Early Germanic Literature and Culture

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Gothic

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GOTHIC IS THE EARLIEST GERMANIC LANGUAGE to be written down in full form in manuscript — other than isolated Germanic words recorded by Roman writers. Written Gothic dates from the fourth century, several centuries before the ancestor of modern German was committed to writing for the first time. Nevertheless, titles like *Gotische Literaturdenkmäler* found in the secondary literature are at best optimistic, since most of what we have in the written Gothic language (for the most part Visigothic) are translations of parts of the Greek Bible. Such non-biblical fragments as survive are small indeed: a fragment of a biblical commentary, which may or may not be a translation; a calendar fragment; a few isolated words (some in a Latin epigram); two subscriptions in legal documents, and, as the last flicker of the Gothic language, a list of words recorded in the Crimea in the seventeenth century.[1]

Allusions in Latin writings about the Goths, and references to Gothic historical figures in works which have survived in other languages lead us to suppose that, as with other early languages, there was an oral tradition of poetry in the vernacular. These may well have been heroic epics associated with the aristocratic warrior classes, but these works have not survived in written form. Elfriede Stutz points out on the first page of her bibliographical handbook that we do not have a single line of Gothic poetry.[2] The fact that what we refer to as Gothic literature means, effectively, an incomplete Bible translation, determines the approach to Gothic. The antiquity of the language and thus the relative closeness to the primitive Germanic ancestor which it, as an East Germanic language, shared with the West Germanic languages (represented now by English and German), and with the Northern group of early and modern Scandinavian languages, make it of great interest to philology. Gothic is associated with other so-called East Germanic languages spoken by tribes such as the Burgundians, the Vandals and the Gepids (classical historians group them with the Goths), the Herulians, and the Rugians.[3] For other languages in that group, such as Burgundian or Rugian, we must rely on place names and personal names for philological evidence, but with Gothic, sufficient material has survived to provide for a solid corpus, even if not every para-

digm can be completed from the written material, so that the precise form and gender of some words remain unclear and, of course, much vocabulary is wanting.

In literary terms, however, our interest is more restricted. Translations depend upon an original, and in the case of the Bible we are faced also with a sacred text and the explicit or implicit reluctance to diverge too greatly from the letter of the original, quite apart from the skill of the translation, which is accordingly very difficult to assess. In simplest terms, the apparently literal translation of (in this case) a Greek idiom may or may not be idiomatic or possibly even acceptable in Gothic. Nor is it possible to call in this case upon modern *Sprachgefühl,* certainly not of modern German.[4] The situation is similar with later biblical translations, of course, such as the Old High German version of Tatian's Gospel Harmony four centuries later. There is an additional problem with the Gothic Bible in determining the precise text from which it has been translated, so that an examination of the text requires some knowledge of early and medieval biblical versions as such, both in Greek and in Latin.

Who, then, were the Goths?[5] As shown in an earlier essay in this volume, in which the origins of the Goths are discussed as an example of the literature of Germanic origins, the earliest written records we have are in the writings of Greek and Roman historians, and early tribal names when recorded by classical authors are always confused and confusing. The most substantial early records of Gothic history are found in the writings of the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century and in the *Getica*, which has come down to us under the name of the historian Jordanes, who was himself a Goth. The *Getica*, however, was written in the middle of the sixth century, in 551, and is an abbreviation of the much larger, but now lost Gothic history written between 526 and 533 by Cassiodorus the Senator, a Roman aristocrat who had served under Theoderic when the latter was ruler of Italy (493–526). Although Jordanes and Cassiodorus via Jordanes offer a wealth of material and clearly knew the traditions, the work is still many centuries away from the beginnings of the Goths, and not everything can be supported. Nor, of course, is archeological evidence always easy to assess, especially since early cultures did not always correspond to what would be seen now as ethnic groupings. In the *Getica* it is claimed that the groups who made up the Goths originated in southern Scandinavia, which may or may not be the case. From the ninth century onward an association is made between Scandinavia and the Goths in that in Old Norse poetry Gunnar is referred to as the king of the Goths, and very much later, in Britain in the *Annales Cambriae* (The Welsh Annals) for 1066, Haraldr harðráði, King of Norway is described as *rex Gothorum,* king of the Goths.[6]

Leaving the Scandinavian tradition aside, the Goths more certainly moved south from the first century A.D. on, through Poland to the Black Sea, where they existed as separate kingdoms. This folk migration is, of course, not to be "regarded in terms of an advancing army. Rather was it the intermittent and partial thrusting of droves, sometimes larger, sometimes smaller, from an inchoate mass of tribes and septs vaguely coordinated as 'Goths,' but dependent largely on the accidents of individual leadership."[7] Archeological evidence for this movement is always hard to link with an identifiable group, but an association has been made between the early Goths and the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures found in what is now Poland (distinguished, for example, by practices, unusual elsewhere, such as not burying weapons in male graves) and the later Tchernjachov culture close to the Black Sea, the principal area of Gothic settlement in the first Christian centuries. The spread and date of these cultures from the Baltic to the Black Sea coincides more or less with what is known from written sources of groups calling themselves Goths. Whether the origin some Gothic groups was genuinely in Scandinavia, as in the tradition known to the *Getica*, remains a matter of speculation, in spite of place name evidence that seems to support it (Götland in Sweden and the Baltic island of Gotland). Tracing their path backward from known sites by the Black Sea, however, Peter Heather (who begins his history by the Vistula early in the first century A.D.) notes that "the trail of physical remains fizzles out in northern Poland."[8] There is no question of literacy for the first three centuries of our era, apart from a few disputed and difficult runic inscriptions.[9] There are possibly Gothic-runic inscriptions on two spearheads perhaps of the third century, and another on a gold neckring of the fourth. Of the two spearheads, the word *tilariþs* or *tilarids* is on that found in Suszczyno, Volhynia, in the Ukraine, and this may mean "attacker." The word *ranja,* perhaps "runner," "swift one" as a personal or weapon name, found on a spearhead from Dahmsdorf, in Brandenburg in northern Germany has also been seen as Burgundian. The inscription on the neckring from Pietroassa in Wallachia, Pietroasele in modern Romania seems to read: *gutaniowihailag,* and this inscription is even more unclear, but perhaps — it has been much discussed — means "the holy inheritance of the Goths," although different interpretations of the ring inscription, taking it as "dedicated to the Jupiter of the Goths" have been offered. At least the first part seems to be the ethnic name and the last part the word for holy. These artifacts have been lost and found more than once. An inscription on plaster discovered in Brunshausen, near Gandersheim in Lower Saxony in 1965, written in the ninth century, and headed *runica,* but still in Latin script, contains the word *uaiþia,* which may be a Gothic word for hunter, although linking this with a possible lost Gothic version of Genesis, as has been done, is tenuous in the ex-

treme, in spite of the presence of Nimrod the mighty hunter in Genesis. Some runic inscriptions in Scandinavia, finally, have been interpreted from time to time as Gothic.

By the third century, relevant groups were established along the north of the Black Sea as far as the Crimea, and Ammianus Marcellinus talks about the Goths occupying territory from the Danube to the Don. They came into conflict with the Roman Empire and their territories along the Danube frontier, and were defeated in A.D. 269 at the battle of Naissus (modern Niš in Serbia), from which the Emperor Claudius II gained the title "Gothicus." The Goths were still in a number of discrete political units, and various tribal names are relevant here for groups that would eventually be susceptible of a clearer division into Visigoths and Ostrogoths, even though these names are used at an early stage. While Ostrogoth seems actually to mean "East Goth," Visigoth, although interpreted as "West Goth," may originally have meant something like "noble Goth."[10]

The Tervingi, some of the Greuthungi, and those Goths led by Radagaisus seem to have joined together in the fourth and fifth centuries, eventually forming the major sub-group known as the Visigoths. Under pressure from the Huns as they moved in from the east, these moved along the Danube and across into the Roman Empire, and were also used as *foederati*, associates, often in the pay of Rome against other Germanic groups.[11] It is by no means clear when any of these groups first came into contact with Christianity, but it was in the fourth century that a Christian Gothic missionary bishop born in the early years of that century first translated the Bible into Gothic and thus gave the Gothic language its first written form, and did much to establish Christianity among the Goths.

When the Goths turned against Rome they were capable of inflicting much damage, most notably at the massively bloody battle of Adrianople (Edirne, now in Turkey) in August, 378 against the forces of the joint emperors, Valens and Gratian. Valens's successor, Theodosius the Great, made peace again, but relations between Rome and the Germanic tribes fluctuated, and were never easy. By the first years of the fifth century the Visigoths under Alaric, elected king in Thrace in 395, were attacking Italy. The commander of the army of the Western Roman Empire, Stilicho the Vandal, held them back, but after his murder in 408, Alaric and the Visigoths famously sacked Rome in 410, "although the actual sack was mild and almost respectful."[12] But Alaric died within a year, and his successor, Athaulf took the Visigoths further on, into Roman Gaul, establishing what would become an extensive Visigoth kingdom within the empire in modern Aquitaine, with a capital at Toulouse, from which they later moved across the Pyrenees into Spain. With the Visigoths technically still allied to Rome as *foederati* — Athaulf married Gallia Placidia, daughter of the Emperor Theodosius — the Visigoth kingdom in the west under

Athaulf and his able successors, Walja (Wallia, Vallia, possibly the model for the heroic figure of Waltharius) and then Theoderic I, who ruled for more than thirty years, covered at its high point Aquitaine, Gascony, Narbonne, Provence and most of Spain. In fact, Visigothic laws maintained for a long time the initial legal separation of Roman and Visigoth within their kingdom, and intermarriage was actually forbidden for a long period. One of the most powerful Visigoth kings in the West, Euric (466–84) caused to be written in the latter part of the fifth century the so-called *Code of Euric,* which shows considerable influence of Roman law, and Alaric II, Euric's son, produced in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* a legal code for the Roman subjects.[13]

The use of the Visigothic language gradually declined in favor of local Latin and its Romance successors. Later, under pressure from a West Germanic tribe, the Franks, who defeated the Visigoths at Vouillé in 507, they were pushed down toward Spain, and eventually established there a Visigothic kingdom with its capital at Toledo in the sixth century that would last for two more centuries, until it fell to the forces of Islam with the establishment of the Caliphate of Cordoba at the start of the eighth century, during which, incidentally, the Gothic-Christian church was well tolerated. Even after the last king, Roderic or Rodrigo, fell in 711, his viceroy Theudemer established a short-lived Gothic kingdom of Murcia. But the Goths did not leave Spain, and Henry Bradley, in his history commented in 1888 that "to this day the noble families of Spain boast, if not always with reason, of the purity of their Gothic blood."[14] As far as the victorious Franks were concerned, the Visigothic kingdom in Spain provided the ruling Merovingian family with one great queen in the later part of the sixth century, the formidable Brunichildis,[15] and the Visigoth Theodulf would compose Latin verse and hymns at the court of an even later Frankish ruler, Charlemagne.

In the fifth century, meanwhile, those groups of Goths that had remained in the Black Sea area came with other peoples under the domination of the Huns. Only after the death of Attila in 453 and the collapse of the Hun empire was there a reassertion of Gothic independence and the formation of the Ostrogoths under the rule of the Amal dynasty. The next signal event was toward the end of the fifth century with the Ostrogoth king Theoderic, known as the Great. Negotiating with the Eastern Roman, the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, and ostensibly working with him, Theoderic led his armies into the Balkans and then on into Italy, by now ruled by a presumably Germanic king, Odoacer,[16] a former leader of the Germanic *foederati* in Italy, who had deposed the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus in 476. In 493, after several battles, Theoderic first agreed to share power with Odoacer, then murdered him at Alaric's old capital, Ravenna. Theoderic then set up an Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, ruling it

until his death in 526 and coming close to declaring himself Roman emperor. Not many years after his death, however, and in spite of the efforts of the last effective Ostrogoth leader Totila, who fell in 554, Italy was retaken by the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) emperor Justinian and his military leaders Narses and Belisarius, and the Ostrogoth kingdom there was eradicated, as many emigrated and others simply merged with the local population. The still readable, entertaining and instructive lectures originally given at Cambridge in the 1860s by the writer Charles Kingsley, tell how Narses "let [the Goths] go, like a wounded lion crawling away from the hunter, up through Italy and over the Po, to vanish. They and their name became absorbed in other nations, and history knows the East Goths no more."[17] After a period of Byzantine rule of less than twenty years, Italy was taken in 568 by another Germanic group, the West Germanic Lombards under their leader Alboin, who imposed their identity upon the country far more indelibly than did the Goths, and there is little evidence left of Theoderic's kingdom.

As far as the Black Sea territories are concerned, an Ostrogoth residue seems to have remained in the area around the Crimea, still speaking the language, although this Ostrogoth dialect would not be written down for many centuries, and then only as a handful of words. *Goti,* Goths, are mentioned as living in the Crimea in different writings at various points from the ninth century to the sixteenth, and occasionally there are tantalizing references to songs in the Germanic language of that area. In 1562, however, a Flemish traveler and diplomat called Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–92) met during a mission to Constantinople a Crimean Goth, and took down from him sixty-eight words, which he published in 1589. It is difficult to interpret some of the words, as not all of them are Gothic in origin, but philologically the differences between the language as represented so late and biblical Visigothic is interesting.[18] Whether or not another Crimean Goth turned up in the mid-eighteenth century is not clear, but the Greek church referred until that time to the Crimea as Gothia. However, Busbecq's vocabulary is the last recorded native Gothic.[19]

It is not clear when the Goths first began to be converted to Christianity, but their conversion, when it came, was not to Catholic or Orthodox Christianity, but to Arianism. The followers of the theologian Arius of Alexandria (ca. 250–ca. 336), the Arians held the view that Christ was not God by nature, but was made by the Father and effected the creation of the world. It has been suggested that the apparent superiority of the Father over the Son implied in this doctrine appealed to the paternal-hierarchical structure of Gothic society, and also that the adherence to Arianism for such a long time in fact preserved Gothic independence and prevented an integration with Rome.[20] In any event, Arianism contradicted the Catholic doctrine defined later as *homoousios,* the consubstan-

tiality of the Father and the Son. The Arian doctrine was declared a heresy at the Council of Nicaea in 325 under the Emperor Constantine the Great, but Arius's views were reinstated and the conflict continued until the Catholic view was established as orthodoxy in the Roman Empire at the Council of Constantinople in 381. Adopted by the Goths, Arianism is of considerable importance to their history and to their role in Europe. The Visigothic adherence to the doctrine was strong, and they converted other Germanic tribes to Arian Christianity. Indeed, among the first missionaries to southern Germany were Visigoths, whose language contributed a number of ecclesiastical terms (including *Pfaffe, Pfingsten, Samstag*) to the High German language. Friedrich Kluge's study of early Gothic influence begins with *Kirche* which represents Greek *kyriake (oikia)* or later *kyrikon,* "Lord's house," and is likely to have entered through Gothic as the principal route for Greek borrowings in this sphere. The phrase is not attested in written Gothic, which uses *aikklesjo,* representing Greek *ekklesia,* the Latin version of which has given the word for church to the Romance languages (*église, chiesa*).[21] Arianism persisted among the Germanic tribes, promoted to a large extent by the Visigoths, and only disappeared when Clovis, king of the Franks was converted to Catholicism at the end of the fifth century, and then defeated the Visigoths at Vouillé. Another Arian Germanic group, the Burgundians, moved to Catholic Christianity in 516, and so did the Visigoths themselves after the Council of Toledo in 589, when the Visigoth king of Spain, Reccared (586–601), finally renounced the Arian creed and brought the Visigoths into the Roman church, even though there were by now no other connections with the once great empire. The adoption of Latin Catholic Christianity put an end to the liturgical use of Gothic, something which had begun with the translation for church use of the Bible into Gothic in the fourth century, and was a considerable blow to the Gothic language.

Arianism was in the forefront of religious thought, however, when in about 340 or 341 Ulfila was consecrated in Constantinople by the moderate Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia as bishop with a mission to the Visigoths. He settled with the Visigoths in Moesia, along the Danube, now Serbia and Bulgaria, and there developed an alphabet and translated the Bible. The name of this highly significant figure exists in various forms, including Ulphila(s) and Ulfilas, but Ulfila is probably the most acceptable, although he is known also as Wulfila(s), which perhaps indicates more clearly the etymology as the diminutive of the Gothic word *wulfs* and thus meaning "little wolf." Born around 311, Ulfila earned by his works of conversion his title Apostle of the Goths, although there had been some Christianity among the Goths already. Quite a lot is known about him and his work from Greek and Latin ecclesiastical sources, as

well as from Cassiodorus/Jordanes, and most fully from the determinedly Arian writings of his pupil, Auxentius, who praises his piety and his attacks on heresy. More interesting is another Arian, Philostorgius, whose Greek ecclesiastical history (surviving in an excerpted form) speaks of Ulfila's Cappadocian background, with his mother's family coming from Sadagolthina, near ancient Parnassus in Asia Minor, about fifty miles southeast of modern Ankara. He probably had a Gothic father, and a Christian Cappadocian mother or grandmother. The Goths had raided as far as Christian Cappadocian territories in Asia Minor, to the south of the Black Sea, in the late third century, so that Ulfila's grandparents on his mother's side presumably were taken at that time. It is Philostorgius who tells how he provided the Goths with a written language, and translated all the books of the Bible except the Books of Kings, because they are largely about war and the Goths were already too warlike. Other writings refer to Ulfila's conversion of large numbers of Goths, and to his translation work (this is mentioned in the *Getica*), and later ecclesiastical historical writers in the west, such as Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), note Ulfila's achievement in writing and translating, even if Isidore (who came from a pre-Visigoth noble family in Spain and was a principal defender of Catholicism against Arianism) condemned the long-held Arianism of the Goths and rejoiced in its demise.[22] Ulfila died probably in 381 or 382 at Constantinople, where he had gone to attend a synod.

To translate the Bible, Ulfila needed an alphabet, and several ancient sources are agreed that he invented an alphabet for the purpose himself, something which has to be seen as a signal achievement. Ulfila's Gothic alphabet is based largely upon Greek; most of the letters, and the order in which they come, derive from the Greek alphabet, and the letters also have numerical values, as they do in Greek. Gothic also uses some spellings that match Greek usage, such as the representation of the nasal guttural (*-ng-, -nk-*) as a double guttural (Greek *aggelos,* Gothic *aggilus,* "angel") or the use of the combination *ei* for long *i*. Not every Greek letter had the same sound-value as the original: the Greek *theta* was used for the single Gothic sound represented as a ligatured *hv;* he used the Greek *psi* for the unvoiced th (þ), and in his alphabet *theta* and *psi* change places in relation to the Greek. Some Greek letters (such as *xi* or *eta,* which looks like a Latin H) were not used at all, presumably since they were not needed, while the X-shaped Greek *chi-* appears rarely, and mainly in the name of Christ. Six letters are taken from the Latin alphabet: *h, g* (used for *j*), *r, s, f* and *u* (which is used for *q,* that is, *kw*). Possibly the Latin, rather than the Greek forms for *r* and *s* were chosen because their Greek equivalents might be confused with *p* and *c*. Two letters are probably runic: that for the short *u* (named *⋆urus,* "aurochs, wild ox," in the Germanic runic system) and that for short *o* (the rune probably

named *opal, "inherited property, land").[23] Finally, two Greek signs are used in Gothic only for the numbers 90 and 900. The runic alphabet, which was almost certainly known to the Goths, was designed for inscription rather than for script, and besides, probably carried with it overtones of pre-Christian magic.

We are told that Ulfila translated the entire Bible apart from the Books of Kings, although of the Old Testament we have only some fragments of the book of Nehemiah, which raises doubts about how much Ulfila actually *did* translate. Nor is it clear whether he alone translated what we have. What is particularly conspicuous is the absence of Genesis and of the Psalms, arguably the most important books of the Bible after the Gospels, even though it has been suggested that a version of Genesis once existed.[24] In the New Testament, the Gospels and Paul's letters were certainly all translated, apart from Hebrews, of which we have no trace, though all these books except II Corinthians are incomplete. Of the Gospels, Mark is the fullest. Acts, the minor epistles and the Apocalypse are not present.

The Gothic Bible is, because of its antiquity, of great interest to biblical studies as well as to Germanic philology, but questions of source are complex, since both Testaments existed in a variety of forms in this early period.[25] Ulfila's main sources were a Greek Old and New Testament each of the type current in the diocese of Constantinople in the fourth century, but he knew Latin, and there is some evidence that he also used an Old Latin text of the New Testament as well, one that preceded the standardized Vulgate. His Greek Old Testament source was probably the edition of the Septuagint (the Greek Old Testament) made by Lucian the Martyr, who died in 312, an Arian, although there is little in the Gothic Bible translation to suggest any Arian bias. Assessing the possible source of the New Testament raises further problems in that all the manuscripts in which the Gothic text has survived date from the fifth to the seventh centuries, and were written in Italy, so that it is not clear to what extent they represent Ulfila's text. There were differences between versions of the New Testament in the Greek *koine* (standardized) text as it circulated in the Byzantine world, and those known in the west, but with the manuscripts we have it is difficult to tell whether the "western" variations that crop up do go back to Ulfila's original translation (in which case they may have been influenced by an Old Latin version), or whether they are later changes to Ulfila's text that also conform to a Latin version.

The Gothic Bible has been preserved in several major manuscripts, mostly from upper Italy, written during the period of Ostrogothic rule.[26] The principal and best-known manuscript is the so-called Codex Argenteus, datable to the sixth century. It was written in silver and gold lettering on parchment that had been dyed purple, and originally contained 336 leaves, of which 187 survive. It contains the text of the Gospels, Mat-

thew, and John by one scribe, Luke and Mark by another, in that order. It may have been written in Brescia (Brixen) in northern Italy because another very similar purple and silver manuscript containing only the Latin text of the Gospels comes from there.[27] The Gothic codex may have been taken from Italy in the late eighth century by Liudger, who was a pupil of Alcuin, when he founded the monastery of Werden, near Cologne. This is where the manuscript was housed in the sixteenth century, but by the early seventeenth it was in an imperial collection in Prague, and in 1648 was removed by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War. In 1669, now bound in silver — although it seems to have been called *argenteus,* presumably from the lettering, already before the binding — it was placed in the University of Uppsala, where it remains. In 1970, a further leaf of this same manuscript was found in a reliquary in Speyer cathedral, containing the end of Mark's Gospel. The folium is slightly larger than the rest of the codex, which has clearly been trimmed.

A sixth-century parchment double folio of uncertain origin was discovered in Egypt and taken in 1907 to Giessen (the Codex Gissensis). It contained some of Luke's Gospel in a Latin-Gothic bilingual text. It was, however, destroyed in a flood in 1945. The other manuscripts and fragments are extremely difficult to read since they are palimpsests, texts that have been partly erased and then overwritten. The Codex Carolinus, once in Weissenburg and now in Wolfenbüttel, was another Gothic-Latin bilingual, and the four leaves that survive contain parts of Romans. The final biblical material survives in a series of fragmentary manuscripts, two of them substantial, two more of only a few leaves, known as the Codices Ambrosiani A–D, in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (and a fifth fragment with some Gothic, Ambrose E, contains the *Skeireins,* which will be discussed later). A set of four badly damaged leaves now known as the Codex Taurinensis, in the Turin University Library, is in fact part of Ambrose A. Ambrose A (with the Turin codex) and B, the two major fragments, contain the Pauline letters apart from Hebrews, plus (at the end of A) a fragment of a Gothic ecclesiastical calendar. Ambrose C has some of Matthew, and Ambrose D the sole Old Testament survival, part of Nehemiah. All these are *codices rescripti,* and a glance at the photograph of Ambrose B in the Braune/Ebbinghaus *Grammatik* makes the problem clear. The manuscript has been turned upside down and a Latin text written over the Gothic original text, so that the Latin runs in the opposite direction.

Two further manuscripts with survivals related to the Gothic Bible may also be mentioned. First, a fifth or sixth century manuscript from Verona (and still there) of Latin homilies by Maximinus (who was an Arian Gothic bishop), contains some Gothic biblical citations, very difficult to read, mostly from the Gospels; they match the Codex Argenteus where

an overlap exists, and add two Luke passages not present in the large co-
dex. Finally, the ninth- or tenth-century Salzburg-Vienna Alcuin manu-
script in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, which contains two
versions of the Gothic alphabet and some Gothic numbers, also contains a
few sentences from Luke's Gospel, which in this case do not match those
in the Codex Argenteus, together with a phonetic version in Latin script.
It should be reiterated that no manuscript survival is from the time of
Ulfila, nor can we be sure to what extent they represent his translation,
however conservative religious texts usually are. Nor were any of these
manuscripts written in his Visigothic-Greek ecclesiastical orbit, but mostly
in the later Ostrogoth kingdom of Italy. Textually we are faced with the
familiar philological problem of a text made uncertain because of the dis-
tance from the original, compounded with problems of variation and in-
deed sometimes of legibility.

The Gothic text of the Bible was intended not for individual study,
but for liturgical usage, for reading aloud, and this will have affected the
literary fluency of the work, which is impressive. The fact that Ulfila's
work exits at all is perhaps its most significant feature, but in looking at
the translation as such, it must be borne in mind that the position of the
Bible as a sacred text demanded of the early medieval translator a respect
that can easily lead to an over-literal or wooden rendering. The faithful
translator aimed to stay as close to the original as possible, and this holds
true for the Gothic text. There is also much regularity in the rendering of
individual words, although some varied translations do occur. All these
features are useful for assessing the source. As a simple example, the title
for the Gospel of Mark reads *Aiwaggeljo þairh Marku anastodeiþ,* literally
"the Gospel of Mark begins." The usual Greek title *evangelion kata
Markon* does not have the verb, but the Old Latin texts do. The tech-
nique of close translation, however, is noticeable throughout. Thus the
opening of Mark, which in Greek could be translated literally as "Begin-
ning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ son of God, as is written in Isaiah the
prophet . . ." may easily be recognized: "Anastodeins aiwaggeljons Iesuis
Xristaus sunaus guþs, swe gameliþ ist in Esaïn praufetau. . . ."[28] Thus,
too, Ulfila uses a plural for the first reference in the Lord's Prayer to
heaven, *in himinam* (Greek *en tois ouranois,* in the heavens) and, as with
the Greek, a singular in the following verse, *in himina.* The same close-
ness may be observed in some Old High German translations of the
prayer. Possible influences from Old Latin versions is evident, as indeed is
the assessment of variations within scribal forms, such as *praitoria* in John
18, 28 (and elsewhere) as against *praitauria* in John 18, 33 (praetorium,
judgment hall), where attention has to be paid to Ulfila's presumed origi-
nal, to later pronunciation in Gothic Italy, and to the Greek or Latin
equivalents of the loan word.[29] On the other hand, the Gothic text can

also be distinctive, as in the careful use of the dual number, which is a feature of Gothic, but not of New Testament Greek or of Latin (though it was present in classical Greek): the first and second personal pronouns, for example, can take the form of *ik, þu* (singular: I, thou) and *weis, jus* (plural: we, you), but also *wit, *jut* (dual: we two, you two).[30]

Translating the Bible was a major achievement too, and Ulfila faced the same problems that later Old High German translators confronted when seeking the best version for words specifically linked with Christianity. Some of these have been noted already as having influenced the earliest stages of High German, and the same applies to words like *halja,* hell, which is used for the New Testament Greek term *Hades;* linked to the idea of concealment (as with modern German *hüllen*) it presumably uses an earlier term for the world of the dead, transferring into it the biblical meaning. Of particular interest are the loan words and loan translations, especially those in the theological context, such as *synagoge* for synagogue, or *sabbato* for Sabbath, or less usual words like *anakumbjan,* to lie down, from Latin *accumbere,* echoing the Roman idea of reclining at a meal. Loan translations include *armahairtei,* mercy, from Latin *misericordia,* or *þiuþiqiss,* translating Greek *eu-logia,* "good saying," blessing (compare Latin *bene-dictio*). Some of the theological terms will have predated Ulfila (*aiwaggeljo,* Gospel, *aipiskaupus,* bishop), of course. Other loan words in the Gothic language as attested in the Bible translation are often of some antiquity, and come from a variety of different sources. A celebrated example is *reiks,* ruler or king, related to Latin *rex* but from the Celtic form *rix* found in personal names such as *Vercingetorix.* Other words remain obscure, such as *ulbandus,* translating "camel" in the Gospels, and possibly, though by no means certainly, from *elephantus.* The Goths themselves, finally, are referred to as *Gutþiuda* in the Calendar text in Ambrose A, and the compound *þiudisko,* an adjective also based on the noun *þiuda,* people, is of some interest. It is used to render *ethnikos* in Galatians 2, 14, where it is means heathen or gentile, in contrast with Jewish. It is an attested early cognate of the much discussed word which appears in Latin documents as *theodisce* and was used by the Franks and others to mean "Germanic," and ultimately became *deutsch.*

The other Gothic texts are much more limited in literary value. A calendar page for some of October and November attached to Ambrose A is brief, but does give us some insights into liturgical customs and specifically Gothic feasts. It mentions not only the celebration of the Gothic martyrs on October 29, but also the town of Beroia (*Bairauja*), in Thrace (near the modern university town of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria), and thus localizes the document in what was then Visigoth territory. The feast days of St. Philip on November 14 (in the eastern church) and St. Andrew on November 30 (accepted also in the western church) are given as Novem-

ber 15 and 29 respectively; Dorotheos, listed here on November 6, was an Arian archbishop who died on that day in 407, reputedly at the age of 119, and November 3 is dedicated apparently to Constantine the Great (*Konstanteinus þiudanis*). This should refer to his son, Constantius II (337–61), who died on November 3, and who is honored as a protector of the Goths and supporter of Arian Christianity.[31] The error of a single letter is an easy one, and the account of Gothic Christianity excerpted from Philostorgius makes the same mistake.

More substantial, however, and of considerably greater importance in spite of its present condition, is the fragmentary work known as *Skeireins,* which means "interpretation."[32] Eight leaves of a manuscript originally from Bobbio, in northern Italy five of which are now with the other Gothic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (as Ambrose E), and three more in the Vatican, contain a commentary on parts of St. John's Gospel. The biblical quotations match Ulfila's text, but we cannot attribute or date this work in any satisfactory manner. It is written in a Greek style, and it may be a translation from an unknown source. But if it is an independent piece, it becomes the sole substantial relic of free-standing Gothic, and thus of the greatest interest in ascertaining Gothic syntax free of the structuring influence of a sacred source. It is also of interest in theological terms; here is a passage from the fifth leaf (in Milan):

> unte þata qiþano "ei allai sweraina sunu, swaswe swerand attan,"
> ni ibnon ak galaika sweriþa usgiban uns laiseiþ.[33]

The passage interprets John 5, 23, and may be translated as: "For where it is said that 'all men should honor the son even as they honor the father,' this teaches us to show similar and not the same honor." The Gothic *galeiks* and *ibna* form a contrast, and later on the same contrast is used in the form of *ibnaleiks,* which probably renders the Greek word *homoousios,* and *galeiks,* rejecting the former. This kind of contrast in the interpretation supports the Arian view of the Father and the Son.

Not much else remains of extant Gothic. Two Latin bills of land sale (in Gothic *frabauhtaboka*) exist with signatory affidavits in the Gothic language and script. One was written around 551 and was once in the archive of St. Anastasia in Ravenna (it is now in Naples). The other, which was once housed in the cathedral archive at Arezzo, has been lost, although a transcription was printed in 1731. The Naples document has a number of clerical signatories, mostly Latin, but with four in Gothic. Finally, a Latin verse criticizing the barbarians contains a few Gothic words. The text reads:

> Inter *eils* Goticum *scapiamatziiadrincan*
> non audet quisquam dignos educere versus.

The Gothic seems to be the equivalent of: *hails . . . skapjam matjan jah drigkan,* meaning "Greetings, let's get something to eat and drink."[34] Scattered through other Latin writings, including the *Getica,* are other words that may be Gothic, but even these rescued scraps are not quite the final sources for our knowledge of Gothic. The listing by Ogier de Busbeq of Crimean Gothic vocabulary has been mentioned already, and these are largely everyday words.[35] They are not of literary importance, but they bear witness to the survival of the spoken language, at least at a late stage. Additional sources from which we can assess Gothic vocabulary are first in the study of place and personal names, such as those recorded in association with the Visigothic church down to the fall of the Spanish kingdom and beyond, and indeed in place names and loan words in Romance languages, such as Spanish *alevosía,* treachery, from Gothic *lewjan,* to betray. Borrowings from Gothic in Baltic languages, like Finnish, of course, may help with the early history of the Goths.[36]

As with other early Germanic languages, it is likely that there was an oral tradition of secular poetry which in the case of Gothic was never committed to writing. Heroic songs are referred to in the *Getica,* and seem to have been known too at the court of the Visigoth king Theoderic II at Toulouse. More detailed evidence has to be sought, however, from existing sources outside Gothic, and links can sometimes be tenuous and remote. Thus the medieval Latin epic of Waltharius, probably written in Germany in the tenth century, has as its first theme the sending of hostages to the court of Attila the Hun by three Germanic tribes, the Franks, the Burgundians, and the people of Aquitaine. Prince Waltharius is the hostage sent by the people of Aquitaine, who are not named in the text. In the poem the various tribes mentioned are not necessarily placed in the "correct" historical location, and at the time of Attila, it was the Visigoths who ruled Aquitaine from their capital at Toulouse. There are some faint echoes of actual history in the Latin poem, but apart from Visigothic participation in what was technically the Roman army when Attila and the Huns were driven back in 451 from Orleans, their westernmost point of incursion, not much remains that is relevant. Only the hero's name, Waltharius, perhaps echoes, as indicated above, that of the Visigoth king Walja, the successor of Athaulf, who ruled for a few years (415–18) at the start of the fifth century; whether there was ever anything about him in Gothic is a matter of complete speculation.[37]

Attila the Hun appears again, though this time in combination with the Ostrogoths, in the poem preserved in a mixture of Old Low and Old High German (though this version was composed in the latter) known as the *Hildebrandlied.* Here we find references to Dietrich, the Ostrogoth king Theoderic the Great, fleeing to the court of Attila to escape from Odoacer, and then returning, presumably to fight Odoacer at Ravenna in 493. The

history is again garbled — Theoderic was not born until after the death of Attila — but there are echoes here of the Hunnish domination of the Ostrogoths, and of the later establishment of the Ostrogoth kingdom of Italy under Theoderic after the death of Odoacer. A case has been made — partly on the basis of some of the other names in the work — for a Lombardic precursor to the Old High German text, but again, whether there were any Gothic antecedents is conjectural. The extensive role played in later German literature by Dietrich, though based on Theoderic, is a long way from the Gothic king himself, just as the literary Brünhilt is at some distance from the Visigothic princess Brunichildis.

Beside survivals in Latin and Old High German there is evidence at least of material relating to the Goths in several Old Norse poems, first in two works found in the oldest of the collections of verse, the poetic Edda, the *Hamðismál* and the *Guðrúnahvöt* (Lay of Hamdir, Incitement of Gudrun), perhaps of the ninth century. The key here is in the person of Jörmunrekkr, the equivalent of Ermanaric, king of the Goths. In the poems he plays a peripheral part, in that the essence is Guðrun's demand that her sons, Hamðir and Sörli avenge their sister Svanhildr, who has been killed by her husband, Jörmunrekkr. Ammianus Marcellinus talks of Ermanaric's suicide after an attack by the Huns, and Jordanes has a different tradition involving a feud between Ermanaric and a woman named Sunilda. Like Dietrich, Ermanaric survives as a figure in West Germanic literature for many centuries, and we may refer at least to a Low German poem surviving in a sixteenth-century form called *Koninc Ermenrîkes dot*. Of interest too, finally, is a poem about a battle involving the Huns, attached to the thirteenth-century *Hervarar saga,* and based presumably on a battle in which the Goths defeated the Huns. Various names in the piece point to early Gothic history; Tyrfing and Grytingalidi match the Gothic tribal names Tervingi and Greutungi, and place names mentioned such as Dun (the Don) and Danpar (the Dnieper) give a location in the Gothic settlement to the north of the Black Sea.[38] Again the existence of Gothic allusions in Norse texts does not have to indicate lost Gothic works, but it does give a hint of Gothic history as the subject of heroic poems.

The word "Gothic" has undergone major changes in use over the centuries since the Goths and their writings effectively disappeared from view, Visigothic after the decline of Arianism after the Council of Toledo, and Ostrogothic after the fall of Totila. Although it has absolutely nothing to do with the Goths, Gothic came to be used in architectural vocabulary as a contrasting term to classical and is applied to what in English is known as the perpendicular style, seen as quintessentially medieval. For the same reason the word has become attached in printing to black-letter type, the forerunner of German *Fraktur,* also known as Gothic type, and in this case even more obviously unconnected with the

Goths themselves. Another later use is generally pejorative, linked again with the perception of the Germanic tribes as the destroyers (rather than as the inheritors) of the Roman Empire; in this respect the Vandals have probably suffered the greatest opprobrium, and the word "vandalism" dates back to the eighteenth century. But the Goths shared this linguistic fate; Dryden used the lines

> And reeking from the stews, adult'rers come
> Like Goths and Vandals to demolish Rome.

Later still comes the nineteenth-century misuse of the name Gothic (and of course nothing *but* the name) to describe a specific kind of novel involving the supernatural, the fantastic or the morbid. Presumably it derived from the use of Gothic almost as a synonym for medieval, and it had a final resonance in a type of youth fashion at the end of the twentieth century. But the road from Ulfila to Mary Shelley and beyond is a strange one.[39]

The Gothic language and writings proper were rediscovered in the sixteenth century, first with the finding (and shortly after the copying) of the Codex Argenteus at Werden in the middle of that century. It was first edited in the seventeenth century, after its move to Sweden, and the start of the nineteenth saw much interest and activity, notably with the production of editions and lexica. Clearly the language was of major interest to those German scholars engaged in establishing philology on a scientific basis, but it had its effect on literary critics and writers too. August Friedrich Christian Vilmar (1800–1868), whose *Geschichte der deutschen National-Litteratur* remained in print for the entire second half of the nineteenth century, found what he called this most completely preserved of the languages of their Germanic forefathers strange, but at the same time familiar and homely (fremd und doch zugleich heimisch und vertraut), while in Britain in the twentieth century, J. R. R. Tolkien's career as a philologist — which so much informed his creative writings — was given initial impetus when in his teens he acquired and reacted with great enthusiasm to a copy of Joseph Wright's Gothic *Primer* (the forerunner of Wright's *Grammar of the Gothic Language*). Tolkien sometimes wrote inscriptions in other books in his possession in what he later referred to as "a beautiful language, which reached the eminence of liturgical use, but failed owing to the tragic history of the Goths to become one of the liturgical languages of the west." The final word, however, may be given to Hans Ferdinand Massmann (1797–1874), who in 1857 edited all the Gothic material then known. When he edited the Old High and Low German Creeds in 1839 he dedicated that volume of the *Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur* to Jacob Grimm with a letter in Gothic, addressing him as *laisari sverista, frijond liubista,* "most honored teacher and dearest friend," and concluding, as may we, with the elegant salutation in what we might call modern Gothic:

Hails sijais jah hulths vis sinteino theinamma: "May you be healthy and may respect be forever yours."[40]

Notes

[1] Most of what survives in Gothic may be found in a single volume, *Die Gotische Bibel*, ed. Wilhelm Streitberg (5/6th ed., Heidelberg: Winter, 1920, repr. 1965, 7th ed. with new material by Piergiuseppe Scardigli, 2000), which contains the texts, principally the biblical texts and their Greek originals, with, as an appendix, the smaller survivals. The second part (2nd edition 1928, 6th ed. with new material by Scardigli, 2000) is a Gothic-Greek-German dictionary. The new edition takes account of recent finds with any evidence of Gothic. See also *Stamm-Heynes Ulfilas,* new ed. by Ferdinand Wrede (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1920), also with the smaller pieces. The survivals in Crimean Gothic can be found in Friedrich Kluge, *Die Elemente des Gotischen* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1911), 110–14 and in Wilhelm Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (5/6th ed., Heidelberg: Winter, 1920), 280–84. The Latin epigram is in Wrede, for example, as well as Heinrich Hempel, *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962, 5th ed. by Wolfgang Binnig, 1999), 158 and Wolfgang Krause, *Handbuch des Gothischen* (3rd ed., Munich: Beck, 1968), 21–22. For a bibliography of Gothic, including all the extremely numerous individual studies of linguistic points, see Fernand Mossé, "Bibliographica Gothica," *Medieval Studies* 12 (1950): 237–324, "First Supplement," in the same journal, 15 (1953): 169–83, the "Second Supplement" completed after his death by James W. Marchand in 19 (1957): 174–96 and the "Third Supplement" by Ernst Ebbinghaus, 29 (1967): 328–43; see finally the *Ausgewählte Bibliographie* in Wilhelm Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*, 18th ed. by Ernst Ebbinghaus (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), 126–39, and Lehmann's dictionary (below, n. 4). Citation is from Streitberg, although in Greek borrowings, vocalic *y* is used rather than *w*. In some earlier transcriptions *v* is used in place of *w*. The Anglo-Saxon/Old Norse þ is used for *th*. Among the enormous and disparate bibliography of Gothic, attempts to link Gothic with Etruscan, for example, probably need not detain us.

[2] Elfriede Stutz, *Gotische Literaturdenkmäler* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), 1.

[3] There are features that link the East Germanic languages more closely with the Norse group than with West Germanic: both kept a dental ending *-t* in the imperfect second person singular of strong verbs, which the West Germanic languages did not. Against this, the Germanic nominal masculine a-stem ending *-az,* which develops to *-(a)r* in Norse, as in Old Norse *dagr,* day, and which is lost in West Germanic, for example, becomes syncopated to a simple *-s* in East Germanic, to give us Gothic *dags* (it seems to have disappeared in late — Crimean — Ostrogothic *dag*). There are, further, a number of vocalic variations that distinguish the East Germanic group.

[4] The principal lexical aids for Gothic are: F. Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1934), Sigmund Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (3rd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1939), adapted by Winfred P. Lehmann, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); this contains

(592–712) an extremely comprehensive alphabetically ordered bibliography by Helen-Jo J. Hewitt; Brian T. Regan, *Dictionary of the Biblical Gothic Language* (Phoenix, AZ: Wellspring, 1974); Felicien de Tollenaere and Randall L. Jones, *Word-Indices and Word-Lists to the Gothic Bible and Minor Fragments* (Leiden: Brill, 1976). See also the Gothic-Greek-German dictionary attached to Streitberg's Bible-edition. There is also a *Deutsch-gotisches Wörterbuch,* ed. O. Priese (3rd ed., Halle/S.: Niemeyer, 1933), with thematic word-lists and useful (and also familiar biblical) phrases. The older *Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language* by Gerhard Hubert Balg (London: Truebner, 1887–89) is available online at http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu.

[5] The best modern general history in English is Peter Heather's *The Goths* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), replacing the pioneering one by Henry Bradley, *The Goths* (London: Fisher-Unwin, 1888). Heather's book has a full historical bibliography. The standard German text is Herwig Wolfram's *Die Goten* 4th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2001), translated from the second edition as *History of the Goths* by Thomas J. Dunlap (Berkeley: U of California P, 1987). See also Heather's other studies *Goths and Romans 332–489* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) and his book of sources (with J. F. Matthews) *The Goths in the Fourth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1991) and T. S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington: Indiana UP). See also D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

[6] Ammianus Marcellinus is available in Latin and English translated and edited by J. C. Rolfe in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP; London: Heinemann, 1935–50); Jordanes, *Romana et Getica,* ed. Theodor Mommsen (Hanover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1882 = MGH AA 5/i) and in English trans. Charles Christopher Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes in English* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1915; 2nd ed., Cambridge and New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966). Cassiodorus's letters and edicts written for the Gothic kings, his *Variae epistolae* are edited by Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: MGH, 1894, repr. Munich, 1981) and are also in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844–64), 69–70. There is a translation by Thomas Hodgkin of some of these: *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (London: Frowde, 1886).

[7] Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), 43.

[8] Heather, *Goths,* 30–31.

[9] See Krause, *Handbuch,* 45, and Sigmund Feist, *Einführung in das Gotische* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1922), 98. On the link with Genesis, see Krause, *Handbuch,* 22–23, and on the putative Scandinavian links, see Fernand Mossé, *Manuel de la langue Gothique* (2nd ed., Paris: Aubier, 1956), 30–31.

[10] See Krause, *Handbuch,* 10–16 on the names of the various Gothic groups and also on the forms of Ulfila's name.

[11] See beside Heather, *Goths,* and Wolfram, *History,* also Michael Grant, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, new ed. 1990). There is a useful selection of translated sources in C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1960).

[12] Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), 18. This work presents a graphic view of the movements of the various barbarian groups. Gibbon points out in the *Decline and Fall* that Alaric's actions were mild compared with later military ventures, and acceptably, but rather confusingly, he refers to Athaulf as Adolphus.

[13] Hermann Conrad, *Der deutsche Staat* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1969), 14–15.

[14] Bradley, *Goths,* 363. There is a considerable bibliography on the Visigoths in Spain. See A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418–711* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), and as individual studies: J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West 400–1000* (revised ed., London: Hutchinson, 1967), 115–39; Edward James, *Visigothic Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980); Luis A. García Moreno, *Historia de España Visigoda* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989); Peter Heather, *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999). See also A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1997). The fall of Rodrigo would later be celebrated (and historically revised) in ballads: see Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *El rey Rodrigo en la literatura española* (Madrid: Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, 1924), with texts in his *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas: Rodrigo, el último Godo* [1925–27] (4th ed., Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1973).

[15] Brian Murdoch, "Politics in the *Nibelungenlied*," in *A Companion to the Nibelungenlied*, ed. Winder McConnell (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998), 229–50, compares the actual Brunichildis with her literary reflection, Brünhilt. Brunichildis was ultimately killed, but only after a forceful rule in which she outwitted and outlived many of her enemies.

[16] Odoacer (Odoaker, Odovacer) is usually presumed to be from an (East) Germanic group, and is described in reference works with equal confidence as a Herulian or Rugian; Gibbon (who rather approves of him) assumes in the *Decline and Fall* that he was a Goth, as is the case with some early chronicles. Occasionally he has been seen as Hun, and he is associated with the Sciri or Skiri in classical writings.

[17] Charles Kingsley, *The Roman and the Teuton* (London: Macmillan, 1864, with a new edition with an introduction by the philologist Max Müller published in 1889 after Kingsley's death, and reprinted many times), cited from the 1889 edition, 151; see especially the fourth, fifth and sixth, entitled "The Gothic Civiliser," "Dietrich's End" and "The Nemesis of the Goths." Modern studies include Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1981), 9–27, and the substantial volume by Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997) on Christian community and Ostrogoth Arianism.

[18] See Krause, *Handbuch,* 36–38 on the dialects within Gothic.

[19] See on the background of Crimean Gothic Krause, *Handbuch,* 23–25 and A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936). There is a full study by McDonald Stearns, *Crimean Gothic: Analysis and Etymology of the Corpus* (Stanford and Saratoga, CA: Anima Libri, 1978). On the putative eighteenth-century Crimean Goth, see Bradley, *Goths,* 363–64.

[20] Grant, *Fall of the Roman Empire,* 137–38. See also E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966). For a full discussion of Arianism, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: A. C. Black, 5th ed., 1977), 244–51 and for a succinct summary, Barrows Dunham, *The Heretics* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1963), 112–19. In view of the use by the Nazis of the image of the Goths, it is perhaps worthwhile nevertheless pointing out that to link Arianism with *Aryan* is a howler.

[21] See Green, *Language and History,* 308–24, and Theodor Frings, *Grundlegung einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (3rd ed., Halle/S.: Niemeyer, 1957), 22. The extent of the loan words has been debated. See such early studies as Karl Helm, *Die gotische Sprache im Dienste des Kristenthums* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1870) and most important Friedrich Kluge, "Gotische Lehnwörter im Althochdeutschen," *PBB* 35 (1909): 134–60 (see 124–26 on *Kirche*) and Hans Eggers, *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte I: Das Althochdeutsche* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 148–54.

[22] The relevant passages of Auxentius (preserved in Latin) are in Streitberg, *Bibel,* xiii–xxv, with those in Greek from Philostorgius, and also the references from Catholic sources by Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Jordanes, Isidore and writers as late as Walahfrid Strabo (ca. 809–49). They are usefully translated in Regan's *Dictionary of the Biblical Gothic Language,* 165–77. See also Isidore of Seville's *History of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi,* trans. G. Donini and G. B. Ford (2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1970), and in Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1999). Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* is a major source for Visigoth history. It might be noted that Eusebius of Nicomedia should not be confused with his contemporary Eusebius of Caesarea, the church historian, although both were involved with the Arian controversy, as indeed were at least two further clerics of the same name. On his consecration, see Wolfram, *History,* 77–79. Wolfram refers also to Eutyches of Cappadocia, possibly an older contemporary of Ulfila.

[23] Ralph W. V. Elliot, *Runes* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1959), 34–35 discusses the two Gothic alphabets and letter names (which are probably not those of the fourth century), and also the runic ones in the ninth- or tenth-century Salzburg-Vienna Alcuin codex (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 795); see 48–49 for a chart of the Germanic runes and the Gothic letters, and 4–5 for some comments on the complex views of the Goths and the invention of the runic alphabet. See also Klaus Düwel, *Runenkunde* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968) and his chapter in the present volume. Most of the standard grammars and handbooks of Gothic give the alphabet: see in addition to those already noted (Krause, Feist, Hempel, Braune/Ebbinghaus, Mossé) also M. H. Jellinek, *Geschichte der gotischen Sprache* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1926); Joseph Wright, *Grammar of the Gothic Language,* 2nd edition by O. L. Sayce (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954); H. Krahe, *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre des Gotischen,* 2nd ed. by Elmar Seebold (Heidelberg: Winter, 1967) and W. H. Bennett, *An Introduction to the Gothic Language* (New York: MLA, 1980).

[24] In the Salzburg-Vienna Alcuin manuscript referred to in the previous note there are some numbers in Gothic form which seem to indicate life spans and which

have been linked with the genealogy in Genesis 5. Even this, however, does not provide firm evidence for a lost Genesis translation.

[25] See M. J. Hunter, "The Gothic Bible" in G. W. H. Lampe, *The Cambridge History of the Bible II: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), 338–62. The fullest studies are those by G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels* (London: OUP, 1926) and *The Gothic Version of the Epistles* (London: OUP 1939), and his article "The Greek Text Underlying the Gothic Version of the New Testament. The Gospel of St. Luke" in *Mélanges de linguistique de philology: Fernand Mossé in memoriam* (Paris: Didier, 1959). See Friedrichsen's *Gothic Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961). On translation, see Werner Schwarz, *Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie* (London: Institute of Germanic Studies, 1985). On the position of Hebrews within the Pauline letters, see Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* rev. C. S. C. Williams (London: Duckworth, 1954), 174.

[26] See on the manuscripts Krause, *Handbuch,* 16–18; Hunter, "Gothic Bible," 340–41; and in most detail Stutz, *Denkmäler,* 16–27. These all predate the Speyer find, and Hunter does not mention the loss of the Giessen manuscript. See for the Speyer text Braune/Ebbinghaus, *Grammatik,* 4 (with bibliography); the new find provided evidence for several more words and forms in Gothic. See for illustrations of the manuscript (and of the land documents), plus the original papers by Franz Haffner and Piergiuseppe Scardigli, Scardigli's *Die Goten, Sprache und Kultur* (Munich: Beck, 1973); this is the translation by Benedikt Vollman of the new edition of Scardigli's *Lingua e Storia dei Goti* (Florence: Sansoni, 1964). For illustrations of the Codex Argenteus and of Ambrose B, see Braune/Ebbinghaus, but especially the facsimile editions: *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis,* ed. O. von Friesen and A. Grape (Uppsala: Malmogiae, 1927) and *Wulfilae codices Ambrosiani rescripti,* ed. Jan de Vries (Turin: Molfese, 1936). On the Giessen text see Paul Glaue and Karl Helm, *Das gotisch-lateinische Bibelfragment der Universitätsbibliothek zu Giessen* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1910), with illustrations. Since the discovery of the Speyer folio in 1971 have come that of a lead tablet with a Gothic Christian inscription from Hács-Béndekpuszta in Hungary in 1978 (the position of which may well be significant) and some smaller indications of Gothic in a ninth-century French manuscript in 1984: see Scardigli's new edition of Streitberg.

[27] On this important manuscript, see Stutz, *Denkmäler,* 39–43.

[28] Streitberg, 163.

[29] See the notes to the extracts in Mossé, *Manuel,* and Feist, *Einführung,* from which these examples are taken. On *praitauria* see Mossé, *Manuel,* 273 on John 18, 33.

[30] The second person dual nominative is not recorded, but can be deduced with some certainty; the other cases are all attested; see Braune/Ebbinghaus, *Grammatik,* 90, §150, Anm. 2.

[31] See the notes to Streitberg's edition of the text, as well as Heather, *Goths,* 60–61. Ulfila was consecrated under Constantius II.

[32] There is a text in Streitberg, *Bibel,* but see William Holmes Bennett, *The Gothic Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* (New York: MLA, 1960, repr. Kraus, 1966)

for a text and translation. Feist, *Einführung,* has a German translation of some of it, and Ernst A Kock, *Die Skeireins* (Lund: Gleerup, 1913) is full. There is a useful analysis with a sample in Stutz, *Denkmäler,* 64–69.

[33] Streitberg, *Bibel,* 465; Bennett, *Commentary,* 68–70.

[34] Krause, *Handbuch,* 21–22 discusses this verse. Several others are listed in Wrede, *Stamm-Heynes Ulfilas,* xvii–xix.

[35] Feist, *Einführung,* 94–98 offers a systematised selection with analysis, showing for example the loss of final *-s* in masculine a-stems (*tag, fisc* for older *tags, fisks,* day, fish), the loss of initial *h-* (*lachen* for *hlahjan*). Some words appear to be Persian or Turkish, and may or may not have been current in Crimean Gothic.

[36] See Green, *Language and History,* 164–81.

[37] See Henri Grégoire, "Le *Waltharius* et Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 14 (1936): 201–213, esp. 212–13 and Herfried Münkler, *Das Blickfeld des Helden* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1983), 46–56. See my translation: *Walthari* (Glasgow: Scottish Papers in Germanic Studies, 1989).

[38] See R. C. Boer, *Die Sagen von Ermanarich und Dietrich von Bern* (Halle/S.: Waisenhaus, 1910), 3–14; Heiko Uecker, *Germanische Heldensage* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1972), 63–79 and the introduction by Egon Wamers, "Die Völkerwanderungszeit im Spiegel der germanischen Heldensagen," in the catalogue to the 1987/1988 exhibition *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, and published there in 1988, 69–94. The two latter publications have full bibliographies.

[39] Dryden is cited in the useful survey by Josef Haslag, *"Gothic" im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1963); Haslag's introductory chapter (3–36) on the Goths and the use of their name is relevant to the present study.

[40] A. F. C. Vilmar, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationallitteratur* (20th ed., Marburg and Leipzig: Elwert, 1881), 10. First published in 1845, the book had a 25th edition in 1901. Tolkien's letter to Zillah Sherring (20 July 1965) discusses his interest in Gothic, in *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien,* ed. Humphrey Carpenter and Christopher Tolkien (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981), 356–58 (letter 272, with a copy of one such inscription). Tolkien, a philologist to the last, took the opportunity of correcting a couple of errors in his own early Gothic. H. F. Massmann, *Die deutschen Abschwörungs-, Glaubens- Beicht- und Betformeln* (Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Basse, 1839).