

**CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD A HISTORY OF
ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE**

VOLUME III

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD
A HISTORY
OF
ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

VOLUME III

TACITUS' *GERMANIA*
& OTHER FORGERIES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. FOREWORD	IX-XI
II. SOURCES QUOTED	XIII-XX
III. ULFILAS	1- 64
IV. JORDANES	65-173
V. PSEUDO-BEROSUS	174-218
VI. HUNIBALD	219-272
VII. THE <i>GERMANIA</i> OF TACITUS	273-299
VIII. PSEUDO-VENANTIUS	300-314
IX. WORD INDEX	316-320
X. SUBJECT INDEX	321-328
XI. TABLES	331

FOREWORD

My *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, I must confess, suffers from a serious drawback—it is too conservative. When I wrote it, I was dimly conscious of the geological fault underlying the structure of Germanic history, philology, palaeography, and allied subjects, but I could not tear myself away from many accepted scientific conclusions, because it had not occurred to me that the stupendous scientific structure was reared exclusively on a foundation that would collapse the moment the geological fault led to an earthquake. Therefore I quoted Tacitus, Jordanes, and Auxentius as authorities, or, at least, did not disturb the conclusions to which they led. As my investigation proceeded, it became clearer and clearer that there was something wrong in the cherished authors, but I was totally unable to account for the positive references to Goths in the Greek authors, such as Procopius, and in the Greek synaxaries and martyrologies. It seemed incredible that such a distant subject as that dealing with the Goths, who had little in common with the Greeks, should have found its way so permanently into Greek thought.

A series of fortunate discoveries, many of them quite accidental, solved the puzzling questions beyond any expectation. The Graeco-Gothic relations became obvious at a flash, when the Tetraxite or Crimean Goths turned out to be a fraud. The whole history of the Crimean Goths is based on the definite account of John, the son of Photina, the bishop of the Goths, who was sent to the Tetraxite Goths at the end of the eighth century. All authors who have written on

the subject have taken pains to elaborate on the importance of the story, and the presence of this saint in the Greek synaxaries under June 26. When I discovered, quite accidentally, that this saint was purloined from John Bar-Aphtonia, the Syrian saint, given in the Syrian synaxaries under June 26 as a Syrian bishop in the first half of the sixth century, all the other Gothic entries in the Greek calendars became invalidated, such as the burning of the Gothic church and the references to Ulfilas. There was no escape—the Spanish Goths of the eighth and ninth centuries not only furnished wholesale literary and documentary frauds to the western world, but also inspired interpolations and more important frauds in Greek literature.

I still clung to Tacitus. I had been brought up in the worship of Tacitus, especially of his *Germania*. The more than seven hundred pages of A. Baumstark's *Ausführliche Erläuterung des allgemeinen Theiles der Germania des Tacitus*, and the more than three hundred pages of his *Ausführliche Erläuterung des besondern völkerschaftlichen Theiles der Germania des Tacitus*, filled me with awe. But one day, while confined to my room by an attack of the grippe, I picked up the *Germania*, to use it as an anodyne. Now, after I had become acquainted with the literary and linguistic balderdash of the Hispericists and had studied minutely Virgil Maro the Grammarian and Aethicus, I was struck by the amazing similarity in method in the *Germania* and the writers who had fallen under Arabic influence, and at a glance recognized that the *Germania* was merely an elaboration of Caesar's *De bello gallico*, where he deals with the manners of the Gauls and Germans and the mysterious animals. The investigation which followed proved this assumption correct down to the minutest detail.

The very great mass of material before me makes it impossible to treat it all in one volume, hence I only summarily refer to the forgeries and interpolations in Cassiodorus, Bede, and Ammianus. All these and many more will be analyzed in a future volume. The next volume will give the proof that the *Physiologus* is of Syrio-Arabic origin, and incidentally will confirm the fact that Gregory of Tours has come down to us highly interpolated and that a series of other works, ascribed to Rufinus and others, are eighth century forgeries. Meanwhile, I beg the reader to concentrate his attention on Jordanes' *Getica* and Tacitus' *Germania*, where the conclusions are final.

Again and again must I express my thanks to Mr. J. B. Stetson, Jr., of Philadelphia, through whose assistance my labors have brought such early fruition. The last chapter, on an interpolation in Venantius Fortunatus, is by Mr. Phillips Barry, who has followed my investigations for years, and is now collecting material on the origin of the Celtic *Antiquitas*.

THE AUTHOR.

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xiv HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

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xviii HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

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xx HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

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ULFILAS

Not a single one of the contemporary writers on the conversion of the Goths knows either of their early Arianism or of Ulfilas, the Arian or Semi-Arian bishop of the Goths.

Socrates mentions in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (II.41) the Gothic bishop Theophilus, who was one of the signers of the Nicene creed. We shall later see that this passage is an interpolation of the eighth century, but the fact is apparently correct, for *Theophilus Gothiae Metropolis* is given as a signer for *Provincia Gothia* in the Nicene Council of 325, and if this list is genuine, the mention in Socrates is equally genuine.

Epiphanius tells how Audius, the founder of the Audian monasteries, was, in the middle of the fourth century, relegated to Scythia. He penetrated into the interior of Gothia and taught Christianity to many of the Goths, at the same time establishing there monasteries, at which strict discipline was maintained. In spite of the peculiar practices instituted by Audius, Epiphanius praises him as a good Christian and Catholic. After his death Silvanus was bishop of Gothia. Then the Catholic Goths were driven from Gothia, and they settled in Chalcis, near Antioch, and on the Euphrates. This violent persecution was instituted by a pagan king who hated the Romans and so transferred his hatred to the native Christians, who in his mind belonged to the same category as the Romans. But the persecution did not avail much, because wisdom cannot be eradicated.¹

¹ «Υπέστη δὲ καὶ ἔξορίαν αὐτὸς ὁ γέρον Αὐδῖος, εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Σκυθίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξορισθεὶς, διὰ τὸ ἀφηνιάζειν λαοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηγέχθη. Ἐκεῖ δὲ μάλιστα διατρίβων χρόνον ἐτῶν,

2 HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

As Epiphanius says that the Goths had emigrated four years before, and his work on the heresies was written between 374 and 377, it is clear that he refers to the persecution by Athanaric, which is supposed to have driven Ulfilas into exile. Yet there is no reference here either to Ulfilas or to Arians. Indeed, St. Augustine in his *De civitate Dei*, distinctly says that there were none but Catholics there at the time: "Perhaps, however, it was not to be reckoned as a persecution, when the king of the Goths, in Gothia itself, persecuted the Christians with wonderful cruelty, *when there were none but Catholics there*, of whom very many were crowned with martyrdom, as we have heard from certain brethren who had been there at that time as boys, and unhesitatingly called to mind that they had seen these things?"¹

οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πρόσω δαίνων, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐσώτατα τῆς Γοτθίας, πολλοὺς τῶν Γότθων κατήχησεν ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ μοναστήρια ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Γοτθίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ πολιτεία καὶ παρθενία τε καὶ ἀσκήσις οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα. Ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι τοῦτο τὸ τάγμα πᾶν ἐν ἀναστροφῇ θαυμαστῇ καὶ τὰ πάντα αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μοναστηρίοις καλῶς φέρεται, πλὴν τῶν φιλονεικῶν τούτων, τῆς τε παραλλαγῆς τοῦ Πάσχα, τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν ἐγκειμένης τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα ὁμολογίας Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν γεγόναι σὺν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, Οὐράνιος τις τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γοτθίας δὲ ἔσχε τινὰς, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπους· ἀλλὰ καὶ Σιλουανὸς τις, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ὧν συμβέβηκε τινὰς τοῦ βίου παύσασθαι, μάλιστα Οὐράνιον. Ἦρχει γὰρ οὗτος ἀναμέσον τοιούτου τάγματος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῶν τούτων Οὐρανίου καὶ Σιλουανοῦ τοῦ ἐκ Γοτθίας τελευτῆν, πολλοὶ διελύθησαν, καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον ἦλθε τὸ τούτων σύστημα, ἐν τε τοῖς μέρεσι Χαλκίδος τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Εὐφράτου. Καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Γοτθίας ἐδιώχθησαν οἱ πλείους, οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἐκεῖ Χριστιανοί, διωγμοῦ μεγάλου ἐστάντος ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ Ἑλληνος, δεινοῦ τε γενομένου καὶ πρὸς ξῆλον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, διὰ τὸ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι Χριστιανούς, τὸ πᾶν γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀπελαθῆναι. Οὐ λείπει δὲ ῥίζα σοφίας, οὐδὲ φύτευμα πίστεως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ δοκοῦσι πάντες ἀπηλάσθαι, πάντως εἰσὶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνθρώποι. Οὐκ ἐγγαρεῖ γὰρ λείψαι τὴν πηγὴν τῆς πίστεως. Πολλοὶ οὖν ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν αὐτῶν Αὐδιανῶν τῆς Γοτθίας, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων μερῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες, παροικοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἐτῶν τεσσάρων,» *Adversus haereses*, in *Migne, Patrol. graeca*, vol. XLII, col. 372 f.

¹ "Nisi forte non est persecutio computanda, quando rex Gothorum in ipsa Gothia persecutus est Christianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non essent nisi catholici, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati sunt, sicut a quibus-

In 404 St. Chrysostom was already in exile. While there he heard from the Marsan Gothic monks, where Serapion was bishop, that deacon Moduarius had brought news from Gothia that "that wonderful man," Unilas, whom he had ordained bishop and sent to Gothia, had died, after having accomplished many wonderful things, and that the king of the Goths had sent a letter in which he asked for another bishop. As the season for sailing was unfavorable, St. Chrysostom counseled delay, adding as another cogent reason that he was anxious to send the best possible man.¹

The Gothic monks are called Marsan because they lived on the estate of Marsa. Palladius, in chapter IV of the Life of St. Chrysostom, speaks of the woman, the wife of Promotus, as a violent partisan against him. In a letter to the same Goths in the same year, Chrysostom speaks of them as the monks in Promotus' field, and praises them for having abstained from disturbances in the church of the Goths, which were, no doubt, instituted by this Marsa with the purpose

dam fratribus, qui tunc illic pueri fuerant et se ista uidisse incunctanter recordabantur, audiuiamus?" in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. XL², p. 356.

¹ Ἐδήλωσάν μοι οἱ μονάζοντες οἱ Μαρσεῖς, οἱ Γότθοι, ὅτι ἀπέβητο Σεραπίων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὅτι Μοδουάριος ἦλθεν ὁ διάκονος ἀπαγγέλον, ὅτι Οὐνίλας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν πρόφην ἐχειροτόνησα καὶ ἐπεμψα εἰς Γοθθίαν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατορθώσας ἐκοιμήθη· καὶ ἦλθε φέρον γράμματα τοῦ ῥηγὸς τῶν Γότθων ἀξιούντα πεμφθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὁρῶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπειλουμένην καταστροφὴν συντελοῦν εἰς διόρθωσιν, ἣ μέλλουσιν καὶ ἀναβολὴν (οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς πλεῦσαι εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον νῦν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα), ὑπερθέσθαι τέως αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα παρασκευάσων· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπλῶς αὐτὸ παραδρομῆς, κατόρθωμα γὰρ ἐστὶ μέγιστον. Δύο γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃ μάλιστα με λυπεῖ εἰ γένοιτο, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τὸ τε παρὰ τούτων μέλλειν γίνεσθαι, τῶν τοσαῦτα κακὰ ἐργασαμένων, καὶ παρ' ὧν οὐ θέμις, τὸ τε ἀπλῶς τινα γενέσθαι. Ὅτι γὰρ οὐ σπουδάζουσιν τινα γενναῖον ποιῆσαι, οἶσθα καὶ αὐτῇ. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπίστασαι. Ἴν' οὖν μηδὲν τούτων γένηται, πάσαν σπουδὴν ποιῆσαι· ἀποφθεῖ δὲ εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ λανθανόντως τὸν Μοδουάριον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκδραμεῖν, μέγιστα ἂν ἤνυετο. Εἰ δὲ μὴ δυνατόν, ἐκ τῶν ἐγγχωρούντων τὰ δυνατὰ γινέσθω, > B. de Montfaucon, *S. Joannis Chrysostomi Opera*, Parisiis 1837, vol. III², p. 722.

4 HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

of annoying Chrysostom.¹ It is quite likely that the juxtaposition οἱ Μαρσεῖς οἱ Γότθοι had later, in the eighth century, some part in creating Germanic *Marsi*, as introduced into Pseudo-Tacitus.²

In the contemporary writers there is no reference to a martyrdom by fire, such as is mentioned later in connection with the burning of a Gothic church. I have already shown how the burning of Goths at Cordoba has given rise to the legend.³ The discordant dates given for the burning in the synaxaries and the Gothic calendar make it certain that we have here only an attempt to connect the burning with the persecution of Athanaric. The Greek synaxaries⁴ place the event under March 26, between 367 and 375. The Gothic calendar puts it on October 29, while the *Chronicon Paschale* places the killing of the Goths at Laemomacellium and the burning of the Gothic church on July 12 of the year 400, in the reign of Arcadius.⁵ As the *Chronicon Paschale* contains interpolations up to the eleventh century, we have only late and conflicting reminiscences of the eighth century event, as recorded by the Arabic writers.

So far we have not heard a word of Arian Goths. The first definite reference to them is in Italy, in the time of Ambrose. In 386 the court party tried to get Ambrose to leave Milan, but he remained for several days in the Basilica, surrounded by a large congregation, who would defend him against the soldiery without. In the sermon against the Arian Auxentius,

¹ «Τοῖς μονάζουσι τοῖς Γότθοις ἐν τοῖς Προμώτου Χάριν δὲ ὑμῖν ἔχω καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ἣν ἐπεδείξασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα θόρυβον γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ τῶν Γότθων,» *ibid.*, p. 863 f.

² See p. 160 f.

³ See my *Contributions*, vol. I, p. 142 ff.

⁴ See *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. XXXI, p. 274 ff.

⁵ «Καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἔτει ἐσφάγησαν Γότθοι πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ Λαιμομακελλίῳ· καὶ ἐκὰς ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Γότθων σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει Χριστιανῶν μηνὶ πανέμῳ πρὸ δ' ἰδῶν ἰουλίαν.»

which he then preached, he referred to the Goths who, with the soldiers, assailed him; and in a letter to Marcellina,¹ written a year earlier, he spoke of the Goths "who, as of old they made their waggon their home, so now make the Church their waggon," that is, he spoke contemptuously of the Goths, who as mercenaries were serving the Arian empress Justina and therefore supporting the Arian cause.² We do not know what bishop was sent to Alaric after the death of Unilas, but when Alaric came to Italy he obviously favored the Arian cause, and naturally so. To make his campaign more effective, he had to assure himself of the support of the Italian Goths who had already allied themselves with the Arians. But his Arianism was not of the rabid anti-Catholic kind, hence his moderation during the sack of Rome, which was praised by all the Catholic writers of the time.³ St. Augustine was not inimically disposed toward the Goths, because of their moderation, and he understood full well that it was chiefly political reasons which decided the adherence of the Goths to the Arian party. Indeed, he saw clearly that the various sects were trying to get the Goths on their side, even as did the Donatists, "because the Goths were getting to be powerful."⁴

¹ *The Letters of S. Ambrose*, Oxford 1881, p. 131.

² "Prodire de Arianis nullus audebat; quia nec quisquam de civibus erat, pauci de familia regia, nonnulli etiam Gothi. Quibus ut olim plaustra sedes erat, ita nunc plaustrum Ecclesia est. Quocumque femina ista processerit, secum suos omnes coetus vehit," Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XVI, col. 997.

³ "Inmanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimae basilicae implendae populo cui parceretur eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captiuandi ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non uidet, caecus," *De civitate Dei*, I. 7; etc.

⁴ "Aliquando autem, sicut audivimus, nonnulli ex ipsis volentes sibi Gothos conciliare, quando eos vident aliquid posse, dicunt hoc se credere quod et illi credunt," Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XXXIII, col. 793.

6 HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

Only some time after the fifth century did the perplexed Greek church historians ask themselves how it all happened that the Goths became Arians. Socrates says that the Goths were divided into two factions, that of Fritigern, who had fled to the Romans, and that of Athanaric, across the Danube. Fritigern received aid from the Romans against Athanaric, and after a victory over him, the Goths out of gratitude became Arians, like Valens, who had aided them. At that time, Ulfilas invented the Gothic letters and translated the Bible into Gothic; but because he also converted the Goths of Athanaric, who was a pagan, the latter persecuted them, so that even Arians became martyrs.¹ This account is not only in total disagreement with the contemporary account of Athanaric's persecution of Catholic Goths only, but with Socrates' own account of Ulfilas, who had subscribed to the compromise creed of Constantinople, after having followed the Nicene creed of Bishop Theophilus.²

Sozomenus says that the Goths fleeing across the Danube from the Huns sent a legation, headed by Ulfilas, the bishop of the Goths, asking permission to settle in Thrace. Then the Goths split up into the party of Fritigern and Athanaric, and the people of Fritigern became Arians, in gratitude for the aid received from Valens. Ulfilas had originally not in any way differed from the Catholic communicants, but, having come to Constantinople and having met the Arians, either out of policy or conviction turned Arian, drawing the whole people with him. Ulfilas gave the Goths a translation of the Bible. Then Athanaric persecuted the Christians. He carried a statue on a carriage to the Christian sanctuaries and ordered the Christians to worship it. If they did not

¹ *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV. 33.

² *Ibid.*, II. 41.

do so, they were burned in their churches.¹ Sozomenus, too, knows of the presence of Ulfilas at the conciliabulum of Constantinople, where he subscribed to the modified creed of Ariminum.

When St. Augustine spoke kindly of the Goths, though they were Arians, it did not occur to him to speak of Arian martyrs, first, because, according to his own statement, there were only Catholic martyrs in Gothia, and secondly, because it was inconceivable for a Catholic to class Arians as martyrs. The Arians were Christians, and as such they stood high above the pagans, is what St. Augustine repeatedly says, but, if he had classed Arians who were burnt to death as martyrs, he would have had to call Valens a martyr, since he was burnt to death by the pagan Goths. Yet here, in Socrates and Sozomenus, we hear of Arian martyrs who were burnt to death in their churches, an exceedingly improbable statement for Catholic writers to make. Besides, neither St. Augustine nor the Greek synaxaries nor the *Chronicon Paschale* know of anything but Catholic martyrs who were burnt to death. Obviously something is wrong in the accounts of Socrates and Sozomenus.

Theodoretus knows nothing of the martyrdom, and confines himself only to instructing the ignorant as to how the Arian contagion reached the Goths. According to him, the infamous Eudoxius persuaded Valens to try to convert the Goths to Arianism, although heretofore they had been true Catholics. At that time Bishop Ulfilas was a man of great power among them. Eudoxius bribed him with sweet words and with money to accept fellowship with the Arians. Hence the Goths consider the Father to be greater than the Son, but deny that the Son is created, although they commune with those who say so. Thus the Goths did not depart

¹ VI. 37.

8 HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

from their ancestral religion, although they communed with Eudoxius and Valens.¹ Here we have a totally different account. We hear nothing of martyrs and of the invention of letters by Ulfilas, and Ulfilas is represented as a man bribed by Eudoxius to commune with the Arians, without departing from the Catholic religion, although the creed is, to say the least, Semi-Arian.

The most comfortable view would be to assume that the three Greek ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus, drew upon their imagination and a hazy account of a Gothic bishop Ulfilas, in order to explain the origin of Arianism among them; but there are a number of disquieting factors in such an assumption, which compel us carefully to investigate the story of Ulfilas as to its possible origin in the fifth century.

Ulfilas is absent from Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, and I shall now show that this work is a forgery, based to a considerable extent on Isidore.

Many parallel passages have been noted in Orosius and Isidore, and from the established fact that Orosius died about the year 418, while Isidore died in 636, it has been assumed that the latter everywhere borrowed from the *Historiae* of Orosius; but an examination of these parallel passages totally dispels such an assumption. Nothing can be done with identical passages in the two or with passages so divergent that the borrowing may have gone in either direction. I shall, therefore, confine myself to all such passages only as give us definite results one way or another.

The eighth and ninth century manuscripts of Orosius² have for a title: "Haec insunt in hoc codice historiarum Pauli Horosii praesbiteri adversum pa-

¹ IV. 33.

² C. Zangemeister, *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII*, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. V, p. 1.

ganos libri numero septem lege feliciter: *Ormista ḡ miserabilis ł metiens sonat.*" Wild guesses have been made as regards the origin of the title *Ormista*, by which Orosius was frequently quoted,¹ but there can be no doubt as to the gloss: "*Ormista ḡ miserabilis ł metiens.*" *Ḡ* means "gotice," the glossator thinking of Goth. *armosta* "very poor;" but the second explanation, "metiens," shows that both the meaning "poor" and "measuring" are derived from the Arabic source from which Goth. *arms* and the corresponding OHGerman, ASaxon, etc., words are obtained. We have Arab. عَرِمَ *‘ārim*, *‘arim* "evil in disposition, bad, corrupt, wicked, abominable," from عَرَمَ *‘aram* "to bring calamity upon, be soft;" عَرِمَ *‘arim* also means "a heap of grain," hence تَعَرَّمَ *ṭa‘rīm* "to heap up, fill up the measure." In the latter sense the word is found in all the Semitic languages. We have Heb. עָרַם *‘aram* "to be heaped, be clever, shrewd," Chald. עֲרִמְתָּא *‘arēmṭā* "a heap of grain," Syr. حَبَّرَ *‘arīm* "shrewd," حَبَّرَ *‘aram* "he swelled, heaped up," etc. It is evident that the Arabic sense of "hardhearted, bad, miserable" developed from the idea "to swell up, be shrewd." The late Lat. *gremium* "acervus,"² found in Bible translations of the Itala type, is unquestionably derived from the same Semitic word, if not from Arabic, certainly from Syriac or Phoenician.

After the Prologue, the *Historiae* begin with an account of the miseries of the world. The oldest manuscripts here have as a title, in red letters, "*Ormetae*

¹ Th. von Moerner, *De Orosii vita eiusque Historiarum libris septem adversus Paganos*, Berolini 1844, p. 180.

² *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, vol. VIII, p. 191.

inēp uolumen priūm de trium partium terrae indicio.”¹ Similarly, the second book begins with “incipit eiusdem secundum *de mundi erumpnis*.”² Thus there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that the title *Ormista* is the Gothic or Arabic for “the miseries of the world,” as which the work was known.³ In Gothic only the adjective *armosta* “ἐλεεινότερος, most miserable” is recorded. From this was formed by the Goths the title *Ormista* “misery,” or, rather, “the greatest miseries.”⁴ Thus we have the positive proof that Orosius was the preoccupation of the Spanish Goths in the eighth century.

The Arabo-Gothic *arm* passed into OHGerman as *arm*, *aram* “aerumnosus, pauper, inops,” *armida* “penuria, paupertas,” etc. In ONorse *armr* never acquired the sense of “inops,” but preserved only the Gothic sense of “wretched.” The AS. *earm*, *arm* “poor, miserable, wretched” remained only a book word and has not survived in English. Thus the artificial origin of the group from an Arabo-Latin gloss is made obvious. We now have an additional proof, if such were necessary, that the Gothic Bible could not have been written before the eighth century, for it was Arab. *‘arim* that led to Goth. *arms* “miserabilis,” and Lat. *misericors*, not Gr. ἐλεεινός, produced Goth. *armhairtei* and the whole Germanic group which belongs here.

¹ Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³ Indeed, as late as the end of the ninth century, *ormesta* had the meaning of “miseria, excidium:” “necnon et sanctum Gyldam cujus sagacitate ingenii industriaque legendi atque in sacris canonum libris peritia, liber ille artificiosa compositus instructione, quem *Orместам Бриттаниае* vocant declarat,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. I, p. 215.

⁴ Of course, Lat. *aerumna* “misery” may have aided in the adoption of the Arabic word, but there is no evidence of it. The Latin word first occurs in Plautus, hence it is most likely of Phoenician origin, and, like *gremium*, belongs to our group.

In the Prologue of Orosius there is an expansion of a perfectly clear passage in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore:

Orosius.

Ex locorum agrestium conpitis et pagis pagani uocantur siue gentiles quia terrena sapiunt, qui cum futura non quaerant, praeterita autem aut obliuiscantur aut nesciant, praesentia tamen tempora ueluti malis extra solitum infestatissima ob hoc solum quod creditur Christus et colitur Deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant, Prologue, 9.

Isidore.

Pagani ex pagis Atheniensium dicti, ubi exorti sunt. Ibi enim in locis agrestibus et pagis gentiles lucos idolaque statuerunt et a tali initio vocabulum pagani sortiti sunt. Gentiles sunt qui sine lege sunt, et nondum crediderunt. Dicti autem gentiles, quia ita sunt ut fuerunt geniti, id est, sicut in carne descenderunt sub peccato, scilicet idolis seruietes et necdum regenerati, VIII. 10. 1-2.

Isidore got his definition from a Servius gloss to *Georgica*, II. 382, 383, "ingentes pagos et compita circum Thesidae posuere," which runs as follows: "*Pagos et compita circum*, id est per quadriua—quae compita appellantur ab eo quod multae viae in unum confluant—et villas, quae pagi ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν appellantur, id est a fontibus, circa quos villae consueverant condi: unde et pagani dicti sunt, quasi ex uno fonte potantes. . . *Thesidae* Athenienses qui primi ludos instituere Liberalia. . . *compita* . . . ubi pagani agrestes, bucina convocati, solent inire concilia."

The gloss for *compita* is given in Isidore in XV. 16. 12: "*competa*, quia plures in ea conpetunt viae," and in XV. 2. 15: "*compita* sunt ubi usus est conventus fieri rusticorum; et dicta conpita quod loca multa in agris eodem conpetant, et quo convenitur a rusticis." How closely Isidore followed the Servius gloss is seen from the fact that he distinctly says that the pagi were first established by the Athenians. The statement that the gentiles placed groves and idols in the pagi is mentioned by Isidore in another place, where he derives *nemus* from *numen*: "nemus a numinibus nuncupatum, quia pagani ibi idola constituebant" (XVII.

6. 6). This etymology, as well as that of *gentiles*, shows conclusively that Isidore did not quote from Orosius, because there *gentiles* is left unexplained and hampering the sense. How is *gentiles* derived there from *pagus*? Obviously the statement in Orosius is a senseless condensation from Isidore. The rest of the passage in Orosius is a free and stupid rendering of St. Augustine's statement in the *Retractationes*.¹ As the *Retractationes* were written after 426, when Orosius was dead, it is obvious that Orosius could not have quoted St. Augustine. Besides, in the *Retractationes* St. Augustine speaks of Orosius as a "certain" Spanish presbyter who wrote to him about the Priscillianists and about Origen.² Had Orosius really written his *Historiae* at St. Augustine's request, we should have heard something about it from St. Augustine, who is silent on the matter. He quotes Orosius very frequently, but only in connection with the Priscillianist and Pelagian heresy, and would have been the last man to characterize the author of so wretched a Latinity as in the *Historiae adversus paganos* as "vigil ingenio, promptus eloquio," with which he recommends him to Jerome.³

¹ "Interea Roma Gothorum inruptione agentium sub rege Alarico adque impetu magnae cladis euersa est, cuius euersionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores, quos usitato nomine paganos uocamus, in Christianam religionem referre conantes solito acerbius et amarius Deum uerum blasphemare coeperunt. Unde ego exardescens zelo domus Dei aduersus eorum blasphemias uel errores libros *de ciuitate Dei* scribere institui. Quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit, eo quod alia multa intercurrebant, quae differre non oporteret et me prius ad soluendum occupabant. Hoc autem *de ciuitate Dei* grande opus tandem uiginti duobus libris est terminatum. Quorum quinque primi eos refellunt, qui res humanas ita prosperari uolunt, ut ad hoc multorum deorum cultum, quos pagani colere consueuerunt, necessarium esse arbitrentur, et quia prohibetur, mala ista exoriri adque abundare contendunt. Sequentes autem quinque aduersus eos loquuntur, qui fatentur haec mala nec defuisse umquam nec defutura mortalibus, et ea nunc magna, nunc parua locis temporibus personisque uariari, sed deorum multorum cultum, quo eis sacrificatur, propter uitam post mortem futuram esse utilem disputant," in *CSEL.*, vol. XL¹, p. 1.

² Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XXXII, col. 648.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, col. 720.

The forger of the *Historiae* used for his geographical material Isidore's *Etymologiae*, expanding the extracts with bits from various authors, chiefly Pomponius Mela and Pliny. This is illustrated in the very beginning of the geographical part:

Orosius.

Maiores nostri orbem totius terrae, oceani limbo circumsaeptum, triquetrum statuere eiusque tres partes Asiam Europam et Africam uocauerunt, quamuis aliqui duas hoc est Asiam ac deinde Africam in Europam accipiendam putarint, I. 2. 1.

Isidore.

Undique enim Oceanus circumfluens eius in circulo ambit fines. Divisus est autem trifarie: e quibus una pars Asia, altera Europa, tertia Africa nuncupatur. Quas tres partes orbis veteres non aequaliter dividerunt. . . Quapropter si in duas partes orientis et occidentis orbem dividas, Asia erit in una, in altera vero Europa et Africa, XIV. 2. 1-3.

Fortunately we have Isidore's own assertion that he got the first part of the statement out of Hyginus,¹ and the second part from St. Augustine.² As the St. Augustine passage is from *De civitate Dei*, XVI. 17, which was written about ten years after the death of Orosius, and Hyginus' *Poeticon astronomicum* is unquestionably of a much later date, it is as clear as daylight that the forger cribbed the whole out of Isidore, where alone the two passages are combined. Observe the shrewd way in which the forger tried to cover his tracks. The parts are transposed; *veteres* is changed to *maiores nostri*; instead of *undique enim Oceanus circumfluens eius in circulo ambit fines* we have *oceani limbo circumsaeptum*; instead of *divisus trifarie* we have *triquetrum statuere* (which, by the way, is an

¹ *De natura rerum*, XLVIII. 1.

² *Ibid.*, XLVIII. 2.

14 HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

idiotic statement); instead of *Europa et Africa* we have *Africam in Europam accipiendam*.

Orosius.

Europa incipit ut dixi sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, qua Riphæi montes Sarmatico auersi oceano Tanaim fluuium fundunt, qui præteriens aras ac terminos Alexandri Magni in Rhobascorum finibus sitos Maetidas auget paludes, quarum immensa exundatio iuxta Theodosiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late ingreditur. Inde iuxta Constantinopolim longae mittuntur angustiae, donec eas mare hoc quod dicimus Nostrum accipiat. Europae in Hispania occidentalis oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis columnae uisuntur et Tyrrheni maris faucibus oceani aestus inmittitur, I. 2. 4-7.

Isidore.

Europa autem in tertiam partem orbis diuisa incipit a flumine Tanai, descendens ad occasum per septentrionalem Oceanum usque in fines Hispaniae; cuius pars orientalis et meridiana a Ponto consurgens, tota mari Magno coniungitur, et in insulas Gades finitur, XIV. 4. 2. Gadis insula in fine Baeticae provinciae sita, quae dirimit Europam ab Africa, in qua Herculis columnae visuntur, et unde Tyrrheni maris faucibus Oceani aestus inmittitur, XIV. 6. 7.

Isidore, XIV. 6. 7 is directly borrowed from Solinus, XXIII. 12-13, "in capite Baeticae, ubi extremus est noti orbis terminus, insula a continenti septingentis pedibus separatur, quam Tyrii a Rubro profecti mari Erythream, Poeni lingua sua Gadir, id est saepem nominauerunt . . . sed Gaditanum fretum, a Gadibus dictum, Atlanticos aestus in nostrum mare discidio inmittit orbis. nam Oceanus . . Europam radit, Africam dextero, scissisque Calpe et Abinna montibus quos dicunt columnas Herculis, inter Mauros funditur et Hispaniam." That the Orosius passage is not older is proved by Isidore's *in fine Baeticae provinciae sita*, which proceeds directly from Solinus' *in capite Baeticae*, which is absent from Orosius, and from *quae dirimit Europam ab Africa*, which is equally absent from Orosius. Hence Pseudo-Orosius took the last passage from Isidore, and not *vice versa*. He did not take it directly from Solinus, on account of the phrase, *Tyrrheni maris faucibus*, which Isidore, in the same

passage, evolved out of Solinus. The beginning of the passage is composite. It contains Isidore, and is filled up with scraps from various authors, loosely hung together, and by the *qua* apparently dependent on "plaga septentrionis."

Orosius.

In capite Syriae Cappadocia est, quae habet ab oriente Armeniam, ab occasu Asiam, ab aquilone Themiscyrios campos et mare Cimmericum, a meridie Taurum montem, cui subiacet Cilicia et Isauria usque ad Cilicium sinum, qui spectat contra insulam Cyprum, I. 2. 25.

Isidore.

Cappadociam urbs propria nominavit. Haec in capite Syriae sita ab oriente Armeniam tangit, ab occasu Asiam minorem, ab aquilone mare Cimmericum et Themiscyrios campos, quos habuere Amazones; a meridie vero Taurum montem, cui subiacet Cilicia et Isauria usque ad Cilicium sinum, qui spectat contra insulam Cyprum, XIV. 3. 37.

It is obvious that one has copied the other. That Isidore is the original is made immediately clear by the phrase, *Themiscyrios campos, quos habuere Amazones*, which is taken from a gloss of Servius to *Aeneid*, XI. 659. To "quales Threiciae" of Virgil, Servius writes "*Quales Threiciae Tanais fluvius est, qui separat Asiam ab Europa, circa quem antea Amazones habitaverunt; unde se postea ad Thermodontam, fluvium Thraciae, transtulerunt: quod etiam Sallustius testatur, dicens dein campi Themiscyrei, quos habuere Amazones, ab Tanai flumine, incertum quam ob causam, digressae.*" But *Thermodon* is in the Pontus, and *Themiscyrium* is nearby, as Mela has it, "ad Thermodontam campus, in eo fuit Themiscyrium oppidum" (I. 19). According to Mela, there was a city Cimmerium in Thrace, near the Tanais River (*ibid.*), and Ovid spoke of a Cimmerian Sea somewhere indefinitely in that region, possibly meaning the Azov Sea. Now Isidore, in trying to describe the border of Cappadocia as extending as far as Themiscyrium, thought of the

16 HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

Servius gloss, in which he took the *Themiscyrei campi* to refer, not to the new region whither the Amazons went into the Pontus, but to a region close to the Tanais River, and so added the "Mare Cimmericum," which is not anywhere near Cappadocia, but near the Tanais River. That this mistake was made by Isidore is made certain by the reference to the Amazons, who came from the region of the Tanais River. Pseudo-Orosius dropped off the reference to the Amazons, as he generally avoided anything but strictly geographical references, and preserved both the *Mare Cimmericum* and the *Themiscyrei campi*, which are quite absurd without the omitted note.

Orosius.

Asia regio uel, ut proprie dicam, Asia minor absque orientali parte qua ad Cappadociam Syriamque progreditur undique circumdata est mari: a septentrione Ponto Euxino, ab occasu Propontide atque Hellesponto, ad meridiem mari Nostro, ibi est mons Olympus, I. 2. 26.

Isidore.

Asia minor ab oriente Cappadocia cingitur, ab aliis partibus undique mare circumdatur; nam a septentrione pontum Euxinum habet, ab occasu Propontidem, a meridie Aegyptium mare, XIV. 3. 38.

As the last phrase, *a meridie Aegyptium mare*, is from Solinus, XL. 1, Isidore cannot have copied from Orosius, who changed it to *mari Nostro*. Pseudo-Orosius had Solinus before him and from Isidore and Solinus created the blunder, *Asia regio uel, ut proprie dicam, Asia minor*. What Solinus says is this: "Sequitur Asia: sed non eam Asiam loquor, quae in tertio orbis divortio terminos amnes habet ab Aegyptio mari Nilum, a Maeotio lacu Tanaim: verum eam quae a Telmesso Lyciae incipit, unde etiam Carpathius auspiciatur sinus" (XL. 1). But it did not occur to him to say that *Asia Regio* was another name for *Asia*