according to Drake, Eusebius could speak openly of Jesus of Nazareth as the Logos and as the Messiah. Drake thus refutes earlier scholars' method of interpreting terms from the Tricennial Oration by reference to their use and meaning in the sermon on the Holy Sepulchre and vice versa, not letting cross references influence his discussion of key notions. In the Holy Sepulchre sermon Eusebius would have come closer to the medieval and modern Christian understanding of such terms and notions, he argues, which in turn may have blocked later scholars' insight into the prevalent contemporaneous philosophical Neo-Platonist understanding of such terms as they appear in the Tricennial Oration.

The Tricennial Oration deals with several topics. The first two chapters present a speculative philosophical treatise on God and Logos, which came into the world to bring light to human understanding. Here the Emperor is presented as participating in the qualities of Logos by being God's friend through his Logos. God's and man's powers and capacities are the subject of chapters three and four, with chapter five as a kind of conclusion to this opening rhetorical praise of the sovereign. Chapter six presents the listeners with a theoretical analysis of numbers where the outstanding qualities of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 and 30 are elaborated upon. In chapters seven through nine the speech turns into an expression of solemn gratitude for the Emperor's opening towards the belief in one almighty God and in His Logos and Spirit. Here, the darkness of polytheism is openly ridiculed, the Emperor is honored for having abolished so many polytheistic cults that dishonor the Roman Empire, and for the tremendous improvement of the spiritual conditions of man that result from this cleansing

process. The threads are brought together in the most Holy Sign, the Labarum, which – without being in any way described – is hailed here by Eusebius as the symbol and trophy of a new epoch of higher values and of belief in one God.

Drake's running commentary to the Tricennial Oration implies that Eusebius must have been sure of positive reactions from all participants of the high ranking assembly listening to him, including the Emperor himself, when he refuted at length the darkness of polytheism and animal sacrifices and welcomed as progress the growing conviction in all circles that there is only one almighty God and that God communicates with the world through his Logos. The absence in his speech of a Christian interpretation of these philosophical thoughts indicates that only so may Eusebius have hoped to find full acceptance by his mixed audience. Since he knew that the Emperor himself shared this general view, he has not been forced to insist further upon a Christian interpretation of this philosophical survey on God and Logos. The speech sheds light on the atmosphere around the Emperor in his last years, characterized by a general opinion that there is only one God, not many, and that Christianity is but one of its many interpretations. Drake's approach seems to be well in accord with Constantine's religious policy and to fit in with the current discussion among scholars of the significance of Constantine's baptism for the government of a united Roman empire.

We now leave Eusebius of Cesarea. In the heated atmosphere of exalted interchangeable Christian and pagan Logos speculation while Constantine was still alive and in power, according to the Church historian Filostorgius a Gothic embassy arrived in Constantinople out of which Wulfila, a *lector*, should have been ordained bishop of *Got-thia*, a word perhaps derived from a **Got-thiudh*, 'the Gothic people.' The consecrator is said to have been another Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. The trustworthiness of this notice was assessed by Knut Schäferdiek 1979 and Ernst A. Ebbinghaus 1991, who consequently both place Wulfila's episcopal ordination in the lifetime of Constantine, i.e. prior to his death on 22 May 337. Schäferdiek points out that Eusebius of Nicomedia may have been linked to the imperial court for example as a *Hofbischof*, which would explain his acting outside his own diocese of Nicomedia.²

This dating, differing from many other scholars' views, has important consequences. If we look upon the last years of Constantine's thirty-years reign as a kind of *ancien régime*, we are led to conclude that the Gothic delegation upon its arrival was searching for, and con-



Constantine the Great.
Mosaic in Hagia Sophia,
Istanbul

secutively confronted with just this courtly atmosphere where many words had a ‘double meaning’ as long as Christians and non-Christians held each other in balance, as the Tricennial Oration in Drake’s understanding bears witness to. That Wulfila, a member of this delegation, was promoted from *lector* to bishop is also remarkable – there is no mention of a normally prescribed ordination as a deacon or a presbyter before being ordained a bishop, which may indicate that Wulfila was ordained upon a special imperial wish, perhaps because it would be in line with the Emperor’s general policies towards the Gothic people. In his efforts to identify the bishopric for which Wulfila was ordained, Schäferdiek, like other scholars, arrives at the conclusion that the Gothic delegation must have come from the other side of the Danube, from the former Roman province of Dacia where the western Goths had settled since the 3rd century, and that Wulfila was to be bishop for the Christians among these transdanubian Goths. However, contrary to most scholars, Schäferdiek argues that Wulfila was not the first bishop for these Christians. A bishop ‘Theophilus of *Got-thia*,’ who signed the decrees of the council of Nicaea in 325, most probably did not belong to the Gothic tribes of Crimea, as has been proposed, but precisely to this Gothic Christian community in Dacia which Wulfila was a member of. If the bishopric of *Got-thia* already existed in former Dacia, Wulfila’s ordination is best explained by the death of Theophilus and the need to find his successor. To the Emperor’s policy towards the Goths, no better choice for a bishop could be made than a cleric who was translating the Gospels into Gothic, Schäferdiek argues. He furthermore holds the evidence for the existence of Christians among the Goths of Crimea in the 3rd and 4th centuries to be too scanty to allow for the theory of a bishopric there in Constantine’s time participating at Nicaea in 325.

There are thus good reasons to assume that the wish of the Gothic delegation to find a new bishop for *Got-thia* fitted neatly into Constantine’s policy towards the Goths; both factors may have melded together in a synthesis of imperial benevolence. Out of his wish to support the Christian Goths beyond the Danube, the Emperor fulfilled the wish of the Goths to have a new bishop. We can also assume that precisely the pending situation of a balance between a Christian and a non-Christian interpretation of who is the One Supreme Being and how did the Logos emanate from the Supreme Being, and for what reason, must have helped create a special atmosphere around the Episcopal ordination of Wulfila:

The Only-Begotten Logos of God endures with His Father as co-ruler from ages that have no beginning to ages that have no end. Similarly, His friend supplied from above by royal streams and confirmed in the name of divine calling, rules on earth for long

period of years. As the Universal Savior renders the entire heaven and earth and highest kingdom fit for His Father, so His friend, leading his subjects on earth to the Only-Begotten and Savior Logos, makes them suitable for His kingdom. Again, our common Universal Savior, by invisible and divine power, keeps the rebellious powers – all those who used to fly through the earth's air and infest men's soul – at a distance, just as a good shepherd keeps wild beasts from his flock. And His friend, armed against his enemies with standards from Him above, subdues and chastises the visible opponents of truth by the law of combat. The Logos, being the Preexistent and Universal Savior, has transmitted to His followers rational and redeeming seeds, and thereby makes them rational and at the same time capable of knowing His Father's kingdom. And His friend, like some interpreter of the Logos of God, summons the whole human race to knowledge of the Higher Power, calling in a great voice that all can hear and proclaiming for everyone on earth the laws of genuine piety. The Universal Savior throws wide the heavenly gates of His Father's kingdom to those who depart hence for there; the other, in imitation of the Higher Power, has cleansed all the filth of godless error from the kingdom on earth, and invites hands of holy and pious men into the royal chambers, taking care to preserve intact each and every one of all those entrusted to his care.³

Here are introduced a number of central elements like Only-Begotten Logos of the Supreme Sovereign, Universal and Pre-Existent Savior, His Savior Logos, being the friend of the Most High, making humans rational and capable of knowing His Father's Kingdom, with rebellious spiritual powers flying through the air. Evidently divine agents are presented here as subordinated to each other in hierarchic layers with Logos on the highest level, followed by spiritual and human beings. Logos is later presented as a priest who prays to the Supreme Father. His 'friend' who appears to be the Emperor is found on the same level as the Logos. Clearly ideas familiar to us from this and the following centuries figure here in combinations and meanings foreign to our way of thinking.

The context may be described more in detail if we look at the social and constitutional relations among the Goths, as far as these are known, in order to characterize their world outlook and the patterns of their social life. Results of scholarly research of the last two or three decades has recently been drawn together by Ingemar Nordgren in his PhD thesis on the origin of the Goths, defended at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense.⁴ In his presentation of the constitutional and cultic situation among the Goths, Nordgren asks if there were any characteristic elements in the Gothic tribal setup that may have predisposed the Goths in one way or another to take a specific stand on the question of the Supreme Being and the Logos emanating from it.

Nordgren quotes Wolfram in interpreting the Gothic war leadership exerted by a *þiudans* as extinct with a certain Cniva, who supposedly died around 270, while the people settled in formerly Roman Dacia.⁵ Nordgren holds that Cniva's

title of *reiks* and king over the western part of the army indicates that a united war leadership for all the Goths must have come to an end. I quote: *'In the society of Gutþiūða, which the Visigoths now founded in Dacia, there were no kings. ... The common power rested with a kindins, which I translate with 'kinsman' or 'kind-leader', i.e. roughly family leader. He is normally translated as law-man or judge. I derive kind from the Nordic kind meaning family including all the relatives of the family.'*⁶ The two functions of the *kindins* would be to command the defense of *Gutþiūða* – he headed a council consisting of the different tribal chiefs – and to guard the religion of the people, and Nordgren explains: *'Here we primarily talk about the fertility-cultic part since this was what the common people always had practiced, although now, of course, also connected to the cult of Óðinn-Gaut as already described above. The direct warrior cult however, in my opinion, was a matter for the local reiks. That cults in general were locally based is emphasized by the fact, that except for the common organization, every tribe-kuni/kunja had its own unique holy objects which were kept by the respective priestess (guðja?)/priest (guðe).'*⁷ Nordgren refers here to Ulrich for the importance of the local chieftain in relation to the cult, as well as to the *Passio S. Saba* where there is reference to an oath **aiþs* sworn by villagers to their *reiks*, which may have included military matters.⁷ Nordgren sees a transition from the sacral kingdom of the old type to the *kindins* as his replacement, who then could claim ancestry from Óðinn-Gaut. He refers to lesser chieftains under the local *reiks* called in Greek sources *μεγιστῶνες* (*megistanes*) and to a person who functioned as a village elder, but in the last instance was responsible to a *reiks*, and he enters into the valuable discussion of Thompson, Ulrich and Heather on how much power the *kindins* in fact had.⁸

The outcome of this discussion will be that the Gothic tribes outside and inside the *limes* cultivated an intricate system of authority, decision-making and subordination between hierarchically arranged functionaries of society, and that this system was under pressure in the 4th century. Confronted with a Christian interpretation of the Logos speculation of the type current under Constantine's reign, such Goths, when becoming Christians, would easily continue to speculate upon the faculties and power of the One Supreme Being and the effectuation of His will by the Logos who in one form or another must be thought of as subordinate to the Supreme Being. They would not be inclined to see the three divine persons and their tasks as equal in any real sense, in the way Nicaea and Bishop Athanasius insisted upon them being three persons, of the same substance and equal in their divine powers as Father, Son and Holy Spirit – such an equality would contradict the construction of Gothic society and the people's daily experience of power and subordination. Christians among the Goths would identify the Indivisible One with the Father of all heavens and Jesus of Nazareth with the Logos and thus use biblical writing as material in discussions on how to im-

agine the Logos. This could easily have been the starting point for their later efforts to circumscribe the position of Logos as subordinate to the Eternal Father.

One interesting question remains. Why did Drake not comment upon the section of Eusebius' Tricennial Oration dealing with figures and the metaphysics of numbers like 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 and 30? There is no dominating arithmetic thinking of God and The One in the speculation on Logos in the following period. But the Nicæan Creed of 325, which finally became the orthodox doctrine in 381, is full of arithmetic formulas for the Logos and demands faith in Christ as *Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt*. In the meantime Bishop Athanasius had formulated in the most stringent form a creed where all the characteristics used for the Father were claimed also for the Son and for the Holy Spirit. Concomitantly Wulfila himself, who in the meantime had brought his Christian Goths over the Danube and now cared for them on Empire soil, had just signed the formulas of the synod in Constantinople of 360, where the subordination of Christ had been expressed in a way that later was deemed heretic. An answer to this question could be that maybe there was among the Goths, the first Germanic people to adopt the Christian faith, no basis for an arithmetic speculation that could have opened their understanding for the Nicæan way of describing the Christian Trinity of one God in three Persons at one and the same level and of the same substance. The lack of understanding for what arithmetic speculation and its Pythagorean fundamentals may have meant to some Greeks and Romans of this epoch and to the image of God in our European culture is characteristic not only of H.A. Drake, but of most of us today when confronted with the Nicæan creed. Followers of a Pythagorean way of thinking may have filled the ranks of Nicæan bishops in 325, which may have induced Bishop Eusebius to take such groups into account when formulating the general principles of divine science in front of the Emperor on 25 July 336.

In the only formulation of a creed that can be linked to Wulfila in one of his last years, handed down to us by Auxentius, the three persons of the holy Trinity are clearly allotted three hierarchic stages of divinity, evidencing what Schäferdiek calls 'eine die Trinität in hierarchischer Stufung denkende Theologie'.⁹ Creation is not linked here to the Father but to the Son as a sort of demiurge, and the second article runs: '[I believe] in his only begotten Son, our Lord and God, builder and creator of the entire universe, who has none similar to himself, *et in unigenitum filium eius, dominum et deum nostrum, opificem et factorem universe creature non habentem similem suum*. This Christian creed that Wulfila seems to have adhered to in old age – he died in 383 – may well have been influenced in its basic structure by the carefully cautious atmosphere in religious questions

that prevailed at the Emperors court – witness Eusebius' Tricennial Oration. Christianity appears here as one of the possible realizations of the contemporary Logos speculation when man was wrestling with the problem of how to explain the birth of change out of an eternal and immovable origin.

Notes

- 1 Drake 1976
- 2 Schäferdiek 1979; cf. Schäferdiek 2004; Ebbinghaus 1991
- 3 Drake 1976, p. 85
- 4 Nordgren 2004
- 5 Wolfram 1988
- 6 Nordgren 2004, p. 375
- 7 Ulrich 1995
- 8 'Both Thompson [1966] and Ulrich [1995] claim that all power lay with the reiks and that the kindins just had to effectuate their decisions. Heather [1996] gives the kindins status of king, which I reject unless we talk of the sitting kindins in the function as reiks of his own local tribe. If he however refers to a function as replacement of a sacral king he should formulate himself in another way. In my opinion Ulrich and Thompson are right what concerns politics in general, but in sacral matters of mainly fertilitycult character it was the kindins who decided. The persecutions by Athanarik of the Christian Goths for example had a dubious popular support but was still carried through, since he most likely considered this to be necessary for the ethnic unity of the people. This is evidently the only kind of matters in which the kindins acted personally in time of peace, and during wartime he had the ultimate command of the defense and hence the society. The kindins, hence, has substituted the function of the earlier sacral kings. Of course the power of kindins decreases while the power of the reiks increases and finally ... , when the Vesi- Tervingi accept the Arian Christianity and cross the limes to escape the Huns, this institution fades away.' Nordgren 2004, p. 376.
- 9 Schäferdiek 1979, p. 281

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Retracing the Goths

Where did the Goths come from? A hundred years ago the answer most certainly would have been: from Scandinavia, as Jordanes tells us. But times changed. The dark period of the 20th Century brought about a strong reaction against the misuse of historical sources. This scepticism went too far, however, and soon came to cast a shadow of doubt over the whole idea of a Gothic connection between the Continent and Scandinavia.

Considering that many of the leading scholars taking part in the discussion had limited knowledge of conditions in Scandinavia, it is not surprising that one important source, namely place names, was not taken into account in the way it deserves. The value of onomastic evidence should not be underestimated. Place names can help to solve problems where other sources fail. In my opinion this is the case as regards the much-debated question of the provenance of the Goths. As I purport to show, place names supply information that in more than one way supports the old theory of a Scandinavian origin of the Goths. The material is rather comprehensive, so in this short paper I shall have to confine myself to what I consider to be major points, even at the risk of leaving out details of interest.¹

First of all, a remarkable feature of the old cultural landscapes of southern Scandinavia is the long, not to say exceptionally long, continuity. The fertile plains of the provinces of Östergötland and Västergötland have been farmed since the Neolithic Age. There are no traces of ravaging invasions by Celts, Romans, Huns or other peoples. As a consequence of this, there is also a corresponding linguistic continuity. Place names have been handed down from generation to generation, in fact not so few of them probably from as far back as the early Iron Age.

This goes for hundreds of still existing Scandinavian names that bear witness to heathen cult places, for example. Among these we find such remarkable specimens as names commemorating the worship of the Germanic goddess of Earth, *Nerthus*, mentioned by Tacitus (*Germania* Ch. 40), but otherwise practically unknown. With the exception of the ending *s* (which was voiced in Germanic), *Nerthus* corresponds exactly to the reconstructed Proto-Germanic name **Nerþuz*, from which the forms we find in place names developed. The



cult of this goddess and her male counterpart *Ullr*, probably the god of the sun, belongs to an era long before the cult of better-known Nordic deities like Odin and Thor.

In our discussion we have special reason to draw attention to another category of names. Archaeologists often complain about the difficulty of determining ethnicity by archaeological methods. Place names however, often supply

decisive evidence in a most direct and evident way. I am referring here to territorial names like *Lapland*, *Finland*, *Scotland*, just to mention a few of the more obvious examples. *Lapland* is of course “the land of the Laps”, *Finland* that of the Finns, and *Scotland* the land of the Scots.

But let us for a moment return to the Gothic trail. In the 1st Century AD Tacitus describes the *Gotones* as being somewhat sterner than other Germanic peoples and governed by kings (Germania Ch. 43). Procopius, in his *History of the wars of Justinian* (c. 550 A.D.), mentions ‘a numerous tribe called *Gautoi*’ and Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, about 400 years earlier the *Goutai*. There can hardly be any doubt that we are dealing with reflexes of the Proto-Germanic appellation **Gautōz*, referring to the people we know from history as the *Goths*. The spelling with *ou* can easily be explained as an adjustment to Greek of an original Germanic diphthong *au*.

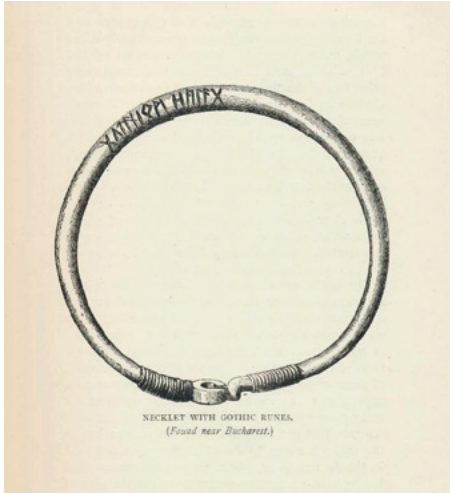
Interestingly enough Ptolemy also mentions the *Gutones*, presumably with the same reference. However, their name mirrors a different Proto-Germanic form: **Gutaniȝ*. The *Gutones* are mentioned by Pliny the elder too (1st Century A.D.), and probably also by the somewhat older Greek geographer Strabo (c. 60 B.C. – 24).

In other words, to judge by the classical authors we encounter two Germanic tribal names: **Gautōz* and **Gutaniȝ* even before the split of the Goths into Ostrogoths and Visigoths. This might seem strange, but, as we shall see, is a point of substantial interest.

Etymologically these two names **Gautōz* and **Gutaniȝ* (rendered here in the plural form) seem closely related. The difference as regards stem vowel (*au* and *u* respectively) can easily be explained as the result of *ablaut*, a change of root vowels characteristic of the Indo-European languages. In the Germanic languages it appears particularly in the inflexion of strong verbs like *sing sang sung* or Proto Germanic **gentan*, Old Norse *gióta – gaut – gutum – gotinn* ‘to pour’, ‘to mould’ etc., a verb of special interest to us, since it appears to be the base for the names we discuss.

As to the endings *-ōz* in **Gautōz* and *-aniȝ* in **Gutaniȝ*, they reflect two different suffixes (Gmc *-a*, and *-an*), both commonly used in the formation of tribal names, personal names and designations for persons of different kinds.

Perhaps the touch of myth and legend in Jordanes’ account of the origin of the Goths prevents us from seeing the obvious. The reconstructed Germanic forms **Gautōz* and **Gutaniȝ* correspond exactly to Old Norse *gautar* and *gutnar* (*gotnar*), from which the modern Swedish equivalents *götar* and *gutar* developed. Of these, the former name, *Götar*, is nowadays used in a historical sense with reference to the *Göta* people that in a long lost past formed an integral part



of the kingdom of Sweden. However, it is also a component of the still current names *Västgötar* and *Östgötar* (the western and the eastern *Götar*), denoting the inhabitants of *Västergötland* and *Östergötland*. These two provinces flank lake Vättern, the second largest lake in Sweden. Together they make up the core of a major part of southern Sweden called *Götaland* (formerly *Götland*, old Icelandic *Gautland*), literally ‘the land of the Götar’. The still prevalent name *Gutar*, on the other hand,

refers to the people of the island *Gotland*, the largest island in the Baltic Sea, situated about 100 kilometres off the coast of *Östergötland*.

Considering the fact that the Swedish provinces or *landskap* originally seem to have been independent ‘lands’– petty kingdoms or the like – that existed long before Sweden became Sweden, there can hardly be any doubt about the interpretation of these names. *Västergötland* is the land of the western *götar* and *Östergötland* that of the eastern ones. *Gotland* belonged to the *gutar*, which is what the inhabitants still call themselves.²

In my opinion these names supply a linguistic argument that cannot be waved aside.

But if there is truth behind Jordanes’ mention of an emigration from the island of Scandza, how and when did it happen, and who actually did the emigrating? It is difficult, not to say impossible, to give precise answers to such questions. To begin with the last one, it seems likely that groups of people came over both from *Götaland* and *Gotland*, the reason for this being that it would explain the presence of the two different, though closely related, names, **Gautōz* and **Gutaniz*, in the earliest records.

When it comes to the probability of the emigration theory, it is an established fact that early Germanic migrations from the north to the south and even vice versa actually took place (compare for example the migrations of the Cimbri and the Heruli). The reasons may have differed, but whatever they were, these migrations certainly included violent actions. In case of the Goths, attention is naturally drawn to the area on the Continent where they first appeared. Why here? Archaeological finds indicate that trade from the east coast of Sweden across the Baltic probably had been going on already since the Bronze Age.³ In

other words, the Amber route was not unknown in the North. Settling down in the vicinity of the mouth of the Wistula River could be profitable. If merchants and tradesmen founded a colony that gradually attracted more and more settlers, it would not be surprising if the idea sooner or later occurred to seize control over the whole trading place. For a warlike people with an appetite for gold, it must have been tempting bait. As has been pointed out⁴, we should probably not envisage anything like a full-scale invasion, but rather a surprise attack by ‘a small but determined and well-organized group’.⁵

It must be admitted though, that Jordanes’ account, vague and ambiguous as it is, does not tally with such a scenario. Consequently we have to keep our mind open for other explanations.

Anders Kaliff envisages a more or less continuous process going on for a long time.⁶ Place name scholars, on the other hand,⁷ have drawn attention to the absence of Germanic place names in the Wistula area, a fact that could point more in the direction of an ‘intermediate landing’.⁸

As regards the reasons for ‘going south’, overpopulation is a possibility that should not be disregarded.⁹ To be taken into account here is the fact that recent archaeological investigations have revealed an astonishing density in the early Iron Age settlement of e.g. Östergötland. The argument put forward in the 1970s that Sweden was too poor in people to allow for emigrations seems not to be valid any longer.¹⁰ It is worth mentioning here that the medieval Saga of the Gotlanders (MS in the Royal Library in Stockholm, Cod. Holm. B 64) explicitly mentions emigrations from the island caused by overpopulation.

Discussing the ethnic origin of the Goths in the Wistula area, there is one piece of evidence that should not be forgotten: the famous ring from Pietroassa with its remarkable runic inscription.

Its message, *Gutanionvibailag*, is usually interpreted as ‘the sacred heritage of the Goths’, but a translation true to the actual wording would in fact be ‘the sacred heritage of the *Gutar*’.¹¹ Most scholars agree that the *o*-rune stands for *odal*, meaning ‘inherited property’. It is tempting to assume that the ring (necklace) is an item of religious and cultural importance. The question is: what does *odal* refer to? Did the **Gutaniz* people bring it with them from their original homeland? Rings of the same kind have been found in Scandinavia.

Gothic place names in Sweden?

The most striking examples are no doubt the names of the provinces already discussed. However, there are indeed more indications in the place name material. In the provinces of Västergötland, Östergötland and Närke there are a

number of apparently old settlement names in which *Göt-*, Gmc *gaut-* as a first component is combined with terms denoting prehistoric sanctuaries and assembly places. The terms in question are: *vi* ‘holy place, sanctuary’, *lunda* ‘holy grove’ and finally a much discussed element *-al-*, probably identical with or at least closely related to Gothic *alhs* ‘temple’.

These combinations were observed as early as the early 1920s, but do not seem to have attracted much attention from abroad, partly, no doubt, depending on the critical attitude to sacral place names taken by the leading Swedish place name scholar Jöran Sahlgren.¹²

The material is as follows:

1. *Götala*, Styra parish, Östergötland
2. *Götala*, Skara parish, Västergötland
3. *Götlunda*, parish in Närke (Glanshammars hd)
4. *Götlunda*, parish in Västergötland (Vadsbo hd)
5. *Götavi*, Rinkaby parish, Närke
6. *Götavi*, Lillkyrka parish, Närke. Now: *Götarsvik*.
7. *Götavi*, Vintrosa parish, Närke
8. *Götevid*, Vallerstad parish, Östergötland
9. *Götvi* (*Götvik*), Ekeby parish, Östergötland
10. *Göteve*, parish in Västergötland (Vilske hd)

To these we may add *Gutnalia*, the oldest recorded name of the Roma monastery on Gotland (see below).

It is noteworthy that these names occur in the part of Sweden considered to be the core territory of the Götar (Gutar), and only there. Of the three Göta ‘lands’ mentioned, Närke is situated in between Svealand and Götaland, but shows features that suggest early connections with Götaland. (cf. Andersson 1983, p. 53, Ericsson 2007 p. 82).

If we look more closely, the distribution of the names mentioned presents points of interest. *Götala* occurs only once in Västergötland and Östergötland respectively, but not at all in Närke. *Götlunda* on the other hand is recorded once in Västergötland and Närke, whereas there are three *Götavi* (*Götevi* etc.) in Närke, two in Östergötland and one in Västergötland. The presence of the element *-ala* in the core of the Göta region is noteworthy, as is the dominance of the more unspecified element *vi* ‘holy place’.

In the neighbourhood of the important medieval town of Skänninge we find *Götevi* and *Götala* on either side of Lunds backe, a magnificent archaeological

site, sometimes referred to as ‘the Stonehenge of Östergötland’. It is not surprising that these localities have been pointed out as ‘the old central sanctuaries of the Götär of Östergötland’.¹³

To be added here is probably also a long lost name, of which there is only one mentioning in the sources: (in) *götærboælunde* 1299 (SDHK: 1836). It is tempting to regard the spelling with *r* as a slight misinterpretation of an original **Götaþboalund-*. The name could thus be interpreted as a composition of a settlers’ name **Götaþboar* ‘people of Götaþa’ and *lund* (see above), meaning ‘the holy grove of the Götaþa people’. In other words: we would have not only *-al* and *-vi*, but also *-lund* represented in the same specific area.

Götaþa in Västergötland is situated close to the cathedral city of Skara. Götaþa belonged to the church in the 13th century, but became later a royal estate. It has been associated with the ‘alla götars ting’, ‘the *thing* (assembly place) of all Götär’, mentioned in the medieval provincial law of Västergötland,¹⁴ although this has been questioned.¹⁵

If we turn to Gotland, the assembly of all the Gotlanders mentioned in the Guta Law, the *Gutnaþ þing*, is said to have taken place near Roma monastery, the original name of which, in Latinized form, was *Gutnalía*. This could be a parallel to *Götaþa*: **Gutnaþ*, ‘the **al*, the common assembly place of the Gutar’.¹⁶

Speaking of names belonging to the administrative sphere we should also mention the *þarad-* (*hundred*) names ending in *-kind*, like *Bankekind*, *Hanekind*, *Kåkind*, which occur in Västergötland, Östergötland and Småland. According to a common view, these district names contain Old Norse *kind* f. ‘family, people, tribe’, corresponding to Latin *gens, gentis* ‘people’. Interestingly enough, we have another close relative in Bible Gothic *kindins* ‘leader, chief, governor’, Greek *hegemon*.

As the prominent Swedish place name scholar Thorsten Andersson has pointed out, the limited distribution of these district names indicates a naming fashion of a specific Göta character.¹⁷ In its original, indigenous use, Andersson argues, the Gothic term *kindins* probably referred to tribal chiefs, who ruled over territories of about the same size as the *kind* districts.¹⁸

Interpretation of the element göt – gut-

It is hardly surprising that attempts have been made at explaining the *Göt-/Gut-* element in other ways. It goes without saying that a verbal stem with the meaning ‘to pour’, ‘to make a liquid flow freely’ would be suitable for the formation of hydronyms. A striking example is of course *Göta äþ*, Old Icelandic *Gautelþr*, the mighty river running through Västergötland from Lake Vänern to Gothenburg. As has been pointed out, *Göt* localities are situated close to springs, lakes

and streams. However, this is a feature that is peculiar not only to important cult places, but to settled places in general.

Another alternative is based on the fact that one of the by-names of the god *Odinn* is *Gautr* or (in weak form) *Gauti*. In the Old Icelandic literature he is sometimes also referred to as *Gautafyr* ‘the god of the *gautar*’. When it comes to the interpretation of the place names we are discussing here, however, *Gautr* is impossible as a first component, since in that case we would have expected a genitive-*s*, like in *Torsvi*, *Torslunda*, *Odensvi*, *Odenslunda* and others.

Gauti, on the other hand, is possible,¹⁹ and this alternative has recently been brought up again.²⁰ The fact that the genitive form of *Gauti* is *Gauta* would indeed explain the missing *s*, but *Gauti* represents a younger type of word formation than *Gautr*, and is not so much used as a substitute (*beiti*) for *Odinn* as *Gautr*. Even if the idea that in the late heathen period, there existed otherwise unknown cult communities that for some reason had chosen to worship *Odinn* under the name of *Gauti* is not wholly unrealistic, it is difficult to find decisive arguments to support such a theory. It would also be difficult to explain the fact that the names *Götlunda* and *Onslunda* (<*Odenslunda*) occur close to each other (cf. below). The interpretation nearest at hand once again seems to be that *Götavi* means ‘the holy place of the götar’, *Götlunda* ‘the holy grove of the Götar’ and *Götala* ‘the assembly place (?) of the Götar’. – But even so, what could be the point in specifying Göta ethnicity in the midst of Götaland? We shall return to that question later.

-lunda, -vi and -ala

The elements *lunda* and *vi* are both terms commonly used to denote cult places.²¹ As for the element *-ala*, (*-al*, *-äl*), the situation is somewhat different. The only evidence offered is a handful of seemingly very old place names. To the names already mentioned we may add *Synneräl* (the southern ‘*alb*’) in Västergötland and a group of four names in Hälsingland in northern Middle Sweden.

As mentioned earlier, there is no corresponding appellative recorded in the Nordic languages, but *-al*-, (*-äl*), Proto-Nordic **-alba-*, has been identified with Bible Gothic *albs*. This word – to be compared with Old English *ealb* and Old Saxon *alah* – is used in the sense of ‘temple’ (Greek *naos*, *hieron*). The fact that these words are masculine *a*-stems, whereas the Gothic word is a feminine consonant stem, is probably of minor importance here.

Gothic *albs* is derived from an Indo-European root meaning ‘to protect, shield’ and would thus seem to refer to a place or an object protected from something in some way or another. The question is from what? Hardly from

thunder, storm and rain – it goes without saying that we must look for something else.

If we assume that ‘shelter’ is the basic meaning, we could fancy a building or an area (or both) protected by some kind of enclosure (a palisade?). As early as the 1920s Elias Wessén suggested the possibility of enclosed sanctuaries.²² However, attention has been drawn to the fact that in non-ecclesiastical texts, the corresponding West Germanic words are used with reference to profane places, settlements or buildings, indicating the possibility that **-al-* could have a profane meaning, referring to some kind of ‘stately building, of importance for a settlement district’.²³

Indeed we should not exclude the possibility that the *al* places were used for purposes other than veneration. ‘Protected assembly place’ is a tempting alternative, even if we must have in mind that in prehistoric Nordic society, administrative, jurisdictional and religious practices seem more or less to have gone hand in hand. They were performed at the same localities and partly also by the same officiants.

Speaking of assembly places, a passage from Tacitus’ account of the Semnones (Germania Ch. 39) could be of interest here:

Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam
auguriis patrum et prisca fomidine sacram nominis [eiusdem]
eiusdemque sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt.

‘The Semnones recount that they are the oldest and noblest among the Svebi. This is corroborated by a religious custom. At a scheduled time representatives of all peoples which *bear the same name and are of the same blood*, meet in a grove, consecrated by their forefathers, awe-inspiring and sacred since the beginning of time.’

We are probably dealing with a sacral assembly place of the same kind as the famous sanctuary of Old Uppsala, where religious feasts obligatory to all *Svear* were held at the vernal equinox every ninth year. Would it be too venturesome to assume that such central places, consecrated and in one way or another protected, existed also in Götaland and that they could explain at least some of the *Göt*-names?

Admittedly, it is not easy to find good parallels, but one could be *Tyrved* on the peninsula *Södertörn*, some 30 kilometers south of Stockholm. The name is recorded in Old Swedish as *Törævi*, and must be interpreted as ‘the *vi*, the holy place of the inhabitants of *Tör*, today *Södertörn*’.²⁴ There is a possibility that the name could have been given by seafarers sailing along the coast, but it lies close to hand to look upon it as given from an internal perspective.

Ethnic names

However, the question remains: why would there be a need to point out *Göta* ethnicity in the midst of *Götaland*? If we take into consideration the political situation in prehistoric times, conflicts between the Göta people and their neighbours the Svear are mentioned in Beowulf.²⁵ We do not know much about these conflicts, but they had probably been going on for a long time until the *Svear* finally prevailed. We do not know how and when this came about either, but if we trust Adam of Bremen, who states that the Göta landscapes belong to the Svear, it ought to have happened at the end of the Viking Age at the latest.²⁶

In an article published in 1922 Elias Wessén tried to explain the sacral *Göt*-names against this background.²⁷ They were given by the conquering *Svear*, he concluded. According to his view, the conflicts with the *Svear* led to a division of Iron Age Östergötland. Only the western part remained Göta territory, a fact that could explain why we find *Göt(a)*-names here and not in the eastern part, which had been subdued at an early stage. In the province of Närke for example, names of this category appear in the hilly and forested area north of Lake Hjälmarén, which could have been a contested border zone.

Interestingly enough we have surprisingly late (c. 980 – 1040) datings of archaeological finds recently made at Götavi in Vintrosa parish.²⁸ If the name is as young as that, it would rather indicate that in the Viking Age this holy place was still in the hands of the Götar. I suppose we cannot exclude the possibility of a late period of Göta dominance in this particular area, but it would no doubt be contrary to what most scholars think. Unfortunately it is impossible – without closer examination – to determine the age of the rest of the *Göta* cult places. To judge by their location one rather gets the impression that they were in use as far back as in the early Iron Age and maybe even before that.

Even if some of Wesséns conclusions may be questioned, there seems to be sense in much of what he says. If we look at the parish of *Götlunda* in Västergötland, for example, we find, besides spectacular ancient monuments such as stone circles and huge burial mounds, an amalgamation of interesting names:²⁹ on the one hand, names denoting sacred places besides *Götlunda*: *Frörlunda*, *Närlunda*, *Odensäker*, *Onslunda*; on the other hand, names like *Svenneby*, *Karleby* and *Smeby*, containing titles or designations of rank of a kind that one expects to find in the retinue of a king or chieftain. *Svenneby* could be a farm (or a piece of land) belonging to or used by knights, *Karleby* a dwelling of some sort for common soldiers and *Smedby* the abode of a (weapon)smith (or smiths).

The appearance of names ending in *-by* here is noteworthy since this element, abounding in those parts of England and France that were colonized

by the Vikings, is otherwise uncommon in Västergötland.³⁰ Added to this is the special kind of first components that we find in these *-by* names. Is it just a coincidence that such names occur in the vicinity of a prehistoric central place like Götlanda? According to the historian Eric Elgqvist, they are linked to garrisons located in strategically important areas; he regarded them as evidence of a powerful expansion of the Svear at their neighbours' expense.³¹

To sum up: place names give us hints about the homes and haunts of the *Goths* before they appeared on the continent. The oldest known names of the Gothic people (or should we say peoples?) can be pinpointed to a geographically clearly defined area in Scandinavia. Is this a mere coincidence? The fact that the three tribes *Götar*, *Gutar* and *Goths* appear in the same geographical area around the southern Baltic sea is in itself a strong argument for the assumption of a 'Gothic connection'.³² But to this is added a number of names that seem to have referred to assembly places common to provinces or communities.

Even if this paper is just a draft of something that ought to be worked out more elaborately, it seems to me that it would require arguments of considerable weight to question the line of thinking I have presented.

Notes

- 1 For a more detailed account of the earliest sources, cf. Strid 2010
- 2 The shift of vowels, *got-/gut-*, is due to the fact that the present name of the island is of Low German origin. *Gotland* used in fact to be called *Gutland* (later *Gulland*) well into the 18th Century.
- 3 Kaliff 2001, pp. 43 ff.
- 4 Cf. Kaliff 2001, p. 42
- 5 Cf. Kaliff 2001, pp. 21 f. & 62 f.
- 6 Kaliff 2001
- 7 Andersson 2012, p. 233 with references
- 8 Andersson 2012, p. 233. There is indeed more to say in favour of the theory of a Scandinavian origin of the Goths and much of this material has been thoroughly discussed by other scholars. I confine myself to referring to Elias Wessén's contribution to the Goten-symposium in Stockholm in 1970 (Wessén 1972), Anders Kaliff's Gothic connections (Kaliff 2001) plus a number of elucidative articles published by Thorsten Andersson (e.g. Andersson 1996, 2003, 2012).
- 9 Strid 2010, p. 446
- 10 Svennung 1972, pp. 39 ff.; cf. Ericsson et al. 2010 with references
- 11 Nedoma 2003, p. 157
- 12 Cf. Hellberg 1986
- 13 Elgqvist 1947, p. 68
- 14 Elgqvist 1947, p. 40
- 15 Vikstrand 2010, p. 61

- 16 There is another explanation to be mentioned, though not so probable: *Gutnal þing* could be understood as a contraction of **Gutna allþing* ‘the common *þing* of the Gutar’ (cf. Elgqvist 1947, pp. 72 f.).
- 17 Andersson 2000, p. 79
- 18 Andersson 2000, p. 46
- 19 Cf. Elgqvist 1947, p. 64
- 20 Vikstrand 2010, pp. 62 f.
- 21 In the case of *-lunda*, there is nothing sacral in the meaning of the word; it simply denotes a ‘grove’, ‘a group of old trees standing together’. However, due to its abundance in place names containing names of heathen gods as first component, it probably developed a sacral denotation even at an early stage.
- 22 Wessén 1922b, p. 108
- 23 Brink 1992, p. 120
- 24 Vikstrand 2001, p. 317 with references
- 25 Cf. Wessén 1922, pp. 40 f.
- 26 Larsson 2002, p. 147
- 27 Wessén 1922, pp. 40 f., cf. Elgqvist 1947, pp. 65–72
- 28 Vikstrand 2010, p. 64
- 29 Brink 1999, p. 427
- 30 The latter two are obviously connected with the cult of Óðinn.
- 31 Elgqvist 1947, pp. 65 ff. One has to be cautious here, however. Even if the Götar and the Svear looked upon themselves as two different peoples, they shared the same language. Consequently the presence of names of this kind in Götaland does not necessarily indicate a conquest.
- 32 Andersson 1996a & 1996b; Kaliff 2001

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Elements of ‘Gothic’ culture surviving in the Spanish Mozarabic Liturgy

1. Scope of the paper

In Western Europe, some ancient non-Roman liturgical traditions survive within the Catholic Church and the Roman Rite, the best known being the Milanese or Ambrosian Rite. Another example is the liturgy officially called Hispano-Mozarabic,¹ also known as the Old Spanish or Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite.²

This liturgy was created and is preserved in Latin. It is rooted in the Christianity of the Iberian Peninsula (Antiochian-Roman and North African). It developed as a local liturgy³ of the metropolitan sees of Roman Spain dates from the second half of the fourth century to the first half of the fifth century; its development was inhibited to some extent by the turbulences of the Western Empire throughout the fifth century as well as by the resultant tensions between Catholics and Arians up to the Third Council of Toledo in 589.⁴ From that time on and throughout the seventh century (simultaneous with the Catholic Visigoth Kingdom of Toledo) this liturgy experienced its key periods of composition, structurization and codification.⁵

With the collapse of Visigothic Spain and the Muslim domination of the Iberian Peninsula, we see a liturgical ‘consolidation’ that sought to preserve the ancient Christian spiritual legacy in the midst of an increasingly Islamified society: this is the origin of the phenomenon of the *mozárabe* or Mozarab (a Christian living in a Muslim society).⁶ The recuperation of the Spanish territories for ‘Christianity’ characterises the long period between the establishment of the Kingdom of *Astur* (9th cent.) and the fall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada (end of 15th cent.). Throughout this period, assistance in dealing with Islam was sought from the other Western Christian powers. This led to the progressive assimilation of the other Iberian Christian kingdoms to the unification process underway in the West under the Roman Rite.⁷ This trend is particularly observable from the end of the eleventh century (1080) with the suppression of the Spanish Rite and its limited survival in the city of Toledo, the capital of the

ancient Visigothic kingdom. From 1085 on, the City of Toledo has preserved the ancient liturgical tradition of the Catholic Visigothic kingdom, the oldest manuscripts of which (the *mixed books* or '*mixtici*' edited by Prof. Janini) preserve the 'Gothic' style of script⁸.

The liturgy of Toledo was losing ground to the Roman liturgy already from the eleventh century, especially with the establishment of a chapter of the Roman Rite in the Mosque-Cathedral and the construction (in the second half of the 12th cent.) of the new and splendid Gothic cathedral as the city was being repopulated with Catholics of the Roman Rite for whom more and more parishes were being formed. The Mozarabic community, thanks to certain economic privileges, experienced at times a 'recovery' that resulted in the renovation of their Toledan parish churches (e.g. in the 13th cent.), yet also a progressive 'Romanization' of the church spaces and of the Mozarabic liturgical trappings.⁹

The liturgical initiatives in most immediate defense of the ancient rite on the part of the archbishops of Toledo were always focused on the reedition of the liturgical books.¹⁰ The main reeditions were commissioned by the cardinal archbishops of Toledo *Ximenez de Cisneros* (16th cent.); *Lorenzana* (end of 18th to beginning of 19th cent.), influenced by the Enlightenment; and *González Martín* (20th cent.), working for the dynamic implementation of Vatican Council II. Is there anything to be found in the actual liturgical books of the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite that comes from the golden age of the Catholic Visigothic kingdom? Are there any elements in them that might be considered to belong to the Visigothic culture?

In order to answer these questions, we have to clarify first what we mean by elements of Gothic or (in the case of Spain) Visigothic culture.

In recent years there has been a profound change in the historical understanding of the periods during which 'barbarian' peoples entered into contact with the Roman Empire and eventually caused its collapse in the West. It was a long evolution from 'permeable borders' (the natural frontier being the Danube in the case of the Goths) to living together in the same territory within the boundaries of the Empire, with various types of agreements regulating the presence of 'immigrants' within the Empire. It ended with the political disappearance of the Western Roman Empire and the emergence of new nation states led by various barbarian peoples. From the times of *Ulfilas* (*Wulfila*) in the fourth century until the end of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo in the eighth with the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, the Goths went through a saga of profound cultural maturation (in their *acculturation* to the Roman world of the various regions from present-day Rumania/Transylvania to the plains of Castile by way of Narbonese Gaul and Aquitania). From the start there were

two tendencies among the Goths that were never fully reconciled: the one, Romanophile; the other, Germanic.¹¹

Herein lies one of the difficulties in approaching our problem: What should we consider to be specifically Gothic elements of culture and influence? The strictly Germanic or even the Roman or Roman-Byzantine elements already adopted by the Goths? If the time of *Wulfila* were the object of our study, I think that by 'Gothic' one would have to understand the elements differentiating this people from the Roman-Byzantine world along with the special cultural moulds into which Bishop *Wulfila* poured Byzantine Christianity (then mostly Arian) for the Christians (like himself) living among the Goths in order to make the reception of Arian Christianity more acceptable to them. During this conference this will mostly be studied from the perspectives of linguistics, cultural anthropology and history. My own task here is to present the current survival of certain elements that the Spanish Visigoths brought to the liturgy that was formed in Spain and the south of France between the sixth and seventh centuries and which continues today to nourish the faith and spirituality of the small Mozarabic communities of Spain, in particular of Toledo, its cathedral and two of its parishes (the parish of *Las Santas Justa y Rufina* and that of *Santa Eulalia*). This, in turn, obliges me to consider the Visigothic liturgical customs from the time of the conversion of *Recaredo* to the Catholic faith and the abandonment of the Arianism he inherited from *Wulfila*. Thus, two kinds of elements will attract my attention: on the one hand, elements one might put under the heading of *the cultural language of the Byzantine court adopted by the Visigothic elites*,¹² on the other hand, the very important *theological and spiritual contribution of Saint Ildefonso de Toledo and his school*¹³ to the prayers in the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy (recalling that after 589 *Ildefonso* is the first Goth to become bishop in the royal city of Toledo, the centre of the religious life of the Kingdom ever since the Third Council).

2. 'Courtly' elements

In dealing with this point as part of the 'Gothic legacy', the first question is whether the 'courtly Byzantine' influence reached the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy through the customs of the Visigothic court as inspired by those of the imperial Byzantine court,¹⁴ or directly from the Byzantines then strongly present in the regions of Valencia and eastern Andalusia from *Cartagena* to *Baza* – a natural place of refuge for the Spanish Catholics during the tensions with the Arian Visigoth court (there was also the special relationship of the family of Saint *Leandro* and Saint *Isidoro* with this area and the exile of Saint *Leandro* in Byzantium).¹⁵ In this regard we should keep in mind that, at the beginning

of contact between the Hispano-Roman Catholics and Byzantium and the Byzantines present in Spain, customs of the Byzantine court had already been adopted by the Goths. It is probable that these elements were already present in their liturgy, and that it was something which the Goths in fact contributed to the formation of the old Spanish liturgy, something already perhaps received by the Hispano-Romans who were familiar with Byzantine worship and as something compatible with their understanding and development of their liturgy.

From the liturgical point of view, this influence is especially reflected in the architecture, the hymns and in some of the processional rites. In architecture, it is a matter of the development of the plan of the church from the basilica model with a triple 'head' to the cruciform plan – a development that coincides with the period of liturgical codification after 589 and is connected to the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633.¹⁶ As to liturgical song, one has the importance given to the so-called *praelegendum* (equivalent to the Roman *introit*) and the *sacrificium* (accompanying the presentation of the gifts), with a wide range and an enormous repertory (in contrast to the small and nearly fixed repertory of older Spanish liturgical song – the *ad Pacem* and the *ad accedentes*, a communion hymn). With regard to processional rites, I have in mind the processions of entrance, the gospel and the bringing of the gifts.

One should point out that the 'entrance procession', accompanied by singing, was reserved in the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy for feast-days and was omitted on weekdays and days of penance (including Sundays of Lent). Therefore, the ordinary processions of the 'gospel' and the 'bringing of the gifts' are the ones of greater interest to us.¹⁷ They displayed all the richness of expression of the imperial palaces, not only in the case of large churches in major cities¹⁸ but also in small monasteries¹⁹ or in churches of less important enclaves.²⁰

For the *gospel procession*, a cross of gold, possibly preceded by a censer, and two lit candles accompanied the deacon to the altar²¹ or to a table located on the right side of the transept (facing the altar) or in the sacristy.²² There he would take the Book, covering it with a richly decorated cloth, and carry it to the *ambo* from which he would proclaim the gospel passage of the day. In other traditions (Rome or Milan), this procession is accompanied by the joyful singing of the 'alleluia' or, during Lent, of an appropriate 'verse'. In the Hispanic liturgy, such hymns were placed at the end of the Liturgy of the Word after the homily (if there was one)²³ leaving the procession, it seems, framed by silence (something not very provable, since all other liturgical processions are accompanied by singing). An unclear reference seems to indicate that the canticle of Daniel (Dn 3) called *Benedictiones*²⁴ came to be used in all the Masses. Was this

before the reading of the Gospel? There is no information (normally, on the feasts of martyrs it follows the reading of the end of the *Passio* that is inserted between the *psalendum* and the reading of the *Apostolus* of the Mass). The present-day custom is to accompany this procession with organ music, except during Lent or on days of penance.

Concerning the procession of the bringing of the *gifts of bread, wine and water*, first went the censer and the bearer of the cross of gold (flanked by candle-bearers) from the *donarium* (a table in the middle of the transept²⁵ to the altar, always in very solemn fashion as shown not least by the accompanying hymn called the *sacrificium*. These rather long hymns accompanying the procession, the laying of the gifts on the altar and then their incensing make up an interesting theological, spiritual and musical repertory. They normally refer to the Old Testament sacrifices prefiguring the sacrifice of Christ and its continuation in the heavenly liturgy as described in the Apocalypse. The Church carries the gifts to the altar through the hands of her ministers in fulfilment of the commandment of Christ 'do this in memory of me', just as the Saviour expressed his desire to fulfil the will of his Father and 'give his life' through his entrance into Jerusalem and his self-surrender after the prayer in Getsemane.

These ceremonies and hymns brought into play very varied ministries, even at celebrations in small communities, turning the sacred space – even in rural churches – into something expressive and complex.²⁶ There is no doubt that, even today, this is an aspect inherited from those Gothic admirers of Byzantium that still survives in the Hispano-Mozarabic rite.

Many of the elements of the decoration of the churches and of the liturgical ornaments which can be seen (or are pictured) when one visits the exhibits of 'Visigothic culture' in the Museum of Archaeology of Madrid or the Museum of the 'Councils' of Toledo, no longer form a part of the actual Hispano-Mozarabic celebrations today. Yet they seem to be necessary for fully understanding the meaning of the rituals, gestures and hymns to which we have been referring. We find ourselves thus at a moment of interesting reflection about the recovery of a true and genuinely Spanish 'celebratory style' among scholars and practitioners of the Hispanic liturgy.²⁷

3. The theological and spiritual legacy of Saint Ildefonso and his school

On the occasion of the 1400th anniversary of the birth of Saint Ildefonso of Toledo (ca 607/2007) various commemorative events were held in Toledo in order to make better known this holy archbishop, the first Toledan of Gothic descent after the conversion of Recaredo (589). It also served to highlight this

very interesting epoch in the history of Spain – some see it as the time of birth of the Spanish nation, the result of the forging of the Hispano-Romans with the Visigoths in the furnace of a shared national project under the Catholic Faith.

The figure of Saint Ildefonso is crucial to this story.²⁸ His legacy has been a key to understanding the ‘Spanish soul’ for centuries. He was aware of the Visigoths’ great reluctance and problems with the programme of the Third Council of Toledo as expressed in the homily of Saint Leandro at the conclusion of that council.²⁹ When Ildefonso, still a young monk, wrote his polemical tract on *The perpetual virginity of Mary*, he imagined himself confronting these difficulties. In this work the ideological obstacles are symbolized by Jews, the most educated people of the time and the ones most opposed to the divinity of Christ (the Arian connection). Ildefonso refutes their arguments against the virginity of Mary, which for him means safeguarding faith in the divinity of Christ (doubted by the Jews and by the Visigoths – not yet fully converted, perhaps, and the most ‘anti-Roman’ and zealous guardians of Gothic culture). Behind the attacks on the virginity of Mary is the idea of Jesus as a purely human creature. After taking over the episcopal see of Toledo, already fairly advanced in age, Ildefonso realized that the key to safeguarding the Church and the nation in Spain was to produce genuine Christians. Therefore, he concentrated his efforts on Christian Initiation (for children, for Catholic parents, for heretics and Jews converted as adults) and on the continuing formation of those who were already initiated, primarily by means of the assiduous participation in the liturgy of the Church. As archbishop, Saint Ildefonso would write his treatise on *The knowledge of Baptism* and compose a vast number of prayers for the Mass and the Divine Office.³⁰ Seen in all these activities and as an expression of the pastoral efforts of his entire life is his determination to spread *Marian piety* among Spanish Christians, a key feature of his spirituality and prayer texts.³¹

I venture here to establish a ‘parallel’ between Bishop Ulfilas (Wulfila) in the fourth century, and Bishop Ildefonso in the seventh century. The one, a man of the Roman Empire, urged the Gothic people to embrace Christianity and facilitated this by giving them certain instruments and customs that were to shape the culture of this people in large measure for centuries. The other, Visigoth by race, was characterized by his enormous effort to join together in Catholic Christianity the Visigoths and the Hispano-Romans, securing a new nation with a strong and fruitful identity. Both of them, the one at the beginning, the other at the end, mark the long epic of the Gothic people: from its entry within the borders of the Roman Empire until, at the other end of the Mediterranean (Narbonense Gaul and Hispania), the birth of new western nations. Ildefonso may not be the equal

of Ulfilas in his cultural undertakings, but each of these bishops, making use of his own pastoral resources, moulded his people and was creator of culture.

Looking more specifically at Saint Ildefonso, we note that for him the *structuring element of his theology of Mary* is her *perpetual virginity* (always both spiritual, as a personal commitment that forms the person, and physical, as a 'sensible sign' to which Mary witnesses).

Mary is a '*virgin before giving birth*' (from the start she feels herself to belong entirely to God and conceives a son without the cooperation of a man, Lk 1:26–38). By this proclamation of faith is expressed *the salvific initiative of God*, for the Lord *takes up his dwelling* in the young Virgin. She is His work; through her God *fulfils the promises made to all the descendants of Joseph* (see Is. 7 as interpreted in Mt 1). Mary remains a '*virgin while giving birth*'. For Saint Ildefonso this is the 'sign' that accompanies the birth of Jesus Christ (Lk 2:6–7 and 22:34–35) and anticipates how he will reveal himself in his *transfiguration* (Lk 9:28–36) and, along with the sign of the empty tomb (Lk 24), also how he will reveal himself in the powerful apparitions after his rising from the dead. Jesus 'leaves the chaste womb of the virgin like a ray of light that passes through glass without breaking or staining it'. That he is true man is shown by Mary who is a true Mother offering her tenderness and her milk to her newborn. That he is true God is shown by the fact that she, after giving birth to him without pain, remains inviolate and can, surprisingly, with no help from Joseph, wrap the baby in swaddling clothes and lay him in the manger as soon as she has given birth (Lk 2:7). Mary will continue 'not to know a man' all her life; she is a '*virgin after giving birth*', aware of what the sign of her virginity means for herself and for her people. Thus, from her virginal life until her departure from it, her motherhood finds a singular fullness in association with God's plan. She who '*kept all these things and meditated upon them in her heart*' (Lk 2:19. 51) becomes a key witness for the faith of the community engendered by her Son on the Cross. She has to be received by all the disciples as their own (Jn 19:27); from this moment on, she has to become the fruitful Mother of a countless multitude, this time, however, giving birth with pain (Lk 2:35; Jn 19:26–27; Apoc. 12:2). Because she is the Virgin, she can be our Mother and the teacher of all the disciples of her Son. Hence the Marian piety of Saint Ildefonso takes the form of *Marian servitude* (consecration, filiation), a devotion that will be spread throughout the world many centuries later by Saint Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort as well as by Blessed John Paul II. It is clearly from Saint Ildefonso that Spaniards have inherited their normal way of invoking Mary as 'la Virgen'.

We will now try to show how the Mariology of Ildefonso even today permeates the entire Hispano-Mozarabic missal as well as the faith and spirituality

nourished by this liturgy.³² The texts to which we will refer are not all attributed with certainty to Saint Ildefonso, but they do all reflect his theology and can therefore be presented as belonging to ‘Saint Ildefonso and his school’.

a) *Advent.*

First Sunday. The prayer of the rite of peace (*Ad Pacem*) already offers us an anticipation of the meaning of Christmas towards which we are advancing. It presents it as a grace of the redemption brought by Christ, the Son of God, equal to the Father, co-eternal with Him, all thanks to the annunciation of the Angel and the Incarnation ‘in the Virgin Mary’. In the text corresponding to the preface (*Illatio*) a parallelism is established between John the Baptist and Jesus, emphasizing the superiority of Christ with respect to the role of the prophets. In this context the *virginity of Mary* is associated with the divine and human status of Christ that endows the Virgin with an exceptional fecundity tied to the work of redemption of her Son.

Second Sunday. The prayers are full of allusions to Mary addressing her as ‘*Virgin*’. Still, the so-called *Illatio* stands out especially:

... a virgin before conceiving,
she remained ever virgin after giving birth.
She conceived God in her mind before conceiving Him in her
womb.
She was the first to receive the salvation of the world,
the Virgin full of God’s grace,
and therefore the true Mother of God...

These lines are a perfect synthesis of the Mariology of Ildefonso. They recall Augustine but with an Ildefonsian tone, and the gospel passage of Lk 1:26–37 is given a delightful and concise exegesis.

Third Sunday. This is much more sparing in references to Mary than the preceding Sundays: there is one in the formula that follows the singing of the *Sanctus* (*Post-sanctus*) and another at the blessing that precedes the eucharistic communion.

Fourth Sunday. Both the admonition introducing the prayer of the faithful (*Admonitionis* of the Diptychs), as well as the prayer between the Diptychs (*Alia*) and the blessing refer to Mary as the *Virgin* but without further elaboration.

Fifth Sunday. A phrase in the *Illatio* of the day deserves a comment:

... *He* (i.e. Christ) *purifies our flesh from all sin*
for He received it from the Virgin.

Indeed, Christ redeems what he has taken as his own, but here the redemption of 'human nature' is explained or assured because Christ received it from Mary, his Virgin Mother. In other words, the author strengthens our own hope of redemption by having us consider the woman whom God prepared to make her the 'dwelling' and the Mother of his Son, and this unique sanctity of the Mother is expressed by the fact that she remained a virgin.

Sixth Sunday. This contains only one allusion to Mary. The whole Sunday focuses on preparing the catechumens who will receive the sacraments of Christian Initiation on the Epiphany. We read in the final prayer of the Diptychs:

... *you consecrate us by the Incarnation of your Word*
and through childbearing of the Virgin Mary...

As in the text of the Fifth Sunday discussed above, this consecration that the Christians receive is presented in bold theological terms as not only caused by the Incarnation of the Word, which unites the human and the divine, but also 'confirmed' or 'signified' by Mary's unique childbearing which occurs without diminishing her virginity

The Sanctorale of Advent. The **8th of December** can here be put aside due to the recent composition of its prayers (19th century). But in the feast of **Saint Leocadia** (9 Dec) we read in the *Illatio*:

... He also kept his mother, Mary,
free from all corruption,
and received Leocadia in her prayers,
a faithful witness of his name;
And as he kept Mary a virgin after her childbirth,
so he made Leocadia victorious after her death...

It is all the work of God: the incorruptibility of Mary and the prayer of Saint Leocadia, her triumph through martyrdom and Mary's perpetual virginity. The virginity of Mary appears as a sign just as the martyrdom of Leocadia: triumphs

declaring the restoration of human nature. On the feast of **Saint Eulalia** (10 Dec) the *Illatio* contains the following words:

...He who made Mary to be his mother,
made a martyr out of Eulalia.
The one rejoiced in giving birth,
the other in dying;
the one carried out the role
which you assigned to her for your Incarnation;
the other followed the example of your suffering.
The one believed the angel's message,
the other resisted the enemy.
The one was chosen to be Mother of Christ,
the other was taken in order to be victorious over the devil ...

The parallelism that we saw in the Mass of Saint Leocadia is much more developed here. God accomplishes it all: virginal motherhood and martyrdom, and both facts manifest the ‘new world’ inaugurated by the Redeemer. On the feast of **Saint Mary** (18 Dec)³³ we encounter the broadest and most eloquent presentation of Ildefonso’s mariology – it is like a liturgical production of his treatise on *The perpetual Virginity of Mary*, but I will here simply refer to the study on it cited in note 31 so as not to overextend our discussion today.

b) *Christmas*

For this liturgical season we should make reference to the Mass of Christmas Day (25 Dec). In it, too, one finds an example of parallelism, this time between Mary and the Church. It is a perfect illustration of the ecclesiology and the mariology of Ildefonso and his school. Drawing on Saint Augustine, it achieves a splendid development of the doctrine of ‘Mary the model of the Church’, but without taking the Mother of Christ out of the Church of Christ. Again we refer to another study for more details.³⁴

Concerning the *Sanctorale* of this season, allusions are again found to the virginity of Mary in the *Postsanctus* of the feast of **Saint Eugenia** (27 Dec), an unusual model of a consecrated virgin. These allusions resemble those we saw on the feasts of Leocadia and Eulalia. However, the most eloquent text is found in the liturgy of the Virgin Apostle, **Saint John the Evangelist** (29 Dec). There are Marian references in the *Admonitionis* and *Postpridie* (after the ‘account of the institution’), commenting on the Gospel passage in Jn 19:26–27. In the prayer following the *Sanctus* (*Postsanctus*) we read the following:

... *Your only-begotten Son entrusted his Mother to John as he was dying,*
 and he elevated him so as not to be unworthy of his Mother,
 and so, with one and the same gift, he glorified his Mother
 and exalted the disciple amongst his brethren,
 honouring his Mother with the privilege of giving birth to him,
 and glorifying the disciple with the privilege of letting him recline
 on his bosom
 Blessed the womb that gave birth to such a Son!
 Blessed the head that reclined on such a bosom!
 Glorious indeed is Mary, who gave birth to Christ María;
 but glorious, too, is John who reclined on Christ.
 The reward was similar for the virginity of both,
 which may be seen in their outcome:
 Mary, without suffering any torments of persecution or death,
 departed this life in silence;
 John, knowing beforehand the time for his passing,
 requested his brothers to prepare his grave,
 and after taking his leave of them,
 rested there without experiencing the hardships of death ...

We will not attempt to evaluate the sources for the life of Saint John and the peculiar story of his death that is given here. However, we would again point out how, beneath the protection of the Omnipotent Protagonist, a parallelism is presented here between Mary and (in this case) Saint John that makes the virginal motherhood of our Lady the reference point for the complete self-giving of the beloved disciple. The Mariology of Ildefonso emerges once again.

c) *Lent-Easter*

Apart from the Mass of the Ascension, the seasons of the Easter cycle seem not to contain any references to Mary nor any features of the theology of Ildefonso and his school. In this way the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy resembles the Creed which only refers to Mary in connection with the Incarnation and not in connection with Easter (passion-death-resurrection).

d) *Ordinary Time (Quotidiano)*.

The current *Postsanctus* of the *Sixteenth Sunday* refers to the mystery of the Incarnation, to the Word that strips itself to '*dwell in the entrails of the virginal womb*'. This would be a contribution of the school of Ildefonso to a liturgical season in which more ancient formulations, prior to Ildefonso, predominate.

However, the *Sanctorale*, which is particularly plentiful for this season of the year, does display numerous features surviving from the time of Ildefonso and his teaching. **Saint Mary Magdalene** (22 July): as in the case of Saint John the Evangelist, virginity is here presented as an anticipation of the ‘glorification of the flesh’ with the *assumption of body and soul into heaven*. The Virgin Mary and John and, curiously, Mary Magdalene all have ‘stories of assumption’ linked with them from antiquity. In the case of Mary Magdalene, spiritual virginity purifies the wounds of past life just as the Virgin Mary was able to avoid them entirely. On the feast of **Saint Bartholomew** (24 July) there is only a single slight mention of Mary – that through Mary comes Christ who chooses his apostles. This gratuitous affirmation comes to us from the circle of Ildefonso. On the feast of **Saint Christina** (26 July), virgin, Christ’s predilection for virginity (for the virgins) is explained by Christ being ‘*Son of the Virgin*’ – a typical formulation from the school of Ildefonso. Obviously, it is on the feast of the **Assumption of Our Lady** (15 August) that we encounter again clear traces of Ildefonso’s school, here uniting the theme of sanctity with her double status as wife/mother and virgin in clear opposition to the ideas of Jovinian. The whole series of prayers is full of references to the *virginity of Mary*. A few examples:

... She remained by your will a virgin before giving birth,
and by your power a virgin permanently after giving birth;
her pure chastity was a response to your command,,
her immaculate virginity is a miracle of yours ... (the *Alia*, in the
Diptychs).

... Bridegroom of virgins,
at the head of whom you placed your Mother with her assumption
into heaven,
the most glorious Virgin, so that she may preside over them in your
heavenly court

...

so lofty and ineffable a throne,
we confess that the Virgin Mary attained today,
through you, Lord, who can do all things... (the *Ad Pacem*).

e) *Common of saints and votive masses*.

In the common mass of a **Virgin Martyr**, as well as in that of **several Virgin Martyrs**, we discover once again the hand and the thought of Saint Ildefonso. In the *Admonitionis* for a Virgin Martyr, we read:

He came forth from the womb of the Virgin,
leaving his Mother intact after her childbirth.
It could not be in any other way:
his holy flesh had to leave her who had given him life
holy and ever a virgin.
And she had to be more holy still after giving birth,
for she had sheltered Holiness itself in her womb ...

The linking together of other biblical affirmations and allusions around the theme of virginity is typical of the school of Ildefonso. In the formulary for several Virgin Martyrs, the *Illatio* resonates with the style of our saint:

... the holy virgins merited all this
through Christ, the Lord, the Son of the Virgin,
in such a way that they had no share in Eve,
but in Mary, nor did they consort with the fallen mother,
but with the most pure Virgin, remaining in Christ:
amen to Christ and may they conceive him in their mind ...
(He) makes them martyrs and mothers,
preserving their integrity.
He, who was born strong from the Virgin,
also makes them strong ...

Concerning the Votive Masses, the one of **Holy Mary, for Saturdays**³⁵ deserves particular attention. Among other references to the style and thought of Saint Ildefonso, it offers this precious text in the *Illatio* (based again on Augustine):

... understanding perfectly the divine mysteries,
knowing, too, the evil of the world,
she consoled the Apostles in their sorrow
and faithfully disclosed to the disciples
the mysterious plans of her Son.
From whose lips, sweeter than honey,
flows prayer,
in cooperation with his Mother,
the inexhaustible riches of the Son and Lord,
Christ, eternal Lord and Redeemer.

Let us now end this brief tour of the new Hispano-Mozarabic Missal. With the reiterativeness of the *Latin synonymic style*, as well as his skill in handling Scripture and the synthetic capacity of his theology, Saint Ildefonso, in his treatise on the

*Perpetual Virginity of Mary*³⁶ disarmed the ‘deniers of the virginity of Mary’ (and of the value of virginity as ‘sign’), who were really deniers of the ‘divinity of Christ’. Throughout the Liturgical Year, especially in the cycle of Advent and Christmas as well as in the *Sanctorale*, our saint masterfully spread, explained and engraved the same teaching in the hearts of generations of the faithful with singular efficacy.

4. By way of conclusion.

As we have indicated indirectly, it is true that there are no direct connections between the present-day Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy and the ‘Gothic’ tradition (Arian Christianity in Gothic forms) stemming from Bishop *Ulfilas* (*Wulfila*). The ancient *Liber Ordinum*³⁷ (forerunner of the *Pontificales*), in its blessing for the king and the army going off to war as well as in certain other rituals may contain many more evident and direct links with the Gothic tradition, but it has, unfortunately, not been in use for centuries. My selection has been more modest, but, I hope, serves to show that the traditions are still alive.

In the **three long centuries** separating *Wulfila* from *Ildefonso* the genesis of the Gothic people was enormous and was marked by conflicts and developments as it entered the orbit of the Roman Empire and Christianity. I believe our study on this ‘legacy’, which is still alive, shows the importance of the ‘wedding’ of cultures that began with the work of *Wulfila*, outstanding among others, and which produced its final fruits in the Catholic Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo in the times of *Ildefonso*. It was a process of enormous change from the entry of the Gothic people as guests and strangers in the Roman Empire to their establishment of a national kingdom, from their Arianism to their Catholicism, from co-existing to unification. We have to look upon these three centuries as a long process of *inculturation* with one of its fruits being the still living Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy which we have tried to sketch here today.³⁸

Notes

- 1 Ferrer Grenesche 2007
- 2 The Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy has attracted interest from many places, including one close to our present surroundings; see Thorsberg 1962
- 3 Pinell 1987
- 4 Actas 1991
- 5 Pinell 1972
- 6 Simonet 1983
- 7 See: Rubio Sadia 2011

- 8 Liber 1979; Liber 1980
- 9 Ferrer Grenesche 1995, pp. 11–34
- 10 Ferrer Grenesche 1995, Apéndice I, pp. 139–145
- 11 Schreiber 1977; Palol & Ripoll 1988, pp. 19–120; Teillet 2011
- 12 Palol & Ripoll 1988, pp. 84, 89, 94, 106, 112, 116
- 13 Ferrer Grenesche 2008
- 14 See note 11
- 15 Fontaine 1984, cols. 1835–1840, 1916–1917
- 16 See: Godoy 1995
- 17 See: Ferrer Grenesche 1999
- 18 See: *Recópolis* in Zorita de los Canes, provincia de Guadalajara, Spain, image in: AyL (Arqueología y Liturgia) 239 (fig. 42)
- 19 See: *San Pedro de la Mata* en Casalgordo, provincia de Toledo, Spain, image in: AyL 254 (fig. 49)
- 20 See: *San Juan Bautista* en Venta de Baños, provincia de Palencia, Spain, image in: AyL 259 (fig. 51)
- 21 If carried there in the entrance procession, a custom possibly of Roman inspiration
- 22 If the 'evangeliarium' was not carried to the altar in the entrance procession, a custom similar in the Ambrosian rite
- 23 Fourth Council of Toledo, year 633, c. XII
- 24 Fourth Council of Toledo, year 633, c. XIV
- 25 The *Donario* is a table to the left of the transept (facing the altar) or an entire chapel, in the same area that is used to collect the offerings of the faithful, particularly those aimed at the Eucharistic celebration and almsgiving
- 26 See *Santa María de Melke* in San Martín de Montalbán, provincia de Toledo, Spain, image in: AyL 251 (fig. 48)
- 27 Ferrer Grenesche 1995, see note 15; other authors include Manuel González and Adolfo Iborra
- 28 Fontaine 1984b
- 29 See: Vives, Marin Martínez & Martínez Díez 1963, pp. 139–144 (Leandro de Sevilla, Homilía en el II concilio de Toledo)
- 30 Rivera Recio 1985, cap. X, Visión panorámica de los escritos ildefonsianos, pp. 154–156
- 31 See: Idelfonso 2008
- 32 Ferrer Grenesche 2008, especially pp. 220–233
- 33 Ferrer Grenesche 2000
- 34 Ferrer Grenesche 1997, especially pp. 18–23
- 35 Ferrer Grenesche 2001
- 36 Ildefonso 1971
- 37 Liber 1991
- 38 For a more detailed presentation of the Hispano-Mozarabic missal, see: Colomina Torner (2000)

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The Goths in ca. 311 AD

Archaeology – history – chronology

As far as establishing the account of events is concerned, the date cited in the title seems to be nonsensical from the point of view of an archaeologist and their technical abilities. In archaeology there are no foundations for using such accurate chronological references, except for one, hardly achievable special case – dates confirmed by dendrochronology.¹ Unfortunately, the latter are virtually inaccessible for an historian of Gothic times for a simple reason – in the territories inhabited by the Goths there are no conditions which would enable wooden relics to survive.

Not only does the usage of the date 311 have to arouse mistrust in every historian aware of methodological abilities of an archaeologist, but in many cases even strong disapproval. I entirely agree with this approach and I do not intend to betray in any way the fragile trust historians place in archaeology.

In my case, 311 is a benchmark for giving the account of events from the Gothic history, cultural rather than historical ones. I chose it by virtue of the conference the subject of which is devoted to a round anniversary of the birth of a bishop named Ulfilas, the translator of the Bible into Gothic. At the same time I realise its conventionality.² Thus, I will try to relate Gothic history to a broader period of time which includes nearly the whole life of the Bible's translator, who supposedly died in 386.³

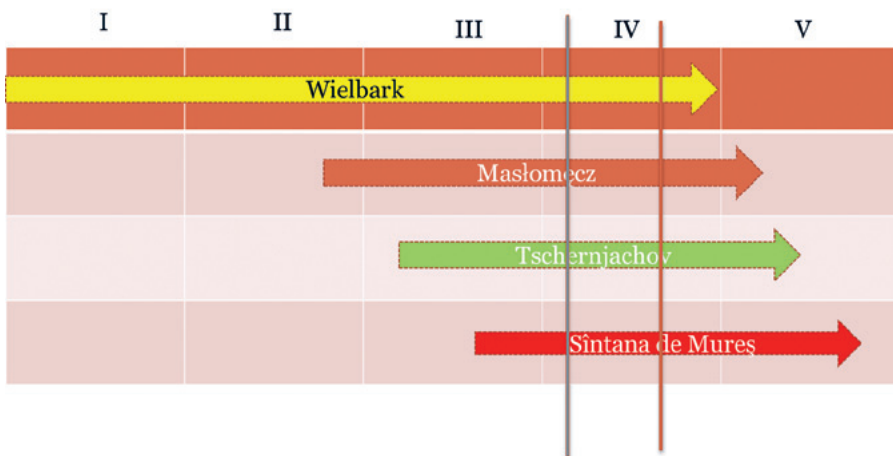
Using the language of archaeology one should rather say that Ulfilas was born and lived, with reference to relative chronology, in phase C3 of the history of barbarian communities of the Roman period. This term, however, comprises the life of almost two generations and symbolically defines time from the beginning to the middle of the 4th century AD.⁴

At that time the Goths occupied a vast territory encompassing the lands from the Lower Vistula in the north, large parts of eastern Poland and western Belorussia, territories of Ukraine reaching in certain parts beyond the Dnieper River, Bessarabia and large parts of what is now Romania.⁵ In this territory four Gothic cultures were distinguished: the Wielbark culture, the

Chernyakhov culture, Sîntana de Mureş culture and the Masłomecz group.⁶ Their origins are linked with gradual movement of Gothic communities to the south-east as well as with the scope and quality of absorbed ‘cultural background’ – that is local communities, often described with the use of other ethnic definitions.

The Wielbark culture

The oldest culture among the aforementioned ones is the Wielbark culture. It developed around the time after the birth of Christ and survived until the second half of the 4th century, after which it started to gradually disappear, steadily losing its defining features at the same time. The Wielbark culture developed on the basis of the Oksywie culture, which developed in times until the birth of Christ, being affected by Scandinavian influences.⁷ Since the last quarter of the 1st century a demographic ‘explosion’ has been observed in the area inhabited by this community, which resulted in the occupation of the neighbouring territories. Ryszard Wołagiewicz⁸ was the first to characterise the dynamics of taking up particular provinces from the six distinguished in the Gothic territories (marked with letters A–F). In the early Roman period it made the settlement area almost triple in size. It is claimed that newcomers from Scandinavia had their part in the expansion of this culture. There is every indication that they developed mainly the northern part of the C zone distinguished by R. Wołagiewicz in the territory of this culture. It was there that the cemeteries with stone circles were established.⁹



Dating the cultures of the Gothic cultural circle. Vertical lines indicate the approximate time of the life of Ulfilas.

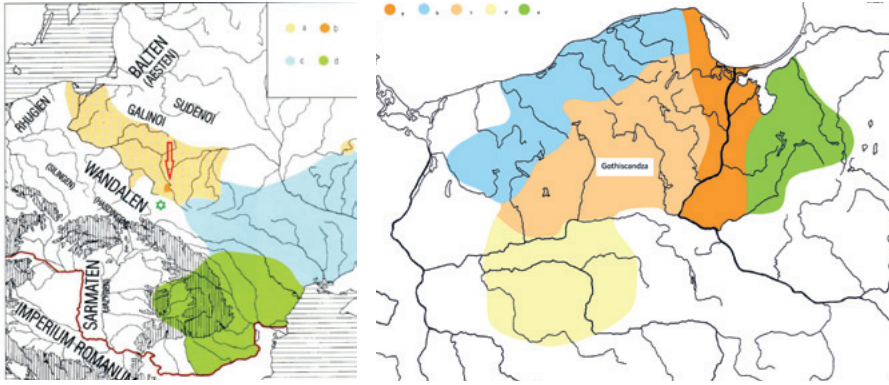
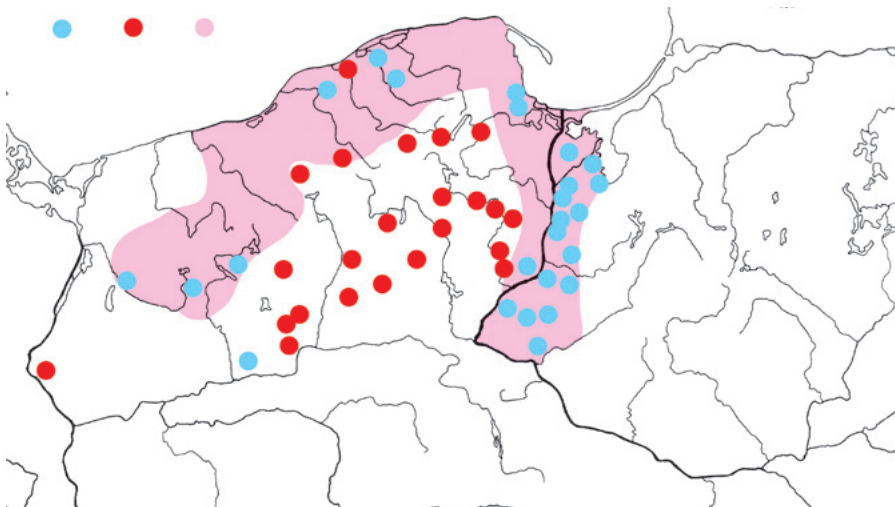
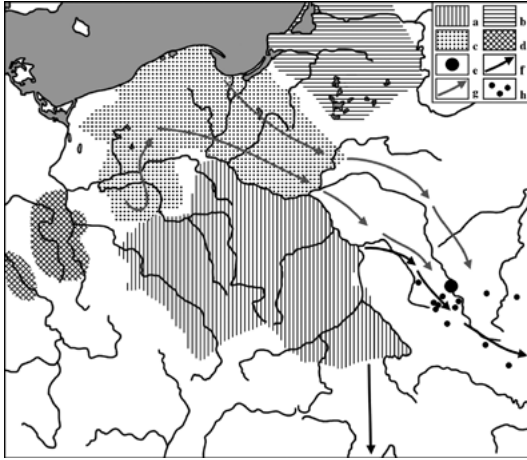


Figure to the left: Cultures of the Gothic cultural circle and their neighbours. The arrow indicates the Masłomęcz group; the asterisk – the discovery of Gothic settlements and cemeteries from the 4th century AD in the mountains of Roztocze, outside the area of dense Gothic settlement. Figure to the right: The location of Gothiscandza (c) within the area of the Wielbark culture. Colours mark provinces settled by Gothic tribes for different lengths of time, as distinguished by R. Wołagiewicz (a – province A, b – province B, c – Gothiscandza, d – province C south, e – province D).

The second stage of the expansion of the population of the Wielbark culture took place in times after the end of Marcomannic wars in 180 AD (the end of the 2nd century AD – phase B2/C1–C1a). The population left the provinces marked by Wołagiewicz with letters B and C, but took lands east of the Middle Vistula reaching Podolia and Volhynia, marked with letters E and F.¹⁰ Thus, the



The distribution of cemeteries with stone circles associated with Scandinavian emigrants (red dots) against the background of the location of cremation cemeteries of "native" representatives of the Wielbark culture (blue).



The migration of the Goths at the end of the 2nd century AD. a – the Vandal population of the Przeworsk culture, b – Baltic Aestii tribes, c – the area of the Wielbark culture, d – the area of Burgundian Luboszyce culture, e – the Masłomęcz group, f – the direction of the escape of the Vandal tribes of the Przeworsk culture, g – the direction of migration of Gothic tribes of the Wielbark culture, h – graves of warriors of the Przeworsk culture.

culture reached a new ‘cultural background’ in the form of, predominant in this area, Vandal population of the Przeworsk culture.¹¹

Single graves of the warriors of the Przeworsk culture scattered around eastern part of the Lublin Upland and the Volhynian Upland are the vestiges of the confrontation with natives.¹² Near the village of Przewodów archaeologists discovered a small cemetery with remains of these warriors,¹³ and in nearby Podlodów – a grave of a warrior who was undoubtedly a member of Vandal elites.¹⁴ This, when combined with the presence of single graves scattered around the neighbourhood can attest to some significant stage of the conflict between migrating Goths and native Vandals.¹⁵

Hidden deposits of Roman coins, the last issues of which were those of Septimius Severus can be another result (and vestige) of this conflict. Their dates mark *terminus post quem* for these events, dated around 196 AD.¹⁶ Since coins were also hidden in clay pots, plausibly produced by the population of the Przeworsk culture, they unambiguously indicate the ‘harmed’ party of the conflict.

The result of entering new territories is discernible in changes which occurred in the Wielbark culture. Among of the most significant are the predominance of cremation rites in burial rituals and more commonly used urn graves;¹⁷ a considerable increase in the number of iron elements of clothing which can be found in grave furnishings¹⁸ as well as a new custom of building huge barrows for tribal elites, named after the discovery made in the village of Rostolty – the Rostolty barrows.¹⁹

The Chernyakhov culture

Further expansion in eastern direction to the territories of present-day Ukraine resulted in the emergence of a new cultural phenomenon – the Chernyakhov culture.²⁰ It took place in the times from around 230 AD (phase C1b/C2). In its defined form, the culture survived until the beginnings of the 5th century AD (phase D1) which means that it survived the first stage of the Hunnic invasion in 375 and the political chaos which ensued after the death of the Gothic king Ermanaric. It is actually after these events that we can observe the vanishing of the culture, which in archaeology is referred to as the ‘post-Chernyakhov stage’.²¹ Also in this case we can attempt to more accurately determine the period of time when the individual provinces were taken.²² Taking into consideration the cultural image, the most important were two factors: confrontation with nomadic peoples represented mainly by Sarmatian tribes; and the direct confrontation with the ancient culture radiating from urban centres located to the north of the Black Sea. The two factors constituted a new ‘cultural background’ and brought about changes in the image of the Gothic Chernyakhov culture. With respect to faith one can notice the adoption of certain worship tools (e.g. amulets) and new elements of burial rituals (e.g. niche graves and burial pits with imitation containers for corpses at their bottoms).²³ In economic sphere there was a real revolution in agriculture and animal husbandry forced by new, more favourable natural conditions. New, more efficient grains were sown and animal husbandry was reorganised.²⁴ New, more effective agricultural implements were introduced and rotational querns started to be commonly used.²⁵ People learnt new techniques and technologies. Dishes made with the use of a potter’s wheel became common²⁶ (in Wielbark culture known only from single examples²⁷) and workshops processing vast amount of antlers can be an example of the development of other branches of highly-specialised craft (e.g. Velyka Snitynka).²⁸

The most important dates from this period of history of the Gothic cultural circle refer, above all, to the expansiveness of Gothic tribes. According to written sources they appeared for the first time in Crimea in ca. 250,²⁹ yet archaeological finds which could support the theory that the Goths took up part of the peninsula refer to the beginning of the 4th century (phase C3).³⁰ Gothic attacks on Kertsch between 252 and 254 have been certified relatively well.³¹ At the same time the Goths, most probably with the Heruls, took part in an expedition aimed at the Hellenistic city of Tanais, where the Don flows into the Sea of Azov.³² In 261 the Goths, supported by the Borans reached the southern edge



The Kingdom of Dory and the most important rock towns and cemeteries (after: *Archeologie de la Mer Noire. La Crimée à l'Époque des Grandes Invasions IVe – VIIIe siècles*, Caen)

of Crimea, and from 268 they started their pirate raids aimed, above all, at the provinces south to the Black Sea.³³

The lasting vestiges of the Gothic settlement in Crimea are associated with a horizon of cemeteries of Družnoe,³⁴ Nejzac,³⁵ Lučistoe,³⁶ Skalistoe,³⁷ Belbek and Čatyr-Dag³⁸ type. However, the most expressive ones should be associated with the time of creation of rock town-strongholds in the mountains of Crimea³⁹ and cemeteries of Suuk-Su type⁴⁰. It was at this time that an 'autonomous country' of Crimean Goths, referred to in ancient sources as the Kingdom of Dory, existed.⁴¹ The most enormous rock town-stronghold – Mangup is considered to be its capital.⁴² The formation of the kingdom documents the change in political relations of the Eastern Empire, which established a protectorate over the Goths living there.⁴³

Sîntana de Mureş culture

The latest culture to have come into being is the Sîntana de Mureş culture, which took up the territories of Molodova and Moldova as well as the Wallachian Plain up to the Olt River. The oldest archaeological finds connected with this culture can be dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD (phase C2).⁴⁴ In the Late Roman period its population gained control over the territory of Transylvania.⁴⁵ The disappearance of this culture can be observed throughout the first half of the 5th century (phase D2), which was connected with the movement of Gothic tribes mainly in the western direction and with the appearance of the Gepids in the Balkans.⁴⁶

The dissimilarity between the Sîntana de Mureş culture and other cultures of the Gothic circle is also the result of the cultural background that the Goths, who were identified with it, came across. The most significant in this respect

were Dacian and Getae tribes; yet the presence of Sarmatian nomads, especially in the south-east part of the territories occupied by this culture, is not without significance.⁴⁷ Inhumation was the most dominant burial rite, with fragmentary and ritually disturbed burials being considerably fewer.⁴⁸

The Masłomęcz group

The Masłomęcz group is an absolute phenomenon in the circle of Gothic cultures (named after the village of Masłomęcz, Hrubieszów district, where relics of a large settlement and Gothic cemeteries were found). It was formed in the Hrubieszów Basin in the area where the aforementioned cultures met. It was enhanced by the convenient location at the intersection of the most important transport routes, which in turn was extorted by natural conditions.⁴⁹ The culture emerged in the middle Roman period (phase B2/C1 – after 180 AD), yet large cemeteries and settlements were abandoned throughout the phase D1, although settlement with distinctive Gothic features functioned until the end of the 5th century AD.⁵⁰

The set of features determining the significance of this culture occupying a small territory of 300 square kilometres to the history of central Europe can be defined with the following keywords: long houses, thriving trade, extensive relations, big politics, uncommon burial rituals.

Long houses

The knowledge on the barbaric estates in the Roman period in the territory of central and eastern Europe lets us claim that small dwelling buildings, most often in the form of a half-dugout were dominant.⁵¹ Archaeological works in Hrubieszów-Podgórze⁵² enabled the documentation of a huge overground building approx. 21 m long and 11 m wide, which was divided in two parts. The western part, measuring 11 m by 11 m had a section which has now sunk 70 cm into the ground. Remains of a clay furnace were found by its western wall. Judging by the filling of the hollow it can be assumed that its bottom was originally covered with wood forming the floor. Near the centre, under the floor, archaeologists came across animal remains – most probably a foundation sacrifice for this building. The basic structure of the wall was formed by 18 posts dug into the ground at a depth of 90 cm. Most likely the space between them was filled with walls made of laths placed horizontally (vertical-post log construction?). The eastern part of the building was a light, overground structure, most probably supported by ten solid posts. Numerous pieces of pugging with impres-

sions of thin bars and charred fragments of beams indicate a wattle-and-daub structure, and the walls were later sealed with clay. By the south-east corner of the building are traces of a partition wall, which may suggest that a pen for cattle was included in the building.

Such huts are very rare. We have come across over fifty constructions of this type in the area of central and eastern-European *Barbaricum*.⁵³ The biggest concentration of such buildings is in the western area of the Chernyakhov culture and the eastern part of the area inhabited by the Sîntana de Mureş culture. It was established that in contrast with the territories occupied by other cultures, where large buildings served as outbuildings or houses of assembly for the settlement, Gothic structures served as living and utility buildings. Assuming that the buildings were common in the Masłomęcz group, one can expect that there may have been as many as two hundred houses of this type in Masłomęcz.

Thriving trade

Archaeological works in the Hrubieszów Basin yielded an unusual assemblage of foreign objects.⁵⁴ Among the vast array recovered were objects made by Roman craftsmen, the Balts, the Sarmatians, the Dacians, and objects produced in Scandinavia. These discoveries attest to the extraordinary role of the regional centre as regards the distribution of goods. It appears that local residents may have acted as important intermediaries (comparable to modern-day wholesalers) in many areas of specialised trade. The number of amber finds supports this hypothesis.⁵⁵ Most probably, it was through these distributors that the products were delivered to the southern parts of areas inhabited by Gothic cultures. The goods were also distributed to the Sarmatians, to the Bosporan Kingdom and to Greek and Roman cities near the Black Sea. We can only assume that people exported wool in large quantities, and imported salt, non-ferrous metals, and probably fabrics, dyes and cosmetics.

Amber coming from the north had its counterpart in many luxury products. Among those most desired were items of glass ware, and vessels made of this material represented high social status. In excavated graves archaeologists found whole sets of glass beakers. In many cases, before a burial, a piece of glass was put into the grave to indicate that the deceased had been in possession of such vessels. The evidence suggests that the Hrubieszów Basin was a 'smuggling channel' for such products. Thanks to its inhabitants, the goods reached Scandinavia in the Late Roman period.⁵⁶ Such transactions were carried out on a large scale.

Glass beakers found in graves in Masłomęcz prove its significance as the local trade centre.



The presence of single and unique objects which, in other conditions would not have big chances of reaching central Europe, attests to the scale and quality of trade. As an example let us mention piece of a Roman candlestick,⁵⁷ a unique handle-mount from a bucket⁵⁸ or an inkwell.⁵⁹

Single Roman coins were amazingly common in this area.⁶⁰ Thus, there is every indication that we deal with the classic example of lost items falling out of their owners' pockets or pouches. Therefore, one can claim that a single coin was of little worth and losing it did not make any difference to its owner. However, if single coins were lost so often, their owners must have carried a quantity of them. From there it is one step to the conclusion that at least the inhabitants of the Hrubieszów Basin understood the function of money very well – they used it every day in the same way the inhabitants of the Roman provinces did, that is for paying for goods and services. In Gródek on the Bug, a fragment of a roll of coins wrapped up in fabric was discovered. We can conclude then, that ancient communities living here carried the exact amount of money needed for the purchase of a specific item.

It is believed that a large market-place, probably as big as the famous Lunde-borg on the Danish island of Zealand, was located here.⁶¹ Regular fairs organised here were attended by merchants from the most exotic places of barbarian Europe and the civilised world. Not only did it enhance trade but also different kinds of contact: personal ones, the exchange of technical ideas and it had its role in shaping culture. Those who believe that the market-place was located within the large settlement in Masłomęcz are mistaken. All the indications are that it was located in Gródek on the Bug, which was conducive to easy access and the safety of tradesmen. Maybe this is why the vicinity of the village is loaded with so many finds of various types, such as small, attractive objects, fragments of non-ferrous metals, and lost coins.⁶²

Extensive relations

The extent of relations of a community with other populations is measured by the presence of 'strangers' (ethnically or ethnographically) in its territory and, in the case of archaeology, by presence of foreign cultural elements (finds)

which are the evidence of their existence. The method of examining the extent of relations was presented on the example of analysis of furnishings of a rich Gothic grave located just beyond the eastern border of the Masłomęcz group, in the town of Rudka (Ukraine).⁶³

The identification of ‘strangers’ is more difficult and it is conducted only by means of archaeological methods, since other methods, e.g. anthropological ones, measure only ‘statistical share of the foreign element’ in a group, avoiding the analysis of individuals.⁶⁴ Although archaeology still avoids clear-cut ethnical determination of finds from the Roman period, it gives more and more arguments for careful decisions. Better options of establishing places of origin of individual finds but also for distinguishing their local combinations corresponding to a regional dress, are in favour of it. Not only does it make research on the relations between individual groups easier, but also facilitates the attempts at the identification of their representatives in the foreign territory. However, before the excavations in Masłomęcz started, it had been believed that archaeological cultures could be equated with individual tribes. Thus, the Wielbark culture was regarded as Gothic, and the Przeworsk culture was associated with the Vandals. In accordance with this concept, it was assumed that graves of only a single community would be located in any given cemetery.

The excavations at the cemeteries of the Masłomęcz group changed this situation. In the first place, the presence of a small group of Sarmatian women was indicated, which was reflected by characteristic elements of clothing found in graves, the way they looked, different burial ritual and anthropological analyses.⁶⁵ The same method was used for distinguishing graves of probable representatives of other tribes: the Balts, the Vandals and the Dacians. In this way, the community forming the Masłomęcz group turned out to be a melting pot where different tribes intermixed.

The popularity of amulets used by the community of the Masłomęcz group attests to the range of intercultural relations.⁶⁶ Among them were objects made by the Balts, e.g. bronze objects decorated with red enamel⁶⁷ and objects made from shells of different kinds, such as horned purple shells from the Black Sea, small *cowry* shells from the warm, southern seas, or huge *cypraea* shells which looked as if they were made from porcelain, with its most effective, speckled variant called *tigrea*, and even shells of the Atlantic oyster.⁶⁸ The majority of the shells must have reached the Hrubieszów Basin via the Sarmatians, for whom they were of considerable significance.

In the course of examination of grave no. 453 in Masłomęcz archaeologists made an unusual discovery in the form of a triangular plate with arms measuring 20 millimetres, which was made of silver and then gilded.⁶⁹ The ‘en



Barbarian copy of a solidus (gilded iron – Gródek on the Bug – photograph: courtesy of Rev. Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów).

face' image of a man's head, eyes bulging and wearing a helmet was impressed on it using a metal stamp. Around this are schematic images of dolphins and heads of predatory birds as seen from above, highlighting their huge beaks and prominent eyes. Most probably, the plate was originally an element decorating a leg of a fibula, as it was in the case of another find from Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie.⁷⁰ The grave dates from the first half of the 3rd century AD (phase C1b). A similar image of a man's head, embossed using the same technique, was found in Gródek on the Bug.⁷¹ What differentiated it from the one from Masłomęcz was that it was made on a bigger rectangular copper plate and did not include images of animals. Judging by rivets in the corners of the plate, the find may have been a decorative element of a warrior's shield, or of a wooden case for storing valuables.

Silver plates imprinted with the heads of warriors can be found in large numbers in Scandinavia. The biggest collection was discovered in Illerup, in the middle part of the Jutland Peninsula (Denmark).⁷² They were found among thousands of ritually destroyed articles of war equipment belonging to a defeated army of invaders, arriving from what is now Norway. Therefore, it can be concluded that the finds of the Masłomęcz group are also of Scandinavian origin.

Such examples are countless. Among the most exotic ones are pond turtles⁷³ having their habitats on the eastern side of the Dnieper river, fabric made in a way that cannot be related to European Barbaricum⁷⁴, and objects made of coral⁷⁵ and jet.⁷⁶

Two finds can attest to the mobility of the community inhabiting the Hrubieszów Basin. 'Officer's' fibula in the shape of a bear found in Gródek on the Bug (*Böhme 29* type) can attest to the fact that its owner served in one of the

Roman garrisons on the middle Rhine⁷⁷. And the characteristic form of a fibula with a fastening in the shape of a hook forged in metal plate, one of which has been known from the areas near Tanais, can attest to the presence of the Masłomęcz Goths on the Lower Don river.⁷⁸

Compiling individual facts attesting to the extent of relations, one can conclude that the Hrubieszów Basin in Gothic times functioned as an important interchange, and facilitated intercultural contacts of commercial and personal importance. It could have had a considerable significance to the cultural, economic and political strategy in the territory far larger than the one occupied by it.

Big politics

Until recently, discussions on the political significance of a given (ethnic) group based on archaeological finds seemed irrational, if not pointless. The interpretation of two discoveries: a military sacrificial site in Illerup and a ‘royal’ grave from Mušov in Moravia, put the reconstruction of political events on the basis of archaeological sources on solid ground.⁷⁹ Analysing Roman medallions (multiplae), Aleksander Bursche proved that conclusions on the political importance of barbarian communities can also be based on the examination of the context of single finds.⁸⁰ It is this work that gave methodological grounds for the attempt at the determination of the political significance of the Gothic community from the Hrubieszów Basin.

Laying aside indirect conclusions made on the basis of the aforementioned intercultural contacts, I would like to point out arguments relating to numismatics.

The first one is the presence of Roman medallions in the Hrubieszów Basin. Their concentration in treasure troves from Metelin can attest to the high position of local elites in political hierarchy of Gothic tribes.⁸¹ The fact that people needed to issue their own coins can prove how advanced the formation of these tribes was. A copy of Roman solidus was found in Gródek on the Bug.⁸² In the same village a dispenser of non-ferrous metals⁸³ and copies of Roman denarii were discovered.⁸⁴ Other finds – official counterfeits of Roman coins called *subberat*⁸⁵ attest to the existence of standard money circulation in the Masłomęcz group.

Uncommon burial rites

Settling in new lands, Gothic settlers brought with them their burial rituals, the most important feature of which was bi-ritualism. As it was at cemeteries in

abandoned territories, some of the deceased were cremated while others were buried. Until now, the rule as to how a given kind of burial was chosen has not been explained. One possible interpretation of this phenomenon is the fact that the Gothic community was in fact an ethnic or ethnographic combination with profound cultural differences which manifested themselves in a spiritual sphere.

Remains from cremation were put into the ground in containers made of organic material, most often in bags. Exceptions to this rule are interments in clay urns, and an interment in a wooden box with an iron lock is one of a kind. Sometimes burnt remains were put directly into a small burial pit. Also in this case there are exceptions – sometimes remains were put into a large burial pit prepared for the inhumation of the deceased. It looks as if the decision on the kind of burial was taken at a last moment. This case undermines the thesis whereby cremation was dependent upon the ethnographic identification.

The most interesting was the custom of inhumation – next to whole corpses, placed in different positions, fragmented bodies were buried. The Goths, for



unknown reasons, used to fragment bodies of the dead. They cut their heads off, but most often they cut away the upper part of the torso and put the lower part in a grave. This practice was applied predominantly in women's interments. Certain graves contained only limbs, others – bodies bisected along the spine. Some of the graves, in turn, contained remains of more than one person, e.g. several skulls.⁸⁶

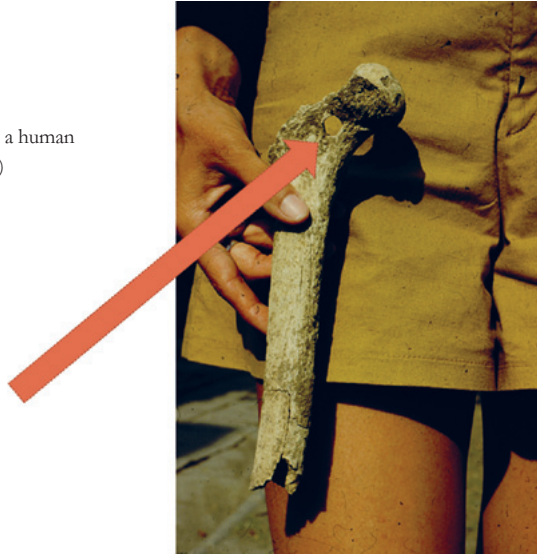
Another kind of practice is the one whereby, sometime after the burial, a grave was opened and the ritual of disturbing the remains of the dead was

Grave with a body of a woman without a head (Masłomęcz)



Grave with limbs of a woman (Masłomęcz)

Amulet made from a human femur (Masłomęcz)



performed.⁸⁷ Some of the graves were opened many times. What is important is that those who performed this unusual mission were not interested in precious objects placed into the grave together with the body, but only in posthumous remains. There are good reasons to claim that such practice was conducted to obtain bones for the production of amulets.⁸⁸

It was also established that some burials were bi-ritual: one part of the corpse, most often the upper one, was cremated, and the remaining part was buried.⁸⁹ It was also determined that children's graves contained the single bones of adults, most probably of those who had died much earlier. Moreover, in some cases, fragments of human skeleton were replaced with animal bones.



At the close of antiquity, at large cemeteries layered cremation cemeteries were created. They were formed as a result of putting burnt remains on their surfaces, but in a precisely determined place.⁹⁰

Two types of cemeteries were distinguished – small ones, most probably family cemeteries, and large ones with excellently organised space, divided into family sections. It was also established that the Masłomęcz cemetery was

Grave with a woman's (?) arm (Gródek on the Bug)

fenced. The necropolis included not only graves but circles formed from them and other wooden tools connected with the cult of the dead.⁹¹

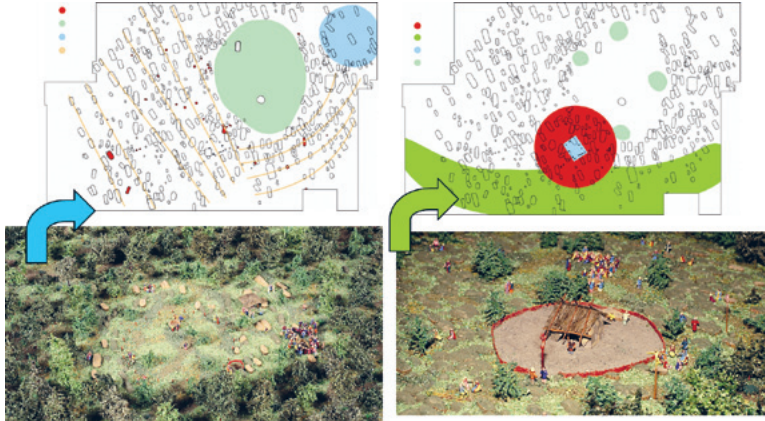
The Goths in ca. 311

The aim of the presentation made above was to illustrate the cultural situation in Gothic territories in times around the birth of Ulfilas and in times when he was translating the bible into Gothic. The lack of written sources on Gothic tribes living outside the world of Mediterranean culture prevents us from determining how aware the future bishop was of the complexity of political, economic and cultural situation of the world described BY US as the Gothic world. The decision to translate the bible to the language of fellow tribe members had to mean that the suggested translation was supposed to be understandable in Gothic territories irrespective of expected local diversity that could manifest itself in the form of dialects, except if it was supposed to prepare missionaries setting out to Gothic territories. In that case Ulfilas must have noticed the chance to reach at least Gothic elites to share Gothic philosophy. This can mean the unification of cultural (and communicative) attitudes in the highest social spheres.

Ulfilas lived in times when the Goths took up the largest territories in their history. It was also the time when radical political divisions in Gothic communities were formed, discernible in archaeology in the form of cultures of relatively strong diversity; and in history – by the emergence of two most important tribal unions: the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. It is possible that the former can be identified with the Chernyakhov culture and the latter with Sântana de Mureş culture. More risky, however, is the statement that the Goths living to the north of these tribes could be represented in some part



Reconstruction of a repeatedly opened grave no. 427 (Masłomęcz) (after: W. Świącicki "National Geographic")



The evolution of the cemetery in Masłomęcz. On the left – a cemetery with a circle in the centre and rows of graves; on the right – a layered cremation cemetery (red) and a layer of smashed and burnt clay and glass vessels and remnants of costume.

by the Gepids, and in other parts by the Amali, the Balts and the Greuthungi. Safer in this case will be the term ‘The Land of the Goths’ or ‘Gotania’. It is the community from the Hrubieszów Basin that deserves to be designated with the latter term the most, by virtue of their advanced civilisation.

The question: what was the scope of the information on macabre (in our sense) burial rituals practised in the territory of the Masłomęcz group that reached Ulfilas – will be unanswered, all the more so because available written sources on the history of the Goths spare us such accounts. However, one cannot rule out the fact that it was these rituals that made Christianity, which offered more ‘democratic’ burial rituals with strictly determined rules, more attractive.

Notes

- 1 In this respect it will suffice to look at the effects of such investigations on sites in Illerup, Denmark. See: Daly 1998 & Ilkjær 2001, pp. 363–365, 379–380.
- 2 H. Wolfram emphatically underlined his doubts as to determining the date of birth using the phrase ‘Sein Geburtsjahr wird mit ungefähr 311 errechnet’ (1990, p. 85).
- 3 H. Wolfram 1990, p. 94; in an interesting and unconventional way on the life and work of Ulfilas; Milev 2004.
- 4 Tejral 1988, p. 12; Kokowski 1995, p. 224 fig. 45; Kokowski 1999, pp. 699, 723–727
- 5 Kokowski 2007, p. 164; Kokowski 1999b, p. 23 fig. 21, p. 131 fig. 159; Kokowski 1999c, p. 191 fig. 7
- 6 These cultures form ‘the circle of Gothic cultures’ or ‘Gothic cultural circle’. Kokowski 1999, pp. 732 ff.; Kokowski 1999c, pp. 180–181
- 7 R. Wołagiewicz was the first to define this culture (1974, pp. 129–130; 1981a; 1981b); recently: Kokowski 2005, pp. 177–182, 346–359; Kokowski 2007, pp. 39 ff.; Kokowski 2010

- 8 Wołagiewicz 1981b, pp. 84–85, fig. 3
- 9 Wołagiewicz 1986b; A. Kokowski 1999b, pp. 20–21 fig. 18, p. 26; Kokowski 2007, pp. 59–63; Kokowski 2010, pp. 116–118
- 10 Wołagiewicz 1981b, p. 85; Kokowski 1999c, pp. 184, 186–187 fig. 2–3
- 11 Andrzejowski 1989; Andrzejowski 2001b. On the definition of the eastern area inhabited by the population of the Przeworsk culture which was subsequently taken up by the Wielbark culture: Andrzejowski 2001a
- 12 Kokowski 2009, pp. 186–187; Kokowski 2008, pp. 63–72
- 13 Śmiszko 1932, pp. 32–34; Kieferling 2000, pp. 40–47; Kokowski 2009, pp. 186–187
- 14 Gurba & Ślusarski 1964/1965; Stasiak-Cyran 2004
- 15 Kokowski 2005b
- 16 Kokowski 2005b, pp. 16–17; Kokowski 2007, pp. 76–77, 80; see also Gładysz-Juścińska & Juściński 2010, pp. 37–62
- 17 Kokowski 1999, pp. 741–746
- 18 Gładysz 1997
- 19 Jaskanis 1976; Kokowski 2001, pp. 42–43; Kokowski 2007, pp. 86–89
- 20 Magomedov 2001; Kokowski 2007, pp. 199–217
- 21 Tejral 1988, pp. 12–22
- 22 Kokowski 1999c, pp. 184–193
- 23 Sedov 1978. Recently: Magomedov 2003
- 24 Summary: Kokowski & Pokropek 2005, pp. 24–26; Kokowski 2007, pp. 209–216
- 25 Kokowski 2005c
- 26 Bobrinskij 1991; Magomedov 1977; Magomedov 2001, pp. 96–97
- 27 Kokowski 1988; Natuniewicz-Sekula 2005
- 28 Magomedov 1992; Magomedov 2001, pp. 101–102, 283, fig. 82
- 29 Gajdukevič 1971, pp. 474–475
- 30 Symonovič 1975; Kropotkin 1978. The summary of this issue: Khrapunov 2011. On chronological indicators: Kokowski 2007, pp. 280–281
- 31 Wolfram 1990, pp. 60–62
- 32 Anisimov 1989; Zubar' 1998, pp. 138–139
- 33 Schwarcz 1992; von Carnap-Bornheim 1998
- 34 Chrapunov 2002
- 35 A highly interesting Alan cemetery established in the 2nd century AD with Germanic elements and interments from the 4th century. From numerous publications: Chrapunov & Muld 1999; Chrapunov 2006; Chrapunov 2011; Chrapunov 2011b
- 36 Aibabine & Chajredinova 1999; Aibabine & Khairédinova 1997; Ajbabin & Chajredinova 2008
- 37 Vejrnar & Ajbabin 1993; von der Lohe 1999
- 38 Myc, Lysenko, Ščukin & Šarov 2006
- 39 Ajbabin 1999, pp. 111–124; Pioro 1990, pp. 64–82. Compare the documentation of such strongholds from the book of Mogaričev 1997.
- 40 Rypnikov 1906; Rypnikov 1909
- 41 Pioro 1990, pp. 57–112; Sidorenko 1991; Kokowski 2007, pp. 276–278
- 42 Summary: Gercen 1990
- 43 Ajbabin 1999, pp. 91–164

- 44 There is no comprehensive monograph of this culture except from its regional version for the area of Moldova (Ioniță 1982), a list of sites from Molodova (Rikman 1975) and the area of Romania (Petrescu 2002). Compare: Kokowski 1999c, pp. 184–185
- 45 Kokowski 1999c, p. 193
- 46 Bóna 1976; Kokowski 2007, pp. 243–245
- 47 E.g.: Bichir 1977; Niculescu 2003
- 48 Kokowski 1999, pp. 741–746
- 49 Nogaj-Chachaj 1989
- 50 Kokowska & Kokowski 1987, pp. 13–18, 51–65; Kokowski 1995a; Kokowski 1999; Kokowski 1999c, p. 181; Kokowski 2001; Kokowski 2009, pp. 187–201
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- 67 Kokowski 1993, p. 62 fig. 50:21; Kokowski 1994, p. 68 fig. 45
- 68 Kokowski 2001b
- 69 Kokowski 2004, p. 39 fig. 4; Kokowski 2007b, pp. 30–31; Kokowski 2012, pp. 66–67
- 70 Gloger 1943
- 71 Kokowski 1993, p. 124 fig. 80
- 72 von Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, pp. 433–442
- 73 Szyndlar 1989; Rogatko 1991, pp. 160, 166; Kokowski 1994, p. 61 fig. 37
- 74 Maik 2012, pp. 52–54, 113–119
- 75 Michalec 2004
- 76 Kokowska 2011
- 77 Kokowski 1998b
- 78 Kokowski 1995a, pp. 272–273; Kokowski 2007, pp. 168–170. More recent description of the issue of the presence of these fibulae by Barbara Niezabitowska-Wisniewska is currently in print.
- 79 Illerup – summary: Ilkjær 2002; Mušov: monographic study in *Germanische Königsgrab 2002*
- 80 Bursche 1998
- 81 Summary of extensive literature: Bursche 1998, pp. 236–237. See also Kokowski 2012, pp. 56–57, 60–61
- 82 Bursche 2008, p. 401 fig. 6; Bursche 2011, p. 22, fig. 21; Kokowski 2012, p. 98

- 83 Kokowski 1994, p. 62 fig. 38; Bursche 2011, p. 23; Kokowski 2012, p. 87
- 84 Kokowski 1994, p. 69 fig. 46
- 85 Full analysis of this issue in a monograph of Roman imports in the Lublin region by Monika Gładysz-Juścińska – in print.
- 86 Kokowski 1993b; Kokowski 1999b, pp. 99–118; Kokowski 2009, pp. 195–196
- 87 Kokowski 1992
- 88 Kokowski 1994, p. 166 fig. 103; Kokowski 2009, p. 197
- 89 An excellent example is a grave no. 84 in Masłomęcz: Borodziej, Kokowski & Mazurek 1989, table 374; Kokowski 1999b, p. 102, fig. 130
- 90 Kokowski 1987b, p. 272, fig. 283; Kokowski 1998c, pp. 70–71
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Literacy and Text Production in the Age of Germanic Kleptocracy – The Elusive Case of Theoderic

‘One who has gold and a demon cannot hide the demon.’

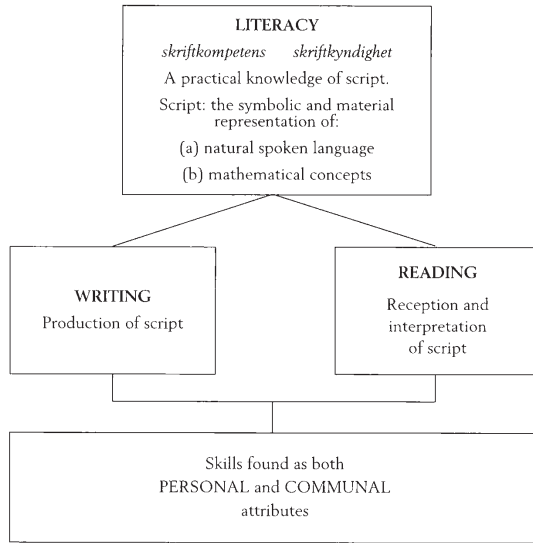
‘A poor Roman plays the Goth, a rich Goth the Roman.’

Abstract

This paper will discuss a particular case of Early Christian literacy and Gothic text production in the age of Germanic kleptocracy, that is the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Its analytical framework is a form of comparative historical sociolinguistics. It will focus on the Ostrogothic king Theoderic the Great of Italy (493-526 AD) and his relationship to the Gothic Codex Argenteus. During the late 5th and early 6th centuries, there were four different active writing systems available to Germanic language speakers in Europe: Greek, Latin, runes and Gothic. This paper will position Theoderic within his contemporary discourse of literacy by evaluating historical sources in the various writing systems and inscribed material objects such as grave goods and coinage. It will seek to explain what kind of alternative was available to Theoderic rather than full-scale text production.

1. Introduction

Theoderic the Great (c. 454-526 AD) stands out as a leading personality of his own time. He was king of the Ostrogoths 474–526, Roman consul in 484, and king of Italy 493-526.¹ It is natural then to discuss his relationship to the Gothic Codex Argenteus, a UNESCO world heritage kept in the Uppsala University Library. One may begin by evaluating contemporary historical sources and material objects such as grave goods and coinage. In contrast to most other Germanic warlords in the same period, Theoderic’s background is rather well known. Theoderic lived as a princely hostage in Constantinople under Leo I for 11 years in the 460’s and 470’s. After this he was given several Roman military commands, and performed well in the field. He held the consulate under Zeno in 484, and conquered Italy in 488-493 at Zeno’s request. Theoderic was even recognized as a legitimate ruler of Italy by Anastasius after 507. Yet his impact



in text production remains elusive. Ten years after Theoderic’s death, Justinian decided to put an end to the Amal dynasty and reintegrate Italy under direct imperial control. Three main questions impose themselves:

- What is the causal relationship between Theoderic and the Codex Argenteus?
- Can we estimate Theoderic’s literacy from written sources or material objects?
- What is the *raison d’être* of the Codex Argenteus?

In order to answer these questions, it will first be argued that the society that Theoderic lived and acted in was a kleptocracy. What does seem to be a major factor for a rule to be termed as a kleptocracy is the a priori existence of an imperialist power and an imperialist market economy. Italy provided just that backdrop for Theoderic. A kleptocracy can only exist as a subsidiary development to an Empire, and Theoderic would rule post-imperial Italy through the reign of three consecutive Roman emperors: Zeno, Anastasius and Justin I. The Germanic kleptocracy had a very intricate relationship to literacy.² This affinity was often instrumental in introducing and reproducing literate culture in preliterate society, yet in the end literacy suffered from the socioeconomic effects of the Germanic kleptocracy. The first question can thus be answered by the assertion

that Theoderic was a patron of Gothic literacy indeed, yet after his death Gothic literacy soon disappeared. The second question is difficult to answer, as the historical sources are biased and unreliable. They provide no definite conclusions.

After eleven years in Constantinople, Theoderic probably had a 'functional literacy' of Latin with reading skills in Latin capitals, including numbers and acronyms. He was probably able to identify different monograms (although this may have been a matter of ideographic recognition of a totality rather than graphematic deconstruction). Theoderic understood the concept of separate writing systems, such as Greek and Latin. He also understood the difference between Catholicism, Arianism, and paganism. Although unable to read the late 4th century Gothic alphabet of Wulfila, he must have appreciated its Arian ideological value, excluding Greek and Latin Catholic literati of the early 6th century.

There are a number of elementary distinctions to be made when analyzing statements about Theoderic's use or non-use of literacy. This is important and does not translate into superficialities. The initial premise is that literacy is twofold; it may be phonetic, that is, representing sounds of spoken language. But literacy may also be numerical, representing mathematical concepts such as quantitative values but also signs related to addition, subtraction, division and so on. Literacy may further be deconstructed into two different practices. First, text is produced by means of writing. Second, text is consumed by means of reading. In a social dimension, one may argue that within the overreaching concept of literacy is that text production is a primary practice with a hegemonic role. Therefore, the secondary consumption of reading is that of a subordinated audience. Reading is subsequently divided into subcategories with different levels of comprehension within the process of consumption from active readers to passive listeners.³

2. Writing Systems in the Age of Germanic Kleptocracy

The age of Germanic kleptocracy is tied to the fall of the West Roman Empire and the collapse of large-scale urbanism. This implies that the urban knowledge producing centers suffered and that there was a general decline in text production. But it is difficult to argue for a general decline in text production based on the absence of parchments. Still, the regular use of literacy requires a fairly constant text production in one or two writing systems.

There were at least four writing systems available to the Germanic kleptocracy: Latin, Greek, runes, and the Gothic alphabet. We know that the different writing systems were part of discourses that fought for hegemony over the Mediterranean. Hence, it follows that biliteracy must have been a very precious

knowledge. By the same token, epigraphic biliteracy in the Germanic successor kingdoms remains very difficult to prove from the current source material, with some notable exceptions such as the disc brooch from Chéhéry.⁴ The relative frequency of text production in each of the four cases is summarized below.

2.1 Latin

Latin literacy is employed with uninterrupted continuity throughout this period.⁵ All conceivable writing materials are in active use within the Roman state apparatus. Latin is still the hegemonic language in the eastern part of the Empire where Theoderic grew up in the mid 5th century. Latin was the only writing system that had a universal power in the Roman world and it is no coincidence that the Eastern emperor Justinian prepared his law code in Latin prior to his ambitious program to regain the fallen provinces in the West. Theoderic served in the Roman army as a general under Zeno. Each regular unit in the Roman army traditionally had a number, from the legion to the cohort down to the smallest section. These numbers would reappear on tools, personal belongings, equipment, etc. It would seem most likely that the first systematic meaningful Roman signs Germanic people were taught by Romans were the following: I (1), V (5), X (10), L (50), C (100), D (500), M (1000). It is therefore most likely that Theoderic understood Latin numerical literacy even if he was mostly in charge of auxiliary troops and *foederati*.

2.2 Greek

Greek literacy is used with uninterrupted continuity on several types of writing material during the period.⁶ However, coherent Greek text does not appear on Roman coinage after 296 AD. Single Greek capital letters denoting the ten *officinae* Alpha to Iota, (the different workshops of the imperial mint in Constantinople), are still employed, though. Theoderic's mint-masters imitated this practice of using Greek letters in Latin coin legends. This reflected the desire to duplicate Eastern coinage after the fall of the Western Empire, especially during the reign of Anastasius. Still, Greek ranked second to Latin in terms of mass text production within the Roman state apparatus in 5th century Mediterranean World.

2.3 Runic

The earliest preserved runic inscription is from Thorsbjerg, a bog deposit of war-booty that has been dendrochronologically dated to 164 AD. Runic in-

scriptions in the Gothic cultural sphere may only be traced in the form of a sporadic continuity, especially on precious metal surfaces of grave goods.⁷ Still, in Romania there are both precious objects like the Pietroassa gold necklace and more mundane inscribed objects such as the Letçani spindle-whorl.⁸ This suggests that runic literacy was applied to a wide range of objects in different parts of Gothic society. But there are no certain cases of Gothic language in runic text after c. 400 AD. Recently, Hans Frede Nielsen has further rejected the idea of an East Germanic or Gothic influence on the Early Runic language of Scandinavia.⁹

While runes survived in Scandinavia,¹⁰ Early Merovingian Gaul and Alemannia,¹¹ Anglo-Saxon England,¹² and the monastery of Sankt Gallen,¹³ there is nothing that suggests a continuous Gothic runic literacy inside the Late Roman Empire. Rather, there is every reason to believe that the use of runes failed to have exercised any real influence in the Mediterranean realm of literate discourse. Romanized Germanic political actors were generally eager to accommodate in society¹⁴ and thus probably embraced Latin text production whenever it proved expedient.

2.4 The Gothic Alphabet

The Gothic alphabet is a hybrid of Greek letters and runes, possibly invented by the Arian bishop Wulfila in the early 4th century. Given the presence of serifs, it is an uncial script designed to be written with a reed and ink rather than an epigraphic medium. It was used for conversion by means of translating the Holy Scripture. Besides the Codex Argenteus, there are eight other known texts on parchment: the Codici Abrosiani A-E, the Codex Carolinus, the Codex Vaticanus Latinus 5750 and the Codex Gissensis.

There is no text in the Gothic alphabet that is not related to the Holy Scripture although one could conceivably have written other profane texts. This suggests that the use of Gothic writing was rather limited when compared to Latin or Greek. It may well be that it was considered an entirely religious writing system from its very onset and that competence was a secret carefully guarded by a few initiates. Indeed, even runic inscriptions display a greater thematic variation, albeit in very short texts.

Then there is the carved lead roll in a female grave Hács-Béndekpuszta, Grave 5.¹⁵ The reported grave goods, consisting of a hair-pin, two elongated asymmetric brooches with digitated semi-circular heads and some beads, do not provide us with many answers, as it is a rather regular assembly pertaining to an inhumation burial of the late 5th or early 6th century. But the inclusion of the

text in the grave goods causes a number of problems in terms of our estimate of the relative frequency of Gothic text production. The lead roll was portable beyond fragile media such as parchment. It is unique today, but must have been part of a now lost corpus of carved, not written, Gothic texts on metal objects that were moved by their owners. The first things that come to mind are hypothetical Gothic texts on liturgical objects tied to Arianism, such as silver spoons or chalices.

2.5 Other Writing Systems

From a Eurocentric perspective it is often ignored that a number of affinities that came across the steppes from Central Asia and the Caucasus actually possessed alternative forms of literacy and that such inscriptions are indeed found in archaeological contexts in Europe. In particular, there were a number of other writing systems in practice among Indo-Iranian affinities in Europe. A notable case in point is the Persian inscription from the necklace in the late 4th century warrior grave from Wolfsheim.¹⁶ But there are also Sarmatian tamgas to be reckoned with.¹⁷

3. Theoderic in Text

How does one grasp and analyze Theoderic and his position in the primary practice of text production and within the secondary practice of reading? How may one trace his hegemonic role? First, one must begin by establishing if there is any certain proof of Theoderic himself in text. Second, one must discuss whether Theoderic could have fit into a narrative genre or literary topos or stereotype that could have affected subsequent historical sources. Third, the historical sources must be evaluated.¹⁸

3.1 Monograms

The only really certain evidence of Theoderic's own presence in text production is his Latin monogram. Latin Monograms first appear in the 4th century. They first appear on coins in the 5th century.¹⁹ Apart from Theoderic, three late 5th century Germanic kleptocrats are known for the monograms in Roman coinage struck in Italy: Ricimer, Gundobad, and Odoacer. The three kleptocrats did not dare however, to issue solidi with their monograms in Italy. By contrast Theoderic's monogram is the first to appear on solidi from the mint of Rome. These are difficult to date and possibly they only become frequent

after 507 AD. The relative frequency of Ostrogothic solidi bearing Theoderic's monogram does not compare to the regular solidi from the Ostrogothic mint of Rome. It is therefore conceivable that those wearing the monogram were destined to a specific audience that would know how to appreciate the significance of the monogram. This audience may also have included even the distant solidus hoard owner on early 6th century Helgö in Sweden²⁰, as the local elite is likely to have received a payment of a number of die-identical uncirculated solidi by Theoderic during service in Italy.²¹



3.2 The Topos of the Illiterate Warrior

Herbert Grundmann has discussed the 'topos of the illiterate warrior'.²² The argument goes that according to Roman clerics, a great barbarian warrior must be illiterate, if not, he is an inept ruler. There are three immediate problems with the use of the topos in relation to the rule of Theoderic and the subsequent description of his persona.

First, does the former Roman consul Theoderic qualify as an illiterate barbarian? This depends on how we define illiteracy and barbarian identity, and how we may chose to ignore an entire childhood spent in Constantinople.

Second, did Germanic kleptocrats desire to be qualified as illiterate or do they take pride in the display of literacy? The obvious answer to the second question is that there was something to be gained from the display of literacy. The earliest runic inscriptions appear on distinctly male and martial objects. They are meaningful and consist of strong nominal sentences giving voice to an assertive male presence in the realm of literacy. A case in point is the Kowel spearhead, dated to the 3rd century AD.²³ This is a sublime case of Gothic language expressed by means of runic literacy on an object that can only be associated with warfare: **tilarids** ('goal-rider').

This brings us to the third point. What if the topos of the illiterate warrior was true among Romans but not among Goths? If Theoderic happened to be literate anyway due to his privileged Roman upbringing, this may have been a motive for Theoderic to play up an act in public, simply pretending as if he were illiterate like most other people at the time.

The act of playing ignorant, of hiding skills was something that also king Euric of the Visigothic kingdom in Aquitania employed, asking to have his interpreters do the listening and talking in Latin for him while he spoke in Gothic and listened to translations, although he was known to be fluent in Latin. But Euric mostly had to contend with bullying around local Roman authorities in

Gaul,²⁴ and could never communicate directly with the Emperor as Theoderic did on a regular basis.

This strategy of hiding skills may also have been a ploy to intimidate people, where the mute or monolingual person may be suspected of harboring hidden skills. V. M. Molotov (1890–1986) served as minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union 1939–1949, 1953–1956.²⁵ Molotov was known to only speak Russian during international meetings and always relied on interpreters. However, Molotov would often correct the translations of his interpreters in front of foreign diplomats. There could be no mistake; Molotov was well versed in foreign languages but it was beneath his dignity to speak them in front of adversaries.

3.3 The Historical Sources

The historical sources relating to the literacy of Theoderic all share one common feature. They are written as propaganda.²⁶ They are heavily biased and disinclined towards Arianism in general. Greek and Latin Catholics writing about Germanic Arian and pagan barbarians have an agenda and no interest whatsoever in providing us with a ‘fair and balanced’ account or describe an Arian liturgical object such as the Codex Argenteus in a positive light.

3.3.1 Procopius of Caesarea – A Detractor

Procopius was born in c. 500 AD in Caesarea but moved from Palestine to find a position in Constantinople where he may have died in 556. He arguably remains the most interesting and eloquent author of his own day. Procopius is a secular chronicler, writing in a very accessible Attic Greek while avoiding complicated terminology. The impetus for his work came from his service as a secretary to the general Belisarius, whom he followed to Africa and Italy in the 530’s during the Byzantine campaigns against the Vandals and Theoderic’s successors.

The problem is that Procopius is a very biased source who openly despises barbarians, Arians and just about everyone else. To make matters worse, Procopius is willing to state anything to magnify the glory of Justinian when describing his wars or building projects. When writing for a small circle of critical readers in the *Secret History*, the tone is even more acerbic. Only in this smaller circle, the vitriol is aimed against the members of the imperial house. Empress Theodora is described as a former prostitute and hypersexual exhibitionist.²⁷ Her husband, emperor Justinian is depicted as being possessed. He is a wasteful megalomaniac psychopath or even possibly a supernatural demon.²⁸

Fortunately, this means that we can balance Procopius’ claim in *De bello Gothico*, I.2.16 that Theoderic ‘had not as much as heard of letters’, against that in his *Se-*

cret History 6, where Procopius states that Justinian's uncle and predecessor Justin I was illiterate. This is very hard to believe given Justin's proven record of a top brass military career followed by a nine-year reign over the Empire. To a great author like Procopius, illiteracy meant a lower state of being, and it would seem that Procopius falsely depicted those he disliked as illiterates on a regular basis.

3.3.2 Excerpta Valesiana – An Anonymous Negotiator

The *Excerpta Valesiana* has no known author. There are two fragments of longer texts, one concerning Constantine the Great and the other concerning Theoderic. It is generally argued that the second excerpt derives its content from a chronicle written around 527 AD by Maximianus (c. 499-556), the Catholic bishop of Ravenna, a very learned man. The second excerpt is a particularly interesting account that due to its attempt to explain Theoderic's literate performance deserves attention. If this story is fictional, it is still a rather good one that could only have been contrived in a rather erudite environment.

Excerpta Valesiana 61:

Dum illitteratus esset, tantae sapientiae fuit, ut aliqua, quae locutus est, in vulgo usque nunc pro sententia habeantur; unde nos non piget aliqua de multis eius in commemoratione posuisse. Dixit 'aurum et daemonem qui habet, non eum potest abscondere'; item 'Romanus miser imitatur Gothum et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.'

He, although *illitteratus*, was nevertheless so wise that even now some of his sayings are regarded among the people as aphorisms, and for that reason I am glad to place on record a few out of many. He said, 'One who has gold and a demon cannot hide the demon.' Also, 'A poor Roman plays the Goth, a rich Goth the Roman.'

This passage above is interesting in relation to Procopius' depiction in the *Secret History* of Justinian. If this demonic portrait of Justinian is to be believed, the emperor stands out as a morally reprehensible person according to Theoderic.

Excerpta Valesiana 79:

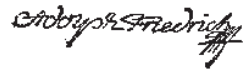
Igitur rex Theodericus illitteratus erat et sic obtuso sensu, ut in decem annos regni sui quattuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. De qua re laminam auream iussit interrasilem fieri, quattuor litteras »legi« habentem; unde si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per eam pennam ducebat, ut subscriptio eius tantum videretur.

‘Now King Theoderic was *illiteratus*, and of such dull comprehension that for ten years of his reign he had been wholly unable to learn the four letters necessary for endorsing his edicts. For that reason he had a golden plate with slits made, containing the four letters ”legi”; then, if he wished to endorse anything, he placed the plate over the paper and drew his pen through the slits, so that only this subscription of his was seen.’

It is obvious that the anonymous author wants to convey a general image of a benevolent but illiterate ruler. Theoderic attempts to come to terms with his failing literacy by means of a clever and prestigious contraption by which the producer of the text also claims to have consumed text prior to the written confirmation. If we accept the premise that the anonymous author of the *Excerpta Valesiana* is Roman and Catholic, but still has a high opinion of Theoderic, the former has every reason to depict the Arian ruler as illiterate. If Theoderic does not know how to read, a literate Catholic would argue, then the king must be unable to understand the real meaning of the Holy Scripture.

But the background may be more complicated than that. If the account is to be trusted, Theoderic’s tracing of the four letters L E G I through the device may have been subject to considerable scrutiny at the time. One may well imagine the king as the cynosure of attention surrounded by literati all akimbo, eager to witness the king’s written approval of an important document that urgently needed attention and execution as soon as possible. There was no room for errors, and everybody involved from king to clerk, was intent on avoiding any snags.

A different group of royal autographical writing tools from the mid 18th century ‘Age of Liberty’ in Sweden come to mind: the brass stamps reproducing the original ink signatures of the king under the control of the Privy Council, the noble oligarchy. King Frederick I (1720–1751) introduced the first stamp in 1741 to enable him to skip boring meetings and have his secretaries take care of formalities. After the king was incapacitated by a stroke in 1748 his stamp was very frequently used. Soon followed the realization that replacing the king altogether with a permanent stamp was a viable alternative. The Privy Council and the political parties of the Parliament successfully used another stamp in the name of the new king Adolph Frederick (1751–1771) during the years 1756–1768, reducing the textual performance of the chief of state to the reprint of his autograph.



Let us return to back to account of the *Excerpta Valesiana*. After all, this may well be a true story written down by people who actually saw what went on during ten long years laye in the reign of Theoderic c. 516–526, a period

of a harshening climate between Catholics and Ostrogoths in Italy but also between Theoderic and the new emperor Justin I who succeeded Anastasius I in 518.

But who is in charge there – Theoderic or his surrounding court clerks? Could Theoderic's gadget have been concocted by some literate person at his court as part of a desperate rehabilitation attempt from a stroke suffered at advanced age, as was the case with Frederick I of Sweden? It may also have been a matter of a small group managing long-term resignation and decay of a disintegrating kingdom just as during the reign of Adolph Frederick. Does the *Excerpta Valesiana* promote the image of an Italy slowly going down the drain under the rule of a dull-minded Theoderic, whose clerks simply traced his hand holding a pen through four letters cut out of a sheet of metal? We cannot tell for sure although this seems a very plausible scenario.

3.3.3 John Malalas – A Popular Propagandist

John Malalas (c. 491–578) grew up in Antioch and later moved to Constantinople during the reign of Justinian. There he wrote a long historical treatise in 18 volumes, the *Chronographia*. It is generally considered unreliable and depends heavily on indiscriminate copying from other sources. John Malalas can be described as a semi-secular propagandist in the service of Justinian (Scott 1985). His first volume was released at the time for Procopius' volume on the wars of Justinian. Like Procopius, he wrote in an accessible language and his works enjoyed considerable popularity well into the 9th century.

But John Malalas does not claim the Germanic king Theoderic to be a noble savage, misguided by his surrounding mean-spirited advisors. Rather, the author argues that Theoderic was a cultivated man, a product of Constantinopolitan education.²⁹ The reason for this favorable portrayal may well be that John Malalas makes an effort to describe Theoderic's past abilities; he had royal pedigree, being the son of Valamir of the Amal dynasty, and he was a former Roman consul with an impressive military record. It is therefore self-evident that no barbarian raised in Constantinople should ever be given such responsibilities without having first received a proper education.

John Malalas' description can be employed to understand Theoderic and his offspring as a very formidable enemy to the emperor. Italy had ended up in the hands of a dangerous usurper, a blasphemous heretic who actively abused the Holy Scripture. Justinian was therefore entitled to attack and destroy the Ostrogoths. This idea deserves to be taken most seriously despite the fact that the once so popular John Malalas is considered a poor historian by our current standards.

3.4 Comparative Synthesis – ‘A Billy-Goat in the Lord’s Garden’

Biases aside, the historical sources on Theoderic share the feature that they beg the question of how we are able to define and differentiate various functions of practical literacy, both in terms of reading and writing.³⁰ It is difficult to determine just how literate Theoderic was or how much text he produced and to what degree he was able to consume text. We also cannot be sure whether his alleged tracing of letters and the certain use of stamped monograms were only matters of expediency or testimony of a conscious attempt to minimize his performance. We must therefore try to approximate an understanding by assuming that Theoderic exercised a very limited text production. Yet it would seem that his limited performance was nevertheless coupled with a great skill on how to negotiate within the contemporary field of literacy in 6th century Italy, the garden surrounding the Holy See at Rome.

The novel *Bock i örtagård* (‘A Billy-Goat in the Lord’s Garden’), written in 1933 by Swedish lawyer Fritiof Nilsson Piraten, provides an interesting comparison.³¹ Nilsson Piraten very carefully describes the literary persona of Squire Jon Esping, a self-made cattle baron and churchwarden of Tosterup parish in early 20th century Scania. This is a ruthless semi-literate person bent on forcing his way into the upper echelons of society, perhaps not all too unlike Theoderic. The advantage of Nilsson Piraten’s account is that it is based on a real person, the local businessman and innkeeper Ola Flygare (1856–1942) who was well known to be both semi-literate and powerful by his contemporaries in Tosterup parish. Nilsson Piraten’s main point is that Flygare/Esping was very successful in reaching for higher status, rigging the parish council election to become the new churchwarden despite or rather because he was semi-literate. The protagonist’s struggle to come to terms with literacy sharpened his wit and made him acutely aware of the hierarchical dynamics of literacy. First, we are introduced to the circumstances explaining as to why Esping feared literacy in the first place:

‘As written: Esping did not wear out any pencil and wasted no ink; his judgment was untainted by reading. The large number of letters and their infinite combinations had always frightened him.’

We are taught to understand what practical or functional semi-literacy entailed to him both in terms of text production and in its secondary appreciative sense. It is clear that the latter need not include exact readings to the letter. Second, we are told as to how Esping coped with the fact that he had to engage in the text production of nominal sentences or autographs:

‘His aversion to holding a pencil never left him. Still, for people with extensive business dealings – such as Esping – it’s hard to get by without a signature. Esping had a signature. He had taught himself to write after a model, much like a little boy teaches himself to draw a sailing boat from the image in a drawing book. And like the boy, he fully knows he is drawing a boat but not that his composition includes a hull, a mast, a jib and a main-sail and so on, Esping knew he wrote his signature (J. Esping) but not that he wrote a J, an E, an s etc... To him, the signature was like a Chinese character where only the totality, but not its separate components, was meaningful and significant. The railway clerk who had prepared Esping’s model had the habit of making magic hand gestures before suddenly putting his pen to paper. As a keen observer, Esping had noted and imitated this manner, causing him to eventually put his imprint on his signature. In the end, it looked more like a fallen fir-tree than anything else.’

Finally, we are told how the newly elected churchwarden Esping employed his limited but highly functional literacy that saved him from the faux pas of lighting up a cigar during mass:

‘Painted on the lime-washed walls, framed by a string of lilies, it said: I am the resurrection. Esping was unable read what it said, but he knew that placards of a similar length in railway cars and other public places meant no smoking while shorter ones denoted smoking’.

Esping comes across as a very skilled negotiator within the realm of literacy and Christian ritual. While disinclined towards text production, the semi-literate churchwarden still respects the power of the written word. Esping is well aware of his limitations in both reading and writing. His understanding of literacy is from a peripheral perspective. This governs his decision-making as a chosen guardian of the Lord’s terrestrial domains.

4. Conclusion

It is most likely that the Codex Argenteus was the product of the Ostrogothic court and that Theoderic would have encouraged or approved of the production of such a text of singular importance, even if the volume was never finished or commissioned in his own lifetime. Theoderic may have been illiterate, but it is most likely that he, just like Jon Esping, had control over the reproduction of his own signature. This in contrast to the literate puppets Frederick and Adolph Frederick, at least before that possible stroke in later years.

But why would Theoderic or the Ostrogothic court want to produce a text like Codex Argenteus? There are a number of plausible motives and some of these are obviously intertwined. First, the writing system does by its very nature exclude a large part of the potential readers of the Latin or Greek writing



The top of Theoderic's mausoleum in Ravenna. Photo: Lars Munkhammar

systems. This is obviously intentional. Second, the text itself is such a precious work that it may not be subject to subsequent change or palimpsest. Third, its precious nature makes its audience very restricted. It is most unlikely to have traveled outside a very small circle of readers or listeners. If we summarize these three motives we find that the text is locked in time and space.

Although Theoderic may have been unable to read the late 4th century Gothic alphabet of Wulfila, he must have appreciated its Arian and Gothic ideological value, excluding Greek and Latin Catholic literati of the early 6th century. Above all there is the elevation of the Gothic language of the Holy Scripture to the same status as Latin and Greek. This transformation in the shape of the *Codex Argenteus* gave the Ostrogothic court a strong piece of immobile textual dogma to recline on. Religious polemic from outsiders could easily be dismissed when the Gothic Arians were able to refer to a text of such dignity and magnitude in their ancestral language.

The *Codex Argenteus* and the mausoleum of Theoderic are unique monuments from Ravenna. They were not meant to be copied or surpassed by forthcoming generations. Instead, they survive as testimony to one persona: Theoderic the Great, king of Italy. His is the story of a most successful churchwarden, mindful of both his own flock and its Italian pasture.

Notes

- 1 Moorhead 1992
- 2 Fischer 2005
- 3 Hines 1997; Barton 1994; Fischer 2005
- 4 Fischer & Lémant 2003
- 5 Barton 1994
- 6 Barton 1994
- 7 Düwel 2010
- 8 Bloşiu 1975
- 9 Nielsen 2011
- 10 Fischer 2005
- 11 Fischer 2004
- 12 Parsons 1999
- 13 Nievergelt 2009
- 14 Goffart 1980
- 15 Harmatta 1996
- 16 Or 2000, p. 130
- 17 Jänichen 1956
- 18 Moorhead 1992; Golz 2008
- 19 Grierson & Mays 1992; Kent 1994
- 20 Fagerlie 1967; Kyhlberg 1986
- 21 Fischer & Victor 2011
- 22 Grundmann 1958, pp. 24–30
- 23 Krause & Jankuhn 1966; Grünzweig 2004; Nielsen 2011
- 24 Gillet 1999
- 25 Montefiore 2003
- 26 Scott 1985; Moorhead 1992
- 27 *Secret History* 9. 20–21
- 28 *Secret History* 12. 20–22
- 29 *Chronographia* 15. 94
- 30 Bianchi 2010; Graf 2010; Graf 2011
- 31 Nilsson Piraten 2006

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Gothic *naiswor*

Introduction

Gothic philology is limited by the fact that in most cases each text is found in a single manuscript.¹ The main exception to this is the text of the Pauline Epistles, found in the Ambrosian Codices A and B. Their text overlaps to a considerable extent in the final chapters of 1 Corinthians to Titus. On the other hand, these two manuscripts are closely related. This means that Gothic philology cannot involve the comparison of many manuscripts in order to try to find the original text. It also means that a form that is suspected to be an error cannot be checked against another manuscript to see if that manuscript could offer something considered more natural.

The Codex Argenteus contains the bulk of what is preserved of the Gothic translation of the Gospels. The Codex Ambrosianus C contains fragments of Matthew chapters 25, 26 and the first verse of 27. It overlaps with the Argenteus at the end of chapter 26 and beginning of 27. Also, a few passages from John are found in the citations of the so-called *Skeireins*, some of them not extant in the Argenteus. The Codex Gissensis contains small fragments from Luke chapters 23 and 24, and a few phrases, not found in the Argenteus, are preserved in other manuscripts.

Like any other manuscript the Codex Argenteus is not free of scribal errors. There we also find some suspicious forms that we would be happy to compare with other manuscripts if they existed. Here, one of these forms will be discussed, i.e., *naiswor*, found in Mark 6:19.

The problem

Now, *naiswor* is almost certainly an error, but how is it corrupt? What is the right form? Even though *swor* is found in the Argenteus as the past tense of the verb *swaran*, it does not fit in well here as its meaning ‘swear, take an oath, ὀμύειν’ is evident in all other instances. And what is the content of *nai*?

The form in question is found in the passage shown in (1), here transliterated without word division, and accompanied by the Greek original, the Latin text of the Codex Brixianus (the Vulgate has *occ. eum* and *neq*), and an English translation:

(1)

[...] iþsoherodia
naisworimmajahwildaïmmaus
qimanjahnihta · ...

ἡ δὲ Ἡρῳδιάς
ἐνεῖχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἤθελεν αὐτὸν ἀπο-
κτεῖναι, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο·

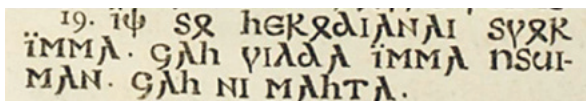
Herodias autem. insidiabatur illi. et volebat eum occidere. et non poterat.
‘But Herodias held a grudge against him and wanted to kill him, but could
not.’

In all the old editions, this Gothic text is divided into words as shown in (2), taking *nai* to be the termination of the nominative singular of Herodias:

(2) iþ so herodianai swor ïmma. jah wilda ïmma usqiman. jah ni mahta.²

Several attempts have been made to explain the form in question. Already in the *editio princeps* Junius suggests it is possible to connect the form *swor* with the form *syrvde* in the corresponding Anglo-Saxon text, the past tense of the verb *syrvan* ‘plot’.³ Stiernhielm offers no comment.⁴ Benzelius offers in a footnote a new explanation by Edward Lye who corrects *herodianai swor* to *herodias saïswor*.⁵ The form *saïswor* is, then, the past tense of **sweran*, an otherwise unattested reduplicating verb. Lye compares it to *tekan* ‘touch’ – *taitok* and *letan* ‘let’ – *lailot*. Zahn apparently accepts this in his apparatus (but suggests, strangely, the form *swiran* for the infinitive) and it is repeated in the Glossary along with Junius’ suggested explanation.⁶ Gabelentz & Löbe also offer Lye’s explanation in their apparatus.⁷ Vollmer, in his review of Gabelentz & Löbe, proposed the conjecture *herodiada uswor*, but it is not clear how **uswor* should be understood, presumably *us-swor* rather than *us-wor*.⁸

Uppström suggests another word division: *herodia nais wor ïmma*, connecting *nais* to the Old Icelandic adj. *neiss* ‘be ashamed’, and taking *wor* as a past tense of **varan*.⁹ So, this involves two otherwise unattested words with obscure etymology and meaning (‘Herodias calamitatem meditabatur ei’). Maßmann offers the



Mark 6:19 in Junius' *editio princeps*. Photo: Uppsala University Library

conjecture *herodia naiswor* in his text.¹⁰ In his apparatus he credits Ihre with the conjecture *saiswor* but also mentions Vollmer's conjecture and Uppström's word division.¹¹ Maßmann also mentions *aiþ swor* 'took an oath' as a possible conjecture. All these proposals, other than *herodia naiswor*, he considers useless. The verb **waiswaran*, he says, means 'Verderben schwören', 'das sich schön zwischen ἐνέχειν (fortgrollen ['be wrathful against']) u[nd] infidiari stellte'. It should be somewhat parallel to the noun *waidedja* 'robber, evil-doer, ληστής' and the verb *waiþairhjan** 'wail loudly, ἀλαλάζειν'.

In preparing his edition of 1854, Uppström was unable to collate ten leaves from the Codex Argenteus that had been lost for at least two decades. They were found again in 1857 and Uppström published his collation of them in the same year. There he maintains that in the Argenteus the original *naiswor* had been corrected to *naiw* by erasing the letters *s*, *o*, and *r*. Uppström thought that *naiw* was a past tense singular of an otherwise unattested strong verb of the first class, **neiman*. This was of little help as the verb has no cognates in other Germanic languages and no convincing etymology.¹² Also, unsurprisingly, the form *naiw* is a ghost word – Uppström's reading here turned out to be wrong – so it is not necessary to give an overview of the attempts to trace the origin of **neiman* and of the several conjectures proposed in connection with that form.¹³ Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Grienberger made an attempt to establish how *swor* could have arisen in this context under the influence of Mark 6:23 where the form also occurs.¹⁴ This will be discussed later on.

In 1982 Ernst Ebbinghaus, with the aid of Jan-Olof Tjäder, restored the old reading *naiswor*. In his paper Ebbinghaus says that he had for a while found Uppström's reading suspicious and that his doubts were justified when Tjäder inspected the manuscript and concluded that the letters *s*, *o*, and *r* were faded and faint but had not been erased.¹⁵ Ebbinghaus then reached the same conclusion as Maßmann, i.e., he corrected *naiswor* to **waiswor* with much the same arguments.¹⁶ The meaning of *Herodia naiswor imma* would be 'Herodias swore a woe to him.'

Swiggers then suggested that *naiswor* could be interpreted as consisting of the past tense of *swaran* and a negative particle **nai* 'no', taking the vocalism analogically from its positive counterpart *jai* 'yes'.¹⁷ In a reply, Ebbinghaus admits that Swiggers's solution has the advantage that it involves no emendation of the manuscript reading.¹⁸ Nevertheless, he finds it unacceptable as the existence of the particle *nai* is problematic. Therefore, he sticks to the conjecture **waiswor* but also mentions the possibility that *nai-* is what is left of an adverb related to the base of the noun *naiteins** 'insulting/disgracing talk, blasphemy, βλασφημία' and the verb *ganaitjan** 'dishonour, ἀτιμάζειν'.¹⁹

The latest attempt at an explanation was made by Lehmann, who rejects Ebbinghaus's conjecture **waiswaran* on both formal and semantic grounds.²⁰ As the verb *wajfairhjan** is an unclear hapax but *wajamerjan* 'blaspheme; βλασφημεῖν' is attested several times, the form **wajaswaran* seems to lie more at hand. Lehmann concludes: 'More troublesome, the proposed **waiswaran* is not semantically straightforward'.²¹ He then proposes that originally Gr. ἐνέχειν was given the literal translation **inswaran*. In the Vorlage of the Argenteus the reading was *berodīaiswor*, i.e., the *n* was written with a suspension mark. The attested text arose when the scribe 'inaccurately repeat[ed] the *-a-* in resolving the abbreviation for *n*'.²² This means, however, that first the scribe resolved the abbreviation and wrote the *n*; next he repeated the *a*, and then lastly he wrote the *i*. It has to be noted that in the copyist's exemplar this initial *i* should carry the trema and supposedly it stood at the end of a line, as in Gothic manuscripts the nasal suspension mark is only used at or close to the end of a line, i.e., *berodīāi̅|swor*. This is rather unconvincing and, apparently, a literal translation of ἐνέχειν would be **inhaban* as *haban* 'have' is the usual rendering of Gr. ἔχειν 'have'. It is never translated with *swaran*.²³ But, for some reason, **inhaban* was not a usable translation.

Solution

Hence, although none of the solutions to the enigma proposed so far is acceptable, the key to the solution is hidden therein. Ebbinghaus was on the right track when he connected *nai-* to *naiteins** and *ganaitjan**, and Grienberger was right when he suggested that *swor* in verse 19 was caused by the *swor* in verse 23. Most likely the copyist's exemplar contained the form **naitida*. It is the 3rd sg. past tense of the weak verb **naitjan*. As mentioned above, the corpus offers two words derived from this verb, i.e., the noun *naiteins** and the prefixed verb *ganaitjan**. But why did the scribe who copied Mark in the Argenteus write *naiswor* instead of *naitida*?

Grienberger suggested that in the Vorlage, *nai* stood at the end of a line and the next line began with a *w*, i.e., *naiw* was written *nai|w*.²⁴ When the copyist of the Argenteus had written *nai* his eyes roved nine lines down, to the *swor* of verse 23 and by accident he wrote *swor* that by chance included a *w*. From *swor* to *swor* there are 450 letters. Divided into nine lines, that means around 50 letters in each line, cf. (3):

(3)

... *nai*

w *imma jah wilda imma usqiman jah ni mahta. unte herodis*
 — [7 lines] —
 du *þizai maujai bidei mik þishwizuh þei wileis jah giba þus jah*
swor ...

This number of letters, i.e., 50 in each line, is twice the number found in each line in the extant Gothic manuscripts. The Codex Argenteus has 20 lines per page and 22–25 letters in a line; the Codex Ambrosianus C has 17 lines per page and 25 letters in each line; most of the Ambrosian codices are similar, with 18–21 lines per page and 20–24 letters in each line.²⁵ Therefore, a manuscript with 50 letters in each line is highly unlikely.

A more probable scenario is as follows. In the Argenteus there is a little less than a page from *naiswor* to *swor* in verse 23. Possibly, the copyist's exemplar was similar to the Argenteus in this respect; the text from *tida* to *swor* filled one page having 20 lines and 22–23 letters in each line. Thus *nai* stood at the end of the previous page. When the scribe had copied it at the beginning of line 16 on page 310 (fol. 22v) of the Argenteus, he glanced through to the next page that ended in *swor*. Therefore, he mentioned *swor* and wrote *swor* instead of *tida*. Then he continued with *imma*. Of course other variations are possible, but the *swor* in verse 23 somehow caused the *swor* in verse 19, cf. (4).

(4)

CA page 310 (fol. 22v)

The Vorlage

sa auk raihtis herodes insand		broþrs þeinis. iþ so herodia nai	
jands gahabaida iohannen jah		— [page brake] —	
gaband ina in karkarai in hairo	10	tida imma jah wilda imma us	
diadins qenais filippaus broþrs		qiman jah ni mahta. unte he	
seinis unte þo galiugaida:		rodīs ohta sis iohannen. kun	
qap auk iohannes du heroda þa		nands ina wair garaihtana jah	
tei ni skuld ist þus haban qen		weihana. jah witaida imma	5
broþrs þeinis. iþ so herodia	15	...	
nai		heroda jah þaim miþanakumb	
		jandam. qap þiudans du þizai	
		maujai bidei mik þishwizuh þei	
		wileis jah giba þus jah swor	20

The noun *naiteins** ‘blasphemy’ (Mark 2:7 and Luke 5:21; Mark 3:28) indicates that the verb from which it is derived, **naitjan*, was a ‘verbum dicendi’ with the meaning ‘speak against, despise, be hostile towards, be urgent against, hold a grudge against’. The participle *ganaitips** ‘dishonoured, ἠτιμωμένος’ does not speak against it (i.e., in Mark 12:4 the content of *jah insandidedun ganaitidana* is ‘and they sent him away having dishonoured him (with words)’).²⁶ The Gothic verb **naitjan* probably has its cognates in OE *nātan* and OHG *neizzen* ‘torment’ or in OI *hneita* ‘strike, insult’.²⁷

Ebbinghaus is suspicious about the form *Herodia*.²⁸ Surely, it lacks the final *-s* in the nominative, found in Gr. Ἡρωδιάς. But in fact we do not know if this *-s* was present in feminine proper nouns of this type. The Greek nominative forms Λωΐς, Τιβερίάς, and Τρωάς are not found in the New Testament. Therefore, they are not expected in the Gothic corpus although they could be reconstructed as **Lauīs*, **Tibairias*, and **Trauas*. The attested forms are only the datives *Lauīdja*, *Tibairiadan*, and *Truadai*. There are no other feminine proper nouns that would be expected to have an *-s* in the nominative. The masculine proper nouns ending in Gr. *-ας* most often have *-as* in Gothic and are inflected as *n*-stems in the oblique cases. Twice the *-s* of the nominative is left out, i.e., in *Akenla* (perhaps influenced by Lat. *Aquila* but *kw* is derived from the Greek) and *Kajafa* for Ἀκύλας and Καϊάφας. There are also variant forms such as *Barabba(s)* (1(1)) and *Satana(s)* (6(2)) for Βαραββᾶς and Σατανᾶς. The Greek nominative form Ἡρωδιάς occurs only in Mark 6:19 and even though **Herodias* seems a more natural Gothic transcription than *Herodia*, the latter form is not necessarily an error.

Conclusion

To conclude, the form *naiswor* is a misspelling for *naitida*, a 3rd sg. past tense of the verb *naitjan** ‘despise, be hostile towards, speak against’. This verb is the base for *naiteins** ‘blasphemy’ and *ganaitjan** ‘dishonour’. The explanation suggested here has the advantage that it is formally and semantically unproblematic, although it involves a conjecture.

Notes

- 1 I wish to thank the editors for their review and emendations.
- 2 There is a slight variation in the use of *th* or *þ*, the use of the trema, and in the punctuation. Junius and Benzelius use Wulfilian characters; in their transliteration Stiernhielm and Zahn use *th* and no trema on initial *i*, but Gabelentz & Löbe uses *þ* and trema, and leaves out the first point.
- 3 Junius' edition 1665, p. 327
- 4 Stiernhielm's edition 1671
- 5 Benzelius' edition 1750
- 6 Zahn's edition 1805, pp. 156–157
- 7 Gabelentz' & Löbe's edition 1836–1846
- 8 Vollmer 1847, p. 304
- 9 Uppström's edition 1854 & 1857
- 10 Maßmann 1855
- 11 Maßmann 1855, p. 602; Ihre 1773, p. 25
- 12 Cf. Grienberger 1900, pp. 165–166
- 13 But see Lehmann 1987, pp. 300–301
- 14 Grienberger 1900, p. 165
- 15 Ebbinghaus 1982, p. 404
- 16 Ebbinghaus 1982, p. 406
- 17 Swiggers 1984, p. 236
- 18 Ebbinghaus 1985, p. 72
- 19 Ebbinghaus closes his discussion with the comment: 'That would, of course, demand further alterations in the text'. Apparently, though, this solution would not demand any alteration of the text.
- 20 Lehmann 1987, pp. 301–302
- 21 *Ibid.* p. 301
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 By mistake, Lehmann, 1987, p. 301, states that the past tense of *swaran* is not attested; neither from the simplex nor from its compounds, *biswaran** 'ajure, ὀρκίζειν' and *ufarswaran** 'swear falsely, ἐπιορκεῖν'. In fact the simplex *swor* occurs twice, i.e., in Mark 6:23 and in Luke 1:73.
- 24 Grienberger 1900, p. 165
- 25 Friesen & Grape 1928, p. 37
- 26 It is to be noted that Greek ἀτιμ- is usually translated into Gothic with *unswer-*.
- 27 See: Lehmann 1986, p. 146 [G49]; Casaretto 2004, p. 355; Magnusson 1989, p. 346 [3 *bneita*]; Rix & Kümmel (2001), [**þ, neida*].
- 28 Ebbinghaus 1982

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[**Junius' edition 1665:**] Quatuor D.N. Jesu Christi Euangeliorum versiones perantiquæ duæ, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica: quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primum depromsit Franciscus Junius F.F. Hanc autem ex codicibus MSS collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Mareschallus ...

- [**Stiernhielm's edition 1671:**] D. N. Jesu Christi ss. : Evangelia ab Ulfila gothorum in Moesia episcopo circa annum à nato Christo CCCLX ex græco gothicè translata, nunc cum parallelis versionibus, sveo-gothicâ, norrænâ, seu islandicâ, & vulgatâ latinâ edita.
- [**Benzelius' edition 1750:**] Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Gothica ex codice argenteo emendata atque suppleta, cum interpretatione Latina & annotationibus Erici Benzeli non ita pridem archiepiscopi Upsalensis. Edidit, observationes suas adjecit, et grammaticam Gothicam præmisit Edwardus Lye A. M.
- [**Zahn's edition 1805:**] Ulfilas gothische Bibelübersetzung ... nach Ihre's Text ... herausg. von Johann Christian Zahn.
- [**Gabelentz' & Löbe's edition 1836–1846:**] Ulfilas : veteris et novi testamenti versionis gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt ad fidem codd. castigata latinitate donata adnotatione critica instructa cum glossario et grammatica linguae gothicae conjunctis curis ed. H.C. de Gabelentz et J. Loebe.
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Rossen Milev

Wulfila's Cultural Heritage in Bulgaria and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition

According to legend, Bishop Wulfila was born north of the lower river valley of the Danube River (present-day Romania) in the year 311 and died in 383 in the capital of the Roman Empire – Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey)¹. But he maybe spent the most important, most productive part of his life in Moesia, in the foot of the Haemus, today's Balkan mountain *Stara Planina*, i.e. on the present-day Bulgarian lands. As we know, he settled here in 348 and led his Gothi Minores, early Christian Visigoths.² They were persecuted by the pagan Gothic kings and migrated in the empire that was already Christian. Wulfila lived near the important, at that time Roman, city of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. His



residence there and the settlement founded around it in the 4th century on the hill that today we call Momina Crepost some centuries later in the 12th century became part of the city – the capital of the Mediaeval Bulgarian kingdom Veliko Tarnovo. Or in other words, as a number of noted Bulgarian archaeologists and historians, such as Velizar Velkov and Pavel Georgiev believe to be the case – a thesis that we also support – Wulfila could be considered one of the founders of the later Mediaeval Bulgarian capital.³ Here he accomplished his lifework – the translation of the Bible into the Gothic language and created the Gothic alphabet for that purpose. The descendants of his Christian Goths preserved their culture, language and religious identity till the end of the First Mediaeval Bulgarian kingdom. Although settled in detached, isolated enclaves (mainly in the northern part of the country), they existed at least until the 9th century. At that time people close to the Frank chronicler Walahfrid Strabo visited these lands and with great surprise noted that in the city of Tomis (present-day Constantza) located on the north-eastern part of the Black Sea coast there were Bibles and liturgies were held in the Gothic language.² As our research within the framework of the Gothic Research Project in Bulgaria (2002-2011) proved and as the British scholar Isaac Taylor discovered in 1883, the Gothic alphabet of Bishop Wulfila was used as one of the models and the basis, along with the Greek one, when one of the Slavic alphabets – the Cyrillic, was created in the 9th century in Mediaeval Bulgaria.⁵ Over 200 million people all over the world today use this alphabet, mainly in the Eastern Orthodox countries. But in spite of all these contributions, in spite of the fact that Gothic saints such as St Sabbas the Goth and St Nicethas the Goth were included in the calendars of the Byzantine and later of the Bulgarian and other Eastern Orthodox Churches, the name of Bishop Wulfila until quite recently was known only in the limited academic and church circles.⁶ He was not and still is not fully recognized as an important historical personality in the pantheon of the Bulgarian national memory. His popularity (reputation) in Europe as humanist and Christian missionary, as one of the great scholars and intellectuals of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Europe and later as an emblematic historical figure, especially in such countries as Sweden, Austria, Germany, Italy, once again proved the Biblical wisdom that ‘nobody is a prophet in his own country’. There are a number of objective and subjective reasons for this strange Bulgarian peculiarity – until recently for scholars and society in general not to even notice this historical personality with perhaps the greatest international fame and importance that ever lived on our lands. Relatively objectively, we could now mention the fact

that until our research project, which started in 2002, the Goths were ignored as an ethnic group in the Bulgarian ethno genesis. It was accepted that since they had lived on our lands before the Bulgarians and Slavs came here and founded the First Bulgarian Kingdom on the Balkans in the 7th century, the heritage of the Goths, including that of their 'apostle' Wulfila, was of no interest to us. Only in the last few years, on the basis of a new, more profound and detailed study of historical sources, of new archaeological and linguistic discoveries, did it become clear that the Goths did not just pass through the Bulgarian lands and travelled further on to the West. On the one hand, they left a substantial archaeological heritage, dated 4–6 century and later, and, on the other, quite a large part of that ethnic group, including Wulfila's Goths, stayed permanently on today's Bulgarian lands.⁷ In the beginning they lived in separate enclaves in the Slavic-Bulgarian state that was newly formed here in 681. Then later, after a couple of centuries, due to the fact that they were outnumbered by the peoples that settled there, mainly the Slavs, the Goths were gradually assimilated culturally and language-wise.⁸ So practically along with the Slavs, Bulgarians and Thracians, the Goths were the fourth major element in the Bulgarian ethno genesis.

Another reason that could also be counted among the objective ones is a religious one. Although the Orthodox Christian Church is in general more tolerant and lenient than the Catholic Church regarding the 'Gothic heresy', i.e. to the so-called semi-Arianism or homoean of Wulfila, although he was not directly stigmatized as 'heretic' but rather quite the contrary – noted Orthodox theologians have underlined his virtues and contributions as a missionary; nevertheless he could not be included for these dogmatic reasons in the list of saints worshiped by the Bulgarian and the other Orthodox Christian Churches.⁹

Added to the explanations of a subjective character, especially during the period 1944–1989, we could also include the monopolistic behaviour of some individual scholars – historians that were close to the regime of that time. The formal reasons that were pointed out was the allegedly ideological burden of the Goths and everything Gothic, accompanied by the fact that the discoveries and the presentation of the historical heritage would direct the historical interest toward the then forbidden Western horizon, toward thinking in a European perspective. We must admit though that no written, explicit ban on scholarly occupation with the Goths was ever specifically formulated by the regime at that time. Rather those in power relied on self-censorship. In some particular cases newly discovered archaeological objects and artefacts for which there were enough reasons to be considered Gothic were accepted as generally speaking 'barbarian' from the Late Roman period. Later, by force of habit and lack of any relevant clear initiative, this tendency continued until 2002. At that

time in the Bulgarian press and later in the published series *Gotite*, the new understanding of this heritage started to gain momentum.¹⁰ Quite sensational, for example, were the maps with Gothic monuments on Bulgarian lands that were published in *Gotite I* by the noted Bulgarian archaeologist Assoc. Prof. Evgenia Gencheva.¹¹ Almost the whole territory of our country turned out to be dotted with such archaeological objects. Now the question had to be put in quite a different manner: Not where Goths can be found on our lands but is there a place in Bulgaria where their presence could not be documented? Wulfila's time has also come, and in 2004 I took the liberty of publishing the first book in Bulgaria dedicated to him – *Wulfila, the Goths, Europe* (published by Balkanmedia).¹² During that same period the archaeologist Todor Balabanov discovered the Gothic Bishop Centre near the village of Khan Krum in north-eastern Bulgaria. These finds we published in *Gotite – Goterna* [2] in 2006.¹³ But no matter how thin this thread of recognition of Wulfila's symbolic presence on today's Bulgarian lands might have been, it could nevertheless be acknowledged in the historiography of Bulgaria or by Bulgarians as early as the 18th century. The Franciscan monk of German descent Blasius Kleiner in his *History of Bulgaria*, published in 1761 – the first modern composition of its kind, included in it also the history of our lands during the period of Antiquity. In this context he mentioned the fact that the city of Tomis (present-day Constanta) was the 'residence during Roman times of the famous Bishop Ulfila or Wuila'.¹⁴ In 1869 when Bulgaria is still under Ottoman rule but there already existed a movement of Bulgarian National Revival, one of its more moderate representatives Gavril Krastevich published *History of Bulgaria* in the Bulgarian language in the Ottoman capital Stanbul (former Constantinople).¹⁵ Krastevich's book, in line with the style and circumstances of the epoch, was more of a journalistic than an academic work. It also included Bulgaria's period of Antiquity, when the Goths lived here before the Bulgarians and Slavs settled and formed their state. Special attention was devoted to the dramatic events of the 4th century, the settling of the Visigoths south of the Danube River, and the battle at Adrianopolis (Edirne) in 378. Here for the first time a Bulgarian author chronologically presented the biography, work, and historical role of Bishop Wulfila. In a couple of pages Krastevich described with admiration the personality of the 'Gothic Moses Ulfila', as he called him, reproducing the words of ancient authors about him. According to Krastevich Wulfila was a very moral man of exceptional authority and accepted both by the Romans and the Goths. He accentuated his major role as intermediary and his diplomatic skills. He also stressed the fact that Wulfila undertook a heavy burden trying to reconcile that which was not reconcilable, that he quite often suffered, was disappointed and hurt. What may be was most interesting

in Krastevich's composition was the attempt to describe, on the basis of the sources, Wulfila's special love of mankind, which, along with his erudition, was one of his key characteristics. Gavril Krastevich underlined one circumstance in his attempt to overthrow Wulfila's 'heretical' characteristic from the point of view of the official theology: He insisted that Wulfila had really signed the formula of the semi-Arian Council in Rimini in 359, later considered heretic by the church. But later, when Wulfila understood that this council with its compromise formula of the essence of the Holy Trinity would not lead to the calming of passions and unification of the church he so wished for, Wulfila as many other bishops, withdrew his signature from the document. Or in other words, the event that was considered to be proof of Wulfila heresy was not valid according to Krastevich. Later, during the 1950s the Russian Gothic language scholar Mirra Guhman would question another alleged proof of Wulfila's heresy – his so-called last will and testament, recorded by his follower Auxentius of Dorostorum.¹⁶ How could we state that this will is authentic, asks Guhman, since in it Wulfila is occupied only with dogmatic questions and 'forgets' to mention his life-achievement – the translation of the Bible into the Gothic language and the creation of the Gothic Christian alphabet? And that deed according to all church canons of all Christian churches is the highest, most pious deed that can be realized, according to church dogmas, with the power and under the force of the Holy Spirit. After Gavril Krastevich, when the Bulgarian state was restored and Ottoman Rule was overthrown, the first Bulgarian who studied the Goths and Wulfila in an academic manner was the philosopher and spiritual leader Peter Dunoff, famous in Bulgaria and around the world.¹⁷ In his diploma work *The Migration of the Teutonic Tribes and their Conversion to Christianity*, which he presented in 1893 at the Evangelistic Theological Faculty of Boston University, he also underlined Wulfila's human virtues. Dunoff stated that Wulfila could be so successful in his missionary work only because he himself, with his moral way of living, set an example of how to live. The church historian D. Tzuhlev in his *History of the Bulgarian Church*, 1910 also devoted some pages, although not many, to Wulfila and Gothic Christianity.¹⁸ Then a long period of total silence, lasting almost a hundred years, followed in Bulgarian scholarship about the 'apostle of the Goths'. Today this seems to us to be an inexplicable, irrational phenomenon, no matter how we try to find rational, ideological justifications for it. Of course, Wulfila's work was noted with a few words in church encyclopaedias or scholarly works about early Christianity on Bulgarian lands. But it was mentioned only in a few lines. Not until 1989 when Velizar Velkov, in German at that, published his study in the East Berlin historical magazine *Klio*, dedicated to Wulfila and his Gothic Minors.¹⁹ Later, in 1995 this study was

reprinted in Bulgaria.²⁰ And again silence fell. Again the old and outworn interpretations of historic thought on these problems took over. And again, this was not due to some Slavophil ideas but on account of some petty personal, considerations: So that there would be no chance that the Goths and Wulfila, with whom a number of important centuries of Bulgarian history were connected, would overshadow other ethnic groups and historical personalities.

Only for the sake of comparison, we would like to state the fact that in Russia, where the perception of Wulfila and the Goths, especially after the Second World War could not be called unproblematic, there was a much more solid and long-lasting school of research on this academic problem.²¹ Of course, we should take into consideration the fact that we are talking here about a country also and academic community of a different scale and the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church up to the present is the largest Orthodox Church in the world; that there are much more seminaries, a number of theological academies, a great number of theologians that were engaged and are engaged with research activities. Also, the Crimea, which is one of the main regions in Europe with important Gothic presence, was under its jurisdiction until 20 years ago. That is why it is no coincidence that the first monograph in an orthodox country dedicated to Wulfila was written in 1887 at the oldest and most famous ecclesiastical academic school in the country – the Kazan Theological School; this is the book *Начало христианства у готов и деятельность епископа Ульфила* (The Beginning of Christianity under the Goths and the Work of Bishop Wulfila) by D. N. Belikov. Besides the extensive data, the book underlines Wulfila's missionary virtues. But it also declares that he regretfully he drew away, albeit due to reasons beyond his control and under the pressure (the Emperors Constantius and Valent were Arians), from the right course from the point of view of the official orthodoxy. This distanced ambiguous manner of evaluation of the 'apostle of the Goths' that underlined his virtues but also his characteristics that were unacceptable from the point of view of Orthodoxy actually followed an old Byzantine position. It may have been formulated most precisely by the Patriarch of Constantinople Photius in the 9th century and later repeated by different orthodox authors. But sometimes the critical remarks about Wulfila were even put aside and his contribution for the Christianization of the Goths has been expressively underlined, although not in too many words. For example, another influential Russian theologian from the 19th century, Dmitrii Rostovski, in his 12 volume series *Saint's Lives* (Жития святых), which described day by day the life and work of all acknowledged saints in the calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church, spoke about Wulfila as 'a wise, pious and sensible man', a spiritual leader of the Goths. This calendar

also presented and included other Gothic saints – St Sava (Sabbas) the Goth and St. Nicethas the Goth.²²

On the other hand, in Orthodox tradition, which fought against new heresy during the Middle Ages and above all with the Bogomils, a movement based partially on a Gothic-Arian base, the word 'Gothic' was quite often used, mainly in the 12th and 13th centuries by Serbian authors, as a synonym for 'heretic'. Some contemporary Orthodox Church historians, such as D. Mircanou, researched with great interest the interrelations between the Gothic Arian communities on the Balkans and the Apennine Peninsula.²³ They underlined the fact that, many years after Wulfila and in different parts of Southern Europe, albeit in scattered communities, there existed the *Ecclesia legis Gothorum*.

Lately a new interest towards Wulfila can also be perceived in Orthodox Church circles in general. For example, in the official publication of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church *Tzarkoven Vestnik* (Church Paper, issue 4/16-28.02.2010) in connection with the election of Amvrosius as new bishop of Dorostorum (today Silistra) it was mentioned that this diocese was founded around the year 390 by Auxentius, a 'disciple and follower of Saint Wulfila'.²⁴ Whether it was by mistake that the title of 'saint' has been given to Wulfila, or whether this an elegant way, without any official procedure of canonization (a procedure that

Доростолска митрополия е сред първите древнопросияни епархии в българските земи, бидейки формирана около 390 година. Тя е основана върху пролятата мъченическа кръв на 12 светци мъченици, понесали мъченическа смърт през IV в. сл. Хр. – св. Дасий (20 ноември 303 г.), св. Максим, св. Дада, св. Квинтилиан, св. Юлий, св. Валентиниан, св. Пасикрат, св. Маркиан, св. Никандър, св. Калиник, св. Исхий (при го-



лемите гонения на Диоклециан през 304 г.) и св. Емилиан, изгорен на 18 юли 362 година. Първият епископ на града Авксентий е ученик и последовател на св. Вульфил и е регистриран като такъв през 390 г. През V-VI в. епископи на Дуросторум са Яков, Монофил, Йоан и Дулицсим, участвали на Вселенски събори. През VII в. с издването на славяните и прабългарите епархията временно е закрыта, а мощите на мъчениците Дасий, Максим, Дада и Квинтилиан са пренесени в Константинопол. През 2003 г. част от мощите на св. Дасий отново се върнаха в Силистра и бяха поставени в катедралния храм. Там се съхраняват и част от мощите на св. Кирил Аксиполски, понесъл мъченическа смърт през 304 година.

След покръстването на българите през 865 г. Дръстър е една от първите епархии на Българската православна църква. През 870 г. в града е реестрирана катедрата на епископ Николай, а на брега на р. Дунав, върху лобното място на св. Емилиан е издигната епископска базилика и епископска резиденция. През 927 г. дръстърският епископ Дамян е обявен за пръв български патриарх, канонично признат от останалите поместни православни църкви.

ДОРОСТОЛСКА ЕПАРХИЯ

*колкото древна,
толкова и млада*

След падането на Североизточна България под Византийска власт през 971 г. Дръстър става епископска катедра, след 1020 г. е под скиптъра на Охридския архиепископ. След средата на XI в. дръстърският епископ Леонтий е ръкоположен за митрополит и преминава под юрисдикцията на Константинополския патриарх. Негови наследници са митрополитите Христофор и Льв Хрисаним – известен писател и богослов.

След освобождението на България от Византийска власт при Асеневци Дръстър е митрополитска катедрата на Търновската патриаршия. Запазени са имената на шестима негови Владци от XIV в.: Кирил, Аврелий, Теодул, Йосиф, Дионисий, Калиник и Захарий.

След турското нашествие в края на XIV в. Дръстър-Силистра става митрополия към Константинополската патриаршия. Нейният престоятел Калист участва на Флорентинския събор през 1439 г. От XV

го XIX в. Доростолска (Силистренска) митрополия е сред водещите епархии на Вселенската църква, а нейните престоятатели през XVII-XVIII в. получават екархийски права над цялото Подунавие, Влахия и Молдова. През 1871 г. Доростолска епархия е обединена с Червенска. На Петия църковно-народен събор на БПЦ, на 17 декември 2001 г. епархията е канонично възстановена. На 12 октомври 2003 г. Светият Синод на БПЦ



канонически избра и провъзгласи Негово Преосвещенство Траянополския епископ Иларион за Доростолския митрополит – приемник на митрополитския престол на възстановената и древнопросияла Доростолска епархия.

Доростолска епархия е разделена на три духовни околии: Силистренска, Дуловска и Тервелска.

На територията на Доростолска епархия има 53 храма, като в момента се изграждат и нови седем. В епархията попадат и два манастира: девическият манастир „Покров Божородицин“ в с. Аидемир и мъжкия манастир „Възнесение Господне“ в с. Каменци.

Седялицето на Доростолския митрополит е в крайдунавския гр. Силистра.

is quite cumbersome, difficult and lengthy, and, in the case of Wulfila, quite problematic) to rehabilitate him, only the future will show. In any case, it is very gratifying to notice such tendencies for a possible more modern interpretation of Wulfila in Orthodox circles. During the last few years in the non-clerical academic communities in Bulgaria, the interest in the Gothic Bishop has been truly remarkable. One of the main directions of research was aimed at identifying the possible place where he was buried or where a chapel, dedicated to him, might have been built by his spiritual followers. Although he passed away in the capital of the empire, Constantinople, it is very likely that the mortal remains of Wulfila or at least part of his relics have been buried in the region where his Gothi Minores lived – in Moesia, present-day Northern Bulgaria. There are at least three suppositions today, based on some admittedly scarce evidence from archaeological excavations and toponymy as well as from legends and sagas, for such a place so holy to the Goths.

One of them is a small rock cave-church with two stone pedestals dated to the 5th century located in the area Kyrika near the city of Kaspichan and the regional center Shoumen in north-eastern Bulgaria. Like the toponym, Kyrika (=church, in modern Swedish 'kyrka') is of Gothic origin the same way as in the nearby village of Kalugeritza, today a district of the city of Kaspichan, there exist legends that here was buried a holy man from Roman times named 'Ulfil'. In 2004 I stated this hypothesis about Kyrika in my book about Wulfila and I was glad that in 2007 the Bulgarian historian Stanka Georgieva, born in Kaspichan, developed it in detail in her study about Bishop Wulfila published in *Izvestia, Book II* from the academic centre St Dasius of Dorostorum-Silistra at the University of Rouse.²⁵ She covered in detail the legends that she knew from childhood. Her arguments also included the archaeological context of the region – the initial complex, part of which is the church-cave dug into the rocks dated to the 5th century. There were also Gothic fibulae and other artefacts of that period found there.

At this stage this is just a working hypothesis. We are still looking for additional evidence. Another place where we presume that the grave or at least part of Wulfila's relics have been laid is the complex of the so-called Gothic Bishop Centre, discovered in 2004 by the archaeologist Todor Balabanov near the village of Khan Krum, also in the Shoumen region.²⁶ Discovered here were parts of a mausoleum (a miniature version that is reminiscent of the architectural basis of the mausoleum of Theodoric the Great in Ravenna) near one of the churches, also dated 5th – 6th century. An honoured Gothic spiritual leader obviously was also buried here. Possibly this could be another highly respected

Gothic clergyman from this age, like for example, the Wulfila's successor Selenas. Of course, it could be someone else, a Gothic clergyman unknown to us.

There is another hypothesis that declares that the original grave of Wulfila was near the village of Sveshtari, close to the famous Thracian tomb complex of Sborianovo (also located in north-eastern Bulgaria). Just above it, the tomb of Demir Baba – a local saint of the Islamic cult Alevians (Alians, Kasalbashi) which up to the present day is worshiped by both Christians and Muslims – was built in the 16th century. The word 'Kazalbashi' means 'Red hair'. It could be that this minority, which accepted a special form of Islam (without mosques, with paintings of saints, lighting of candles in the temples, with equal rights for men and women), in some respect both ethnically and religiously inherited the old Gothic-Arian church on the Balkans. The fact that an older tomb from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages existed under Demir Baba Teke was established at the end of the 19th century by the Czech archaeologist Karel Škorpil. Additional archaeological research is necessary in order to certify the existence of the earlier tomb. But today this is difficult to undertake because Demir Baba Teke is an active temple of the Islamic group of Alians.

At present the greatest amount of evidence we have, although still not sufficient, is about the rock church in Kyrika. But as this often happens in archaeology we could be surprised by some new finds at another place, for example, near the ruins of the ancient city of Nicopolis ad Istrum, where Wulfila lived in Late Antiquity, according to the sources. The research will continue and the 1700th anniversary of the Gothic Pontifex and Primas Wulfila is an excellent incentive for Bulgarian researchers to work more ambitiously.

Based on the most recent comparative research concerning the early Christian alphabets and more concretely taking into account the fact that the Coptic alphabet has been created as early as in the pagan period and has only been further developed by the Coptic Christians, today we can declare that Wulfila is the author of the first Christian missionary alphabet in the world.²⁷

Notes

- 1 Lippold (1961); L. Munkhammar (2011).
- 2 Falluomini (2011).
- 3 Velkov (1995); П. Георгиев (2003).
- 4 Walahfrid Strabo (1897).
- 5 Taylor (1883), vol. 2, p. 100.
- 6 Ростовский (1902), V, pp. 590–591, IX, p. 302
- 7 Милев (2004).
- 8 Höst (1971); R. Loewe (1896), p. 256.

- 9 Ростовский (1902), IX, p. 302.
- 10 The Wulfila series in the weekly *Literaturen Forum*, Sofia 2002, also published in *Gotite* [1] (2003, ed. R. Milev).
- 11 Генчева (2003)
- 12 Милев (2004)
- 13 Balabanov (2006)
- 14 Клайнер (1984)
- 15 Кръстевич (1896)
- 16 Гухман (1951), pp. 11–13
- 17 Dunoff (2007)
- 18 Цухлев (1910), pp. 49–53
- 19 Velkov (1989)
- 20 Cf. Note 3
- 21 Смеловский (1842); С. А. Белков (1887); А. А. Васильев (1921); В. Васильевский (1878); "Готский сборник" (1932); М. Гухман (1951); М. Щукин (2004)
- 22 Cf. notes 6 and 9
- 23 Г. Мыршану (2005)
- 24 *Църковен вестник*, 28.2.2010
- 25 Георгиева (2007)
- 26 Cf. note 13
- 27 Dawoud (2008); Nessim Youssef (2008), pp. 41 & 49

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The Gothic Alphabet of Bishop Wulfila and the Cyrillic Alphabet Culture

Southeastern Europe or more specifically the lands along the lower Danube River, along with Mesopotamia, the Middle East and the Mediterranean region, along with central regions in present day India and China as well as Central America, are one of the cradles of the most intensive and expressed in a series of consecutive creation of writing systems.¹ These processes of turning speech into writing and the creation of written religious signs and designation for the purposes of trade and commerce are of course part of the general development and transformation of civilizations. Not always and certainly not between the writing systems, created in a specific geographical region and a particular civilization, a continuity of thousands of years could be traced, as is the case with China. Very often the writing systems created in an interval of some thousands or hundreds of years in the same geographical region do not have a direct inner connection. But sometimes there exist some traces of continuity, albeit not directly evident and quite difficult to determine. If a detailed analysis is undertaken it can be noticed and studied.

In this respect the Lower Danube River region and especially the territory of present-day Northern Bulgaria is quite interesting from the point of view of the fact that in different historical periods, independently at least at first glance, three writing systems have been created:²

1. The Old European, Paleo-Balkan or Lower Danube River writing system – lines and cuttings with symbolic meaning on clay vessels from the 6th century BC. As academic research has shown during the last 20 years, this is actually the oldest writing system in the world. It is some 2,000 years older than the writing system of Mesopotamia, which was considered the oldest one.
2. The Gothic Christian alphabet, created by Bishop Wulfila, called the ‘apostle of the Goths’, for his translation of the Bible into the Gothic language in the middle of the 4th century AD.

3. The Cyrillic Christian alphabet created in the Bulgarian Kingdom by the so-called Preslav Literary School for biblical and liturgical purposes into Old-Bulgarian/ Old Church Slavonic in the 9th century AD. It was named Cyrillic in honor of St Cyril, called, together with his brother Methodius, ‘the apostles of the Slavs,’ translated the Bible into the Slavonic language and created the first Christian Slavonic alphabet – the Glagolitic alphabet. But over through the ages, mainly because of its complex graphic expressiveness, this alphabet gradually fell into disuse. The other Slavic alphabet, the Cyrillic, became the writing system of all Orthodox Christian Slavic nations.³ In the early 18th century it was modernized into the so-called “civic letters” by order of the Russian king Peter I.⁴ Today it is one of the major writing systems in the world and some 200 million people (in Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Serbia, Montenegro, Republic of Macedonia, Kazakhstan, etc.) use it to read and write.

Between the Old European (Paleo-Balkan) writing system dated some 8000 years ago, on one hand, and the other two alphabets created in the region of the Lower Danube – the Gothic of Bishop Wulfila and the Cyrillic by the followers of St Cyril created in the Mediaeval Slavonic-Bulgarian State on the other, it is not reasonable and academically well grounded to seek any kind of continuity and connection. Such attempts have nevertheless been made by some amateur researchers. The only thing that possibly connects the three writing systems could be the fact that the region of the Eastern Balkans and the Lower Danube River, due to its geographical position and climate, has always been a zone of contact between different peoples and cultures and also a place that has been suitable for settlement, for active and diverse agricultural activities and cattle-breeding, and consequently the relevant forms of social life and organization. All these are factors that facilitate the development of civilization, and this includes written works and activities.

But between the two written systems created here later – the Gothic alphabet from the 4th century and the Slavonic Cyrillic alphabet of the 9th century there were a number of typological similarities, not least because both used the Greek alphabet as a key model and prototype. And they were both created under the influence of the cultural policy of Christianization of the so-called barbaric nations – the Goths, the Bulgarians and the Slavs – that was undertaken by the Late Roman Empire, later named Byzantium. Both Wulfila and the Slav men of letters worked very close to the capital of the empire – Constantinople. Moesia, present day northern Bulgaria in a wider aspect could be considered a cultural

Variants of the Gothic alphabet. After Otto von Friesen and Andres Grape.

	Codex Argenteus		Codex Cæcilianus	Cod. Aachen, S. 45 super.	Cod. Antwerp, S. 36 super.	
	Manus I	Manus II			Manus I	Manus II
a	𐌰	𐌰	𐌰	𐌰 𐌰	𐌰 𐌰	𐌰 𐌰
b	𐌱	𐌱	𐌱	𐌱 𐌱	𐌱 𐌱	𐌱 𐌱
g	𐌲	𐌲	𐌲	𐌲	𐌲	𐌲
d	𐌳	𐌳	𐌳	𐌳	𐌳	𐌳
e	𐌴	𐌴	𐌴	𐌴	𐌴	𐌴
u	𐌵	𐌵	𐌵	𐌵	𐌵	𐌵
z	𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	𐌶	𐌶
h	𐌷	𐌷	𐌷	𐌷	𐌷	𐌷
ψ	𐌸	𐌸	𐌸	𐌸	𐌸	𐌸
i	𐌹	𐌹	𐌹	𐌹	𐌹	𐌹
k	𐌺	𐌺	𐌺	𐌺	𐌺	𐌺
l	𐌻	𐌻	𐌻	𐌻	𐌻	𐌻
m	𐌼	𐌼	𐌼	𐌼	𐌼	𐌼
n	𐌽	𐌽	𐌽	𐌽	𐌽	𐌽
ŋ	𐌾	𐌾	𐌾	𐌾	𐌾	𐌾
p	𐌿	𐌿	𐌿	𐌿	𐌿	𐌿
q	𐍀	𐍀	𐍀	𐍀	𐍀	𐍀
r	𐍁	𐍁	𐍁	𐍁	𐍁	𐍁
s	𐍂	𐍂	𐍂	𐍂	𐍂	𐍂
t	𐍃	𐍃	𐍃	𐍃	𐍃	𐍃
y	𐍄	𐍄	𐍄	𐍄	𐍄	𐍄
f	𐍅	𐍅	𐍅	𐍅	𐍅	𐍅
x	𐍆	𐍆	𐍆	𐍆	𐍆	𐍆
h	𐍇	𐍇	𐍇	𐍇	𐍇	𐍇
o	𐍈	𐍈	𐍈	𐍈	𐍈	𐍈

hinterland of the Byzantine political and spiritual center. The new alphabets both emancipated the barbaric peoples culturally and at the same time connected them with the official Christian doctrine of Constantinople, which at the time of Wulfila was homoean (semi-Arian). And in the 9th century it became Orthodox. But a comparative analysis of these three alphabets – the Greek, the Gothic and the Cyrillic as well as a detailed study of the cultural-historic context of the 9th century offer some indications that between the Gothic alphabet and the Cyrillic one there are not only typological similarities based on their common Greek model. There also exist correspondences that suggest that the 9th century Slav men of letters also used, along with the Greek alphabet, the letters and the alphabetic system of Wulfila as a model. Perhaps the first scholar to turn our attention to this direct interconnection was the British researcher of written systems Isaac Taylor in his two-volume publication on writing systems of the world, published in 1883.⁵ Later this thesis has been disputed or supported by a number of scholars – researchers of Slavic, German writing and historians.⁶

Let us underline here for the sake of academic correctness that the question is still open although the arguments in favor of the thesis that Wulfila’s letters have also been used in the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet are growing in number.

Let us divide the arguments in two categories – direct ones evolving from the comparative analysis of the alphabets and indirect ones based on the historical sources and the analysis of the ethnic-cultural picture in the Medieval Bulgarian state of the 9th century.

1. Direct indications

1.1 There is a great similarity between the graphemes of the second letter in the alphabet of the Goths and the Slavs – respectively **B** and **Б** while the letter Beta, the second letter in the Greek alphabet, is written quite differently.

1.2 The letter **Ц** exists both in the alphabet of Wulfila and in the Cyrillic in similar graphemes and in the Greek alphabet a slightly different one. And we should also note that the numeric value (letters were also used as numbers in that period) in the three alphabets – Greek, Wulfila's and the Cyrillic – signified **90, Ц=90**.

1.3 In the Cyrillic alphabet there are graphemes that do not exist in either the Greek or in Wulfila's alphabet but exist in the Gothic runic alphabet, for example the letter **Ж**. We are aware of that the Goths living along the Lower Danube River continued to use their old runic signs along with the new letters created by Wulfila, as some newly discovered rock inscriptions found in Bulgaria and dated 4th–6th century have shown.⁶ By the way, there are many inscriptions in stone dated from the time of the early Bulgarian state from the 7th–9th century that have been inscribed with a mixture of Greek, Latin and runic signs, and they were by no means copies of Wulfila's alphabet.⁷ Or at least they have not been studied and compared with it in detail. But this quite obviously tells us that Wulfila's model of compiling written signs from the Latin and Greek alphabets and runes in text writing were used on the Balkans, consciously or not, by the newly-arrived Bulgarians and Slavs before they got their own alphabet – the Cyrillic.

1.4 Possibly one of the most striking arguments is found in the names of the letters of Wulfila's and the Cyrillic alphabet, no matter how disputable the names of the Gothic letters are that have been preserved in the so-called Salzburg Annals/Codex Albiensis (Vienna, Austrian National Library Cod. Salzburg. 795) of Alcuin from the 9th century. While in the Greek alphabet, as a heritage from the Phoenician, we have the letters Alfa, Beta, Gama, Delta, etc., in Wulfila's alphabet and in the Cyrillic the name of the first letter respectively *Aze/Azi* coincide almost perfectly. The second letter in Wulfila's alphabet is *birkanen* (birch

but also trees in general), while in the Cyrillic it is *bouki* (beech but also trees in general). Further on this direct concurrence is lost. But this is understandable in view of the fact that Gothic language and Slavonic language are quite different languages. On the other hand, there is one emblematic word connected with the alphabet that is identical in both languages and that is considered as loan-word from Gothic in Old Church Slavonic: *bokareis* in Gothic means man of letters while in Old Church Slavonic the word *bukar* also means man of letters, and in the work *Za Bukvite* (About Letters) by a Bulgarian man of letters from the 10th century, Chernorizetz Hrabar, *bukarveta* refers to young men of letters who are studying to read and write.⁸ Both the Gothic word *bokareis* and the Old Church Slavonic *bukar* are connected with the Gothic word *boka* (letter), and the Slavic word for letter, character *bukva* has been accepted by contemporary linguistics as a loan-word from the Gothic language. This again speaks about the interrelations between the Gothic and the Cyrillic alphabet.

1.5 Last but not least let us also mention the very type of writing the letters. In the 9th century in Byzantium the minuscule was already in use, i.e. if the Cyrillic alphabet had been influenced only by the Greek alphabet then we would have accepted that type. But both Wulfila's alphabet and the Cyrillic followed the initial Greek lettering, i.e. in this respect the Cyrillic alphabet followed the Greek tradition that had been popular during Wulfila's time but was outdated in the 9th century. Why then should we not accept the more logical explanation that, regarding the writing of the letters, Wulfila's prototype was directly followed? Let us now turn to the other group of arguments connected with the ethnic-cultural continuity and the new, more precise reading of the historical sources.

2. Indirect indications

2.1 As the 9th-century Frank chronicler Walahfrid Strabo mentioned his brothers Benedictines who visited the city of Tomis (present-day Constance in Romania, at that time a central city in the Slavonic-Bulgarian state) with great surprise found that Gothic Bibles and liturgies continued to be used there.⁹ On the basis of this historical source we could speak of a population that had preserved its language and identity and Wulfila's Bible and liturgical practices up to the 9th century. Or in other words – the new Slav men of letters in the 9th-century Bulgarian kingdom quite definitely had the chance of real contact with the Gothic bibles and Wulfila's alphabet. In the early Middle Ages in Bulgaria, along with Slavs and Thracians, there were enclaves of Gothic population that preserved their language writing and culture. And as recent archeological

research in 2002–2011 in Bulgaria shows, a substantial part of this remaining Gothic population was in northeastern Bulgaria, close to the capital of that time, Preslav, where the Cyrillic alphabet most probably was created.¹⁰

2.2 In the *passional* (*Vitae*) of St Cyril himself, who had translated the Bible into the Slavonic language and in honor of whom his followers named the new alphabet Cyrillic, it is mentioned that during his mission at the Khazars on the Crimea he met a man and acknowledged himself with a psalter written with ‘Russian letters’ (‘роуски букви’)¹¹ A discussion for many decades has been led by scholars regarding what exactly the anonymous chronicler meant by the words ‘Russian letters.’ We know that the term ‘Ross’ was associated in the Slavic language with the Gotho-Normans.¹² Today, following the publication of Alexander Aibabin’s volumes about the archeological excavations on the Crimea it becomes quite clear that in the period of Late Antiquity and the medieval period, along with the Khazars, large groups of Gothic population also lived here.¹³ Only about half a century before St Cyril’s visit here an uprising of the Goths against Khazar rule, headed by the Gothic Bishop St John the Goth (Johannes Gothus) had been crushed. The ‘apostle of the Slavs’ Cyril himself obviously had direct contact at the Crimea with the cultural heritage, with the Bibles of the ‘apostle of the Goths’ – Wulfila. Furthermore, in that same *passional* where it was stated that Cyril fought for equal use of the Slavonic language in liturgy during the so-called Venetian Dispute, as one of his arguments he enumerated the peoples that already worshiped Christ in their own language. Among them he named the Goths.

2.3 Let us also mention here that many Gothic saints and above all St Sabbas the Goth and St Nicethas the Goth (relics of this saint are kept at the Serbian monastery in Visoki Decani) have become part of the Byzantine tradition and included in the Orthodox calendars. Also the image of Wulfila, although some possible divergences from the official Eastern Orthodox Church doctrine have been pointed out, is rather positive.¹⁴ What is underlined are his services for the Christianization of the Goths and as creator of their writing system for Christ’s glory. Or in other words, there was no dogmatic obstacle to using his alphabet. All this gives us good reason to declare with great certainty that the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet and perhaps even the early development of the Cyrillic cultural tradition was influenced by the cultural heritage of Wulfila, and that includes the alphabet created by the ‘apostle of the Goths,’ of course, along with the Byzantine model for drawing new and previously pagan tribes to the

Christian church. That also included the cultural transfer of Greek ‘alphabet technology’ and literary practice and adapting it to new languages and cultures.

Notes

- 1 Naarmann (2002), pp. 8–9
- 2 Milev (2007), pp. 26–27,
- 3 Džurova (2008), Йончев (1977)
- 4 Истрин (1965), pp. 492–495
- 5 Taylor (1883), vol. 2, p. 100
- 6 Georgiev (2011), pp. 214–222
- 7 Barnea (1962), Попконстантинов (1993)
- 8 Добрев (2011), p. 122
- 9 Walahfrid Strabo (1897), p. 471
- 10 Tackenberg (1928/29), Balabanov (2006)
- 11 Костова (2003)
- 12 Елдаров (2003)
- 13 Ajbabin & Chajredinova (2009)
- 14 Ростовский (1902)

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The Gothic Gospel of John and its text-critical character

The occurrence of the non-Byzantine readings – and particularly of the so-called ‘Western’ readings – in the Gothic text of the New Testament is one of the more heatedly debated issues in text-critical studies of this version. The following pages are devoted to a re-examination of the problem, focusing on the Gothic Gospel of John,¹ in order to offer a different perspective on the origin of these problematic readings.²

Before facing this issue, it is perhaps useful to trace – very briefly – the history of Greek New Testament criticism, on which the Gothic scholars closely depend. New Testament scholars acknowledge at least three main textual streams of the Gospel tradition:³ the Alexandrian text type,⁴ which is considered the closest to the original, testified by p⁶⁶ (c. 200), p⁷⁵ (of the early third century), and the fourth-century *Codex Vaticanus* (B/03) and *Codex Sinaiticus* (s/01); the ‘Western’ text type, represented by the fifth-century *Codex Bezae* (D/05) and by the Old Latin versions (known as *Vetus Latina*), as well as the Sinaitic and Curetonian Old Syriac text (sy^s, sy^c). And, finally, the Byzantine text type (also called Koine, Syriac, Antiochian text), a text that, with several subsequent alterations, was disseminated across the territory under the influence of Constantinople and became the prevailing text of the Byzantine Church.

The opinion regarding the origin and development of these text types has changed in the course of the time. The Byzantine text was long considered the result of a recension, made by one or more editors in the late third/early fourth century.⁵ The earliest studies on the Gothic version were therefore based on the hypothesis that Wulfila – who translated the Bible in the mid-fourth century, in a region under the influence of Constantinople (i.e. *Moesia Inferior*) – used this recension. In reconstructing the Greek *Vorlage* of the Gothic text, Wilhelm Streitberg used Greek manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries,⁶ and argued that the divergences between the Gothic and the Byzantine readings – and particularly the ‘Western’ variants attested in Gothic – went back principally to post-Wulfilian changes.⁷ The same hypothesis was expressed also by Friedrich Kauffmann⁸ and George W. Friedrichsen,⁹ who

claimed a deep influence of the *Vetus Latina* on the Gothic version, following the settlements of the Goths in the West. This became the *communis opinio*.¹⁰

Both Streitberg and Friedrichsen did not take into account Adolf Jülicher's¹¹ and Hans Lietzmann's¹² claims that such non-Byzantine readings may already be attested in Wulfila's *Vorlage*. More recently, Roger Gryson¹³ offered a re-evaluation of the Gothic non-Byzantine readings, assuming a position very close to that of Jülicher and Lietzmann. Finally, Philip Burton¹⁴ advises caution in assuming that the 'Western' variants are the product of a Latinisation of the Gothic text, since both Gothic and Latin may represent independent renderings of the same Greek readings.

The more recent theories concerning the formation of the Byzantine text may offer a different viewpoint – in respect to Streitberg's and Friedrichsen's positions – to explain the mixed textual character of the Gothic version. Several New Testament scholars today prefer to assume that the Byzantine text type is the result of a long process of revision and standardisation that occurred during the transmission of the biblical text, rather than the product of a recension performed at one time and place by a single editor.¹⁵ This long process, which also involved editorial activity, was characterised by the progressive accumulation of Byzantine readings in the manuscripts.¹⁶ It was concluded only in the late eighth/early ninth century. The oldest Gospels manuscript that transmits Byzantine readings is the fifth-century *Codex Alexandrinus* (A/02), which however – being the process of standardisation still underway when it was produced – does not agree fully with the later Byzantine witnesses.¹⁷ It contains therefore many readings in accord with other text types. Also the opinion on the 'Western' variants has changed: New Testament scholars have put in evidence that they circulated widely not only in Western but also in Eastern territories.¹⁸

In light of the different perspective regarding the formation of the Byzantine text, it is then possible to explain the non-Byzantine readings of the Gothic version – or most of them – as old readings, belonging to the textual stage that preceded the establishment of the Byzantine text. The fact that the greater part of these are transmitted also by some late manuscripts in minuscules and/or lectionaries contributes to support the hypothesis that these readings may represent old survival, replaced in the course of the formation of the Byzantine text, but tenaciously remaining in some Greek witnesses, besides their crystallisation in the Gothic version.¹⁹

In other words, the several divergences between the Gothic readings and those transmitted by Byzantine manuscripts, which Streitberg and Friedrichsen explained as later modifications of the Gothic text, would be instead explicable

as modifications within the Byzantine tradition. In fact, the perspective changes considering the manuscripts that support the ‘Western’ witnesses in their agreement with the Gothic text. An examination of the 335 significant readings²⁰ of the extant Gothic text of John may be exemplificative. It emerges clearly that in 188 cases (56%)²¹ the Gothic text agrees with the Byzantine text or part of it.²² There is no reason to doubt that these readings, belonging to the Byzantine tradition, were already in Wulfila’s *Vorlage*, a text that was very likely connected with the ecclesiastical environment of Constantinople.²³ Therefore they are not problematic from a text-critical point of view. Generally speaking, the manuscripts that agree primarily with the Gothic text in supporting the Byzantine readings are A/02: 77% (= 113/146),²⁴ Θ/038: 60% (= 112/188), N/022: 59% (73/123),²⁵ Ψ/044: 57% (= 107/188). The agreement with such manuscripts is not surprising, because their text is considered predominantly Byzantine in John.²⁶ It is also worth noting the agreement (65/85, i.e. 76%)²⁷ with the citations of Chrysostom, who transmits a first rudimentary form of the Byzantine text.²⁸ The lowest accord is with B/03: 9% (= 17/188), κ/01: 20% (38/188) and W/032: 20% (38/188), which represent – to use the usual classification – the Alexandrian type. The Gothic readings are supported by D/05 for 30% (57/188).

Considering only the non-Byzantine readings of the Gothic text (147/335, i.e. 44%), the greater accord is with D/05 and one or more Latin manuscripts (109/147), representative of the ‘Western’ text.²⁹ A preliminary look at these readings suggests a division into three sub-groups:

A) 50/335 readings supported by many witnesses with which – as already seen – the Gothic text usually agree, as A/02, N/022, Θ/038, Ψ/044 and one or more minuscules.

- 5:37 huanhun gahausidedub: πόποτε ἀκηκόατε] p^{66c.75vid} κ A B D L N W f¹³ 33 579 latt | 2 1 Θ Ψ f¹
 m Chrys | *var. lect.*
- 6:2 taiknins: τὰ σημεῖα] p^{66.75vid} κ A B D L N W Θ Ψ 565 latt sy co Chrys^a | *praem.* αὐτοῦ m Chrys^b
- 6:5 augona Iesus: τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς] p^{66.75} (κ) A B D L N W Θ Ψ 565 (latt) co sy^c | 3 4 1 2 m
 | *var. lect.*
- 6:7 hvarjizuh: ἕκαστος] p⁶⁶ κ A B L W Θ Ψ latt Chrys | + αὐτῶν D N m
- 6:11 gadailida þaim anakumbjandam: διέδωκεν τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις] p^{28vid.66.75} κ* A B L N W f¹ 33 565
 579 lat sy^{c.p.h} sa bo^{mss} | διέδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις κ² D Θ Ψ f¹³ ㉓
 it^{b.d.e} (sy^s) bo^{mss} | *var. lect.*
- 6:22 selhun: εἶδον] p⁷⁵ A B L W Θ 33 it sy^{p.h} Chrys^a | ἰδὼν Ψ f¹ f¹³ ㉓ Chrys^b | *var. lect.*
- 6:22 ain: ἔν] p^{28vid.75} κ² A B L N W Ψ f¹ 565 579 lat bo | ἔν ἐκεῖνο εἰς ὃ ἐνέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
 Θ m it^{(a).(e)} sy^{(c).(p).h} Chrys | *var. lect.*

- 6:33 gaf libain: διδοὺς ζωήν] A K Y 0211 27 it^{c.f} vg | 2 1 p⁷⁵ κ B D L N W Θ Ψ ℞ it Chrys
 6:52 leik giban du matjan: τὴν σάρκα δοῦναι φαγεῖν] D K Θ Π 0211 f¹³ it^{d.ff2*} | 3 1 2 4 L W Ψ 33 ℞
 | *var. lect.*
- 6:63 rodida: λελάληκα] p⁶⁶ κ B C D L N W Θ Ψ 565 latt Chrys | λαλῶ m
 7:16 om. αὐτοῖς] K N Γ Π f¹³ lat | + αὐτοῖς p^{66.75vid} κ B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ ℞ it | *var. lect.*
- 7:29 ἰβ: δέ] p⁶⁶ κ D N Y Π f¹ 33 565 1192 1194 1216 1243 it vg^{mss} sy sa^{mss} bo^{pt} | om. p⁷⁵ B L W Θ Ψ
 f¹³ m it vg Chrys
- 7:31 qeβun: ἔλεγον] p⁶⁶ κ B (D) L N W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 latt | + ὄτι Ψ ℞ Chrys
- 7:50 saei atiddja du imma in naht: ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτός] K N^c Y U Δ Ψ 0211 0250 9 157 1071
 lat sy^h | ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον p^{(66).75} κ² B (L) (W) | *var. lect.*
- 7:53-8:11 om.] p^{66.75} κ B L N W Θ Ψ 33 565 1424* it^{a.f1.q} sy sa bo^{pt} Chrys | + 7:53-8:11 D ℞ lat bo^{pt}
 | *var. lect.*
- 8:16 aβhan jabai stoja: εἶν δὲ κρίνω] N 27 1194 it^{35.48} | καὶ εἶν κρίνω δέ p^{39.66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ f¹
 33 ℞ lat Chrys | *var. lect.*
- 8:20 rodida: ἐλάλησεν] p^{39.66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ lat Chrys^b | + ὁ Ἰησοῦς N f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞ it^{r1.qc} Chrys^a
 8:23 Iesus: ὁ Ἰησοῦς] N 28 it^{a.f1} | om. p^{66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞ lat Chrys
 8:26 rodja: λαλῶ] p^{66.75} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 latt | λέγω m Chrys
 8:42 qab: εἶπεν] p^{66.75} B C L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 565 579 it | + οὖν κ D f¹³ m it^{aur.d.f} vg sa^{mss}
 8:46 om. δέ] p^{66.75} κ B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 565 579 latt | + δέ m
 9:8 bidagwa: προσάτης] p^{66.75} κ A B C* D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 565 579 it^{d.ff2.q} vg Chrys | τυφλός C³
 f¹³ ℞ | *var. lect.*
- 9:9 ἰβ: δέ] p⁶⁶ κ*² A C² K N U Γ Π 0211 f¹³ 33 579 1216 1243 1519 (it) | om. p⁷⁵ κ¹ B C* D L W Θ Ψ
 f¹ ℞ it^d vg
- 9:15 jah: καί] A 0211 f¹³ 124 788 1346 it^q | om. p^{66.75} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ ℞ | *var. lect.*
- 9:31 guβ frawaurhaim: ὁ θεὸς ἀμαρτωλῶν] B D Θ Ψ it^{a.e} Chrys^b | 3 1 2 p^{66.75} κ A L W f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞
 lat Chrys^a | *var. lect.*
- 10:5 laistjand: ἀκολουθήσουσιν] A B D E F G Y Δ 2 461 475 700 1192 1210 1212 1505 lat |
 ἀκολουθήσωσιν p^{6vid.66.75} κ L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞ Chrys
- 10:21 ἰβ: δέ] p⁶⁶ κ (W) Θ f¹³ it^d vg^{ms} sy^{s.p} sa^{mss} bo | om. p^{45.75} A B D L Ψ f¹ ℞
 10:33 Iudaieis: Ἰουδαῖοι] p⁶⁶ κ A B L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579 lat | m it^{d.(e)} vg^{ms} bo^{mss} | *var. lect.*
- 10:41 gatawida taikne: ἐποίησεν σημεῖον] K M W Π Ψ 69 124 157 475 565 579 788 1346 f¹ f¹³ 33
 Chrys it^g | 2 1 p^{45.66.75} κ A B D Θ ℞ lat
- 11:30 nauhβanuh: ἔτι] p^{66.75} κ B C F W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 579 lat | om. p⁴⁵ A D L Θ ℞ it^{d.1} sy
 11:35 jah: καί] κ* D Θ f¹³ p⁵³ latt | om. p⁶⁶ κ² A B C L W Ψ f¹ 33 ℞ Chrys | *var. lect.*
- 11:45 gatawida: ἐποίησεν] p^{64.5.66} A B C* L W Θ Ψ f¹ lat | + ὁ Ἰησοῦς (κ) C² D f¹³ 33 ℞ it^{a.d.f.ff2}
 12:35 in izwis: ἐν ὑμῖν] p^{66.75} κ B D K L M W Θ Π Ψ 0211 f¹ f¹³ 33 565 latt | μεθ' ὑμῶν A m sy^{s.p} sa
 Chrys
- 13:33 mel: χρόνον] κ L Θ Ψ 0211 461 f¹³ it^{c.f.1} sy^h sa^{mss} bo^{pt} Chrys^a | om. p⁶⁶ A B C D W f¹ 33 ℞ lat
 Chrys^b
- 14:12 attin: πατέρα] p^{66.75} κ A B D L Q W Θ Π Ψ f¹ 33 0211 1192 1210 lat | + μου f¹³ ℞ it^{e.27} Chrys
 14:16 sijai miβ izwis du tòn aiōna: ἦ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα] L Q Ψ 33^{vid} it^e sy^{hmg} Chrys^b | 2 3 4 5 6
 7 1 p⁷⁵ B it^b | *var. lect.*
- 14:22 om. καί] p^{66*.75} A B D E L M Θ 0211 33 35 700 1212 1241 1243 1505 lat sy^{s.c.p} co | + καί p^{66c}
 κ W Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℞ it^q sy^h
- 15:11 sijai: ἦ] A B D Θ Π Ψ 0211 (33) 565 579 lat sy | μείνη κ L f¹³ ℞ it^{f.r1}

- 16:4 ize: αὐτῶν] p^{66vid} κ¹ A B L Θ Π f¹³ 0211 33 (lat) sy^{p,h} bo^{ms} | *om.* κ* D Ψ m it^{a,ff2} sy^s co | *var. lect.*
- 16:16 nauh ... ni: οὐκέτι] p^{66vid} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ 0211 33 1216 1243 lat sy^h Chrys^b | οὐ A f¹³ ℞
it^{a,d,e} sy^{s,p}
- 16:22 þan ... auk nu saurga: οὗν νῦν μὲν λόπην] p^{5,22vid.66} κ² B C* D L M W Ψ f¹ 33 565 lat | 1 4 3 2
A C³ N Θ ℞ | *var. lect.*
- 16:23 þatei þishuah þei: ὄτι ὁ ἐάν] (κ) Θ X Y Π 0211* 33 1241 it^{a,c,r1} | ἄν τι p⁵ B C (D*) L (Ψ) lat |
var. lect.
- 16:29 qeþun: λέγουσιν] p^{5*} κ² B C* N Θ Π Ψ 0211 565 it^{e,q} vg^{mss} sy^h | + αὐτῶ p^{5cvid} (κ*) A C³ D L
W f¹³ 33 ℞ lat sy^{s,p,hmg} co
- 17:1 ei sunus þeins: ἴνα ὁ υἱός σου] A D X Θ 579 lat sy | ἴνα ὁ υἱός κ B C* W it^{d,e,ff2} bo^{pt} | *var. lect.*
- 17:8 *om.* καὶ ἔγνωσαν] κ* A D W 0211 it^{a,d,e,q} | + καὶ ἔγνωσαν κ¹ B C L N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞ lat
- 17:17 sunjái: ἀληθεία] p⁶⁶ (κ*) A B C* D L W Θ 579 lat co | + σου κ² C³ N Ψ f¹³ 33 ℞ it^q sy bo^{pt}
Chrys
- 17:19 sijaina jah eis: ὄσιν καὶ αὐτοῖ] p^{60vid.66cvid} κ A B C* D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 lat | 2 3 1 C³ m
sy^h | *var. lect.*
- 18:28 ak: ἀλλά] p^{60vid} κ A B C* D^s N W Θ 565 579 lat | + ἴνα C² L Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞ it^{e,f,ff2,r1} sy^h Chrys
- 18:34 Iesus: Ἰησοῦς] A B C* D^s L N W Θ Ψ 33 565 579 700 lat sy^h | *praem.* αὐτῶ (ὁ) κ C³ f¹³ m it^e
sy^p sa^{ms} bo^{ms}
- 18:34 abu þus silbin: ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ] p⁶⁶ κ B C* L N Ψ 579 latt Chrys | ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ A C² D^s W Θ f¹ f¹³
33 ℞

The accord with A/02 and/or N/022 and/or the citations of Chrysostom (witnesses of the early Byzantine text) and/or Θ/038 and/or Ψ/044 (manuscripts that support the Gothic readings in their agreement with the Byzantine ones)³⁰ and one or more minuscules would argue for the antiquity of these Gothic readings. It is worth noting, for instance, the agreement in the lacking of the *pericope adulterae* (Jh 7:53-8:11). It is likely that in the period in which Wulfila made his translation, many readings typical of the later Byzantine manuscripts were still not established. The suspicion, then, is that at least the greater part of these readings might represent old survival of pre-Byzantine variants, replaced in the course of the standardisation of the Byzantine text. The agreement of the Gothic text with the Latin tradition might therefore be accidental and not the result of Latin influence on Wulfila's version.

B) 40/335 readings supported by manuscripts typologically different, against the usual witnesses that support the Gothic text:

- 6:7 *om.* τι] p⁷⁵ B D it | + τι p⁶⁶ κ A L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞ it^{c,f} vg sy^h Chrys
- 6:17 ni...nauhþan: οὐπω (ἐληλύθει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς)] (L) W 33 it bo | οὐκ A Θ f¹ ℞ lat sy sa
Chrys | *var. lect.*
- 6:24 *om.* αὐτοῖ] κ* S it^{(c),(e)} (vg) | + αὐτοῖ p⁷⁵ κ² B L N W Ψ (33) 579 | *var. lect.*
- 6:36 *om.* καὶ] K Λ it^{e,f} | + καὶ p^{75vid} κ A B D L N W Θ Ψ ℞ lat Chrys

- 6:46 attin: τοῦ πατρὸς] κ it^μ Did | τοῦ θεοῦ p^{66.75} A (B) C D L N W Θ Ψ 33 𐌹 lat Chrys
- 6:58 ip: δέ] it^{b.f} Chrys^a | om. p^{66.75} κ B C L N W Θ Ψ 𐌹 Chrys^b
- 7:12 in managein: ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ] p⁶⁶ κ D 33 latt sa^{mss} bo^{pt} | ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις p⁷⁵ B L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 𐌹
Chrys
- 7:51 faurþis hauseiþ: πρῶτον ἀκούσῃ] X it^{f.μ} | 2 1 p^{66.75} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ 33 lat | var. lect.
- 8:15 ip: δέ] p⁷⁵ it^{d.f} sa^{mss} bo | om. p^{39.66} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat Chrys
- 9:7 om. οὐν] 1210 it | + οὐν p^{66.75} κ A C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 it^{d.e.f} vg | var. lect.
- 10:10 ip: δέ] p⁴⁵ D it^{a.d} Chrys | om. p^{45.66.75} κ A B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat
- 10:14 kunnun mik þo meina: γινώσκουσί με τὰ ἐμά] p^{45.66.75} κ B (D) L W latt (sy^s) | γινώσκουμαι ὑπὸ
τῶν ἐμῶν A Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 sy^{p.h} Chrys
- 10:25 om. αὐτοῖς] p⁶⁶ κ* D f⁴⁰ it^{d.r1} sa^{mss} bo^{mss} | + αὐτοῖς p⁷⁵ κ² A B*² L W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat | var.
lect.
- 10:29 þatei ... maizo: ð ... μεῖζόν] (B* lat bo) | ðς ... μεῖζόν p⁶⁶ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 | var. lect.
- 10:29 þo: αὐτά] 0211 475* 1424 f⁴⁰ it Chrys | om. p^{66.75} κ A B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 it^{d.ff2.l.r1}
- 10:30 meins: μου] W* Δ 27 1243 700 it^e sy^{s.p} co | om. p^{66.75} κ A B D L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat Chrys
- 11:3 is: αὐτοῦ] D S Ω f¹ f¹³ 28 157 565 579 1346 it | om. p^{64.5.66} κ A B L W Θ Ψ 33 𐌹 it^{b.ff2c} vg
- 11:16 seinaim: αὐτοῦ] D Π c 579 28 1071 f²⁵³ it^{d.f} | om. p^{66.75} κ A B C L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat Chrys
- 11:17 þujan fidwor dagans: ἥδη τέσσαρας ἡμέρας] p⁶⁶ it^{(a).ff2*c.l} vg^{mss} | 2 1 3 p⁷⁵ B C* Θ f¹³ vg^{mss} | var.
lect.
- 11:21–22 ni þau gadauþnodedi broþar meins; akei: οὐκ ἄν ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἀλλά] κ² L W it¹ | 1
2 3 4 5 6 p⁷⁵ κ* B C* | var. lect.
- 12:18 om. τοῦτο] 0211 lat | + τοῦτο p^{(66).75} (κ) A B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹
- 12:18 om. καί] p^{66κ.75(*vid).c} E H Δ Λ 2 27 461 1194 1203 1243 1505 1519 it | + καί p^{66c} A (B²) L Θ
Ψ f¹ f¹³ 𐌹 it^{aur.f.ff2} vg sy^h | var. lect.
- 12:21 om. οὐν] L 1216 it^{a.e} | + οὐν p^{66.75} κ A B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat
- 12:29 om. καί] κ D f¹ 69 565 1216 it^{d.ff2*.l.r1*} | + καί p^{66.75} A B L W Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 𐌹
- 12:29 -h: δέ] W it^{e.(l)} | om. p^{66.75} κ A B D L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹
- 12:32 alla: πάντα] p⁶⁶ κ* latt | πάντας κ² A B L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 Chrys | var. lect.
- 12:37 om. δέ] G it^{a.e} | + δέ p^{66.75} κ A B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 Chrys
- 13:34 ik: ἐγώ] p⁶⁶ it Chrys^a | om. κ A B L W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 𐌹 lat | var. lect.
- 13:38 þu mik afaikis kunnan: σὺ με ἀπαρνῆσῃ] W (it^{a.b.ff2.r1}) | οὐ ἀρνῆσῃ με p⁶⁶ B D 565 579 lat | var.
lect.
- 14:23 jah: καί] 0233 it^{r1} | om. p^{66.75} κ A B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹
- 14:28 ik: ἐγώ (πορεύομαι)] f¹³ it^{a.e.q} sa^{mss} | om. κ A B D L Θ Ψ 33 565 579 lat | var. lect.
- 15:5 ip: καί] et it^{aur.c.f.ff2}, Cyr] | om. p^{66.75} κ A B D L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat Chrys
- 15:5 swa: οὕτως] M 788 it^e | οὕτος p^{66.75} κ A B D L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 lat
- 16:20 jus: ὑμεῖς] p⁵ κ* B D 1 it sy^s co | + δέ κ² A L N W Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 𐌹 it^{aur.ff2c} vg sy^h sa^{mss} bo^{mss}
- 17:5 at þus faurþizeisi sa fairhus wesí: παρὰ σοί πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι] p⁶⁶ it^{a.f} GrNy | 3 4 5 6 7 1 2
κ A B C L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹 (lat) Chrys | var. lect.
- 17:11 þanzei atgaft mis: οὗς δέδωκάς μοι] D¹ N^c 69 76 205 209 892^s 1009 1192 1195 1210 1230 1505
1646 lat | ᾗ δέδωκάς μοι p⁶⁰ A B C Θ Ψ f¹³ 𐌹 | var. lect.
- 17:23 jah: καί] p⁶⁶ κ W 579 lat | ἵνα B C D L 33 it^{a.e.r1} sy^s Chrys | var. lect.
- 18:33 om. οὐν] 788 it^q | + οὐν κ A B C D^s L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 𐌹
- 19:4 om. καί] p⁹⁰ κ D^s Γ 0211 565 1519 f¹ latt sy^h | + καί A B L 33 vg^{mss} sy^p | var. lect.

19:12 framuh þamma sokida Peilatus fraletan ina: (ἐκ τούτου) οὖν ἐζήτει ὁ Πιλάτος (ἀπολῦσαι αὐτόν) | 565 1210 (it^{aur.f.g2}) | (1 2) 5 6 4 (7 8) p^{66vid} κ B L W Ψ it | var. lect.

The spectrum of the diffusion of these readings, which comprehends different textual traditions, would argue for the view that they represent old Wulfilian readings, later lost in the Byzantine text and remaining as relicts in the Gothic version as well in some minuscules produced in the Byzantine area.

C) 19/335 readings supported by ‘Western’ witnesses alone:

- 6:8 om. αὐτῶ] it^{ff2*.9A} | + αὐτῶ p^{66.75} κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat
 6:26 jah fauratanja: καὶ τέρατα] D it^{a.b.d.9A*.f*.gat.μ} | om. p⁷⁵ κ A B L N W Ψ Θ ℳ lat Chrys | var. lect.
 6:35 jah: καὶ] et it^{f.ff2} | om. p^{75vid} B L W 579 it^{a.b.e.r1.j} sy^{s.c.p} co | δέ A f¹ ℳ it^{c.d} vg sy^{h(mg)} | var. lect.
 6:50 om. καὶ] D* lat | + καὶ p⁶⁶ κ A B C L W Θ Ψ ℳ it^d
 7:39 sa weiha ana im: ἄγιον ἐπ’αὐτοῖς] D* it^{d.(f)} | om. p^{66(c).75} κ N* Θ Ψ sy^{s.c.p} lat | var. lect.
 9:19 om. οὖν] it^{a.e.q} | + οὖν p^{66.75} κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat Chrys
 9:28 siponjos sijum: μαθηταὶ ἐσμέν] discipuli sumus lat | 2 1 p^{66.75} κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^{(e).d.q.δ.47} Chrys
 11:33 Iudaius þaiei qemun miþ izai: Ἰουδαίους τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῇ] Iudaeos qui uenerant cum ea lat | συνελθόντας αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους pm | var. lect.
 12:36 galair jah: ἀπῆλθεν καὶ] D latt | ἀπελθὼν p^{66.75} κ A B L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ Chrys
 13:13 om. καὶ] it^{r1.p.μ} | + καὶ p⁶⁶ κ A B C D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat Chrys
 13:14 om. ἐγώ] it^{b.r1.p.gat.μ} | + ἐγώ p⁶⁶ κ A B C D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat Chrys
 13:18 usfulliþ waurþi þata gamelido: πληρωθῆ ἡ γραφή] D lat | 2 3 1 p⁶⁶ κ A B C L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³
 13:36 (andhafjands Iesus) qaf: (ἀποκριθεὶς Ἰησοῦς) εἶπεν/ἔφη] (respondit Iesus et) dixit it^{ff2} |
 13:38 þei: ὅτι] D* it^{c.d.r1} | om. p⁶⁶ κ A B C L W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat
 15:7 aþþan: δέ] D it^{d.f} | om. κ A B L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ
 15:24 mik: ἐμέ] me it^{e.l.μ} | om. ἐμέ p⁶⁶ κ A B C D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat
 17:20 om. καὶ] it^{a.b.9A.q.gat.48} | + καὶ κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat Chrys
 18:23 om. αὐτῶ] it^{9A.gat.} | + αὐτῶ (κ) A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ (f¹³) 33 ℳ lat
 19:2 jah: καὶ] et it^{(e).f.q} | om. καὶ p⁶⁶ κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat

It is worth noting that the Gothic readings did not always find correspondence in the same Latin manuscript(s). In these cases it is then possible both that the Gothic version has been changed according to the *Vetus Latina* and that the ‘Western’ Greek readings were already in Wulfila’s *Vorlage*.

Among the non-Byzantine readings of the Gothic text there are other two interesting groups that comprehend readings not attested in ‘Western’ witnesses, except the *Codex Brixianus* (it^f/10).³¹ The possibility that they are the result of Latin influence is therefore negligible or very low (otherwise one should assume that such readings were lost in the entire Latin tradition). They testify to the conservative character of the Gothic version:

D) 27/335 readings attested in few Greek witnesses:

- 6:1 jah: καί| V 9 183 190 247 280 350 it^f | *om.* p^{66(c).75vid} κ Α Β Λ W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℹ it sy^{c.s.p.h} co | *var. lect.*
- 6:8 Paitraus Seimonas: Πέτρου Σίμωνος| Θ Bas | 2 1 p^{28.66.75} κ Α Β Δ Λ Ν W Ψ ℹ latt sy co
- 7:12 mikila was: πολλὸς ἦν| 416 1053 1424 1644 2549* | περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν πολλὸς p⁷⁵ Β Λ W | *var. lect.*
- 7:15 manageins: ὄχλοι| 047 it^f | Ἰουδαῖοι p^{66.75} κ Β Δ Λ Ν W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℹ lat sy
- 7:46 manna swaswe sa manna: (ἐλάλησεν) ἄνθρωπος ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος| 28 700 | (ἐλάλησεν) οὗτος ἄνθρωπος p^{66(c).75} κ² Β Λ W vg^{ms} bo | *var. lect.*
- 8:38 hausideduþ fram attin izwaramma: ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν) (κ²) C Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 it^f Chrys | ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς p⁷⁵ Β C (L) W | *var. lect.*
- 8:50 *om.* δέ| 69 124 788 1210 1505 Chrys | + δέ p^{66.75} κ Β C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℹ latt
- 9:1 afþwahan in þata swumfsl Siloamis: νίψαι εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ Σιλωάμ| Κ Π f¹³ 9 28 (33) 1071 1424 it^f Chrys | εἰς τὸν Σιλωάμ καὶ νίψαι p^{66.75} κ Β Δ Λ W Θ f¹ 565 it | *var. lect.*
- 10:4 *om.* πάντα| κ* | + πάντα p^{66c.75} κ² Β Δ Λ W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 it^{a.d.e} | *var. lect.*
- 10:31 aftra: πάλιν| κ Β Λ W 33 ^{A073} sy^p sa^{mss} | + οὖν p⁶⁶ Α Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℹ it^f sy^h sa^{mss} | *var. lect.*
- 10:39 ina aftra gafahan: αὐτὸν πάλιν πιάσαι| Ω 9 | οὖν αὐτὸν πάλιν πιάσαι κ² Α Λ W Ψ f¹ 33 565 1424 it^f | *var. lect.*
- 11:41 þarei was: οὗ ἦν| Α Κ Π 0211 0250 1 579 1582* (it^f) sy^h | *om.* p⁶⁶ κ Β C* Δ Λ W Θ Ψ 33 | *var. lect.*
- 12:3 fotuns is skufta seinamma: τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ταῖς θριξίν ἐαυτῆς| Μ | ταῖς θριξίν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ p^{66.75} κ Α Β Δ Λ Q W Ψ 33 ℹ | *var. lect.*
- 12:43 mais hauheín manniska: μᾶλλον τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων| 579 1424 | 2 3 4 5 1 p^{66.75} κ Α Β Δ Λ W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℹ latt
- 12:47 galaubjai: πιστεύση| S 0211 1424* it^f | μὴ φυλάξῃ p^{66*.75} κ Α Β Λ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 it^{ff2c.lc} vg sy
- 13:18 luarjans: τίνας| κ Β C L M 33 | οὓς p⁶⁶ Α Δ W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℹ
- 13:31 þan galaiþ ut. Qaþ þan Iesus: ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν. Λέγει οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς| U Ψ 047 | 1 4 2 3 (5) 6 p⁶⁶ κ Β C Δ Λ W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 | *var. lect.*
- 14:11 ni galaubeiþ mis: μὴ πιστεύετε μοι| G | πιστεύετε p^{66.75} κ Δ Λ W 33 (579) lat sy^{c.p} sa | *var. lect.*
- 14:30 *om.* γάρ| 0211 69 | + γάρ p⁶⁶ κ Α Β Δ Λ Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℹ latt
- 14:30 bigitip: εὐρήσει| Κ Υ Π it^f sy^{hmg} | ἔχει p⁶⁶ κ Α Β Δ Λ Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℹ
- 14:31 meinana: μου| ^{f40} it^f | *om. rell.*
- 15:16 *om.* καὶ ἔθηκα ὑμᾶς| Δ 565 1424 f¹³ | καὶ ἔθηκα ὑμᾶς κ Α Β Δ Λ Ν Θ Ψ f¹ 33 ℹ (latt) | *var. lect.*
- 16:16 unte ik gagga du attin ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα| 9^c 33 1192 1210 1212 1505 ^{663.735.1073.1075.1076s.1082(1).1091.1692} | *om.* ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα p^{5.66} κ Β Δ Λ W it sa bo^{pt} | *var. lect.*
- 17:14 us þamma fairhuau ni im: ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰμί| Μ 0211 9 1243 ^{A075.1091(3)} | 4 5 1 2 3 κ Α Β C L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 ℹ (latt)
- 18:38 so: ἡ| f¹ | *om.* p⁶⁶ κ Α Β Δ^s Λ Ν W Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 ℹ
- 18:38 *om.* πάλιν| 0290 | + πάλιν p⁶⁶ κ Α Β Δ^s Λ Ν W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℹ
- 18:39 ei: ἴνα (ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν)| κ Κ U W Π 27^s 475^s 700 | *om.* p^{60vid} Α Β C D^s Λ Ν Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 latt | *var. lect.*

These readings would represent old crystallised survival of the pre-Byzantine readings of Wulfila's *Vorfage*.

E) 11/335 readings peculiar to the Gothic text, occasionally supported by the *Codex Brixianus* (it^f/10), against the remaining Greek and Latin tradition:

7:7 ins: αὐτῶν¹] it^f (illis) | αὐτοῦ *rell.*

7:7 ize: αὐτῶν²] it^f (eorum) | αὐτοῦ *rell.*

7:12 sunjeins: ἀληθῆς] it^f (uerax) | ἀγαθός *rell.*

7:23 ip: δέ] it^f (autem) | *om. rell.*

9:6 imma ana augona þata fani þamma blindin: αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τὸν πηλὸν τοῦ τυφλοῦ]

Goth | αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς *pm* | *var. lect.*

10:37 wajamerjau: βλασφημῶ] Goth | βλασφημεῖς *rell.*

12:9 Iesus: Ἰησοῦς] it^f (Iesus) | *om. rell.*

15:2 goþ: καλόν] Goth | *om. rell.*

18:5 andhafjandans imma qeþun: ἀποκριθέντες αὐτῷ εἶπαν] it^f (respondentes ei dixerunt) | ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ *rell.*

18:10 sah þan haitans was namin Malkus: ἦν δὲ ὄνομα ἐκεῖνῳ Μάλχος] Goth | ἦν δὲ ὄνομα τῷ δούλῳ ἐκεῖνῳ Μάλχος 27^s P²⁵³ P¹⁰⁹⁶ | ἦν δὲ ὄνομα τῷ δούλῳ Μάλχος *rell.*

18:32 fraujiins: (ὁ λόγος) κυρίου (πληρωθῆ) Goth | (πληρωθῆ ὁ λόγος) τοῦ κυρίου Chrys | Ἰησοῦ *rell.*

Their origin is not clear. They may well reflect lost Greek readings.

In conclusion, the mere presence of ‘Western’ readings in the Gothic text is not necessarily a sign of Latin influence, because both the Gothic and the Old Latin readings might independently reflect a Greek model, often witnessed by D/05. Therefore, it is better to take a cautious approach to the possibility of attributing the ‘Western’ readings of the Gothic text to a process of Latinisation. Indeed, the great majority of the non-Byzantine readings of the Gothic Gospels (here exemplified by the readings of John) could be seen as residual in respect to the process of development and standardisation of the Byzantine text and not the result of post-Wulfilian modifications.

Of course, the Gothic text – like every other textual tradition – underwent some changes in the course of its copying, as a comparison of the passages transmitted by two manuscripts places in evidence.³² The possibility that some copyist changed the text or that some reader added glosses according to the Latin tradition that later penetrated into the text is not to be excluded. That all the non-Byzantine readings are post-Wulfilian modifications seems unlikely in light of cultural reasons. Wulfila’s text represented, without doubt, an important religious symbol of the Gothic identity, on which the Arian Church based its own existence, at least in Ostrogothic Italy (no information indeed survives in regards to the Visigoths). The production of a magnificent manuscript like the *Codex Argenteus* in early sixth-century Ostrogothic Italy – probably produced in a *scriptorium* of the capital Ravenna³³ – and the building of several churches and of a baptistery for Arian worship in the same city³⁴

would argue for the preservation of the religious customs by the Ostrogothic rulers and reveal the will to posit the Gothic Church on the same level as the Latin one. A revision of Wulfila's text on the basis of the Latin tradition would seem to contradict such a culturally and religiously conservative picture.

Appendix³⁵

Byzantine readings (included in **℞**) or a great part of these (included in **m** and *pm*) that agree with the Gothic readings (188/335):

- 5:36 ik: ἐγώ] **Θ Ψ f¹³ m** lat | *om.* p⁶⁶ **κ A B D L N W f¹ 33** it
 6:2 jah laistida: καὶ ἠκολούθει] **A Θ Ψ ℞** it^{f,q} vg sy^h Chrys^a | ἠκολούθει δέ p^{66,75vid} **κ B (D) L N W f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579** it sa^{mss} bo^{pl} Chrys^b | *var. lect.*
 6:9 ains: ἐν] **A Θ m** lat sy^{s,p,h} | *om.* p^{28,66,75} **κ B D L N W Ψ 565** Chrys
 6:14 Iesus: ὁ Ἰησοῦς] **A L N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ (1424) 33 ℞** it^{f,ff2,q} sy^{p,h} (bo) | *om.* **κ B D W** lat sy^{cs} co | *var. lect.*
 6:15 ina: αὐτόν] **D Θ Ψ f¹³ ℞** (lat) sy Chrys | *om.* p⁷⁵ **κ A B L N* W 565 579 33** | *var. lect.*
 6:15 aftra: πάλιν] p⁷⁵ **κ A B D L N Θ pm** lat sy^c | *om.* **W Ψ pm** Chrys
 6:21 skíp warþ: τὸ πλοῖον ἐγένετο] **κ (D) Θ ℞** it^{a,ff2} | 3 1 2 p⁷⁵ **A B L N W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579** lat
 6:40 þis sandjandins mik: τοῦ πέμψαντος με] **A m** Chrys | πατρός μου p⁷⁵ **κ B C D L N W Θ 565** it | *var. lect.*
 6:42 sa: οὗτος] **A ℞** | *om.* p^{66,75} **B C D L W Θ f¹ 33** Chrys | *var. lect.*
 6:43 þan: οὖν] **κ A D N W Θ Ψ ℞** lat sy^h | *om.* p^{66,75} **B C L f¹³ 33** it^c
 6:45 nu: οὖν] **A Θ Ψ f¹ ℞** it^q sy^{c,p,h} | *om.* p^{66,75} **κ B C D L N W f¹³ 33 579** lat sy^s Chrys
 6:47 du mis: εις ἐμέ] **A C² D Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞** lat sy^{p,h} co Chrys^a | *om.* p^{66,75vid} **κ B C* L W Θ** Chrys^b | *var. lect.*
 6:49 manna in auþidai: τὸ μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] p⁶⁶ **κ A L Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞** it^q sy^h | 3 4 5 1 2 **B C W Θ** it^{(aur).c,ff2} vg Chrys | *var. lect.*
 6:51 þatei ik giba: ἦν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπέρ] **Θ f¹ f¹³ ℞** it^{f,q} sy^{p,h} bo Chrys | *om.* p^{66,75} (**κ**) **B C D L W Ψ 33 579** lat sy^{s,c} sa
 6:55 bi sunjai... bi sunjai: ἀληθῶς... ἀληθῶς] p^{66*} (**D**) **Θ m** lat sy | ἀληθής... ἀληθής p^{66(c),75} **κ¹ B C L W Ψ f¹ 565 579 1424** it^q co Chrys
 6:58 izwarai manna: ὑμῶν τὸ μάννα] **N (Θ) Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℞** lat sy^{p,h} Chrys | *om.* p^{66,75} **κ B C L W 33** bo^{mss} | *var. lect.*
 6:65 meinamma: μου] **C³ N Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞** lat sy^{p,h} sa^{mss} Chrys | *om.* p⁶⁶ **κ B C* D L W Θ** it sy^{s,c} sa^{mss} bo
 6:66 galipun sponje is: ἀπῆλθον τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ] **m** | 2 3 4 1 p^{66,75} **B C D L N W Θ Ψ** Chrys | *var. lect.*
 6:69 Xristus sunus gudis libandins: ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος] **N Ψ f¹³ ℞** it^{f,ff2,q,r1} sy^{p,h} bo^{mss} Chrys | ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ p⁷⁵ **κ B C* D L W** it^d sa^{mss} | *var. lect.*
 6:70 Iesus: ὁ Ἰησοῦς] p^{(66),75} **B C L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 pm** it^{f,q} vg | *om.* **pm** it sy^s | *var. lect.*
 6:71 wisands: ὧν] p⁶⁶ **κ C² N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞** lat sy^h | *om.* p⁷⁵ **B C* D L** it^d
 7:1 jah luarboda Iesus afar þata: καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ ταῦτα] **m** it^q Chrys^a | 1 5 6 2 3 4 **κ¹ C* L Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565** lat | *var. lect.*
 7:4 in analaugnein lua: ἐν κρυπτῷ τι] p⁶⁶ **D W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℞** lat sy^h Chrys | 3 1 2 p⁷⁵ **κ B L N** | *var. lect.*

- 7:8 þo: ταύτην] κ* f¹³ 33 m lat | *om.* p^{66,75} κ^c B D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 1424 it^b Chrys | *var. lect.*
- 7:8 ni nauh: οὐπω] p^{66,75} B L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 M it^{f,q} sy^{p,h} sa bo^{pt} | οὐκ κ D lat sy^{s,c} bo^{pt} Chrys
- 7:9 du im: αὐτοῖς] p⁷⁵ B D¹ Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 m 1424 it^{f,q,r1} sy^h Chrys^a | *om.* p⁶⁶ κ D* L N W f¹ 565 lat co Chrys^b
- 7:10 þanuh jah is galaip in þo dulþ: τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν] D Θ f¹ f¹³ M lat sy^{(s).c,h} Chrys^a | 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 p^{66,75} κ B L N W Ψ 33 it^a sy^p | *var. lect.*
- 7:10 swe: ὡς] p^{66,75vid} B L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 M lat sy^{p,h} bo Chrys^a | *om.* κ D 1424 it sy^{s,c} sa bo^{pt} Chrys^b
- 7:12 *om.* δέ (ἔλεγον)] p⁶⁶ κ D L Ψ M it^{b,c,q,r1} bo^{mss} | + δέ p^{75vid} B N W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 lat sy^h sa bo^{pt} | *var. lect.*
- 7:15 jah sildaleikidedun: καὶ ἐθαύμαζον] N Ψ f¹³ M it^f vg | ἐθαύμαζον οὖν p^{66,75} κ B D L W Θ f¹ 33 it | *var. lect.*
- 7:20 jah qeþun: καὶ εἶπεν] D N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ M latt sy^{p,(h)} | *om.* p^{66,75} κ B L W 33 co
- 7:26 bi sunjai: ἀληθῶς] m it^{f,q} Chrys^a | *om.* p^{66,75} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 lat Chrys^b
- 7:31 ip managai þizos manageins: πολλοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου] Ψ m it^q (Chrys) | 3 4 5 2 1 p⁷⁵ B L N f¹ lat | *var. lect.*
- 7:31 taiknins: σημεῖα] p^{66,75} κ B L N W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 pm Chrys | + τούτων pm | *var. lect.*
- 7:32 andbahtans þai Fareisaieis jah þai auhumistans: ὑπηρέτας οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς] m it^{a,q,r1} sy^h | 5 6 4 2 3 1 p⁷⁵ B L N W Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 565 lat (co) | *var. lect.*
- 7:33 leitila hueila: μικρὸν χρόνον] (D) N Ψ f¹ 33 M (lat) Chrys | 2 1 p^{66,75} κ B L W Θ f¹³ it^{(c),l,q}
- 7:34 *om.* με] p⁶⁶ κ D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 M latt Chrys | + με p⁷⁵ B N 565 sy
- 7:36 *om.* με] p⁶⁶ κ D L N W Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 M lat | + με p⁷⁵ B f¹ 565 vg^{mss} sy
- 7:40 managai þan þizos manageins: πολλοὶ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου] N (Θ) Ψ 0105 f¹³ 33 M it^(f,q) sy^{(p),h} | ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου οὖν p^{66,75} κ B D L W f¹ 565 lat (co) | *var. lect.*
- 7:42 Kristus qimip: ὁ Χριστὸς ἐρχεται] p⁶⁶ κ (D) N Θ f¹ f¹³ M it | ἐρχεται ὁ Χριστὸς p⁷⁵ B L W Ψ 33 it^{aur,c} vg Chrys
- 7:43 in þizai managein warþ: ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐγένετο] f¹ f¹³ M it^q | 4 1 2 3 p^{66,75} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ 33 lat
- 7:52 praufetus us Galeilaia: προφήτης ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας] p^{66c} κ D W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 M lat | 2 3 4 1 p^{(66*).75vid} B L N Ψ 1424 Chrys^a
- 8:12 du im Iesus rodida: αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν] 1424 m | 1 4 2 3 p⁶⁶ κ* (B) L W Θ f¹³ it^{c,(q)} | *var. lect.*
- 8:14 aiþþau: ἦ] p^{39,66,75c} B D N Ψ f¹ pm lat sy^h sa bo | καὶ p^{75*} κ L W Θ f¹³ pm it bo^{ms} | *var. lect.*
- 8:21 Iesus: (αὐτοῖς) ὁ Ἰησοῦς] p^{66c} N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 M lat sy sa bo | *om.* p^{39vid,66*,75} κ B D L W it^{b,d,(e)}
- 8:25 jah: καὶ] N Ψ f¹³ M | *om.* καὶ p^{66,75} κ B D L W Θ f¹ 33 565 lat
- 8:28 im: αὐτοῖς] p^{66(c),75} κ D N Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 M lat sy co | *om.* p^{66*} B L W f¹ 565 it^a
- 8:28 meins: μου] B f¹ M it^{f,q} sy^{p,h} co Chrys | *om.* p^{66,75} κ D L N T (W) Θ Ψ f¹³ 579 lat sy^s bo^{mss}
- 8:29 atta: ὁ πατήρ] N M it^{f,q} sy^{(p),h} (bo^{pt}) Chrys | *om.* p^{66,75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 565 579 33 lat sy^s co
- 8:38 ik þatei: ἐγὼ ὃ] Ψ (f¹) M lat | ἃ ἐγὼ p^{66,75} κ B C W 565 Chrys | *var. lect.*
- 8:38 meinamma: μου] κ N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ M it sy Chrys | *om.* p^{66,75} B C L it^l vg | *var. lect.*
- 8:39 weseip: ἦτε] C N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ M it sy^{p,h} | ἔστε p^{66,75} κ B D L it^{d,ff2} vg sy^s
- 8:41 þanuh: οὖν] p^{66,75} C D N Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 M it^{aur,(d),f} vg sy^{h**} | *om.* κ B L W f¹ it sy^{s,p} co
- 8:48 þan: οὖν] Ψ M lat sy^h Chrys | *om.* p^{66,75} κ B C D L N W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579
- 8:52 þanuh: οὖν] p⁷⁵ D L N Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 M lat sy^h sa^{mss} | *om.* p⁶⁶ κ B C W Θ 579 it sy^{s,p} sa^{mss} bo

- 8:54 unsar: ἡμῶν] p⁷⁵ A B² C N W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579 m lat sy sa bo^{mss} | ὑμῶν κ B* D F Ψ 700 1424
it vg^{cl} bo^{ms} Chrys
- 8:58 qab: εἶπεν] p^{66.75} A B C L W Θ Ψ 33 pm lat | + οὖν D N f¹ f¹³ pm it^d | var. lect.
- 8:59 usleipands þairh midjans ins jah hvarboda swa: διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ παρήγεν οὗτος] A
Θ^c f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^{(f).q} vg^{ms} | om. p^{66.75} κ* B D W Θ* lat sy^s sa bo^{mss} | var. lect.
- 9:4 ik: ἐμέ] κ¹ A C N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy bo^{mss} Chrys | ἡμᾶς p^{66.75} κ* B (D) L W it^d sa bo^{mss} | var.
lect.
- 9:9 -h þatei: δὲ ὅτι (ὁμοιος)] A D Ψ f¹³ ℳ it^{(d).f.l.(δ)} sy^h | ἔλεγον οὐχὶ ἀλλὰ (ὁμοιος) p^{66.75} B C W it^{b.r1}
sy^p | var. lect.
- 9:10 om. οὖν] p⁷⁵ A B W f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy^{s-p} sa^{mss} bo | + οὖν p⁶⁶ κ C D L N Θ Ψ it sy^{h**} sa^{mss}
- 9:11 jah qab manna: καὶ εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος] A N Ψ f¹³ ℳ it (bo) | om. p^{66.(75)} κ B (C) (D) L (W) (Θ) f¹
33 (565) lat sa | var. lect.
- 9:11 om. ὅτι] p⁷⁵ A D N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ latt Chrys | + ὅτι p⁶⁶ κ B L
- 9:12 þan: οὖν] p⁶⁶ D N Θ Ψ f¹³ ℳ (it) | καὶ p⁷⁵ κ B L f¹ 33 W 565 it^d | var. lect.
- 9:14 þan: ὅτε] A D N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^{d.f.(l).q} vg sy^{p.h} | ἐν ἡ ἡμέρᾳ p^{66.75} κ B L W 33 it | var. lect.
- 9:16 sa manna nist fram guda: οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν παρὰ θεοῦ] A m f¹ f¹³ it^{a.(b).f.q} (Chrys) | 4
5 1 6 7 2 3 p^{66.75} κ B D L N W Θ Ψ 33 579 lat
- 9:16 om. δέ] p^{66.75} A L N Θ Ψ ℳ lat sy^h bo^{ms} Chrys | + δέ κ B D W f¹ f¹³ 565 it^e sy^{s-p} co
- 9:19 nu saihiþ: ἄρτι βλέπει] p⁶⁶ A N Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ (lat) sy^{p.h} | 2 1 p⁷⁵ κ B D L W Θ 33 (it) sy^s Chrys^b |
var. lect.
- 9:20 þan im: δὲ αὐτοῖς] A N Ψ m it^q sy^h | οὖν p^{66.75} κ B | var. lect.
- 9:21 silba uswahsans ist, ina fraihniþ: αὐτὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχει, αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσατε] A N f¹³ ℳ it^{l-q} (sy) | 4 5
2 3 p⁶⁶ κ² B (D) L Θ Ψ f¹ 33 579 lat bo | var. lect.
- 9:23 fraihniþ: ἐρωτήσατε] A L N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ | ἐπερωτήσατε p^{66.75} κ B W | var. lect.
- 9:24 anþaramma sinþa þana mannan: ἐκ δευτέρου τὸν ἄνθρωπον] A N Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^{a.f.r1} vg | 3 4 1 2
p^{66.75} κ B L W Θ 33 (it) | var. lect.
- 9:26 aftra: πάλιν] p⁶⁶ κ² A L N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^{f-q} sy^{p.h} | om. p⁷⁵ κ* B D W 579 lat sy^s co
- 9:28 is siponeis: εἶ μαθητῆς] f¹³ ℳ it Chrys^b | 2 1 p⁷⁵ κ A B N W Ψ f¹ 33 579 Chrys^a | var. lect.
- 9:31 þan: δέ] A N W Ψ f¹³ ℳ vg sy^{p.h} Chrys | om. p^{66.75} κ B D L Θ 33 it | var. lect.
- 9:35 du imma: αὐτῶ] p⁶⁶ κ² A L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy co Chrys | om. p⁷⁵ κ* B D W it^e bo^{mss}
- 9:35 gudis: θεοῦ] A L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy^{p.h} bo Chrys | ἀνθρώπου p^{66.75} κ B D W sy^s co
- 9:37 þan: δέ] A L f¹ f¹³ ℳ | om. p^{66.75} (κ) B (D) W Θ Ψ 33 it^{b.e} sy | var. lect.
- 9:40 jah: καί] A f¹³ ℳ lat sy^{p.h} | om. p^{66.75} κ B L W Θ Ψ 33 579 co
- 9:40 þai wisandans miþ imma oi ðντες μετ' αὐτοῦ] A f¹³ ℳ | 1 3 4 2 p^{66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ 565 579 f¹
33 (latt) Chrys
- 9:41 eiþan: ἡ οὖν] A f¹³ ℳ it^{(a).i.l.r1} sy^h | om. p⁶⁶ κ* B Θ Ψ 565 (579) lat (sy^p) | var. lect.
- 10:4 jah: καί] A D f¹³ ℳ lat | om. p^{66.75} κ B L W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 565 it | var. lect.
- 10:7 du im: αὐτοῖς] D L Θ Ψ m it^{a.d} sy co | om. p^{6vid.75} B | var. lect.
- 10:8 om. πρὸ ἐμοῦ] p^{45vid.75} κ* pm lat sy^{s-p} sa Chrys | + πρὸ ἐμοῦ p⁶⁶ κ² A B D L W Ψ f¹³ 33 pm sy^{h**}
| var. lect.
- 10:12 þo lamba: τὰ πρόβατα] A Ψ f¹³ ℳ lat sy^{p.h} | om. p^{44vid.45.66.75} κ B D L W Θ 33 565 it^d sy^s co
- 10:13 iþ sa asneis afþliuhþi: ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς φεύγει] A^c Ψ f¹³ ℳ lat sy | om. p^{44vid.45.66.75} κ B D L W Θ
33 (579) it^{d.e} co | var. lect.
- 10:19 þanuh οὖν] p⁶⁶ A D Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ sy^h bo Chrys | om. p⁷⁵ κ B L W 579 lat sy^{s-p}

- 10:22 þan: δέ] p^{66*} κ A D Θ f¹³ ℳ lat sy^{p,h} Chrys | τότε p^{66(c).75} B L W Ψ 33 579 it^e sa^{mss} bo^{pt} | *var. lect.*
- 10:22 jah: καί] A f¹³ ℳ lat sy bo^{mss} Chrys | *om.* p^{66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ 33 565 579 it^{ff2,r1} co | *var. lect.*
- 10:26 unte ni: οὐ γάρ] A ℳ it^{a,c,e} | ὅτι οὐκ p^{66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 lat
- 10:26 swaswe qab izwis: καθώς εἶπον ὑμῖν] A D Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it sy bo^{pt} | *om.* p^{66(c).75} κ B L W Θ 33 it^{aur,c} vg sa bo^{pt} | *var. lect.*
- 10:28 libain aiweinon giba im: ζῶην αἰώνιον δίδωμι αὐτοῖς] p^{66*} A D Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ Chrys | 3 4 1 2 p^{66c} p⁷⁵ κ B L W 33 | *var. lect.*
- 10:29 meinis: μου] A D W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ latt sy^{p,h} sa bo Chrys | ^{66.75}vid κ B L sy^s *var. lect.*
- 10:32 goda waurstwa: καλὰ ἔργα (ἔδειξα ὑμῖν)] p⁶⁶ D L f¹³ m it^d | ⁴⁵ κ A (Θ) Ψ f¹ 33 565 lat *var. lect.*
- 10:32 meinamma: μου] p⁶⁶ κ² A L W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy^{p,h} sa ⁴⁵vid κ* B D Θ it sy^s
- 10:34 *om.* ὅτι] A f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^f p^{66.75} κ B D L W Θ Ψ 33 579 (lat)
- 10:38 galaubjaip: πιστεύητε] A Ψ f¹³ ℳ it^{aur,f,ff2c} vg sy^{p,h} Chrys | γινώσκητε p^{45.66.75} B L (W) Θ 33 565 it^{r1}vid co | *var. lect.*
- 10:38 in imma: ἐν αὐτῷ] p⁴⁵ A Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it sy^h sa^{mss} | ἐν τῷ πατρὶ p^{66.75} κ B D L W 33 lat sy^{s,(p),hmg} (sa^{mss} bo) | *var. lect.*
- 10:42 galaubidedun managai du imma jainar: ἐπίστευσαν πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ] A Θ f¹³ sy^h m | 2 1 3 4 5 p^{66.75} κ B D L (W) Ψ 33. 565 579 vg^{ms} | *var. lect.*
- 11:9 sind hucilos: εἰσιν ὄραϊ] Θ pm | 2 1 p⁶⁶ κ A B C L W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 pm latt | *var. lect.*
- 11:12 is: αὐτοῦ] C² L Ψ f¹ m it^{e,f} vg | αὐτῷ p^{66.75} B C* Θ f¹³ 33 it^{b,r1} | *var. lect.*
- 11:19 jah: καί] A Ψ f¹³ ℳ it^f | δέ p⁴⁵vid.66.75 κ B C D L W Θ f¹ 33 lat
- 11:19 bi: τὰς περὶ] p⁴⁵vid A C² Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ | πρὸς τήν p^{66.75}vid κ B C* L W 33
- 11:19 izo: αὐτῶν] A C Ψ f¹ 33 ℳ lat | *om.* p^{45.66.75} κ B D L W Θ it^{d,ff2*}1
- 11:44 jah: καί] A C³ W Θ p^{1.13} 33 ℳ latt sy^{p,h} | *om.* p⁴⁵vid.66.75 B C* L Ψ | *var. lect.*
- 11:44 *om.* αὐτόν] κ A C² D W Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ lat sy | + αὐτόν p^{45.59}vid.66.75 B C* L Θ 33 579 it^{ff2}
- 12:1 sa dauþa: ὁ θετηκῶς] p⁶⁶ A D Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^{b,d,ff2} vg sy^s bo | *om.* κ B L W it sy^p sa Chrys
- 12:4 ains pize siponje is, Judas Seimonis sa Iskariotes: εἷς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Ἰούδας Σίμωνος ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης] A Θ (Ψ) f¹³ ℳ (it) sy^h (bo) | 6 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 κ sy^{(s),p} sa | *var. lect.*
- 12:6 habaida jah: εἶχε καί] p⁶⁶ A Ψ f¹³ ℳ it | ἔχον p⁷⁵ κ B D L Q W Θ 33 it^d vg | *var. lect.*
- 12:7 *om.* ἴνα] A f¹ ℳ it^f Chrys | + ἴνα p^{66.75} κ B D L Q W Θ Ψ 33 579 lat | *var. lect.*
- 12:7 fastaida: τετήρηκεν] A f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^f sy^{p,h} | τηρήση p^{66.75}vid κ B D L Q W Θ Ψ 33 579 lat sy^{hmg} co
- 12:13 *om.* καί] p⁶⁶ κ¹ A D Θ f¹ f¹³ ℳ sa bo^{mss} | + καί p⁷⁵vid κ*² B L Q W Ψ 579 bo
- 12:16 þan: δέ] A D Ψ 0250 f¹ f¹³ ℳ it sy^{p,h} sa^{ms} bo | *om.* p⁶⁶ κ B L Q W Θ 579 lat sy^s
- 12:22 jah aftra: καὶ πάλιν ... *om.* καί] W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ sy^{(p),h} | ἔρχεται ... καί p⁷⁵vid A B L it^a (sy^s) | *var. lect.*
- 12:26 jah: καί] A ℳ sy^{s,h} | *om.* p^{66*}75 κ B D L W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 lat sy^p
- 12:34 *om.* οὖν] A D Θ f¹ f¹³ (33) ℳ latt sy co Chrys | + οὖν p^{66.75} κ B L W Ψ 579 sy^{hmg} sa^{ms}
- 12:35 þande: ἕως] p⁶⁶ κ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat Chrys | ὡς A B D L W Θ Ψ 565 it^{e,(d)}
- 12:36 þande: ἕως] p⁶⁶ f¹ f¹³ ℳ lat Chrys | ὡς p⁷⁵ κ A B D L W Θ Ψ 33 579 it^{d,e}
- 12:41 þan: ὅτε] D f¹³ ℳ sy lat Chrys | ὅτι p^{66.75} κ A B L Θ Ψ 33 579 it^e co | *var. lect.*
- 13:11 *om.* ὅτι] κ A Θ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^{aur,(e),p} vg | + ὅτι p⁶⁶ B C L W Ψ 33^{vid} it
- 13:12 jah: καί] B C*³ D W Θ f¹ f¹³ ℳ lat sy^h | *om.* p⁶⁶ κ A C² L Ψ 33 it vg^{mss} sy^{s,p}
- 13:12 anakumbjands: ἀναπεσόν] C³ D Θ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^d vg sy^h | καὶ ἀνέπεσεν κ* B C* W 579 it^{e,p} sy^{s,p} sa bo^{mss} | *var. lect.*
- 13:18 miþ mis: μετ' ἐμοῦ] p⁶⁶ κ A D W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy (bo) | μου B C L vg^{ms} sa | *var. lect.*

- 13:19 biþe wairþai galaubjaiþ: ðtan g n nhtai piaste shtei | A D W       f¹ f¹³ 33   it | 3 1 2 p⁶⁶   L
(579) lat | *var. lect.*
- 13:23 þan: ð i p⁶⁶   A C² D W     f¹ f¹³ 33   latt sy^{p,h**} | *om.* B C* L     1424 sy^s
- 13:25 swa: o t w ] p⁶⁶ B C L f¹³ 33  m | *om.*   A D W       f¹  m latt sy co
- 13:28 þan: ð i p⁶⁶   A C D L     f¹ f¹³ 33   latt sy^{p,h} co | *om.* B W     579 sa^{ms} bo^{ms}
- 13:30 suns galaiþ ut: e th w s  xi l thev | A   f¹   it^{a,f,q} |  xi l thev e th s p⁶⁶   B C D L W     f¹³ 33 579
lat
- 13:36 ik:  g ]   D     f¹³ 33  m latt co (Chrys) | *om.* p⁶⁶ A B C L W     f¹  m
- 14:2 *om.*  ti p^{66*} C² N     it^{a,e,f,q} Chrys | +  ti p^{66(e)}   A B C* D L W     f¹³ 33 565 579 lat sy co
- 14:3 *om.* kai ( toi  s w) | A W   565  m sy^p sa^{mss} | + kai ( toi  s w) p⁶⁶   B C L N     f¹ f¹³ 33  m lat
| *var. lect.*
- 14:4 jah þana wig kunnuþ: kai t n  d n  id te | p^{66*} A C² D N       f¹ f¹³   lat sy co Chrys | t n
 d n p⁶⁶   B C* L Q W 33 579 it^{a,r1vid} sa^{ms} bo
- 14:5 jah: kai |   A C² D N       f¹ f¹³ 33   latt sy^{p,h} Chrys | *om.* p⁶⁶ B C*^{vid} L W it^{a,b} sy^s
- 14:9 jah: kai | A D L N       f¹ f¹³ 33   it^{f,q} sy sa | *om.* p^{66,75}   B Q W 579 lat bo
- 14:10 rodja:  al ] p⁶⁶   A W     f¹ f¹³ 33   latt sy^h Chrys |  g w p⁷⁵ (B*) L N it^{e,q} sy^{hmg} | *var. lect.*
- 14:10 sa taujiþ þo waurstwa: aut s poi i t   rga | A       f¹ f¹³   latt Chrys | poi i t   rga aut u p⁶⁶
  B D it^d | *var. lect.*
- 14:14 mik: me | p⁶⁶   B W     f¹ f¹³ 33  m it^{c,f} vg | *om.* A D L Q    m it^{vg^{mss}} co
- 14:17 ina: aut ] p^{66c} A D^c Q       f¹ f¹³ 33   latt Chrys | *om.* p^{66*,75}   B W 579 it^a | *var. lect.*
- 14:17 iþ: ð i | A D L     f¹ f¹³ 33   latt sy | *om.* p^{66,75}   B Q W     579 it^{a,b}
- 14:26 *om.*  g ] p⁷⁵   A D       f¹ f¹³   latt co | +  g  B L (33)
- 14:28 meins: mou]  *² D²   f¹³   it^{a,f,q} sy^{p,h} sa^{mss} bo Chrys^a | *om.*  ¹ A B D* L     33 565 lat sa^{ms}
Chrys^b
- 15:2 managizo akran: pl i na karþ n] p⁷⁵ A D     f¹ f¹³   it^(d) | 2 1 ( ) B L     33 579 lat
- 15:21 izwis:  mi ] A D¹ N     f¹³   latt sy^h |  is  m s p⁶⁶  ² B D* L     33 579 it^{sy^{hmg}} | *var. lect.*
- 15:25 gamelido in witoda ize: g rgam m nos  n t  n m  aut n] A   f¹³   | 2 3 4 5 1 p^{22vid.66cvid} ( *)
B D L     33 565 579 latt | *var. lect.*
- 15:26 þan: ð i | A D L       f¹ f¹³ 33   latt sy sa^{mss} bo^{pt} | *om.* p²²   B 579 it^{e,1} sa^{mss} bo^{pt} Chrys | *var.*
lect.
- 16:7 ik:  g ] A f¹³ 33   it^{vg^{mss}} Chrys | *om.*   B D L       latt co
- 16:10 meinamma: mou] A   f¹³   it^{c,f,q} sy sa^{mss} | *om.*   B D L W ( ) 33 579 lat sa^{mss} bo Chrys
- 16:17 ik:  g ] D W   f¹   it^{d,(fe)} sa bo | *om.* p^{5vid.66vid}   A B L N     f¹³ 33 565 579 700 lat
- 16:18 þatei qirþiþ:   l gei]  ² A B D² L N       33   latt sy bo | *om.* p^{5,66}  * D* W f¹³ 565 579 it sa
- 16:25 akei:  ll:] p^{66vid} A C³ D² N       f¹³   it^{c,f,q,r1} sy^h Chrys^a | *om.* p^{5vid}   B C* D* L W 33 579 lat
co | *var. lect.*
- 16:32 nu: n n] C³ D¹ N       f¹³   it^{f,q} sy^{p,h} | *om.* p^{22vid.66}  ² A B C* D* L W 33 it^b sy^s | *var. lect.*
- 17:1 uzuhhof: (kai)  pi re] A C³ N       (it) Chrys^a |  p ras   B C* D L W     f¹ 33 565 579 (lat)
- 17:1 jah: kai | A C³ N       it Chrys | *om.*   B C* D L W     f¹ 33 565^s 579 lat
- 17:4 ustauh:  telei s ] D       f¹³   latt sa^{ms} Chrys | telei s s p⁶⁶   A B C L N (W) 33 (it^{b,ff2})
sa^{mss} bo
- 17:12 in þamma fairhuau:  n t  k sm ] A C³ N       f¹³   it^{(a),f,q} sy bo^{ms} Chrys | *om.* p^{60,66}   B C* D
L W latt co
- 17:12 þanzei atgaft mis: o s d d k s mou] A (C³) D N       f¹ f¹³   latt sy^{p,h} (Chrys) |   d d k s mou
kai ( ²) B (C*) L W 33 (579) co | *var. lect.*

- 17:16 us þamma fairhau ni im: ek toþ kósmou ouk eimí] p^{66*} N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ sy^h Chrys^b | 4 5 1 2 3 κ
A B C D L W (lat) Chrys^a
- 17:19 ik: égō] B C D L N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^{aur.d.f} vg Chrys | om. κ A W 579 700 it sa bo^{ms}
- 17:21 ain: én] κ A C³ L N Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy^{p.h} bo | om. p^{66vid} B C* D W it^{c.d.e} sa bo^{ms}
- 17:22 siju: ésmen] κ² A C³ N Θ Ψ f¹³ ℳ lat | om. p^{60.66} (κ*) B C* D L W 33 it^e
- 18:2 gaiddja: sunéχθη] κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 pm it^{(a).q.(f)} | + kai pm | var. lect.
- 18:4 usgaggands ut: éxēlθōn eĩpen] p^{108vid} κ A C³ L N W Θ Ψ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^f | éxēlθen kai léγει B C*
D 565 lat Chrys | var. lect.
- 18:5 Iesus: ó ĩhsouþ] (κ) A C L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy^{p.h} sa bo | om. p⁶⁰ B D it^{b.c.r1} sy^s
- 18:6 þatei: óti] C f¹³ ℳ sy^h | om. κ A B D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 565 latt
- 18:11 hairu: máχairan] p⁶⁶ κ A B C D L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 pm lat | + sou f¹³ pm it^e
- 18:13 gatauhun ina: ápíγαγον autón] A C³ L Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ lat sy Chrys | ĩγαγον p^{66vid} κ* B D W 579
it^a | var. lect.
- 18:14 fraqistjan: áπολέσθαι] A C² N Ψ ℳ sy^h | áποθανεĩν p^{66vid} κ B C* D^s L W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579
latt sy^{s.p.hmg} Chrys
- 18:16 saci was kunþs þamma gudjin: (álloc) õs ĩn γνωστòc tῶ áρχιερει] p^{66vid} κ A C² D^s W Θ f¹ f¹³
33 ℳ lat sy^{p.h} co | ó γνωστòc B C*^{vid} L it^q | var. lect.
- 18:17 jaina þiwi so daurawardo du Þaitrau: ĩ παιδισκη ĩ θυρωροþ tῶ Πέτρω] p⁶⁶ κ A C³ D^s N (W) Θ
Ψ f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^{a.(ff2).q} | 5 6 1 2 3 4 p^{59vid} B C* L 33 lat
- 18:18 miþ im Þaitrus: μετ' autῶn ó Πέτροc] A D^s N Θ Ψ ℳ lat | 4 5 2 3 p^{60.66vid} κ B C L (W) f¹ 33
(565) 579 it^a | var. lect.
- 18:20 sinteino: pánton] C³ D^s Ψ m it^q sy^h | pántec κ A B C* L N W Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579 lat sy^{s.p}
- 18:22 andbahte atstandands: tῶn úπηρετῶn παρεστηκòc] A C³ D^s N (Θ) f¹ f¹³ ℳ it^q | 3 1 2 κ* B W
(lat) | var. lect.
- 18:25 ip: ouñ] C³ f¹³ m it^f | om. κ A B C* L N W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 lat
- 18:29 ana: katá] p⁶⁶ κ² A C D^s L N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat Chrys | om. κ* B 579 it^e
- 18:30 ubiltojic: kakoποιοúc] A C³ D^s N Θ f¹ f¹³ ℳ lat Chrys | κακὸν ποιωñ κ² B L W it^{a.(c).r1} | var. lect.
- 18:33 in praitauria aftra: eic tῶ praitwóron pálin] p^{60vid} κ A C² (N) Θ (Ψ) f¹ ℳ | 4 1 2 3 p^{52vid.66vid} B
C* D^s L W f¹³ 579 latt | var. lect.
- 18:36 aiþhau ... meinaí usdauidedeina: ān oi émoi ĩγωνίζοντο] A D^s N Θ ℳ it^q | 2 3 4 1 p^{60vid.90vid} κ
B² L W Ψ f¹³ 33 579 Chrys | var. lect.
- 18:37 ik: égō] A N Θ ℳ lat | om. p^{60vid} κ B D^s L W Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 it Chrys
- 18:38 fairino...bigita in þamma: aítian eúricōw én autῶ] κ A N W Θ Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^q vg^{ms} Chrys | 2
3 4 1 p^{90vid} B L 579 lat | var. lect.
- 18:40 aftra allai: pálin pántec] A Θ 1424 pm it^f vg sy^h | pálin κ B L W 579 | var. lect.
- 19:3 om. kai ĩρχοντο próc autón] A D^s Ψ f¹ m it^{f.q} sy^p | + kai ĩρχοντο próc autón p^{66.90} κ B L N W
Θ f¹³ 33 565 579 700 (lat) sy^h co
- 19:4 in imma ni ainohun fairino bigat: én autῶ ouðemián aítian eúricōw] D^s N Θ ℳ sy^h | 3 4 5 1 2
(κ¹) B f¹ 33 565 vg^{ms} | var. lect.
- 19:6 ina: autón] p^{90vid} κ A D^s N Θ f¹³ 33 ℳ (it) sy Chrys | om. p⁶⁶ B L W Ψ f¹ it^{aur} vg
- 19:7 unsaramma: ĩmῶn] p^{60vid} A Θ f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ it^q sy co Chrys | om. p^{66vid} κ B D^s L N W Ψ 579 lat
bo^{ms}
- 19:7 sik silban gudis sunu: éautῶn θεου υιόν] 700^s pm | 3 2 1 p^{60vid.(66)} κ B L (W) Ψ f¹ f¹³ 33 565 579
lat | var. lect.

- 19:10 ushramjan þuk jah waldufni aih fraletan: σταυρώσαι σε και ἐξουσίαν ἔχω ἀπολῶσαι] ρ⁶⁶ D^s L W
 Θ (Ψ) f¹ f¹³ 33 ℳ lat sy^h co | 6 2 3 4 5 1 ρ⁶⁰ κ Α Β Ν it^e sy^p
- 19:11 om. αὐτῶ] ρ^{66c} Α (f¹³) Ν ℳ lat sy^h sa^{ms} bo | + αὐτῶ ρ^{60vid} κ Β D^s L N^c W Ψ f¹ 33 565 579 it^{c,j}
 | var. lect.
- 19:11 ainhun ana mik nih wesi þus atgiban: οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ] Α Ν Θ f¹³ ℳ it^{ff2*} | 2 3 1 ρ^{66vid} κ Β
 D^s L W Θ Ψ f¹ 33 lat

Notes

- 1 The choice of this Gospel is due to the fact that the collation of its readings with the Greek and Latin witnesses is facilitated by the existence of recent collections of variants (see: www.iohannes.com, last access 23.11.2011). The extant part of the Gothic Gospel of John (5:45–7:52; 8:12–11:47; 12:1–49; 13:11–19:13) is transmitted by 89 leaves of the *Codex Argenteus* (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, DG 1). Besides the standard edition of Streitberg (see *Gotische Bibel* 1919 [= 2000]), recent new editions of this text are Snædal 2005 and Francini 2009.
- 2 This study is part of a larger project – financed by the Humboldt Foundation, with the support of the *Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung* (Münster/Westf., Germany) – which concerns the re-analysis of the Gothic text in light of recent New Testament criticism; see also Falluomini 2010; Falluomini 2011.
- 3 A survey of the main textual streams in Metzger & Ehrman 2005, pp. 276–280.
- 4 The expression ‘text type’ is considered little appropriate today (but it is still in use in New Testament scholarship), because it reflects old text-critical views, see Strutwolf’s view 2006 in Parker 2008, p. 174; Wachtel 2009, p. 1.
- 5 Many scholars attributed this recension to Lucian of Antiochia († 312) or the Antiochian milieu. See von Soden 1907, p. 1471; von Soden 1913, pp. xiii–xiv; Streeter 1924, p. 112; Aland & Aland 1989, p. 74.
- 6 The witnesses of the Gospels used by Streitberg in his edition are the manuscripts S/028 and V/031, E/07, F/09, G/011, H/013 and the citations of John Chrysostom (see *Gotische Bibel* 1919 [= 2000], p. xliii).
- 7 See *Gotische Bibel* 1908, pp. viii–ix; *Gotische Bibel* 1919 [= 2000], pp. xii and xlix.
- 8 Kauffmann 1903, pp. 453, 457–458; Kauffmann 1911, p. 120.
- 9 Friedrichsen 1926, pp. 194–195, 223–224 and 247; Friedrichsen 1939, pp. 40–43, 257
- 10 See, for instance, Hunter 1969, based entirely on Friedrichsen’s assumptions, part. at p. 347: ‘Thus during the period which elapsed between the original translation by Ulfilas and the production of the *Codex Argenteus* in the first half of the sixth century, a number of western readings from the Latin Bible infiltrated into the predominantly Byzantine text of the Gothic Gospels.’; Klein 1992, p. 339: ‘It is widely held that the Gothic Gospels are [...] translations of their Greek Vorlage with the intrusion, in a considerable number of cases, of »Western« readings, i.e. readings based on pre-Vulgate Latin versions of the text with which the Goths would have become familiar in Italy and France in the 6th century A.D.’; Metzger & Ehrman 2005, p. 116: ‘Ulfilas used that form of Greek text current in Byzantium about A.D. 350, belonging to the early Koine type of text. Western readings, particularly in the Pauline Epistles, were subsequently introduced from Old Latin manuscripts.’

- 11 Jülicher 1910, part. pp. 370–371.
- 12 Lietzmann 1919, p. 204.
- 13 Gryson 1990, p. 28.
- 14 Burton 1996, p. 82.
- 15 Kenyon 1937, pp. 197–203; Wachtel 1995, pp. 180–186; Zuntz 1995, p. 40; Metzger & Ehrman 2005, pp. 279–280; Wachtel 2005, pp. 27–31 and 35; Parker 2008, pp. 305–306; Wachtel 2009.
- 16 Ralston 1992, p. 123; Wachtel 2009, part. pp. 7–8.
- 17 Metzger & Ehrman 2005, p. 67.
- 18 Metzger & Ehrman 2005, p. 277.
- 19 About the tenacity of the New Testament variants, which may emerge also in late witnesses, see Aland & Aland 1989, p. 79. The lectionaries (siglum: *l*), in particular, may preserve pre-Byzantine readings, replaced instead in the biblical manuscripts, see Osburn 1995, pp. 61–74.
- 20 A ‘significant reading’ is a Gothic reading that clearly reflects a single Greek reading. Divergences in the word order, omission or insertion of particles and pronouns are considered when they are attested at least by two other witnesses. All readings that make no lexical or syntactical sense or are likely the result of scribal errors, glosses inserted into the text or clear harmonisation inside the Gothic tradition are not considered, as well as the word order with regard to the position of personal or demonstrative pronouns (because in many cases it seems to be independent of the Greek text, following rules proper to the Gothic language). Also, the rendering of the biblical proper names is not taken in account.
- 21 All decimals have been rounded up or down to the nearest integer.
- 22 See the Appendix.
- 23 Regarding Wulfila’s relations to the Church of Constantinople, where he died 383, see McLynn 2007, pp. 125–135.
- 24 Since several leaves of this *codex* are lost, only 146 significant readings out of 188 are preserved. The total number of significant readings of the Gothic text of John that may be collated with A/02 is 266.
- 25 The *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus* (N/022), of the sixth century, preserves an early Byzantine text (Metzger & Ehrman 2005, p. 79). Only 123 significant readings out of 188 are preserved (this *codex* is severely mutilated). The total number of significant readings of the Gothic text of John that may be collated with N/022 is 205.
- 26 See, for instance, Metzger & Ehrman 2005, pp. 67 (A/02), 79 (N/022), 83 (Θ/038) and 85 (Ψ/044).
- 27 The passages of Chrysostom’s citations comparable with the Gothic text are 142; in 85 of these the late Byzantine tradition supports the Gothic. In many cases (see Appendix) Chrysostom’s tradition is split; if part of the manuscripts (Chrys^a or Chrys^b) agrees with the Gothic text, it is considered to be among the agreements.
- 28 Metzger & Ehrman 2005, p. 279.
- 29 *Legenda*: the readings are cited according to www.iohannes.com; *Novum Testamentum Graece* 2006; *New Testament Greek Manuscripts* 1995. The Greek witnesses, always reported (cited according to the usual abbreviations), are: the papyri, *κ*/01, A/02, B/03, C/04, D/05, L/019, N/022, W/032, Θ/038, Ψ/044 (cited only with the alphabetical siglum), *f*¹, *f*^{1,3}, 33, *ℳ*¹ (= the text of the majority of the Biblical manuscripts, among them are always included the manuscripts

of the Byzantine text type, see *Novum Testamentum Graece* 2006, p. 14*) or ‘m’ (= the greater part or half of the Byzantine manuscripts, according to *Greek New Testament* 1985); and – if different from \mathfrak{M} or \mathfrak{m} – 565, 579, 700, and finally Chrysostom. In the cases in which the Gothic readings are supported by few or none of these witnesses, all the manuscripts that agree with the Gothic text are cited. Furthermore, other usual abbreviations are: ‘co’ = the whole Coptic tradition (‘bo’ for the Bohairic; ‘sa’ for the Sahidic; in apex ‘pt’ = part); ‘it’ = the great part or all the manuscripts of the *Vetus Latina* (in apex the specific manuscript); ‘lat’ = the greater part of the *Vetus Latina* and Vulgata manuscripts; ‘latt’ = the whole Latin tradition (both *Vetus Latina* and Vulgata); ‘mg’ = marginal reading; ‘ms(s)’ = manuscript(s); ‘om.’ = omitted; *pm* = a great many of the Biblical manuscripts; ‘rell.’ = the rest of the manuscripts; ‘s’ (in apex) = reading in a supplemental (not original) part of the manuscript; ‘sy’ = the whole Syriac tradition (in apex individual manuscripts: ‘s’ for Sinaitic; ‘c’ for Curetonian; ‘h’ for Harkel’s revision; ‘p’ for Peshitta); ‘var. lect.’ = other readings; ‘vid’ = apparent reading (but not certain); *vg* = the text of the Vulgata; ‘|’ = against. The witnesses in round brackets diverge slightly from the Gothic (but the divergence does not affect their agreement).

30 See above.

31 This manuscript, produced in Italy in the first half of the sixth century, is considered – since the observations of Burkitt 1899, p. 133 – the Latin part of a Gothic-Latin bilingual, corrected in many cases on the basis of the Gothic text; see also Burton 2002, p. 400.

32 See Friedrichsen 1939, pp. 71–80.

33 On the *Codex Argenteus*, Theoderic and Ravenna, see Munkhammar 2011a; Munkhammar 2011b, part. pp. 49–60 (and the literature cited here).

34 Cecchelli 1960, pp. 767–768; Ward-Perkins 1984, p. 72.

35 See above, footnote 29.

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Antoaneta Granberg

Establishing New Alphabets (300–900 AD)

and the relation between the structure of an alphabet
and the shape of its letters

Summary

The full text of the article ‘Wulfila’s Alphabet in the Light of Neighbouring Scripts’ was published in North-Western European Language Evolution NOWELE 58/59, 2010, pp. 169–193. ISBN 978-87-7674-472-4

The translation of the Bible into different languages during the period from the fourth to the ninth centuries was either inspired by the Byzantine Orthodox Church or a direct result of its missionary activities. Of course, a written language and an alphabet were needed for these translations. Some of the alphabets used for the translation of the Bible were already established before Christianisation. Another group of alphabets was invented in connection with Christianisation, and they came to replace an earlier alphabet. There is also a third group of alphabets that was created in connection with the establishment of a new written language.

The article discusses the typology and the structure of the alphabets used for different translations of the Bible in the period between the fourth and the ninth centuries.¹ The alphabets in focus are: Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian, Georgian, Glagolitic and Cyrillic (*Fig. 1*). Greek, Coptic and Ethiopic were created before Christianisation and were in use before the translation of the Bible into their languages. Nevertheless, these alphabets are included in the study because they are important to an understanding of the mechanisms and the results of borrowing alphabet structures and an understanding of the process of inventing new alphabets, especially in the context of an earlier written tradition.

The order and the numerical value of the letters

The translation of the Bible generated a variety of new written languages and new alphabets for writing down these languages. The significant difference be-

tween the variety of new languages and that of new alphabets is that on several occasions the new alphabets were generated on the basis on the Greek alphabet.

Concerning the numerical value and the order of the letters in the alphabets in question, there are two different kinds. To the first kind belong alphabets that follow the Greek order of the letters and have numerical value identical to that of the letters of the Greek alphabet, see *Table 1*. To the other kind belong alphabets that have an original order of the letters and have numerical value that is different from that of the letters in the Greek alphabet, see *Table 2*.

The structure of the Greek alphabet is simple: three groups of nine letters. The first group of letters represents the units 1–9, the second is for the tens 10–90 and one group is for the hundreds 100–900. One letter in each group has only numerical value – these are the letters for 6, 90 and 900.

The letter used for ‘6’ has only numerical value in the Greek and the Coptic alphabet, but it has both a phonetic and a numerical value in the Gothic and the Cyrillic alphabet (*Table 1*).

The Greek letter *koppa*, used for ‘90’ in the Coptic, Gothic and Cyrillic alphabet is Ϟ. This letter is identical with one of the Greek variants for the letter ϙ. The place of this letter in the Gothic alphabet is the same as it is in the Greek alphabet, and the letter has only numerical value, exactly as in the Greek alphabet. The Coptic and the Cyrillic alphabet differ in the placement of this letter and in its phonetic value. It should be mentioned that the letter Ϟ existed in the older Egyptian Demotic alphabet (developed ca 660 B.C.), where this letter was called *fai*. In the Coptic alphabet and in the Cyrillic alphabet the letter Ϟ ‘90’ has a phonetic value. It is not placed in the same position as in the Greek alphabet, i.e. according to the numerical value, but it is placed, together with other non-Greek letters, at the end of the alphabet. In the Gothic alphabet, the letters U (q [kʷ], 6), Ψ (P [θ], 9), G (j [j], 60), ƿ (u [u], 70), S (s [s], 200), F (f [f], 500) and Ɔ (hʷ [ʍ], 700) do not have the same shape as the Greek letters with the corresponding numerical value. However, these letters are placed in the alphabet according to their numerical value. In other words, the Gothic alphabet follows the Milesian (Alexandrian, Ionian) system, like the Greek alphabet (Braune & Ebbinghaus 1981:13). In this system, the letters in the alphabet are placed according to their numerical value. An interesting difference between the Gothic alphabet, on the one hand, and the Coptic and the Cyrillic, on the other, is that there are no additional letters placed at the end of the Gothic alphabet as there are in the Coptic and in the Cyrillic alphabet. The letters for specific Gothic sounds replaced some of the Greek letters and kept the same numerical value as the corresponding Greek letters.

The first seven letters of the Armenian alphabet and the first five letters of the Georgian alphabet follow the order of the Greek alphabet.

This study does not include any analysis of the names of the letters. Of course the names of the letters, especially those that are not included in the Greek alphabet, are of special interest. The letter *jerb* [i] in the Cyrillic alphabet has the same name as the letter *jer* [j] ‘year’ from the Gothic alphabet.²

Two of the letters included in the Cyrillic alphabet that do not have any numerical value were not placed at the end of the alphabet as might have been expected. In the case of the letters *b* [b] and *z* [z] the Cyrillic alphabet does not follow the Milesian system. This could be explained by the influence of the Glagolitic alphabet, which preceded the Cyrillic alphabet. These three letters have numerical value in the Glagolitic alphabet (*b* ‘2’, *z* ‘7’ and *dz* ‘8’) and are placed according to this value.

As *Table 1* and *Table 2* show, there are no completely ‘new’ alphabets created as original systems of signs but all alphabets used for producing translations of the Bible are to different degrees based on the Greek alphabet with a certain amount of complementing signs. The only exception is the Ethiopic alphabet based on the South Arabic writing system, which had quite a different order of the letters. However, it should be mentioned that the Ethiopic alphabet used the Greek system for rendering numbers.

The existence of pre-Christian writing for some of the languages mentioned above needs special attention. The ‘new’ alphabets, established for the translation of the Bible that were based on the Greek alphabet, had several additional, non-Greek letters, used for specific non-Greek sounds. These letters were taken from the pre-Christian writing tradition. The Gothic alphabet used for the translation of the Bible into Gothic is therefore very important in the analysis of the development of new alphabets in the Balkans. For example, the Cyrillic alphabet followed the same pattern – the Greek alphabet was used as a base and then additional letters from the already existing writing system were taken to complete the new alphabet.³

The shape of the letters

Concerning the shape (layout) of the letters of the new alphabets, there are two different kinds of alphabets, as shown in *Fig. 2* (the numbering (1)–(6) below corresponds to that of *Table 3*):

(1) Alphabets in which the majority of letters are identical with or at least rather similar to the letters of the Greek alphabet. An additional group of

letters with non-Greek shape, which are used for specific, non-Greek sounds, usually complements these kinds of alphabets: Coptic, Gothic and Cyrillic.

(2) Alphabets whose layout is not directly similar to the Greek alphabet: Ethiopian, Armenian, Georgian and Glagolitic.

Concerning the numerical value and the order of the letters in the new alphabets, there are two different kinds:

(3) Alphabets that follow the Greek order of the letters and have identical numerical value to that of the letters of the Greek alphabet: Coptic, Gothic and Cyrillic. In the Coptic and the Cyrillic alphabet, but not in the Gothic alphabet, the additional letters for non-Greek sounds are, with few exceptions, placed at the end of the alphabet. These letters, again with few exceptions, do not have numerical value.

(4) Alphabets that have an original order of the letters and have numerical value that is different from that of the letters in the Greek alphabet: Armenian, Georgian, Glagolitic.⁴

Is there any connection between the quality represented by (1) and (2) and the quality represented by (3) and (4)? In other words, is there any connection between the shape of the letters in the alphabet and their order and numerical value? The alphabets of group (1) are the same as those in group (3). And the alphabets in group (2) are the same that are included in group (4). In other words, Coptic, Gothic and Cyrillic follow more or less closely the Greek order of the letters and at the same time have a similar layout to the Greek alphabet. And the Armenian, the Georgian and the Glagolitic alphabet, which have a different, non-Greek, layout, have at the same time a non-Greek order of the letters, as a result of which they have different numerical values.

Concerning the existence of an earlier written tradition, there are two different kinds:

(5) Alphabets that appear in the context of an earlier written tradition based on an earlier established alphabet for writing in the same language: Coptic, Gothic and Cyrillic.⁵

(6) Alphabets that are the first alphabet used for writing down a certain language. These kinds of alphabets are usually created with connection to the translation of the Bible: Armenian, Georgian and Glagolitic.

Conclusions and discussion

The three qualities of the alphabets, discussed above – the layout, the order of the letters and the existence of an earlier written tradition – are related to each other. The alphabets from the groups (1) and (3) belong to group (5) and the

alphabets from the groups (2) and (4) belong to group (6) as shown in *Table 3*. The Armenian, the Georgian and the Glagolitic alphabet have an original layout and an original numerical value for the letters and do not have an earlier written tradition for the same language. In contrast, the Coptic, the Gothic and the Cyrillic alphabets, which came into existence in the context of an earlier written tradition, do have a layout and numerical value for the letters that is similar to the Greek alphabet.⁶

This might be one possible answer to the question why some alphabets resemble the Greek alphabet and others do not. It was in many occasions the high status of the Greek alphabet that was important for establishing a new alphabet in a culture that was already literate. The new alphabet, used for writing down the same language as the old alphabet was used for, needed, in order to bring out the contrast with the old alphabet, an attribute, its shape (layout) that is clearly connected to a culture of high status.⁷

On the other hand, societies that were illiterate before the establishing of the new alphabets had no need to break with and ‘struggle’ against use of the old alphabet for writing in the same language. They had a need, born of the process of the creation of a new Christian identity, to create an alphabet that was different in its shape from the Greek alphabet.

Fig. 1. The alphabets and their origin

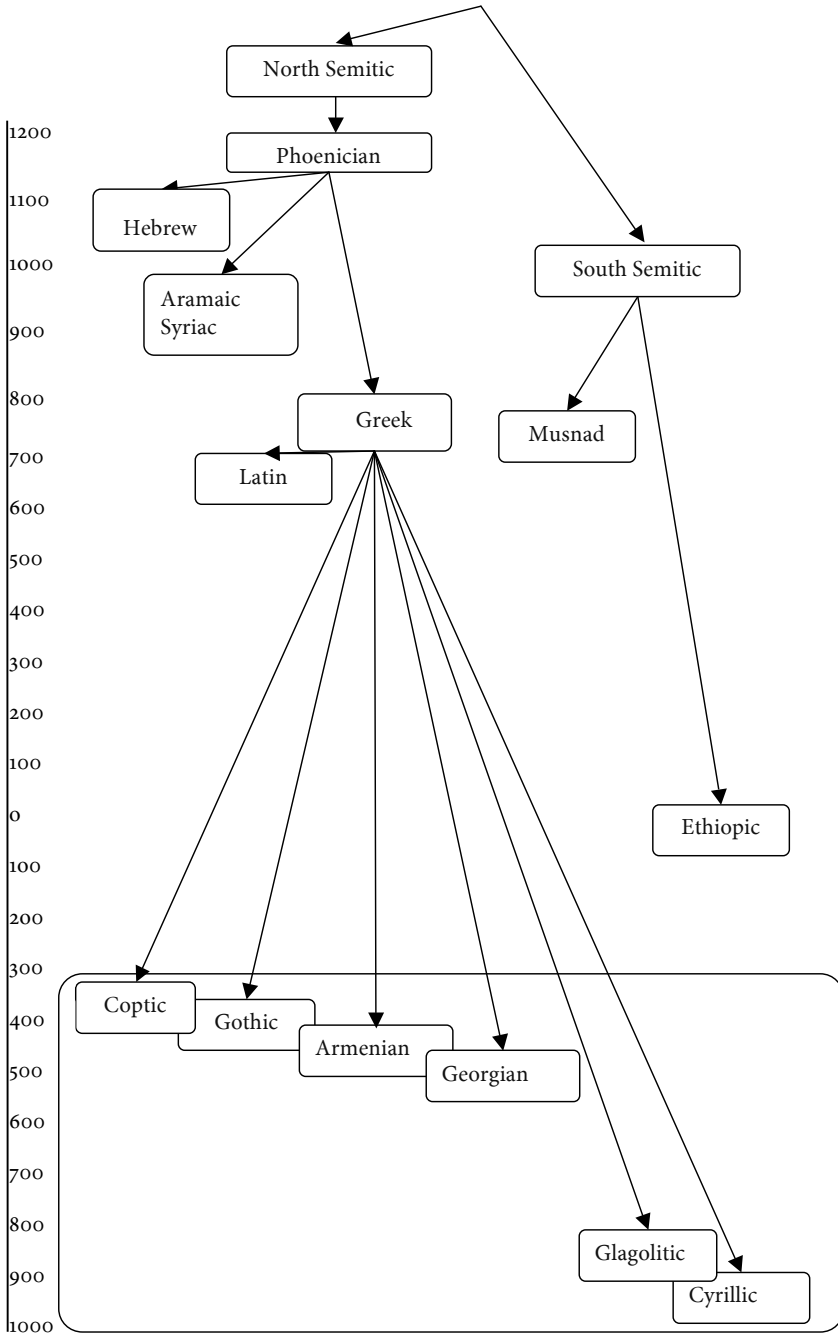


Table 1. Alphabets that follow the Greek order and numerical value of the letters

Numerical value	Greek	Coptic	Gothic	Cyrillic
1	A	+	+	+
				Ѡ [b]
2	B	+	+	+
3	Γ	+	+	+
4	Δ	+	+	+
5	E	+	+	+
6	ϛ*	+*		dz [dzi], 6 ž [ž]
7	Z	+	+	+
8	H	+	+	+
9	Θ	+	Ɔ [θ], 9	+
10	I	+	+	+
20	K	+	+	+
30	Λ	+	+	+
40	M	+	+	+
50	N	+	+	+
60	Ξ	+	j [j], 60	+
70	O	+	u [u], 70	+
80	Π	+	+	+
90	Ϟ* (Ϡ*) 90	-	+*	-
100	P	+	+	+
200	Σ	+	s [s], 200	+
300	T	+	+	+
400	Υ	+	+	+
500	Φ	+	f [f], 500	+
600	X	+	+	+
700	Ψ	+	hw [w], 700	+
800	Ω	+	+	+
900	Ϡ*	Ɔ*, 900	↑, 900	+
		š [ʃ]		ц [tsʲ]
		f [f], 90		č [tʃ], 90
		kh [x]		š [ʃ]
		h [h]		~/Ѡ [ũ/ə]
		q [q]		št [ʃʲ]

<i>ti</i> [tʰi]	ϛ [i]
<i>d</i> [dʒ]	ě [æ]
-	<i>ju</i> [ju]
	ϥ [ʃ]
	ε [ɛ̃], 900
	<i>y</i> [i]

(*) indicates letters that have only a numerical value, not a phonetic one;

(+) indicates that both the shape of the letter and its numerical value are identical with that in the Greek alphabet;

(x) Letters in bold and italics have only phonetic value and no numerical value.

Table 2. Alphabets that do not follow the Greek order and numerical value of the letters

Numerical value	Armenian	Georgian	Glagolitic
1	a	a	a
2	b	b	b
3	g	g	v
4	d	d	g
5	e	e	d
6	z	v	e
7	ē	z	ž
8	ě	ē	dz
9	tʰ	tʰ	z
10	ž	i	i
20	i	k	i
30	l	l	ǵ
40	x	m	k
50	c	n	l
60	k	y	m
70	h	o	n
80	j	p	o
90	l	ž	p
100	č	r	r
200	m	s	s
300	y	t	t
400	n	w, u	u
500	š	pʰ	f

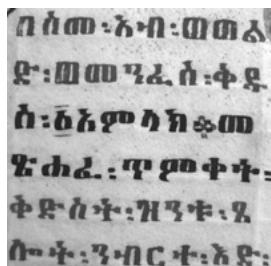
600	o	k ^ϵ	x
700	č ^ϵ	ğ	o
800	p	q	š
900	ǰ	š	c
1000	ř	č ^ϵ	č*
2000	s	c ^ϵ	š*
3000	v	ž	y*
4000	t	c	Ɔ*
5000	r	č	Ɔ*
6000	c ^ϵ	x	č*
7000	w	ḫ	ju*
8000	p ^ϵ	j	q*
9000	k ^ϵ	h	i*
10000		ō	ε*

Table 3. Distribution of the different qualities of the alphabets

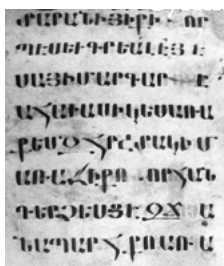
Languages	The layout of the letters		Numerical value & order of the letters		Earlier written tradition for the same language	
	(1) Identical with or very similar to the Greek alphabet	(2) Not similar to the Greek alphabet	(3) Identical with the Greek alphabet	(4) Not identical with the Greek alphabet	(5) Existed	(6) Did not exist
Coptic						
Gothic						
Cyrillic						
Armenian						
Georgian						
Glagolitic						

Fig. 2. Example of the layout of the alphabets

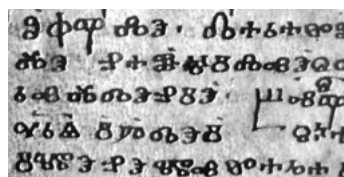
Ethiopic



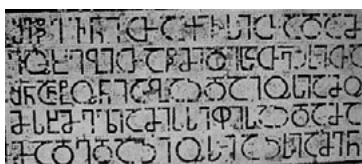
Armenian



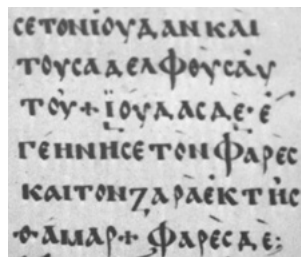
Glagolitic



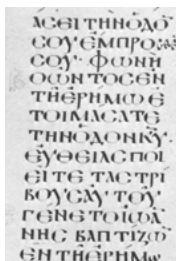
Georgian



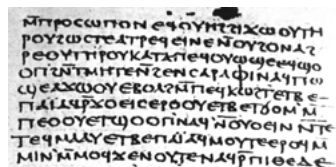
Greek



Greek



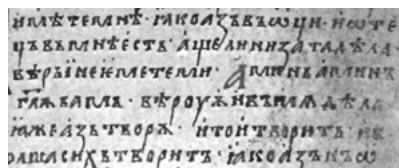
Coptic



Gothic



Cyrillic



Notes

- 1 This study was written within the framework of a research project granted by the Nordic Centre for Medieval Studies and The Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (NOS-HS). I am deeply obliged to my colleague Jan Retsö, Professor of Arabic at the University of Gothenburg. He discussed with me the early period of the development of Ethiopic and inspired me to question the narrow understanding of what could be interpreted as local and domestic in the field of writing systems and alphabets. I am also obliged to Docent Dr. Henrik Janson (University of Gothenburg) and to Private Docent Dr. Jan Rüdiger (Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main) for discussing with me the political context of the establishing of alphabets and written languages in connection with Christianisation.
- 2 The letter *živěte ž* [ʒ], which is one of the letters for specific sounds in Slavonic, was placed as the seventh letter in the Glagolitic alphabet, after the letter *est* [ε] ‘6’ and before the letter *dzělo* [dz] ‘8’.
- 3 Concerning the letters for the specific, non-Greek, sounds in the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabet, a possible influence from the Coptic alphabet could be traced, as for example for the letter *šai*. Constantine the Philosopher was sent on a mission to the Caliphate in 851 AD. He had knowledge of the Coptic alphabet, the sound value of the letters as well as their numerical value and their names. Some of the letters of the Coptic alphabet must have been of special interest to Constantine – especially those that did not correspond at all to sounds from the Greek alphabet but could be found in Slavonic. Such a letter could be *šai* – it has similar form and similar phonetic value in the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabet.
- 4 The Glagolitic alphabet consists of four groups of nine letters that have numerical value: The first group of letters represents the units 1–9, the second is for the tens 10–90, the third group is for the hundreds 100–900 and the fourth is for the thousands 1000–9000 (Veder 1999:177).
- 5 Constantine the Philosopher created the Glagolitic alphabet for the Slavs in Moravia and Slavonic was not a written language before the creation of the Glagolitic alphabet. However the Cyrillic alphabet was established in the context of an existing tradition of written Slavonic, and it obviously followed the same pattern as all other alphabets that had to replace an older one – it was similar to the Greek alphabet.
- 6 More than five hundred years after Father Wulfila had compiled the Gothic alphabet, this way of making new alphabets could probably still be recognised as Gothic and Arian in the Balkans. Could this be the reason for translating the important anti-Arian homilies (see 2.1 above and note 11)? Of course, there were no Arians in the northern part of the Balkans at that time, but this anachronistic terminology might have been used in connection with discussions about the establishment of the Cyrillic alphabet. The Gothic alphabet was in fact the last one of this kind before the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet. These alphabets had common features like the form and the order of the letters, their numerical value, even the existence of non-Greek letters taken from an earlier written tradition.
- 7 See Collin (2011: 29–67) for a general survey of the politics of writing systems. A similar situation arose when the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the new Turkish alphabet based on the Latin alphabet. The new alphabet that was completed in the context of an earlier written tradition had a

layout similar to the Latin alphabet. And in the case of the Mongolian written tradition, the beautiful old Mongolian alphabet was replaced by a new one, based on the (Russian) Cyrillic alphabet.

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The Gothic Language of Bishop Wulfila – Phonology, Typology and Purported Linguistic Purity

My interest in the Gothic language is of long standing. It goes back 40 years or more, even if it was not the first early Germanic language I encountered. After I had begun reading English at Copenhagen University in 1963, it took only a year or two for me to become fascinated with Old English, and later in my student career, in England and Denmark, I embarked on studying Old Norse and subsequently Old Saxon and Gothic, and finally Old Frisian. My first impression of Bishop Wulfila's biblical Gothic was that it was not just a very old language, but also a different and more exotic one than the other early Germanic languages with which I had acquainted myself. It was my intuitive impression (or first instinct, if you like) that Gothic was dialectally further removed from the other early Germanic languages which I had studied than were the remaining four early idioms in relation to one another.

Nevertheless, 50 or 60 years ago, a number of scholars believed that Gothic was particularly closely related to early Norse, taking as their points of departure that Jordanes, the sixth-century historian, had assigned the tribal homeland of the Goths to the island of *Scandza*, i.e. Scandinavia, and that place-names in present-day Sweden such as *Gotland* (*Gutland*) and *Öster-* and *Västergötland* appeared to be associable with the tribal name of the Goths.

In a book published in 1951 a German scholar by the name of Ernst Schwarz even attempted to reconstruct a Gotho-Norse proto-language intermediate between Proto-Germanic on the one hand and Old Norse on the other.¹ The remainder of the Germanic speech area to the south and to the southwest comprised the predecessors of Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon and Old High German. The immediate inspiration for Schwarz' concept of a Gotho-Norse proto-language came from a Swedish archaeologist by the name of Eric Oxienstierna,² who believed that he had archaeological evidence to show that an emigration had taken place from Västergötland in Sweden to the lower Vis-

tula region of northern Poland, a hypothesis which probably few archaeologists today would subscribe to.

About twenty years after the publication of Schwarz' controversial book, Elias Wessén,³ a Swedish philologist of repute, claimed that even if Scandinavian provenance were not assignable to the Gothic tribe as a whole, the Gothic élite might well hark back to Scandinavia. Wessén based his hypothesis of a powerful Gothic élite on the following passage from *Tacitus Germania* (43.6):

Passing the Lugii, we find the Gothones under the rule of kings. It is a slightly stricter rule than in the rest of the German[ic] peoples, but yet does not pass the bounds of freedom.⁴

Further Wessén claimed that the linguistic purity of Wulfila's biblical Gothic was a reflection of a strong Gothic leadership of Scandinavian extraction being in charge of the century-long migrations which eventually brought the Goths to the Balkans. The Gothic élite might also well have served as a linguistic role model for all the tribes and peoples subjugated by the Goths and subsequently assimilated to their cultural ways:

Das überaus Merkwürdige ist nun, dass die Goten – trotz ihrer Wanderungen und trotz ihrer Verschmelzung mit besiegten und unterworfenen Stämmen, die wir wohl voraussetzen müssen – ihre Sprache so rein und unbemengt behalten haben. Die Lehnwörter in Wulfilas Bibel sind ausserordentlich gering an Zahl, wenn wir, wie es sich gebührt, von den neuen biblischen Gegenständen und Begriffen absehen. Wir haben nicht den geringsten Grund zu glauben, dass Wulfila ein bewusster Sprachreiniger war. Das Gotische des 4. Jahrhunderts war m.a.W. eine reine Sprache ohne nennenswerte Lehnwörter, ohne Einschlag von anderen, unverwandten Sprachen. Die Goten haben ihre nordische Sprache durch Jahrhunderte rein beibehalten.⁵

It is beyond doubt that the Goths – prior to being confronted with the Greco-Roman and Christian culture of the Black-Sea region – had come into contact with a number of peoples on their trek southeast, for example Balts, Finns, Slavs and Iranian tribes, but in his assessment of the purported linguistic purity of biblical Gothic Wessén, in my opinion, disregards factors such as cultural superiority and inferiority. A considerable number of Gothic loan words in Baltic, Finnish and Slavic clearly suggest that the relationship of Gothic to these languages had been one of Gothic cultural superiority,⁶ which also explains why it is extremely difficult to find any evidence in Gothic of lexical borrowing from Baltic, Finnish or Slavic. Conversely, the culturally superior Iranian nomads, whom the Goths encountered in the southern Russian and Ukrainian steppes, were able to leave their marks on the lexicon of Gothic (East Germanic).⁷

For many years, now, I have spent a considerable portion of my research time and energy on analysing the dialectal interrelations linking and separating the earliest Germanic languages. Throughout, I have availed myself of lexical criteria for determining dialectal interrelations only to a very limited extent. Lexicon is generally regarded as a less stable element of the language than, for example, morphology or phonology. To this should be added that the earliest Germanic texts do not invite lexical comparison, the texts being mostly too divergent and uneven in content.

In my analyses, I have been especially concerned with determining the earlier dialectal position of the emigrant language Old English within Germanic. Strictly linguistic criteria have always been at the heart of the comparative research that I have conducted, and on the whole my results have been well received, perhaps because the linguistic material on which my conclusions were based was much more extensive than had been the case in previous investigations. However, one reviewer of my monograph *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages*, the first edition of which appeared in 1981, criticized me for paying too little attention to the systemic parallels and differences between Old English and the other early languages – a point of criticism which at the time I felt less than fair in view of the widely diverging dates of attestation and especially of the very different range and character of the texts extant in the various early Germanic languages. I felt that an investigation of systemic parallels would be neither an obvious nor indeed a feasible procedure.

Nevertheless, I kept this criticism at the back of my mind, taking up the reviewer's challenge only much later when I set out to write a book⁸ on the role of the Early Runic language of Scandinavia as a possible ancestor of some or of all the early North and North-Sea Germanic languages, i.e. all the early Germanic languages minus Gothic and Old High German. Taking inspiration from a young English scholar by the name of Martin Syrett, who in his doctoral dissertation published in 1994 appeared to have succeeded in the difficult task of setting up an unaccented vowel system for the Early Runic language of Scandinavia (AD 160–500),⁹ I felt encouraged to make an attempt at positing and analysing the phonemic systems of Old Norse, Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon (all attested only from the eighth century and later) with a view to investigating whether some or all of these could be derived from the phonemic system of the Early Runic language, which I had myself analysed as a sequel to Martin Syrett's important work on the unaccented vowels. The result that I arrived at was that only Old Norse could be derived directly from Early Runic. It is true that both the consonant and the accented vowels systems of all the languages in question could go back to Early Runic, but – unlike Old Norse –

Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon did not have unaccented vowel systems derivable from that of Early Runic.

In an article examining the Gothic phonemic system¹⁰ I was subsequently able to show that Gothic had retained a consonant system basically identical to that of Proto-Germanic and therefore a system similar to that presupposed for (the ancestors of) the other languages previously investigated. But my analysis of the Gothic accented and unaccented subsystems clearly revealed that Gothic followed a track different from that pursued by its only contemporaneous Germanic counterpart, namely Early Runic, as well as by Old Norse and the North-Sea Germanic languages (Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon), and that therefore the phonological system of Gothic would lend little support to the concept of a Gothic tribal homeland in Scandinavia as assumed by Jordanes, Oxenstierna, Schwarz and others. I shall come back to the Gothic vowels later and, for the purpose of comparison, to the accented and unaccented vowels of Old High German.

In the meantime, a slight excursus is called for. In my view, the most important linguistic event to have taken place in Proto-Germanic was the fixation of the word accent on the first (root) syllable. The long-term effects of this occurrence cannot be overestimated. It led to the reduction or loss of inflectional and other endings, which brought about morphological restructuring and word-order change. All Germanic dialects were affected by these developments – though not necessarily at the same time or at the same pace. At the phonological level, it is no longer enough to operate with just one vowel system as in Indo-European. As a result of the accent shift, it becomes relevant to distinguish between the vowel systems of the accented and unaccented syllables. In the development of the various Germanic dialects investigated we may observe a gradual increase in the number of accented vowels and a decrease in the number of unaccented ones. There were (probably) 13 accented vowel phonemes in Early Runic (5 short and 5 long ones plus 3 diphthongs), and with Syrett 1994 we may posit 7 unaccented vowels (short /i, a, u/ and long /i:, e:, o:, u:/) for the same language. In comparison, Old Norse exhibited only 3 (short) vowels in its unaccented system, /i, a, u/, which had certainly come into being by the early Viking age, e.g. in the Danish stone inscriptions of Glavendrup, Rønninge and Tryggevælde. Old English of the early eighth century had 4 unaccented (short) vowels, /i, æ, a, u/, a system which was subsequently reduced to 3 by the merger of the front vowels /i/ and /æ/ as /e/. Similarly, Old Saxon on the Continent (ninth century) had a system of 4 unaccented (short) vowels (/i, -æ, -ɔ, -u/). Conversely, the number of accented vowel phonemes in Old Norse and Old English was, respectively 21 and 22 (as

against 13 in Early Runic). From our vantage point, these figures would seem to have added even further interest and relevance to our examination of the Gothic vowel subsystems.

That the reduction or loss of inflectional suffixes and other endings did not occur to the same extent or at the same time can easily be demonstrated by comparing the two (partly) contemporaneous as well as earliest attested Germanic languages, Gothic and Early Runic. It is true that biblical texts cannot be used for comparison, for obviously Bible translations into the Scandinavian languages were made much later than Wulfila's undertaking. But by rendering the most famous of all Early Runic inscriptions, the Gallehus legend from the south of Jutland, in Gothic – and our present state of knowledge about the rules governing early Germanic language development entitle us to conduct such a translation experiment – it becomes clear that in terms of inflectional reduction Gothic has moved further away from Proto-Germanic than has Early Runic.¹¹ The Gallehus text:

ek hlewagastiz holtijaz horna tawido

‘I, Hlewagastiz, son of Holt, made the horn’

comes close to the Proto-Germanic reconstruction **ek hlewagastiꝥ hultijaz burnan tawidōn*, which like Gallehus has thirteen syllables. It is true that in two instances Gallehus has lost final *-n* in unaccented position, and that /u/ has become /o/, a change triggered by *a*-umlaut, cf. **horna** ‘horn’ (< PGmc. **burnan*). But otherwise there is no difference.

In the Gothic reconstruction **ik blingasts hulteis haurn tawida* the number of syllables has been reduced to nine, chiefly as a result of reduction and loss in final (and medial) unaccented syllables, a case in point being asn. *haurn*. The nine syllables in question correspond roughly to the figures I was able to establish for the much later North and West Germanic languages in the extended Gallehus translation experiment undertaken in my book from 2000.¹² Other characteristic changes in the Gothic reconstruction are the development of **ek* to *ik* and the devoicing of **-z* to *-s* in the nsm. endings *-s* and *-eis*. So in comparison with the conservatism of Early Runic, which stayed put in Scandinavia, the emigrant language Gothic can be described as an innovative idiom. But how does this tally with the evolution of the Gothic system of accented and unaccented vowels compared with that of the vowel systems of the other early Germanic languages?

The Gothic accented vowel system

In the Gothic **short** system of five vowel phonemes a merger took place between PGmc. /i/ and /e/, and short <ai> /ɛ/ only arose as what almost amounted to a complementary allophone of /i/, its occurrence being largely restricted to positions before /r, h, hw/. Similarly, the emergence of short <aú> /ɔ/ was primarily associated with PGmc. /u/ followed by the same consonants.

In the **long** vowel systems, the late PGmc. long vowel \bar{e}^2 merged with \bar{e}^1 (cf. van Coetsem 1994, pp. 98–113), and the PGmc. diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, were – in the opinion of most present-day Germanic scholars – monophthongized to long /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ in biblical Gothic, which were denoted by the same graphemes as those denoting short /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

Quite possibly, the diphthongal quality may have been retained for a while prior to the monophthongization processes. The circumstance that in Gothic there appears to have been an increasing tendency for /e:/ to become /i:/ (*leikeis* ‘doctor’, *qeins* ‘wife’ instead of *lekeis*, *qēns*) and for /o:/ to become /u:/ (*ūhtedun* ‘they feared’ instead of *ōhtedun*), might be explained as a consequence of the monophthongization of /ai/ and /au/ to /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/, restricting the phonological space of /e:/ and /o:/ which were pushed in the direction of close tongue-height positions.

As for the chronology of the purported monophthongization processes, a possible clue is the fact that Latin writers around AD 300 used the tribal term *Austrogoti*, whereas around 400 and later the form preferred was *Ostrogot(h)i*. Similarly, the Latin writers who had rendered the reflex of PGmc. *ai* as a diphthong around AD 300, tended to use monographemic spelling after 400.¹³

Finally, the long /a:/ phoneme in Gothic came about solely through the loss of nasal accompanied by vowel lengthening in the sequence PGmc. *-anh-*. The long monophthongal system of Gothic thus consisted of seven phonemic entities.¹⁴ We therefore end up by positing a total of 13 accented vowel phonemes (including the diphthong /iu/) for Gothic, a number identical to that of Early Runic, but far lower than the numbers posited for the Old Norse and Old English accented vowel systems.

/i/	/u/	/i:/	/u:/
		/e:/	/o:/
/ɛ/	/ɔ/	/ɛ:/	/ɔ:/
	/a/		/a:/

/i/	<i>fiskans</i> (apm.) ‘fish’; <i>itan</i> to ‘eat’ (ON <i>fiskr</i> , OE <i>fisc</i> , OFris./OS/OHG <i>fiskē</i>) (ON/OFris. <i>eta</i> , OE/OS <i>etan</i> , OHG <i>eʒzan</i>)
/ε/	<i>baírán</i> ‘to bear’ [Goth. /ε/ occurs before /r, h, hw/ in near-complementary distribution with /i/] (ON/OFris. <i>bera</i> , OE/OS <i>beran</i> , OHG <i>beran</i>)
/a/	<i>salt</i> ‘salt’ (ON/OFris./OS <i>salt</i> ‘salt’, OE <i>sealt</i> , OHG <i>salz</i>)
/ɔ/	<i>baúrn</i> ‘horn’ [Goth. /ɔ/ occurs before /r, h, hw/ in near-complementary distribution with /u/] (ON/OE/OFris./OS/OHG <i>horn</i> (< PGmc. *burna-))
/u/	<i>sunus</i> ‘son’ (ON <i>sunr</i> , OE/OFris./OS/OHG <i>sunu</i>)
/i:/	<i>meins</i> ‘my’ (ON <i>minn</i> , OE/OS/OHG <i>mīn</i>)
/e:/	- <i>sēps</i> ‘seed’; <i>hēr</i> ‘here’ (ON <i>sáð</i> , OS <i>sād</i> , OHG <i>sāt</i> , OE <i>sæd</i> , OFris. <i>sēd</i> (< PGmc. <i>ē</i> ¹)) (ON/OE/OS <i>hēr</i> , OHG <i>hiar</i> , OFris. <i>hēr/hīr</i> (< PGmc. <i>ē</i> ²))
/ε:/	<i>stains</i> ‘stone’ (< PGmc. <i>ai</i>) (ON <i>steinn</i> , OE <i>stān</i> , OFris./OS <i>stēn</i> , OHG <i>stein</i>)
/a:/	<i>fāhan</i> ‘to catch’ (< PGmc. <i>-anh-</i>) (ON <i>fá</i> , OE <i>fōn</i> , OFris. <i>fān</i> , OS/OHG <i>fāhan</i>)
/ɔ:/	<i>baup</i> ‘(he) commanded, offered’ (< PGmc. <i>au</i>) (ON <i>bauð</i> , OE <i>bēad</i> , OFris. <i>bād</i> , OS <i>bōd</i> , OHG <i>bōt</i>)
/o:/	<i>flōdus</i> ‘flood’ (ON <i>flód</i> , OE/OFris./OS <i>flōd</i> , OHG <i>fluot</i>)
/u:/	- <i>hūs</i> ‘house’ (ON/OE/OFris./OS/OHG <i>hūs</i>)
/iu/	<i>þiuda</i> ‘people’ (ON <i>þjóð</i> , OE <i>þeod</i> , OFris. <i>thiade</i> , OS <i>thiod(a)</i> , OHG <i>diot(a)</i>)

The Gothic unaccented vowel system

My interpretation of the unaccented <ai> and <au> graphemes in Gothic as long monophthongs, /ε:/ and /ɔ:/, is based on etymological and comparative considerations in conjunction with the assumption that in accented position the two digraphs represent monophthongs in for example *stains* ‘stone’ and *faúr* ‘for’. In addition to the extended long system posited here for Gothic (6 as against 4 for Early Runic), the difference between the Gothic unaccented vowel

system and those of Early Runic and the later North and North-Sea Germanic languages is one of etymological sources: PGmc. *-ō(n)*, for example, becomes *-a* in Gothic, but *-ō* in Early Runic; and PGmc. *-ē(d)* is also reflected as *-a* in Gothic, but as *-ē* in Early Runic. See also Nielsen 2010:433-6.

(tentative)

i	→	i		u	←	u
a	→	}	a			
ō(n)	→					
ē(đ)	→					
ī	→	i:		u:	←	ū
ē	→	e:		o:	←	ō(m)
ai	→	e:		o:	←	au

Examples: dpm. *gastim* ‘guests’, 2 pt.sg.ind. *bairis* ‘bear’, 3 pt.sg.subj. *nēmi* ‘took’ (< late PGmc. *-i* < PIE *-i-*, *-e-*, *-ī-*); apm. *dagans* ‘days’, n/asn. *faibu* ‘money’, nsm. *sunus* ‘son’ (< PGmc. *-a-*; *-u(-)*); nsf. *rūna* (< PGmc. *-ō*) ‘secret’, 1 pt.sg.ind. *tawida* (< PGmc. *-ōn*) ‘(I) made’; 3 pt.sg.ind. *tawida* (< PGmc. *-ē(đ)*), dsm. *daga* (< PGmc. *-ē*) ‘day’; nsf. *managei* (< PGmc. *-i*) ‘crowd’; *jaindrē* (< PIE *-ē(d)*) ‘thither’; gsf. *anstais* ‘grace’, dsf. *gibai* ‘gift’ (< PGmc. *-aiŕ-*, *-ai*); gsm. *sunaus* ‘son’, *abtau* ‘eight’ (< PGmc. *-auŕ-*, *-ai*); *jainþrō* (< PIE *-ō(d)*) ‘thence’, gsf., n/apf. *gibōs* (< PIE *-ās*), ‘gift’, gp. *tuggōnō* (< PIE *-ōm*) ‘tongues’; (?) nsf. *gamaindūþs* (< PGmc. *-ū-*) ‘community’.

Irmengard Rauch¹⁶ operates with the possible existence of a schwa phoneme in Gothic unaccented syllables – pointing, among other things, to evidence for graphic confusion between <i>, <a> and <u>. Since Rauch makes no attempt at setting up a full Gothic unaccented vowel system, it is not so easy to discuss the systemic implications of her view. Also, the possibility should not be overlooked that variation in the representation of the unaccented vowels in Gothic was due to the influence of later scribes. However that may be, I would like to draw attention to one important difference between Gothic on the one hand and Early Runic and the later North and West Germanic languages on the other. There are no traces of umlaut (mutation) or breaking (in the Old English or Norse sense) in Gothic unlike what was the case elsewhere in the Gmc. world. We saw earlier that in for example **horna** ‘horn’ (< **burna-*) Early

Runic had developed *a*-umlaut in comparison with the Proto-Germanic state of affairs, and in Old Norse there is evidence of *a*-, *i*- and *u*-umlaut as well as of breaking and, for example, in Old English of *a*- and *i*-umlaut and of back mutation. This suggests that the quality of vowels in the unaccented syllables of Gothic did not influence – or was not transferred to – the vowels of the accented syllables by way of compensation for vocalic reduction or loss in unaccented position, an assumption which would seem to underpin our analysis of a Gothic unaccented system consisting of more phonemes (9) than that of Early Runic (7) or than, of course, the systems of Old Norse and the early North-Sea Germanic languages (Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon). This may well be taken also as an indication that a schwa phoneme had not been introduced into the unaccented vowel system of Gothic.

But in view of its relatively extensive, unaccented phonemic system with 3 short and 6 long vowels, the really puzzling thing about Gothic is – as our Gallehus translation experiment suggested – the loss and reduction of Gothic inflectional endings, which in terms of syllable reduction came close to that seen in, e.g., Old Norse and Old English – languages with markedly fewer unaccented vowel phonemes. Even Early Runic had fewer unaccented vowels than had Gothic, but yet the runic idiom showed much less inflectional attrition compared with Proto-Germanic, cf. Gothic nsm. *gasts* ‘guest’, asn. *haur̥n* ‘horn’, Early Runic **-gastiz, horna**.

However, the level of syllable reduction in Gothic seen in these nominal examples is strangely at odds with the multitude of syllables exhibited by some of the Gothic verbal endings. The 1 pt.pl.subj. form of the Gothic Class III weak verb *haban* ‘to have’ *habaidēdeima* thus has no fewer than four syllables following the root syllable. Traditionally, the Gothic weak preterite plural endings have been thought to be very close to the Proto-Germanic state of affairs, the 1-3 pt.pl.ind. endings *-dēdum*, *-dēduþ*, *-dēdun* (of, e.g., *haban* in *habaidēdum*, *habaidēduþ*, *habaidēdun*) being seemingly periphrastic devices along the lines of the 1-3 pt.pl.ind. forms of the Old High German full verb inf. *tuon* ‘do’: *tatum*, *tātut*, *tātun*. But the contemporary Early Runic evidence available suggests a different scenario as recently argued by Patrick Stiles.¹⁷ The suffix *-dun* seen in the weak 3 pt.pl.ind. form **dalidun** ‘shared; prepared’¹⁸ carved on the Tune stone (Norway, c. 400) shows no trace of the *-dē-* element evidenced by the Gothic weak pt.pl. endings, and neither do the weak pt.pl. forms recorded in Old Norse and in the early West Germanic languages. According to Stiles,¹⁹ the Gothic weak pt.pl. forms are secondary, pre-Gothic **tawidun* ‘[they] made’ (etc.) having been rebuilt to **tawidēdun* on the model of the Proto-Germanic weak 3 pt.sg. form in *-dē* (**tawidē*), the vowel quality of *-dē-* being retained in medial position.

However this may be, Stiles offers a convincing case for regarding the surface similarity between, e.g., *-dēdun* and OHG *tātun* as a purely coincidental one – and thus for looking upon the extension of the weak preterite plural endings of Gothic as innovatory in relation to Proto-Germanic and to the corresponding verbal forms attested elsewhere in *Germania*.

But given the Proto-Germanic first/root-syllable accent, how is it explicable that one and the same language, Gothic, shows reduction and loss of some inflectional suffixes and rebuilding and extension of others? In discussions following lectures I gave in 2010 at Aberdeen (May) and Odense (October), I tentatively put forward the idea that – judging from its inflectional endings (*gasts* vs. *habaidēdeima*) and unaccented vowel system (with as many as 9 short and long phonemes) – Gothic had perhaps undergone a typological shift, cf. the speech rhythm of English or Danish vs. that of Spanish or Italian. A colleague from Copenhagen University, Niels-Erik Larsen, who had attended my Odense lecture, afterwards kindly drew my attention to a doctoral dissertation published in 2007 by Renata Szczepaniak,²⁰ the topic of which was the phonologico-typological transition of Old High German from a syllable language (early OHG) to a word language (late OHG / Middle High German). In a guest lecture given in early December (2010) at Göteborg I was able to convey some of Szczepaniak's findings to my audience in the long discussion following my presentation, findings that I believe may shed light on the problems discussed in this paper. I am thinking especially of Szczepaniak's scrutiny of the development of the Old High German accented and unaccented vowel subsystems.²¹

The Old High German accented vowel system

According to Szczepaniak,²² the qualitative balance between vowels in accented and unaccented position is an important criterion for classifying Old High German as a syllable language. In what is usually called 'normal' Old High German²³ – as represented by the Eastern Franconian dialect²⁴ of the Tatian translation (Fulda) from the second quarter of the ninth century – 16 accented vowel phonemes can be posited: 5 short and 5 long monophthongs plus 6 diphthongs.

In the documentation rendered below, it is shown that *a*-umlaut has taken place in the development of short /o/ in *bolz* 'wood' (< **hulta*-), and that *i*-umlaut has occurred in *gesti* 'guests' (< **gasti*-). It will be remembered that *a*-umlaut was reflected in all the other early Germanic languages with the exception of Gothic. Compared to the extensive attestation of *i*-umlaut in Old Norse, Old English and Old Frisian, it is perhaps surprising that *i*-umlaut has only had phonological impact on Old High German in one respect. At an early stage in

the development of Old High German²⁵ it would seem that a phonemic split plus merger occurred with the allophone of /a/ before unaccented /i/, coming sufficiently close to the allophonic range of the /e/ phoneme for absorption by the latter. This is a type of development which Michael Samuels calls ‘phonemisation at its minimum relevance’.²⁶ The reason that the allophones of the back vowels before a following /i/ found no phonological (graphemic) reflection in Old High German, is probably that there were no nearby phonemic entities with which such allophones could be identified. In Middle High German the situation became a vastly different one with reduction and loss of what had previously been conditioning unaccented vowels.²⁷

The following presentation and exemplification of the ‘normal’-OHG accented vowel subsystem is based on Braune 2004a²⁸

/i/	/u/	/i:/	/u:/
/e/	/o/	/e:/	/o:/
	/a/		/a:/
/i/	<i>fisk</i> ‘fish’, <i>wizzan</i> ‘know’ (< PGmc. <i>i</i>)		
/e/	[ë]	<i>hērza</i> ‘heart’, <i>wëg</i> ‘way’ (< PGmc. <i>e</i>)	
	[e]	<i>gesti</i> ‘guests’ (< PGmc. * <i>gasti-</i> (<i>i</i> -umlaut))	
/a/	<i>fater</i> ‘father’, <i>gast</i> ‘guest’ (< PGmc. <i>a</i>)		
/o/	<i>holz</i> ‘wood’ (< PGmc. * <i>hulta-</i> (<i>a</i> -umlaut)) (Goth. * <i>hult</i> ‘wood’; ON/OE/OFris./OS <i>holt</i>)		
/u/	<i>sunu</i> ‘son’, <i>zunga</i> ‘tongue’ (< PGmc. <i>u</i>)		
/i:/	<i>wih</i> ‘holy’, <i>min</i> ‘my’ (< PGmc. <i>i</i>)		
/e:/	<i>mero</i> ‘more’, <i>ebt</i> ‘property’ (< PGmc. <i>ai</i> + <i>r, b, w</i> , cf. Goth. <i>maizga, aihts</i>)		
/a:/	<i>labbī</i> ‘doctor’, <i>jār</i> ‘year’, <i>slāfan</i> ‘sleep’ (< PGmc. <i>ē</i> ¹) <i>bāban</i> ‘hang’, <i>brāhta</i> ‘brought’ (< PGmc. <i>-anh-</i>)		
/o:/	<i>hōb</i> ‘high’, <i>ōra</i> ‘ear’ (< PGmc. <i>au</i> + <i>b</i> or dental, cf. Goth. <i>haubs, ausō</i>)		
/u:/	<i>brūt</i> ‘bride’, <i>fūl</i> ‘foul’ (< PGmc. <i>ū</i>)		
/ei/	<i>teil</i> ‘part’, <i>stein</i> ‘stone’ (< PGmc. <i>ai</i> , cf. Goth. <i>dails, stains</i>)		
/ou/	<i>boubit</i> ‘head’, <i>onga</i> ‘eye’ (< PGmc. <i>au</i> , cf. Goth. <i>haubiþ, angō</i>)		
/io/	<i>deota</i> ‘people’, <i>liob</i> ‘dear’, <i>sioþ</i> ‘sick’ (< PGmc. <i>eu</i> + <i>a, e, o</i> in a following syllable or before labial and velar consonants; > /ie/ in late OHG)		

/iu/	<i>liuti</i> ‘people’ (< PGmc. <i>eu</i>), <i>friunt</i> ‘friend’ (cf. Goth. <i>frijōnds</i>)
/ie/	<i>hier</i> ‘here’, <i>mieta</i> ‘meed, rent’ (< PGmc. <i>ē</i> ²)
/uo/	<i>bruoder</i> ‘brother’, <i>fluot</i> ‘flood’, <i>fuoz</i> ‘foot’ (< PGmc. <i>ō</i>)

The Old High German unaccented vowel system

In her account of the fate of the OHG unaccented vowels Szczepaniak follows Valentin and Braune/Reiffenstein in distinguishing between unaccented vowel development in initial (pretonic), medial and final position.²⁹ The greatest degree of reduction took place in *initial* and *medial* position (in that order) – and earlier in the Franconian than in the Alemannic dialects of Old High German –, although not all qualitative and quantitative contrasts had been neutralized, especially not in medial position, which was not affected until the ‘normal’-OHG period. But length and quality were retained as distinctive parameters in the vowels of *final* unaccented syllables well into late Old High German, and *checked final position* was especially conducive to preserving vowel distinctions. In this position, an early Franconian text like the Isidor translation (late 8th cent.) exhibited five short vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/ and perhaps three long ones /i:, e:, o:/ (secondary accent may have been a concomitant prerequisite for preserving vowel length in this text); but the early Alemannic translation of the Benedictine Rule (early 9th cent., St. Gallen CH) had an unaccented subsystem consisting of five short and five long vowels, one scribe rendering vocalic length in this text by means of double letters. Here is the system of checked vowels in final syllables in the Benedictine Rule with exemplification taken from Valentin:³⁰

	/i/	/u/	/i:/	/u:/
	/e/	/o/	/e:/	/o:/
	/a/		/a:/	
<i>	/i/	<i>zabarim</i> ‘tears’ (dpm. <i>i</i> -stem), <i>unsib</i> ‘us’ (ap. 1 pers. pron.)		
<e>	/e/	<i>tages</i> ‘day’s’ (gsm. <i>a</i> -st.), <i>fater</i> ‘father’		
<a>	/a/	<i>enuigan</i> ‘eternal’ (asm. <i>n</i> -st.), <i>kanubtsam</i> ‘abundant’		
<o>	/o/	<i>zuuīror</i> ‘twice’ (adv.)		
<u>	/u/	<i>chindum</i> ‘children’ (dpm. <i>a</i> -st.), <i>qhuamun</i> ‘came’ (3 pt.pl.ind., str.vb. 4)		
<ii>	/i:/	<i>eiuiic</i> ‘someone’ (indef.pron.), <i>eigūt</i> ‘owner’		

<ee>	/e:/	<i>fardoleent</i> ‘endure, bear’ (3 pres.pl.ind., wk.vb. III)
<aa>	/a:/	<i>danaan</i> ‘thence’ (adv., cf. OE <i>þanon</i>)
<oo>	/o:/	<i>keroont</i> ‘yearn for’ (3 pres.pl.ind., wk.vb. II), <i>augoom</i> ‘eyes’ (dpn.)
<uu>	/u:/	<i>sunnuun</i> ‘sun’ (gsf. n-st.), <i>pezzistuun</i> ‘best’ (sup./wk.adj. asf.)

This system did not stay intact. In the early 11th-century Alemannic dialect of Notker (St. Gallen), the short vowels in checked final position were simplified, while a rich long-vowel system was retained (length being denoted by circumflex). In Franconian it was the other way around: vowel length was lost very early (cf. Isidor), but the short system was preserved into late Old High German, ‘the whole burden of morphological distinctions’ lying solely on the short vowels.³¹ Only in Middle High German did the schwa-vowel come to occur in all unaccented syllables at the expense of more distinctive unaccented vowels such as /i/. No wonder that the phonemicisation of back-vowel allophones exposed to *i*-umlaut conditioning emerged only at this late point.

What we see, then, in the vocalism of the early OHG (Alemannic) dialect of the Benedictine Rule, is complete qualitative and quantitative symmetry between the accented monophthongs and the unaccented vowels in (checked) final position. Such symmetry is a significant feature characterizing syllable languages such as French and Turkish, which make no distinction between accented and unaccented vowel subsystems. Only with the reduction of the unaccented vowel distinctions and increasing loss of vocalic symmetry in late Old High German and Middle High German does the need arise for the analysing linguist, of course, to operate with two subsystems as seen in the other early North and West Germanic (word) languages.³²

But where does all this leave Gothic? The accented and unaccented vowels of this language would seem to exhibit qualitative and quantitative differentiation and symmetry similar to that of early Old High German, especially if we bear in mind that the two half-open vowels of the Gothic short accented system (/ɛ/ and /ɔ/) are in near-complementary distribution with /i/ and /u/ and that the open accented vowel /a:/ has an extremely low functional yield, its sole etymological source being the Proto-Germanic sequence *-anh-* (> *-āh-*; OHG /a:/ had PGmc. *ē*¹ as its main etymological source). Only counterparts to precisely these three vowels are missing from the unaccented Gothic vowel subsystem posited by us above.

The conclusion that I would like to draw from these deliberations is that typologically Wulfila’s Gothic was a syllable language with basically only one

vowel system used in all syllables. The fact that there was no evidence of *a-* or *i-*umlaut in Gothic also suggests that vowel reduction in unaccented syllables had had no impact on the phonological system as such. But the loss or reduction of the inflectional endings in, for example, nsm. *gasts* ‘guest’ (< PGmc. **gastiʒ*) and asn. *haur̥n* ‘horn’ (< PGmc. **burnan*) may indicate that Gothic was previously a word language. Early Gothic (or East Germanic) evidence of similar inflectional attrition is seen in the runic inscription carved on the Kovel lancehead (western Ukraine) and dated to AD 201–250: nsm. *a*-stem **tilarids** ‘goal-pursuer’ (German ‘Zielreiter’) with loss of inflectional *-a-* and devoicing of final *-ʒ* (< nsm. **-aʒ*). In biblical Gothic this form would be rendered as **tilareips*.³³

Prior to reaching the Black Sea and the Balkans on their south-easterly trek from the southern shores of the Baltic (the lower Vistula region), the Goths are therefore likely to have spoken a word language along the lines of Early Runic, Old Norse and the North-Sea Germanic languages. Well-established language contact with peoples and tribes speaking syllable languages in the Black-Sea region (and beyond) may well have led to bilingualism bringing about a phonologico-typological shift in Gothic. Archaeologically, the multi-ethnic Černjachov culture to the north and west of the Black Sea, which lasted from ca. AD 250 to 400, had an extension corresponding fairly well to the historically attested Gothic settlement area between the rivers Don and Danube.³⁴

In the border zone of the Roman Empire, the Goths were subjected to Roman cultural influences and had ‘their first direct contact with Latin speakers’,³⁵ even if the relationship was not exactly an easy one: Gothic pressure on the Roman frontier led the Romans to give up the province of Dacia around AD 257. Later, in 332, the Visigoths were defeated by Constantine II, who made a treaty with them and incorporated them in the defence of the Roman Empire as *foederati*. This state of affairs lasted for about 35 years, a period during which the Arian brand of Christianity spread among the Visigoths. In 341 Wulfila became bishop of the Visigoths, but owing to persecution by Visigoths who had not embraced the new faith, he and his followers (the *Gothi minores*) were forced, in 348, to seek protection south of the Danube in the Roman province of Moesia (Bulgaria).³⁶ In a significant attempt to strengthen the Christian faith Bishop Wulfila undertook a Gothic translation of the New Testament (or, as some scholars think, of an *evangeliarium*) from Greek.³⁷ The type of Greek employed in the composition of the New Testament was not a specifically religious idiom, but one which was close to the secular *Koine*, the ‘Common Language’ used at that time.³⁸

The fact that relatively little is known about the early Indo-European languages spoken in the Balkans should not discourage us from providing a brief

overview of the linguistic situation in the peninsula. Thracian, which was spoken in what is 'now mostly Bulgaria',³⁹ is attested through scant inscriptional and onomastic evidence; Dacian, spoken in the province of Dacia further north, is even more poorly attested; very little is known also of Illyrian in the western part of the peninsula (the province of Illyricum);⁴⁰ and ancient Macedonian, spoken to the north of Greece, is believed to have had a close affinity with Greek.⁴¹ It should be added that the penetration by the Slavs into the Balkans occurred only in the sixth and seventh centuries AD and therefore post-dated the Gothic settlement in the region by two centuries or more.⁴² The century-long Greek cultural presence in the Balkans was curbed by a partial Romanisation of the peninsula in the wake of the Roman conquest of the Balkans initiated towards the close of the first millennium BC. According to Georgiev,⁴³ a line leading from Lezhë (Albania) to Sofia (Bulgaria) and from there north of the Balkan Mountains straight to the Black Sea separated the Roman and Greek spheres of influence.⁴⁴ I am not going to point here to any specific language or locality that might have triggered a phonologico-typological shift in Gothic. There are too many unknowns, but I believe that there was ample opportunity for this change to have occurred.

To revert for a moment to Old High German, the other early Germanic language to have attracted our attention, this idiom was spoken by tribes who had settled in formerly Celtic-speaking territory in central and southern Germany. One tribe, the *Alemanni*, in addition to colonizing south-western Germany, moved further west and south to settle also in Alsace and parts of what is now Switzerland, where the Alemannic-speaking settlers were more extensively exposed to Latin (Romance) linguistic influence than were OHG dialect speakers elsewhere.

We may round off by saying that in his wonderment that the Goths, in spite of their migrations, 'ihre Sprache so rein und unbemengt behalten haben' ('have kept their language so pure and unmixed'), Elias Wessén would appear to have been on the wrong track. A phonologico-typological shift in Gothic resulting from language contact is a major linguistic innovation and a phenomenon that is certainly far from being a reflection of Gothic linguistic purity!

*

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Notes

- 1 Schwarz 1951
- 2 Oxenstierna 1948
- 3 Wessén 1972
- 4 Tacitus 1965, p. 136
- 5 Wessén 1972, p. 122
- 6 Green 1998, pp. 164–181; cf. Also Nielsen 2008 and Granberg 2010
- 7 Cf. esp. Green 1998, pp. 178–181
- 8 Nielsen 2000
- 9 Syrett 1994
- 10 Nielsen 2010
- 11 Antonsen 1986, pp. 322–324; Nielsen 2000, pp. 77–78
- 12 Nielsen 2000, pp. 78–79
- 13 Braune 2004b, pp. 44, 40
- 14 Van Coetsem 1994, pp. 113–114
- 15 For further details and references, see Nielsen 2010, pp. 430–433
- 16 Rauch 1981; Rauch 2003, pp. 51–52
- 17 Stiles 2010, pp. 354–356
- 18 Krause 1971, pp. 169–170
- 19 Stiles 2010, pp. 356–357
- 20 Szczepaniak 2007
- 21 Szczepaniak 2007, pp. 78–112
- 22 Szczepaniak 2007, p. 80
- 23 Cf. Braune 2004a, pp. 6, 21; Sonderegger 2003, p. 15
- 24 Eastern Franconian took up an intermediate position between the Central and Upper German dialects of Old High German, being attested along the upper and middle reaches of the river Main in the settlement area of the ancient Thuringian tribe subjugated by the Franks in 531 (Braune 2004a, p. 6).
- 25 Braune 2004a, pp. 22, 28–29, 31, 55
- 26 Samuels 1972, pp. 39–40
- 27 See also Marchand 1956, pp. 83, 88–90; Moulton 1961, pp. 20–30 and Braune 2004a, pp. 56–57 (with further references)
- 28 Braune 2004a, pp. 18–59
- 29 Szczepaniak 2007, pp. 87–112; Valentin 1978; Braune 2004a, pp. 60–78
- 30 Valentin 1969, pp. 166–175; cf. also Valentin 1978, pp. 384–385
- 31 Valentin 1978, p. 385
- 32 In her concluding summary Szczepaniak (2007, p. 335) points out that in its phonologico-typological development present-day Swiss German (whose dialects are all Alemannic) differs greatly from Standard German, but that it retains syllable-language characteristics traceable back to Old High German. According to Braune (2004a, pp. 63–64), the Wallis/Valais-Alemannic dialect of Swiss

- German has preserved reflexes of OHG vowel distinctions in final syllables ‘unter Einwirkung des roman. Akzentes’ (‘under the influence of Romance accentuation’). See also Penzl 1971, p. 145.
- 33 For the details, see Nedoma 2010, pp. 14–16, 20, 43–44; for an enlightening discussion of the possible non-Gothic – or even non-runic – character of the Kovel inscription, see Snædal 2011, pp. 233–237.
- 34 Cf. Heather 1996, p. 22; cf. also Wolfram 1990, 52–53
- 35 Green 1998, p. 181
- 36 Cf. Braune 2004b, p. 6 with further references
- 37 Cf. Munkhammar 2011, pp. 119, 125
- 38 Palmer 1980, p. 194; cf. also Wolfram 1990, p. 89
- 39 Fortson 2010, p. 463
- 40 It has sometimes been claimed that Albanian (recorded from AD 1462) is a modern descendant of Illyrian. However, the evidence for Illyrian is too meagre to allow us to draw such a conclusion concerning the provenance of Albanian.
- 41 Fortson 2010, pp. 459–465
- 42 Antoaneta Granberg, personal communication
- 43 Georgiev 1960, p. 5
- 44 Romanian, which is a present-day offspring of the Latin once spoken in Dacia and Illyricum, is attested only from AD 1521. It might be noted that Romanian has no fixed (syllable) accent (Ingmar Söhrman, personal communication).

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Wulfila, Arianism and the Gothic Language in Visigothic Spain

What was Wulfila's role in the creation of a Gothic identity? How much of his work and efforts remained when the Visigoths reached Spain after leaving the Balkans more than a century earlier? In this article I will focus on three main factors: Wulfila, Arianism and the Gothic language. Another characteristic is the relation to landowning,¹ but this will not be discussed here. How did these three factors influence the Gothic self-perception? And why were they so important?

This is not the place to discuss the origin of the Goths, but let me just point out that although Gothic tribes probably lived along the Baltic coast, at least along the southern one, they lived in several separate groups and did not unite into the two main groups, Visigoths and Ostrogoths, until they reached the northeast of the Black Sea in what today is Ukraine and partly Romania. This unification process was probably due to external pressure such as the arrival of the Huns and other Asiatic peoples. On the other hand, we do not know what the relationship was between the Goths and the Huns. It is supposed that several languages were spoken within the Hunnic 'borders', including Gothic.² The famous king of the Huns, Attila (?–453 A.C.) had a Gothic name, *atta* = father + *-ila*, diminutive suffix, i.e. 'little father'— in Gothic! It could not just be a happenstance that he bore this name, but the reason for this remains to be explained in a satisfactory way.

These two groups that constitute the Goths as we know them, were accepted as *fœderati* by the Romans during the reign of Valens who himself was an Arian, as were the Christianized Goths. Nevertheless, their entering into the Roman empire was not a very harmonious process, and it was not till after the Adrianopolis battle, where the emperor disappeared, probably killed in the battle, that the Goths and the Romans tried a more peaceful way of collaborating.³ However, it did not turn out to be a very peaceful relationship, although the Romanized Visigoths came to regard themselves as the successors of the Romans after the fall of Rome.⁴ The Goths moved to Italy and Gallia where the Ostrogoths settled,⁵ while the Visigoths continued and left Italia and Gallia for Hispania.⁶

There were two features that distinguished the Goths from other Roman citizens or *foederati*: their language was (East-)Germanic and as such it differed considerably from that of the Romans, and they were Arians. Both of these characteristics were lost as time went by, and due to the high degree of Romanization that prevailed among the Goths. Their language seems to have been replaced by Latin relatively early (~6th century), although this was not necessarily such a quick process as have often been suggested.

Arianism, as I see it, became an important feature of the self-identification of the Visigoths and set them apart from the Romans and other peoples living in the empire until the Visigoths managed to impose their own political authority and founded a realm of their own, which was what happened in the mid-6th century in Hispania. Thereby they did not have to be different from the others. On the contrary, they perceived themselves as the rightful successors of the old Romans, which led to a confrontation with Justinian, who, as the Byzantine emperor, saw himself as the only true ‘prolongation’ of the Roman Empire in the 6th century.

Arianism

Arianism came to represent, on the one hand, a theological doctrine that regarded Christ as a creature of God and not as a part of the divine Trinity, and, on the other hand, a political force that was used by some clergymen and others to label the clerical/political opponents, and to the Visigoths Arianism constituted a decisive part of their identity as a Christian people (*gens*).

The Arian doctrine was founded in Egypt by the priest Arius, who opposed the powerful Alexandrian bishop Athanasius. Their conflict went on for many years, and it is known as the *Arian Controversy* and did not end until Arius was excommunicated at the Nicæa Council in 325 A.C. However, the conflict between his followers and the Catholic church went on until the former ceased to exist, i.e. they converted to Catholicism.

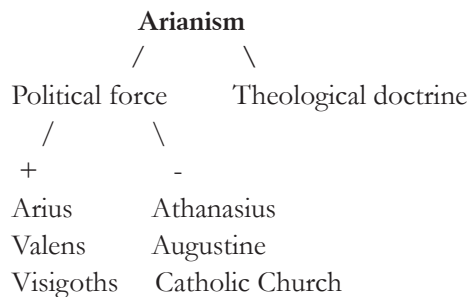
The real content of the controversy has lately been questioned, since we know very little about Arius’ own ideas and writings, and as it turns out *Arianism* as a concept was used by Athanasius and others as a broad term for Athanasius’ opponents in order to disqualify them as heretics, but it seems that not all of these opponents were really Arians. It was a label that served the purpose of discrediting them.

Athanasius was known to be a belligerent bishop who led his men to battle on several occasions. When he was deposed as bishop of Alexandria by Arius, he claimed that not only officially declared Arians but also Gregory who suc-

ceeded him on the see was an Arian by circumstantial evidence, i.e. guilt by association.⁷ In his famous work *Orations against Arians* Athanasius is not really discussing the historic Arius but using his name as a prototypical Arian, as Kanengiesser has clearly shown.⁸ Athanasius, as later other powerful clergymen like Marcellus, was not so interested in the already dead Arius but continued using him as a whip to discredit his own opponents.⁹ Also, Saint Augustine intervened against the Arians in defence of the Catholic doctrine.¹⁰

To sum up the birth and expansion of Arianism without going into its religious content¹¹ we just need to know that there was a theological struggle for power over the church in Alexandria where Arius and Athanasius opposed each other, and after Athanasius' defeat, Arius was censured by a synod and later excommunicated by the synod of Nicea in 325, which led to Athanasius' revenge and return.¹²

Thus, Arianism came to represent both a theological doctrine and, as a political force, an argument to discredit opponents by labelling them Arians and, by the Visigoths, as a feature in order to create their own identity, which was condemned by the Catholic church, as it opposed the official doctrine of the Roman church. This process could be described by the following figure where the plus and the minus stand for positive and negative use of the concept *Arianism* as a political force:



When Arius was defeated (excommunicated) in Alexandria, many Arians left for the Balkans, where Arianism made its way into influential circles in the Roman empire,¹³ reaching its peak with two influential characters, the emperor Valens, who was the one who let the Goths into the Roman empire, and the bishop Wulfila (or Ulfila), who possibly was of Gothic origin.¹⁴ Due to Valens' Arian beliefs Wulfila was sent to Christianize the Goths, the first Germanic people to become Christians,¹⁵ and as a result of his mission the Visigoths became Christianised, and of course they were thus brought into the Arian tradition on the Balkans. This probably took place before 382.

However, Wulfila not only Christianised the Goths, he also created their alphabet and translated the Bible.¹⁶ Wulfila himself was a fervent and radical Arian, as many others at this time.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it seems likely that there had been other missionaries among the Goths even before Wulfila and that many were already Christians, as there are testimonies of Gothic bishops attending synods before Wulfila's time.¹⁸

The Visigoths and Arianism

After a long and slow process of being driven more and more westwards, the Visigoths established themselves first in South-western Gallia around Toulouse, and from there they conquered Hispania (456–507). When this took place they did not seem interested in unifying the autochthonous population and the governing Visigothic elite.¹⁹ They kept their habits, among which the Arian belief seems to have been part of the Visigothicness, possibly all the more since they rapidly lost their Germanic language, replacing it with Latin, as they saw themselves as the successors of the Roman Empire. As such they could neither understand or accept emperor Justinian's claim to be the true Roman emperor trying to reconquer the western half of the realm.

Leovigild is the first Visigothic king of Hispania, and it is clear that he strived to unify his kingdom using Arianism as an instrument for spiritual unification creating *gens gothorum*.²⁰

In Spanish chronicles, king Leovigild is mostly described as a cruel heretic who killed his firstborn son, Hermenegild, and who opposed the Holy Roman Church, while his son Reccared became a noble king who within a year converted to Roman Catholicism. The chronicler Pseudo-Fredegar refers to the supposed burning of Arian books on one occasion as a sign of the true conversion of the Visigoths during Reccared's reign. Is this picture correct? Although this reflects known historical events, the interpretation of them probably reveals more of the interpreter's ideological viewpoint than of a correct description of what really happened.

The idea that Leovigild killed his Catholic son Hermenegild because of the conversion of the latter is also at least doubtful. Leovigild had already made his heir, Hermenegild, king, sharing power (with Leovigild) when Hermenegild revolted and was defeated by Leovigild. Later Hermenegild was killed in Valencia by a man who then was murdered. The whole story reeks of family conflict, and it seems impossible to know what really happened. Here it has to be pointed out that the queen Goswintha (Leovigild's wife and Hermenegild's stepmother), a fervent Arian, is supposed to have supported her stepson Hermenegild, which

seems unlikely since she does not seem to have been too fond of her stepson and certainly did not share his religious belief. What was the role of the second son, Reccared, who became heir as soon as his older brother was dead, and later succeeded Leovigild? Goswintha seems to have conspired against him.²¹ There is no proof that he was involved, but in the struggle for power, his role must at least be discussed. There are also rumours that Leovigild converted to Catholicism on his death bed.²²

Furthermore, the queen Goswintha had a nephew in Toulouse who later disappeared, but he should have been her first choice as a new king and not Leovigild's son with another queen, although there could have existed some agreement between Hermenegild and the queen against Reccared, but now I am merely speculating.

It seems that Leovigild was already trying to unite Catholics and Arians and that Arianism to him and to many other Visigoths was more symbolic than a real religious issue.²³ They actually saw themselves as the true Catholics. There is no evidence of any specific Gothic contribution to Arian beliefs.²⁴ The so-called Gothic mass is really the Mozarab one, and thus Catholic, and it was carried out in Latin. As Wiles points out there does not seem to exist any proof of the distinctiveness of doctrine 'as a matter of primary importance for the Gothic church'.²⁵ This would explain why the transition to Catholic Christianity seems to have gone reasonably smoothly.²⁶ The bishops joined sees as they were brought together, and as a consequence Arianism ceased to be regarded a heresy by the Catholic church and became *Fides Gothica*.²⁷ Of course, this did not happen without a certain amount of conflict, since there were two sets of bishops in Spain during the unification process, but the struggles that took place were more fights for power and for becoming head of the bishoprics.

This struggle culminated in the conflict between Sunna and Masona, the latter being a Gothic Catholic bishop who was executed on the orders of the Arian Sunna. This murder was used as a symbolic proof of the horrible Arian violence against the true Catholics.²⁸ Masona had stood against king Leovigild, but the pressure on Sunna grew after the execution and he left the see and died a missionary in northern Africa.

The title of this discussion reveals that another result of the transition of the Visigoths to Catholicism is the burning of Arian books mentioned by Pseudo-Fredgar: 'et omnes libros Arrianos precepit ut presententur; quos in una domo conlocatis incendio concremare iussit'.²⁹ This was supposedly carried out on the orders of Reccared. Pseudo-Fredgar is little known as a person. That is of course the reason for his strange labelling as Pseudo-. However, we know that he did not live in Hispania and that he was not a contemporary of Leovigild

or Reccared but lived later, which has caused many to doubt this only remark on the matter. As García Villada states,³⁰ it is very unlikely that there existed so many Arian books besides the translation of the Bible and some liturgical books, so why would Reccared initiate a burning of Arian books? The only reasonable suggestion that has been made is that it was just a symbolic condemning of Arian liturgy to the flames. It seems less probable that they would burn the bible itself, unless it was clear that the translation had changed the text or, perhaps, which has not been described, that the mere fact that they did not use the Latin Bible was seen as a heresy.³¹ On the other hand, there are no proofs that the Visigoths used the Gothic translation at all, having given up their own old language in favour of Latin. Orlandis suggests³² that there was a ‘recent’ book from Leovigild’s 12th year as a king that dealt with the conversion of Catholics to Arianism, which in itself, of course, was seen as a heresy: ‘-quo continetur Romanorum ad haeresiam arrianam transducto’.³³ The text was a consequence of the Arian synod of 580 that stated that Catholics did not need to be re-baptised. This book was condemned, and it seems reasonably probable that this was the main goal of this burning, although it was surely ‘accompanied’ by other Arian liturgical books. At a Consile in Zaragose it was decided that Arian relics should undergo a fire test *igne probentur*, which is supposed to be a Germanic tradition to see if these Arian relics were authentic and rightful or not.³⁴ This fact could be seen as a testimony in favour of the idea that Arian books were really burnt.

Whether this burning really took place or not can never be proved, but what seems clear is that it constitutes one more testimony of the ‘vile Arian heresy’ that was led by king Leovigild. This would then show the goodness of the righteous Catholic king Reccared.

It does seem that, whatever happened, Arianism was already becoming assimilated to Hispanic Catholicism already in Leovigild’s time, although there were strange details, such as the fact that the Hispanic Catholic church used a simple immersion at a baptism while the Roman Catholic church as well as the Visigothic Arian church used triple. Therefore the Hispanic Catholic church got the Pope’s permission to continue using one immersion just to differentiate it from Arian tradition.³⁵

It also seems that Arianism, which was more of a distinctive feature of Visigothic identity than a religious defence ‘against the dark arts’ (being the Catholics), had lost its purpose as a distinctive feature. Once the Visigothic domination over Hispania was settled, there was no real need for Arianism as such a feature. This was used by Catholic clergymen in order to condemn and reintegrate the ‘heretics’ in the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

The last intriguing thing is, of course, the relations within the royal family between the two brothers Hermenegild and Reccared, as well as their relation to their father and his second wife Goswintha. One question is whether Hermenegild's conversion to Catholicism mattered to Leovigild and if Goswintha, in spite of this, would support him in his rebellion against his father? Was Reccared involved in some conspiracy to wrest power out of his brother's hands? Leovigild seems in any case to have been on good terms with his second son as he erected the town Recopolis (south of Guadalajara) in his honour. It has been suggested that this toponym does not mean 'Rec[cared]'s town' but that *rec* comes from *rex*, (genitive *regis*) and means 'king's town'. This seems highly unlikely since there is no evidence of a Gothic or Latin loss of tone in the occlusive, i.e. *g* > *k*.

Finally, we can see that Arianism in itself was introduced by an eloquent and fervent missionary, Wulfila (whatever belief the earlier Gothic bishops had, and about that we know nothing). His impact on the belief of the Goths was extremely important, and it turned emblematic for some time during their long exodus from the Black Sea: This became more of a traditional identity marker without having long-lasting religious implications on the Goths. And it lost its role as soon as the Visigoths established a realm, and the kings started unifying an autochthonous Catholic population with the Arian Visigoths.

Arianism had its place also among the Ostrogoths and much later in England, but that is quite a different story.³⁶

The language question

We know very little about the use of Gothic in Hispania, and there are a number of linguistic complications that makes it even harder to know. First of all, there is a restricted knowledge of the Gothic language as a whole, and the main source is, as we know, a translation of the Bible. How 'purely' Gothic is this text? How much Greek influence is there?

However, we can be reasonably confident that its language was understood by Gothic-speaking people. Otherwise it would not have served any purpose. Another intriguing question is why did Wulfila need to invent a new alphabet? We know that the Goths used Runes for some time. There are Runic inscriptions found Lipșcani (close to Iași) and in Petroasa (in Transylvania). Was there some kind of missionary tactic that made Wulfila prefer a new alphabet? Did he consider the old one pagan? There are a number of speculations that we can make, but there will be no answers to our questions.

There is very little Gothic epigraphy and toponymy that we know of in the Iberian Peninsula, but there are several Latin/Romance toponyms that refer to

the Goths such as *Revillagodos*, *Godojos* and *Godones*. There are only a few words of Gothic origin in Spanish such as *bandera*, *escanciar* and *tregua*. Almost only words of Germanic origin that are exclusively found in the peninsula could be seen as truly Gothic, since there is a great similarity to Frankish, and the words can sometimes be difficult to attribute to one of them. It is worthwhile looking at the three examples mentioned above: *bandera* ‘flag’ < *banda* < fem. Goth. *bandwo* ‘sign’, *escanciar* ‘serve cider in a particular way’³⁷ < Goth. **skanjan* ‘serve drinks’ (cf. German *schenken*, earlier *skenken* and Swedish *skänka i*) and, finally, *tregua* ‘truce’, which in Spanish keeps the G as in Scandinavian languages, Swedish *trygg* ‘safe’, while this sound is lost in English *true* and German *treu*. Gothic kept the G, thus *tregua* could be a Gothic loanword and not just a Germanic one. This points at a closer relationship between Gothic and Scandinavian languages, but it is a theory that many have rejected (for linguistic or ideological reasons?). There are also many names of Gothic origin such as *Ramón*, *Rodrigo*, *Fernando* and *Ehira*.

However, there was an awareness of possible Gothic loanwords already around the year 1600 (and possibly long before) as the first to identify words of Gothic origin in Spanish, Bernardo José de Aldrete (1560–1641) stated that ‘even if the Goths were the Masters of Spain as well as of Italy and France for many years as they were rather a more belligerent people, humble, simple than ambitious since they rather tried to preserve the Latin language than their own...’.³⁸

He was often wrong, but his book *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana ó romance que oi se usa en España*, which was published in 1605, is still the very first discussion of this influence that we have.³⁹ Did he know more about the language than we do? Did he have access to other sources that are now lost?

But he also wrote that ‘we still have many words that they have left, [but it is] difficult for me to find out which they are, partly because there is very little written, partly because their language and ours are very different from that which existed in those days.’⁴⁰ For some reason he is better informed about names than other words and says correctly that ‘we still keep some of their personal names known from our histories and known by the Goths *Alonso*, *Aluaro* [Álvaro], *Isidro*, *Leandro*, *Rodrigo*’.⁴¹

The question is then whether they ever spoke Gothic in Spain? The Visigoths are considered to be the most Romanized Germanic people. How Romanized were they? Which language did they speak, when and with whom? Which language was used outside religious services and official documents (chronicles, laws etc.) – at home, among women, in lower classes (peasants etc.), in shops, etc.? And how about the religious services? As we have seen the Visigoths were

Arians in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, and Pseudo-Fredegair described how they burnt books in 6th century, and he says that these were Arian books and that the burning was a sign of the true conversion of the Visigoths. What books were they? Books in Gothic or Latin? We simply do not know. We can only speculate. It is hard to say whether it matters here, but Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq discovered Gothic-speaking people on the Crimean Peninsula in the 16th century.⁴² So when did the Visigothic language really die out? We simply have no idea, but what is clear is that there are many questions regarding the idea of the Goths being totally Romanized at the arrival on the Iberian peninsula in the 5th century.

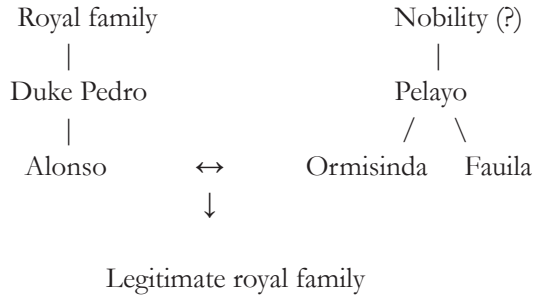
The importance of Visigothicness

After having settled in Hispania, did the Visigothicness really matter to the Visigoths? It seems that after the establishment of the Visigothic kingdom with Toletum (Toledo) as its capital, Arianism and possibly the Gothic language lost their importance in the daily life. However, things changed as the family of Witiza did not accept Rodrigo as the new king after Witiza's premature death in 710, and they invited the Moors to help them get rid of king Rodrigo, which they did, but they conquered the lion's share of the peninsula, and the weak Visigothic resistance in Cantabria was under the leadership of Pelayo who claimed to be the new king. He started the *Reconquista* that ended with the expulsion of the last Moorish king in 1492 by the catholic royal couple, Ferdinand and Isabel.

However, Pelayo needed a legal ground for his claim. He had to prove his legitimacy and then Visigothicness became of the utmost importance, and slowly its 'Scandinavian' origin became an important factor. For a long time the Visigothic origin turned out to be fundamental as a means of establishing identity and legitimacy.

Pelayo was a nobleman but did not belong to any of the royal families. It was therefore necessary to find ways of legitimizing his leadership. It was very important to connect himself to one of the royal families, and this happened when his daughter married the son of duke Pedro, thus creating legitimacy. This turned out even more important after his death since his son 'lost' a fight with a bear and died. However, this way his son-in-law, who came from a royal family, became king and the legitimacy was secured, albeit after Pelayo's death. This can be seen in the following scheme:

From nobility to royalty



It is not until Alphonse III that the Scandinavian origin of the Goths turns up. This is another story, and a very intriguing one.

It is interesting that Spain became a prime source of early Scandinavian history, mainly concerning the first Swedes and Goths. We find descriptions in *Historia Gothica* by Cardenal Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, a basic source for ancient Scandinavian history. Ximénez de Rada was archbishop of Toledo and Alcalá and adviser to Alphonse X at the beginning of C13.

Conclusion

Wulfila's importance was more historical than real when the Visigoths had established themselves as independent with a kingdom of their own, but beneath this surface we find that he was fundamental in the process of creating a united people of Christian faith (Arian) and with a written standardized religious language, and although he was not mentioned in the chronicles, his influence was still there.

Notes

- 1 Heather 1998, pp. 305–306
- 2 Sinor 1990, pp. 177–205
- 3 Cf. Barbero 2005
- 4 Kulikowski 2007
- 5 Amory 1997
- 6 Heather 1998
- 7 Wiles 1993, pp. 34–37
- 8 Kannengiesser 1983, pp. 114–120; Wiles 1993, pp. 37–38
- 9 Wiles 1993, p. 43

- 10 González 1989
- 11 Jungmann 1959, pp. 188–198
- 12 Kannengiesser 1991, p. 204
- 13 Wiles 1996, pp. 27–51
- 14 Cf. his name ‘little wolf’ in Gothic: Wiles 1996, p. 41
- 15 Orlandis 1998, pp. 16–17
- 16 González 1989, p. 30
- 17 Simonetti 1980, pp. 367–379
- 18 Wiles 1996, p. 40
- 19 Collins 2004, pp. 26–37
- 20 Orlandis 1976, p. 23
- 21 García Moreno 2008, pp. 95–126; Orlandis 1976, p. 48
- 22 Orlandis 1976, p. 25
- 23 García Moreno 2008, pp. 52–157
- 24 Wiles 1996, p. 50
- 25 Wiles 1996, p. 50
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Orlandis 1976, p. 51
- 28 Orlandis 1976, p. 48
- 29 Orlandis 1976, p. 43
- 30 García Villada 1932, pp. 74–75
- 31 For the adventures of the Silver Bible in Gothic, cf. Munkhammar 2011
- 32 Orlandis 1976, p. 44
- 33 Vives & Martínez Díez 1963, p. 119
- 34 Orlandis 1976, p. 43
- 35 Orlandis 1976, p. 44
- 36 Wiles 1996
- 37 The squirt is supposed to hit the side of the glass in order to get the best result with bubbles and flavor. In Asturias you are supposed to do this behind your back, and it turns into a great (and very wet) show.
- 38 Aldrete 1606, pp. 360–361; [a]unque los godos fueron muchos años Señores de España, como tambien de Italia, i Francia, siendo gente mas belicosa, i sencilla, que ambiciosa , procuraron antes cõseruar la lengua Latina, que estender la suia propria [...]
- 39 Söhrman 2012?
- 40 ‘Tambien nos quedaron muchos de sus vocablos, los quales tengo por mui dificultoso declarar quales sean, parte por la poca noticia, que de aquella lengua tenemos, parte porque la suia i la nuestra es mui otra de la que en aquellos tiempos fue.’
- 41 Ibid. ‘Algunos nombres proprios conseruamos suios, sabidos por nuestras historias, i conocidos por Godos. Alonso, Aluaro, Isidro, Leandro, Rodrigo.’
- 42 Poghirc 1967

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Goths and Religion

Normally everybody connect the Goths with the East Germanic Gothic language, which is considered to be an expression of their ethnicity. This is of course true for the Vistula Goths in the time of Tacitus and later. However, this is not the total truth either for the Vistula Goths or for other Gothic peoples. According to my estimation, the most important marker of their ethnicity, disregarding what language they spoke, is instead their religious ancestry from the creator god Gaut. This is the factor that glues the Goths together all the way to the crossing of the limes in 376. Germanic languages up to the early Migration Period were close enough for mutual understanding. Later on instead Arianism serves as the ethnic glue until the gradual dissolution of ethnicity after the conversion of Reccared to Catholicism.

Hence we have, besides the Vistula Goths, also the Gutar, the Gautar and the Eutoz/Ýtas/Jutar and not to mention the controversial Geatas, who all, like the Gudones, have theophoric names after their creator god Gaut/Geat. Interestingly enough all peoples worshipping Gaut/Geat either proven are connected with Scandinavia or claim to come from Scandinavia. This also includes some of the Saxons, but regarding the probable origin of Saxons we must presume a mix with Angles and Jutes. Concerning Snorri Sturluson he among other things refers in his *Heimskringla* to Glum Geirasson, the court scald of Harald Grâfáll,¹ who in the ode to Erik Bloodax says: ‘... sendi seggja kindar sverðbautinn her Gauti’, which might be translated as *sent the kinsmen, sword bitten army, to Gaut*, i.e. to death. Gaut is here, like Óðinn, the god of death.

Sedilius, Nennius and Asser also all refer to Geat as a pagan ancestor god. Sedilius: ‘Cum sua gentiles studeant figmenta poatae Grandisonis pompare modis, tragicoque boatu Ridiculoue Geta seu qualibet arte canendi.’ (‘Since pagan poets are eager to parade their fictions in lofty-sounding modes and with their tragic wailing, laughable Geta or whatever other kind of singing.’)²

Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*: ‘in quibus erant hors et hengist, qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii guictgils, filii guicta, filii guecta, filii uuoden, filii frealaf, filii fredulf, filii finn, filii foleguald, filii geta, qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei. non ipse est deus deorum, amen, deus exercituum, sed unus est ab idolis eorum, quod ipsi colebant ...’³

And Nennius in the translation by J.A. Giles:

(In the meantime, three vessels, exiled from Germany, arrived in Britain.) They were commanded by Horsa and Hengist, brothers, and sons of Wihtgils. Wihtgils was the son of Witta; Witta of Wecta; Wecta of Woden; Woden of Frithowald; Frithowald of Frithuwulf; Frithuwulf of Finn; Finn of Godwulf; Godwulf of Geat, who, as they say, was the son of a god, not[1] of the omnipotent God and our Lord Jesus Christ (who before the beginning of the world, was with the Father and the Holy Spirit, co-eternal and of the same substance, and who, in compassion to human nature, disdained not to assume the form of a servant), but the offspring of one of their idols, and whom, blinded by some demon, they worshipped...⁴

Asser: ‘... which Geat the pagans long worshipped as a god. Sedulius makes mention of him in his metrical Paschal poem, as follows:

When gentile poets with their fictions vain,
In tragic language and bombastic strain,
To their god Geat, comic deity,
*Loud praises sing, &c.*⁵

‘Qui Geata fuit Taetua; qui fuit Beauu; qui fuit Sceldwea; qui fuit Heremod; qui fuit Itermod; qui fuit Hathra; qui fuit Huala; qui fuit Beduwig; qui fuit Seth; qui fuit Noe; qui fuit Lamech; qui fuit Mathusalem; qui fuit Enoch; qui fuit Malaleel; qui fuit Cainan; qui fuit Enos; qui fuit Seth; qui fuit Adam.’⁶

(Geat was the son of Taetwa, who was the son of Beaw, who was the son of Sceldi, who was the son of Heremod, who was the son of Itermon, who was the son of Hathra, who was the son of Guala, who was the son of Bedwig, who was the son of Shem, who was the son of Noah, who was the son of Lamech, who was the son of Methusalem, who was the son of Enoch, who was the son of Malaleci, who was the son of Cainian, who was the son of Enos, who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Adam.)⁷

Some may object that Tacitus calls the Scandinavian peoples Ingaevones and Nerthus worshippers. In my dissertation I have clearly shown that the general population adored the fertility gods and that the cults of Gaut and Óðinn were cults for chieftains who also used the fertility cult as a medium.⁸ I will develop this matter further down. Please bear in mind, however, that what I say about the cult of Gaut by necessity is a hypothesis based merely on indications.

Herwig Wolfram writes among other things:

Older than Ostrogotha, the king of the Black Sea Goths, is Amal with whom the history of the Amali starts. But older than Amal and the Amali is Gaut and the Scandinavian Gautar(Gauts). This scheme is supported by the mentioning of Humli, the son of Gaut and father of the Danes, which again shows towards Scandinavian ancestry. Besides they

come of the Aesir-Ansis. Óðinn has been added but still they considered Gapt/Gaut the original ancestor. (Wolfram 1989, p. 37; 1992) This was the very best the Amali could achieve since their family was so young. They had in spite of all a divine ancestry. The Tervingi hailed before the battle Getic gods and ancestral spirits.⁹

Josef Svennung declares:

Eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie betreffs der Gotar und Gautar kann vielleicht bei der Name Ýtar vorliegen, über welche es in Widsith 26 heißt: *Ósvine véold Éovum & Ýtum Gewulf* 'O. herrschte über die Inselbewohner' (die Öländer [S. 203] oder die *Aviones* [S. 105]?), 'und G. über die Jüten'. Hierzu Much (bei Hoops II 623a): "anord. ýtar m. pl. , einem poetischen Wort für 'Männer, Menschen' das mit dem Volksnamen zusammengehört." Im Awno. ist ýtar nur im Sinne von 'Männer' (seit ca. 950) belegt (Hásteinn Hrómundarson 8 usw.), nicht in den þulur. Vgl. Chambers, Beowulf S. 286 f. . . . wenn Männer *gotnar*, *ýtar* genannt werden, hat man hier ein Indiz gesehen, dass die Dichtung zuerst in einem Milieu geformt wurde, wo Gote oder Jüte mit „Mann“ synonym war, weil alle es waren.¹⁰

Thorsten Andersson states in an article in *Namn och Bygd*:

The two tribes Götär (i.e. Gauts, Gautar) and Goths are early mentioned by the classical authors. The Gautar are also well confirmed in the Nordic literature: OSw. Gotar, OWN. Gautar; the singular form, OSw. Goter, OWN. Gautr, is confirmed as by-name. In domestic Gothic overhanding there is however not much to get. The form gutani in the inscription of the Pietroassa-ring, supposed to originate from the later half of the 4th c. AD, is now generally understood as genitive pl. of the tribal name, i.e. in classical Gothic gutane. As Gothic form in nominative pl. accordingly might be written gutans. The tribal name OSw. gutar, with the singular form Gutr confirmed as byname answers formally to Got. gutans. Consequently we have side by side PGM. *gautoz (a-stem), 'Götär' and *gutaniz (an-stem) 'Goths; Gutar (Gotlanders)'.

The last tribal name, *gautoz, is included in the name of the landscapes Västergötland and Östergötland and also the from the Middle Ages known OSw. Götland, OWN. Gautland, 'the land of the Götär'; at least primarily used about those two landscapes. The later tribe name, *gutaniz, referring to two different tribes, meet both in Got. Gutþiuda 'the people of the Goths', and in the name of the landscape and island of Gotland. In all three cases the first element has the form of stem (also for the an-stem in a-stem form). (Cf. Andersson 1996a p. 33 ff., 38, 41)

The oldest home of the Goths surely is discussed, but since the first mentionings they should have lived South of the Baltic. The three peoples Götär, Goter and Gutar accordingly have been living around the southern part of the Baltic as far as we can follow them, and the sea must be presupposed to have played a uniting role.¹¹

Today there is general agreement that all three tribal names in one way or another are derived from the verb guta, OSw. giuta, OWN. gjota, and götär is

formed to the ablaut-stadium extant in preteritum singularis, OWN. *gaut*, OSw. *göt*, and *goter* and *gutar* to the ablaut-stadium extant in preteritum pluralis, OWN. and OSw. *Gutum*.¹²

Through the above you can consider the names *Goter*, *Gutar*, *Gauter/Gautar* and *Jutar/Ýtar* firmly linked together and in practice tied to the god *Gaut*.

Gaut evidently is a high-god, a creator-god and heaven-god, and most evidently also a war-god. At the same time there are strong traits of a sacral kingdom with the Goths but of another character than the old Inglings. If you follow the name-giving principle of the Inglings/Ynglings their sacral king ought to specifically have been regarded as a fertility god and sun god. The Gothic sacral kings were of course also connected with the sun and fertility but in a different way. Note that the Gothic kings only claim ancestry from *Gaut* – they are heroes – (Jordanes, *Getica* XIV §79) and not reincarnated gods, and this is an important difference in principle from the Ynglings, claiming to be the reborn sun and the reborn *Ingr/Frejr*. The Gothic royal family, hence, follows exactly the same pattern as those families claiming ancestry from *Óðinn*. Note that every Gothic folk of course had their own sacral king, as the Continental Goths had as well – he who was called *Þiudans* by Jordanes. The first assumption about a creator-god and heaven-god accordingly could be supposed to be correct, but he still should have traits also of fertility aspects. This means he contributes in a way to the preservation of the crops, which with a god of Odinic character primarily must mean shamanistic demon-hunting via initiated members of secret cultic leagues. That he was also a war-god can be said to be confirmed by the history of the Goths.

Concerning the earlier sacral kings we might note that Tacitus, when he talks about the Suebian Ocean, merely mentions that the *Suiones* lives on islands in the ocean, and he gives no exact locations. In my presuppositions for my dissertation I have calculated with the solar cult during the Bronze Age spread all over Scandinavia, meaning that since time immemorial the *Suiones* was a name for Scandinavians in general, and the specific tribal names were not generally known.¹³ This has given me reason to perform a deeper analysis of the meaning of *Suiones* and our own name *sviar*.¹⁴

The modern name form of the god *Sviþdagr* – *Svipdag* – is interesting in a purely linguistic way. Linguists seldom seem to agree or be able to decide themselves when *þ* should be transcribed with ‘*th*’ or ‘*ð*’, or in this case with ‘*p*’. I have e.g. often seen the word *þaraþ* transcribed as either ‘*þarað*’ or ‘*þarath*’. I now intend to take a closer look on the word *Sviþdag*, and I assume a basic form **Sviþdagr* pronounced as *Sviðdagr*. This might offer certain pronunciation problems, specifically the rationalization of *ð/th* (*þ* also can be written *th*) to *p*

(which could be a latinization).¹⁵ What, then, does *Sviþ*/*Svið* mean? It means among else ‘burn, burn-beat, smart, sting, ache’. *Sve*/*Svi* should derive from *sui* in Avest. *x^oaéna* ‘glowing, smarting, shining’.¹⁶ In this context it simply means ‘the sun shining/burning/lighting in daytime’ – a name of the sun god who, quite consistently, happens in some of the old myths to be married to the moon goddess Freja. *Sviþ*- also occurs in other combinations.

An important example is the name *Svitiod* for Sweden being a literary word (in historical and poetical style) accepted from the Icel. *Sviþjóð*= the native Sw. runeword *Sveþiup*.¹⁷

The word *Sveþiup* is traditionally translated as *Svetþioð* or *Svítþioð*. I presuppose instead the basic form **Sviþþioþ*, which through trouble of pronunciation has been simplified to *Sviþioþ* and originally had been pronounced *Sviðthioð* or *Svitþthioð* after which *ð*/*th* has fallen away.¹⁸

This leads us to the meaning ‘the sun people’, ‘the people of the sun’, ‘the people that adore the sun’. “*Sviakonungr*” then becomes ‘*the Sun king*’, which is indeed a fitting name of the highest religious leader in a sacral sun kingdom, and this has, as can be seen in all standard works of history of religion, parallels in Egypt and in the South American Indian cultures and elsewhere. The Inca was regarded, like Pharaoh, to be the son of the sun. That this fits with the actual circumstances I maintain I have demonstrated in the part below treating the cult of Frejr and the sacral kingdom. It may be added that people speaking Gautic dialects still simplify the word ‘*svida*’ to ‘*svía*’.

Sviakonungr accordingly should be the title of the highest religious leader, the god who embodied the sacral kingdom in Bronze Age and EIA Scandinavia, and everybody attending the cult or living within the dominance area of the cult therefore can be called *Sviar*. Originally there might have been several local kings filling this function, each one pursuing his own business, but a cultic communality can be supposed to have existed – a loose, informal cultic league, simply because the ruler also founded his secular power on this position and hence they all had an interest in supporting each other. *Sviar* therefore is a sacral or theophoric name and not a specific people’s name, but comparable with other theophoric names as *Gautar*, *Gutar*, *Ýtar*, *Gudones*, *Goutai*, etc.

In due time this old league began to dissolve as a consequence of deteriorating climate with poorer harvests, so the chieftains could no longer support so many people in their settlements. With the spread of more single settlements with family farming instead, the chieftains had to find other means to maintain control. Hence a new group emerged whose kings rested their secular power instead on secret shamanistic leagues that purported to help the farmers to hunt away demons from the fields and save the crop, and swore in warriors for

protection where the king represented the god when going into battle. The old open sun symbol now turns into the hidden sun symbol in the shape of the ring Draupnir, supposed to be magic. In short we get a number of Gothic peoples sharing the same religious ancestry and whose kings descend from the god Gaut. We are still not talking of a direct cultic league but of peoples having a common background and whose rulers have a shared interest in retaining their power. In some areas the old sacral kings still remained for a while and the name Sueones/Suiones and sviar partly remained as an overall name for a long time, until specific tribal names became known. Indeed, it is still in use in Sweden. In the same way the background of the Suebes should be the same as Sueones. The old title Sviakonungr, however, continues to be used also later, though with Odinic rulers, i.e. the Scilfings, the Óðinn worshipers.¹⁹

In my dissertation I have shown an analysis of the cult of Frejr²⁰ and how Óðinn interacted there, and in the same way, in principle, the cult of Gaut ought to have worked. In short, according to Skírnismál, Frejr sends Skírnir with his horse, sword and the ring Draupnir to Gerðr to ask for a love meeting. This happens a half hýnott before the requested meeting in Barri lundr. A hýnott is, in my opinion, the period the moon is partly hidden from new moon to full moon and from full moon to new moon – in other words exactly like the English fortnight. Skírnir is a representation of Frejr himself in the shape of a sunray. In the underworld he takes Gambanteinn, a branch from the tree of life growing in the womb of Gerðr, who in fact is his own sister Freja, and hence he has robbed her of her fertility – she is now barren. He knocks on her door and threatens her with perpetual barrenness if she doesn't agree to meet him in the Barri lundr – her own, now barren, womb. She accepts and a half hýnott, a week, later at full moon around the 4th of November, he starts fertilising her with his sword/Gambantein. Skírnir has already delivered Draupnir, the almost dead sun, in her care for the winter – we are dealing with the formal burial of the sun – and when they meet in love Frejr remains below earth all winter until he and Balðr – earlier Úllr – are reborn at full moon around the 5th of may. During the winter Freja reigns. Remember that Óðinn always gets the ring Draupnir back in all different stories. We can see all this clearly described in the Faxe bracteate.

You see three figures on the Faxe bracteate of which the middle one seems to hold a hammer-like tool. Taking a second look, however, you become confused – what is it really that the middle figure has in his hand – is it a hammer indeed? If you scrutinize the picture still more you discover the feet of a bird above his head, or possibly above the person to the right. In the lowest part two birds are lying – one on each side – and the middle figure's other hand is formed as a

ring. He stands on a kind of podium and from his side extends what looks like a leafed branch. To the left a figure stands, with a globe for feet and beside him seemingly another leafed branch. One hand is ring-shaped. The figure to the right has beside him a spear but outside this there is a human or animal bone. He holds in his other hand something looking like a pair of crossed bones. His hand, too, is shaped like a ring.

Before we continue the interpretation it is advisable to share what Lotte Hedeager writes in her manuscript to her intended article *Myths, Magic and Material* in 1996:

The actual process of seidr was to pass into a state of ecstasy, the body becoming lifeless, releasing the soul to travel freely in time and space. It then being possible for the free soul to become 'wild' and cause harm, and travel to the realm of the dead to obtain insight and knowledge about the past or the future. This state of transcendence (i.e. the shape-changing) was brought about through chanting and recitation carried out by a group of assistants gathered around the one enacting the seidr, above them on a kind of platform or podium (hjalfr).

A little further down she writes:

The free soul was also zoomorphic. The three chief types are that of the bird, the reindeer (stag), and the bear - but especially the bird (Eliade 1989:156, cf. Hultkrantz 1987). In his journey to the other world the shaman is usually presented as riding on some bird or four-legged animal.²¹

My interpretation of this bracteate is that the bird above indicates a shaman god and the object I interpret as a hjalfr (the podium) tells that a seidr is going on. The figure in the middle is Baldr. We can spot two sun gods since the ring, as shown before, is the sun. It all deals with the death of Baldr through the Mistilteinn, and the left-hand figure is then Ingr/Frejr, who by means of the Skirnir-shape carries the sun god – Draupnir – and himself to Freja and fertilizes her, as indicated by the leafed branch Gambanteinn to the left finally causing Ingr/Frejr and Baldr to be reborn. Observe he has a globe, i.e. a ring, for feet. The object Baldr holds could be a symbol of himself and the moon goddess Ingun/Freja/Nanna guaranteeing his return. It accordingly should be a symbol for the sun and the moon. You may note that the figure with the spear, Óðinn with Gungner, stands on the hjalfr at least with one foot and definitely on the same



Fig.1 The Faxe Bracteate.
(Kolstrup 1991).

level, and it could be interpreted to mean that he has established contact with the realm of the dead through the *sejdr*. The bone symbols then should suggest his function as death god and ruler of the primary forces. The two birds are Hugin and Munin. The two pyramids of three rings each signify in this interpretation the three ring gods involved in the funeral and resurrection of the sun – Óðinn, Balðr and Frejr – and suggest the journey to the underworld via the downwards pointing triangle and the resurrection via the upwards directed one. This is an interesting interpretation indeed, since it confirms my earlier analysis indicating that Ingr/Frejr as Skírnir is indeed also the sun and hence possibly earlier ÚllR. We accordingly can see the cult of Frejr, as described in *Skírnismál*, as an iconographic picture. The crossing bones Óðinn holds in his hand could also be regarded as a combination of his own death symbol with the scale of Týr. If so, Týr is suggested as his real co-regent (like Varuna and Mithra).²²

The local ruler, the Gothic sacral king, would in a similar way as proposed by Steinsland²³ for the Ingling, have confirmed his demands for the land with a ritual copulation with a peasant girl, symbolising the copulation between the sun and the earth, between Frejr and Gerðr/Freja, as long as the Goths were still in their original habitations.

We have seen in e.g. the *Helgikviða* that there are consecrated groups of warriors, who in the myth fight for summer and winter respectively to sustain the plant cycle.²⁴ In shamanistic cults you can also use real, initiated humans to scare away demons from the fields, etc. In my dissertation I have treated such leagues with consecrated humans, and I have tried to show that there are three possible types: actors in a cultic play, shamanistic demon hunters and warriors' leagues. If you adore a god whose name means 'man', 'fertilizer', 'out-pourer' the men naturally would have a more dominant and higher social position than if the leading deity were female. Why, then, did the men instead have a disfavoured position concerning the funeral custom? Could this possibly be explained through the system of initiated warriors or is it for more practical, material reasons? Why is this Gaut worshipped primarily by the leading levels – kings, chieftains and warriors? These are questions of vital significance if we are to be able to find out more about the cult of Gaut.

Before we reach that far, however, we should look closer on some suggestions about Óðinn that possibly could produce a better picture also of Gaut, since his name later is combined with that of Óðinn. Already Dumézil regards Óðinn as, among other things, also a fertility god. In e.g. *Lokasenna* is suggested that Loki and Óðinn have had inappropriate sexual contacts with each other, and as far as Loki is concerned we know he was twin-gendered and gave birth to the foal Sleipner, whose father was the stallion Svadilfare. Óðinn also

is a masterly hamr-changer. His pure male gender consequently might be doubted. It is already confirmed that the Vanir are twin-gendered, or with other words that Frejr and Freja are simply aspects of the same deity. In the archaeological finds you can see that during the middle of the Bronze Age there are indications of the arrival of a cult of a goddess based on the rock carvings and other finds. Görman also claims the arrival of a male follower.²⁵

The first reaction to this suggestion might be the idea that not only the Vanir but also the heaven gods were part of the mix already then. Since Óðinn also has a female part/wife – Frigga – of decidedly fertile character, it is not unreasonable to assume also Gaut might have had a consort. I will treat this in greater depth below.

If you regard the word *gaut* out of an etymological point of view the basic meaning is normally regarded as ‘pour’. It can, however, be interpreted in several closely related ways.

If you look at the normal Germanic and Nordic word *gud* (god) from ‘*guf, god*’ and examine what Hellquist writes in his Etymological Wordbook you find references to e.g. **gbu-tes* with the supposed meaning ‘the one creating reverence, fear’ or ‘adored’.²⁶ He also states that the word was originally neuter.

About the word *göda* ‘fertilize’ (the fields) Hellquist says ‘OSw. *gōpa*, ‘make good or better, specially *göda* (fertilize) = Icl. *göða*, Da. *gode* (about soil), corresponds to. MHG. *gieten*, ‘make good, grant’; of Gm. **godian*, of *god*(good).’

About Gödecke Hellquist writes ‘family name from LGerm = Christian name and nickname with dimin. suff. *-ke* to Christian names in *God*;- Cf. Gottfrid.’

If you add to the above-mentioned the descriptions of the North German carnival traditions, where in connection with Óðinn is referred to “*Frau Gauden*”



Fig. 2 Goddess from the Bronze Age with necklace ring, S:t Olof, Skåne. (Oldtidens ansigt, J yAS 1990:78, Mats P. Malmer.)

and the so-called cultic sleds,²⁷ and you also recall cultic place names of the type *Gödäkera* (fertilized field), the prerequisites are at hand to paint an interesting hypothetical scenario.

Because evidently the stem in *gaut*, *gaud*, *güet*, *goþ*, **godian*, *god* is similar and the meanings overlap each other, *Gaut* also could be interpreted as ‘god’. As stated above the word *gud* ‘god’ was originally neuter or gender-neutral. This opens up for those dubious tendencies that have been pointed out above about male and female with Óðinn, meaning they could suggest a built-in twin-gender after the Vanic model. The god has a male and a female aspect. When *Gaut* in time becomes tied up with the name of Óðinn, which according to all circumstantial evidence is remarkably later than the Pre-Roman Iron Age up here, the suspicion is enforced that *Gaut* might have had a female aspect/mate – *Gauden*, who might be suggested as a parallel to *Frigga*. That she travels in a sleigh drawn by dogs in the North German tradition also provides an interesting connection to the antique goddess *Hekate*, well matching a god having considerable power as a death god.²⁸ If you write the name as *Gaut* or *Gaud* is mostly a question of how to interpret runic writing, since *þ* might be translated in both ways. Seen in this way *Gaut* even more decidedly becomes a fertility god that is clearly shamanistic in character, very similar to Óðinn, leading shamanistic demon hunters fertilizing the fields with good divine power to promote the vegetation, and he also appears as a creator god since he, through his two aspects, also has begotten humankind. This also gives a plausible explanation for why the old sacrificial Metonic cycle of 19 years changes to an eight-year cycle, influenced of the Romans, only with the arrival of the Continental cult of Óðinn. I still do not regard the goddesses with necklace rings as a personification of *Gauden* but of a Vanic goddess with more direct connection to the year-cycle. Consequently, *Gaut* and *Gauden* could possibly have originally meant simply ‘the god’ and ‘the goddess’ from which humankind was begotten, and when the Continental cult of Óðinn appears, an explanation is attached to the name of Óðinn – he becomes Óðinn the god, the outpourer and fertilizer, he who now is the highest god. This implies that *Gaut* should have been an early Odinistic god who possibly might have arrived together with the goddess during the middle or late Bronze Age. Also in favour of a connection to a female aspect is the circumstance of the remaining matrilineal structures of the Gothic peoples even during the Óðinn epoch. Women long had a distinctly high social rank with the Goths and also in Scandinavia her position was well kept, also as concerns hereditary circumstances. Some people claim that *Gaut* during such circumstances could not function properly as a war god, but against this it can be said that *Frejr* and *Freja* also

seem to have had an army of fighters – the Hadjings. The shamanistic men's leagues known from Óðinn, who also ought to have been extant under Gaut, also explains why he primarily was a god for chieftains and warriors. The other functions of fertility were evidently looked after mostly by the Vanir, with Ingr/Ingun as the most important deities. Later they are instead called Frejr/Freja but were still the same deities. We most probably never will know the real answer, but I think in any case you could assume a very close connection between Gaut and Óðinn.

To conclude – all Gothic peoples have a tribal tradition that they are originally begotten by Gaut – he is their creator god. Hence Gudones, Goutai, Gutar, Gautar, Geatas, Jutar/Ýtas/Eutones are all theophoric names and do not refer to natural phenomena like flowing rivers et c.

We also have some recent archaeological indications suggesting strong connections between the Scandinavian peoples and the Continental Goths. This paper does primarily not deal with archaeology, but since many 20th-c. Swedish researchers tended to deny connections with the Goths I shall name some recent results tending to confirm those connections. As early as 1970 Rolf Hachmann admitted the Gautar were Goths.²⁹ Anders Kaliff, in his *Gothic Connections*, has shown close contacts with the Vistula area as early as during the late Bronze Age, seemingly resulting in a kind of integrated culture including South Scandinavia. In connection with exploitation digs for a huge gas pipeline in Poland multiple finds of Scandinavian origin were recently made. These finds are being continuously published in the series *Archeologiczne badania wzdłuż trasy gazociągu tranzytowego* [Archaeological rescue investigations along the gas transit pipeline], ed. Marek Gierlach, Poznan and started with the excavation of the grave field at *Kowalenko*.³⁰

Anderzej Kokowski has made very interesting excavations, and some of the objects he has found match finds in e.g. Östergötland very well, made when the Linköping airport was excavated.³¹ Kokowski also has a very good map of the area he suggests is Gothiscandza.

Jerzy Ockulicz has also found great similarities between Poland and Scandinavia concerning funeral habits.³²

That those Gothic contacts continued during the whole Gothic era till the end of the Migration Period is indicated for example by the weapon sacrifice sites in Finnestorp and Vennebo, Västergötland and the excavations by Charlotte Fabech in Sösdala and other places in Scania. Also, the Vendel finds of course have a continental connection, but later the finds grow more rare.

We know that many different groups who were originally not ethnic Goths were accepted among the Goths during their migrations. That is why the term



Fig. 3 Necklace pearls and fibula from the Wielbark culture (Kokowski 1995) (Ingesson 2010)



Fig. 4. The Wielbark culture and its first phase of development. (Kokowski 1995) (Ingesson 2010)



Fig. 5 Pearls from Västra Bökestad, Linköping (Menander/Molin 2005) (Ingesson 2010)



Fig. 6 Pearls from Masłomęcz, Woiv, the Wielbark Culture (Kokowski 1995) (Ingesson 2010)

ethogenesis has been minted to show a new organisation and a new social order among the Goths.³³ Still, these new groups were later treated as real Goths. The explanation is evidently that they were religiously included in the people and accepted in the ancestor cult in the respective Kunja.

It should be noted from the story of the persecution by the kindins Athanaric that only Goths were forced to worship the Gothic gods whereas the non-Goths were allowed to be Christians if they chose.³⁴ Wulfila, however, who succeeded in spreading Christianity also to the Goths, was regarded as dangerous to the ethnicity and hence was forced to move with his Gothi minori. The kindins had in fact replaced the former sacral king with the Vesi when the Goths were divided into Vesi and Ostro. The characteristics of a classical sacral king are that he supervises

the religion of the people and leads a war of defence. However, he is never allowed to leave the realm. The kindins simply heads the council of reiks. On top of that, every kunja had their own tribal sacral items that were brought with them in the crossing of the limes. The chieftains, reiks, also managed the warriors cult directed to Gaut/Óðinn, meaning the kindins did not control that aspect. Instead he was concentrated on the fertility cult of the common people, as keeper of the ethnicity of the people. The vita of St. Saba demonstrates clearly that the commoners were tolerant also towards Christian Goths, but seen from the viewpoint of the kindins this was a threat to the unity of the Goths. Hence we can conclude that the cult was the most important ethnic glue of the Goths.

After the acceptance of Arianism it became as important for the Gothic kings to entertain this faith, even though it was forbidden for Roman citizens after Theodosius' interdict in 382. It helped to isolate the Goths from direct Roman influence and get the people stick together. This worked well all the time until the Visigothic king Reccared adopted Catholicism and declared himself responsible only to God. From then on the distinction between the Roman and Gothic landowners became more and more invisible, and their sense of Gothic ethnicity faded out. Another consequence was that the tolerance towards different believers, and especially Jews, declined. A number of aggressive councils and Catholic kings in Toledo restricted the rights of the Jews gradually until 702 when it was decided that all Jews should be slaves and not allowed to exercise their religion.³⁵ In that way, commerce, which partly depended on a class of Jewish merchants, was destroyed and when the Arab invasion occurred all slaves naturally joined the invaders or simply fled, and the nobility defended their own personal interests above all, and placing the nation second in importance. Because of this the Visigothic realm was finished in 711.

We can accordingly conclude that religion constituted the ethnic glue of the Goths from the beginning to the end. Probably the last ethnic Goths, the Arian Agotes/Cagots, were persecuted in Spain and Southern France up till the middle of the 19th century. They had stayed Arian and remained in situ during the Saracen occupation and hence were regarded as traitors after the *reconquista*.

Notes

- 1 Sturlasson 1991, p. 134
- 2 McBrine 2008, book 1
- 3 Nennius 1972
- 4 Op. cit.
- 5 Asser Menevensis
- 6 Op. cit.

- 7 Op. cit.
- 8 Nordgren 2004, pp. 39 ff.
- 9 Wolfram 1988, p. 112
- 10 Svennung 1967, pp. 238 f.
- 11 Andersson 1996, pp. 35 f. with references
- 12 Andersson 1996, pp. 37, 45; Andersson 1998, pp.5 f.
- 13 Nordgren 2004, pp. 3 ff.
- 14 Op. cit., pp. 179 ff.
- 15 Cf. Höfler 1934, *Semnonenbain*
- 16 Hellquist 1980 [1939], p. 1127 *svida*
- 17 Hellquist 1980
- 18 Svennung 1967, pp. 97 ff.
- 19 Nordgren 2004, pp. 160 ff.
- 20 Op. cit., pp. 39 ff.
- 21 Hedeager 1996
- 22 Nordgren 2004
- 23 Steinsland 1991
- 24 Nordgren 2004, pp. 110 ff.
- 25 Görman 1987, pp. 172 f.
- 26 Hellquist (1980 [1939]), p. 309
- 27 Höfler 1934, p. 90
- 28 Op. cit.
- 29 Hachmann 1970
- 30 Cf. Skorupka 2001
- 31 Ingesson 2010
- 32 Ockulicz 1991, Ockulicz 1992
- 33 Typen der Ethnogenese 1986–1990
- 34 Delehaye 1912
- 35 Claude 1970

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Gamla Uppsala and Skokloster

Ingemar Nordgren's article *Goths and Religion* was not part of the original program, but was held as a speech during the visit to Gamla Uppsala (Old Uppsala). After the scientific session on Friday June 17, the participants of the symposium were invited by the Governor of Uppsala County to his residence in Uppsala Castle for a luncheon. It was a brilliant reception with the Governor Peter Egart and his wife Lena as hosts.

After the luncheon, the Symposium participants visited Gamla Uppsala (Old Uppsala) for a guided tour at Gamla Uppsala Museum and to attend a Mozarabic Mass in Gamla Uppsala Church. The Mass was held by Monsignore J.M. Ferrer Grenesche and other officiates.

For the participants still remaining on Saturday June 8, there was an excursion to Skokloster Castle by steam ship down the River Fyris.



The Holy Mass
Den Heliga Mässan
Hispano-Mozarabic Rite



Old Upsala Church
Gamla Uppsala Kyrka
Friday 17 June 2011

At the Conclusion of the Symposium Wulfila 311-2011

MASS – MÄSSA

TO THE HONOUR OF THE HOLY CROSS – TILL DET HELIGA KORSET

Introit – Introitus
Dicite in nationibus, alleluia...

Gloria & Laudamus

Collect – Kollektbön

LITURGY OF THE WORD – ORDETS LITURGI

Salutation

Profetia
(First Reading – Första läsningen)
Apoc. – Uppenbarelseb. 21:10,9 + 22:1-3

Psalm 95: 10-11

Apostolus
(Epistle – Epistel)
Philippians – Filipp. br. 2: 5-11

Gospel – Evangelium
John – Joh. 3: 1-17

Sermon – Predikan

Lauds – Lovsång
Alleluia. Tu es crux fidelis in qua pependit salus nostra, alleluia.

Sacrificium
(Offertory – Offerterium)
Haec dicit Dominus...

Solemn intercessions – Förböner

Oratio post nomina
(The priest sums up the prayers with a collect –
celebranten ber en avslutande bön)

Pax

(Rites for the exchange of Peace – Fridshälsning)

1. Prayer – Bön

2. Exhortation – Uppmaning:
Quomodo astatis, pacem facite.

3. Cantus ad pacem

(Responsory on Peace – Responsorium om frid/fred)

PREX EUCHARISTICA

Dialogue – Dialog

Illatio
(Preface – Prefation)

Sanctus
(Ends with... – Slutar med.)
Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, Kyrie, o Theos.

Oratio post sanctus
(Prayer – Bön)

Ennaratione institutionis
(Words of Institution, – Instiftelseorden,
each part answered by: – vardera delen besvarad med:
Amen.)

Oratio Post pridie & Doxologia
(Oration and Doxology – Avslutande bön och doxologi)

Ritus communionis
(Communion – Kommunion)

Reciting of the Creed – Troskännelsen

Cantus ad confectionem
(Breaking of the Bread – Brödsbrytelse)

Ad orationem dominicam
(Our Father – Fader vår)

The priest sings and every prayer is answered by: *Amen.*
Prästen ber och varje bön besvaras med: *Amen.*

Dialogue and Benediction – Dialog och välsignelse

Communion – Kommunion
(The Sacrament may only be received by Roman Catholics, anyone who
wishes a blessing should make a sign with their right hand to their left
shoulder – Sakramentet kan endast tas emot av romerska katoliker, den
som önskar bli välsignad visar detta genom att lägga högra handen mot
sin vänstra axel.)

Antiphons during and after communion –
Sång under och efter kommunionen

Completuaric
(Concluding prayer – Tackbön)

Conclusio
(Final Responsory – Växelsång)

Celebrant: Mons. Dr. Juan-Miguel Ferrer Grosesche
Concelebrant: Doc. P. Dr. Ulf Jonsson S.J.
Magister cæsarenorium: Dr. Per Svöten
Magister organum & chori: Doc. Dr. Anders Ekenberg



Skokloster Castle and Uppsala Castle



The Speakers

Herwig Wolfram. Historian, Professor Emeritus at the University of Vienna, Austria. Former Director of the Austrian Institute for Historical Research (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung). Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Tore Nyberg. Historian and church historian. Associate Professor Emeritus in History at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense. Honorary Doctor of Theology at Uppsala University 2003.

Jan Paul Strid. Language historian and toponymist. Professor at the Department of Culture and Communication, Linköping University, Sweden.

Juan Miguel Ferrer Grenesche. Spanish Catholic Priest and Magistral Chaplain of the Knights of Malta. In 2009 appointed by Pope Benedict XVI Undersecretary of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments.

Andrzej Kokowski. Archaeologist. Professor at the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland, Director of the Institute of Archaeology.

Svante Fischer. Archaeologist. Ph.D. in Archaeology. Researcher at Uppsala University and Musée d'Archéologie Nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Leader of the project IRF – 'Inscriptions runiques de France' at the Institut Runologique de France.

Magnús Snædal. Philologist. Professor of General Linguistics, Department of Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Iceland.

Rossen Milev. Historian, Ph.D. at the University of Salzburg, Austria. Co-founder and Director of the Research Institute Balkan Media Association in Sofia, Bulgaria. Founder of the Wulfila Foundation in Sofia.

Svetlana Lazarova. Co-founder and coordinator of the Balkan Media Association in Sofia, Bulgaria. Member of the Wulfila Foundation in Sofia.

Carla Falluomini. Germanic philologist and specialist in Gothic paleography, language and culture. Associate Professor at the University of Sassari, Italy.

Antoaneta Granberg. Slavonic philologist. Associate Professor in Slavic languages and lecturer in Old Church Slavonic and Bulgarian at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Hans Frede Nielsen. Language historian. Professor emeritus at the Department of Language and Communication, University of Southern Denmark, Odense.

Ingmar Söhrman. Romance philologist. Professor of Romance languages at the Department of Languages and Literatures, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Ingemar Nordgren. Historian. Ph.D. at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense.

The Editors

Anders Kaliff. Archaeologist. Professor at Uppsala University. Senior Advisor at the Swedish National Heritage Board.

Lars Munkhammar. Book historian. Senior Librarian at Uppsala University Library.

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