NOTE TO USERS

MEDIUM AND MESSAGE
THE CONFLUENCE OF SAXON AND FRANKISH VALUES AS PORTRAYED IN THE OLD SAXON *HELIAND*

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December, 2004

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-494-12969-7
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-494-12969-7

For Sarah Evelyn and Jacqueline Lucile

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to interpret the Old Saxon *Heliand* as a catalyst for change. Whereas recent studies have interpreted the poem as an agent of spiritual change, this study will examine the *Heliand* as an agent of social and political change. The basis of this study will be the text itself, with consideration of its main source, the *Diatessaron*. The approach will not only be textual in nature, but historical as well. The first order of the study will be to place the poem in its proper historical and cultural context. This will generate two possible contexts, as current scholarship is divided over the date of composition. This study will discuss both dates, but will select only one with which to continue. Following this, the study will examine the medium of epic and its influence on the poem. Here, significant motifs and elements of the epic will be outlined, discussed and applied to the text. In addition, this study will analyze significant figures of the poem, such as Jesus Christ, the apostles, King Herod, and Pontius Pilate. The study will also examine significant episodes of the poem, such as the birth and execution of Christ, Christ's battle with Satan in the forest, and the elimination of John the Baptist. Through examples from the text, the study will also demonstrate the poet's ability to reconcile pre-Christian concepts of spirituality with Christian Scripture, Germanic notions of power and authority with those of the Franks, and the social status of the Saxon as subjects of Frankish rule. In all, the study will demonstrate how the *Heliand* marks confluence of varying and conflicting notions of social order into a seamless reorganization of society.

RÉSUMÉ

Le but de cette dissertation est d'interpréter le poème *Heliand* comme catalyste du changement. Alors que des études récentes l'ont interprété comme agent de changement spirituel, nous l'interpetérons comme agent de changement politique et social. Cette analyse se basera sur le text lui-même, tout en considérant son origine, le *Diatessaron*. Cette approche ne sera donc pas seulement textuelle, mais aussi historique. Notre première préoccupation sera de replacer l'oeuvre dans son contexte historique et culturel. Deux contextes possibles s'offrent à nous puisque les chercheurs ne s'entendent pas sur la date de la composition. Cette étude considéra d'abord les deux dates possibles de composition, mais ne s'en tiendra qu'à une seule pour son interprétation. Cette étude examinera ensuite le médium épique et son influence sur le poème. Ici, les motifs et éléments significatifs de l'épopée seront indentifiés, présentés et appliqués au texte. De plus, l'étude analysera les personnages principaux du texte, tels que Jesus-Christ, les âpotres, le Roi Hérode et Ponce Pilate. Les épisodes importants du poème seront ensuite à l'étude, tels la naissance et l'exécution du Christ, le combat opposant le Christ à Satan dans la forêt, et l'elimination de Jean le Baptiste. D'exemples tirés du texte, nous démontrerons l'habilité du poète à réconcilier les conceptions pré-chrétiennes de la spiritualité aux Ecritures chrétiennes, les notions germaniques et franques de pouvoir et d'autorité à celles des Francs, et le statut social du Saxon en tant que sujet de ces derniers. Cette étude démontrera donc comment le poème *Heliand* transforme des notions variables et conflictuelles de l'ordre social en une réorganisation sociétal uniforme.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to expess my appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Horst Richter, for his assistance, patience, and understanding throughout the process. I especially appreciate his recommendation of key texts used in the dissertation.

I would like to express my gratitude to the staff at the inter-library loan service of the McLennan Library, as well as to the staff of the inter-library loan service of the Beaufort County Public Library, for acquiring the necessary texts in such a timely fashion. I wish to thank the Stacks Manager at the McLennan Library for providing me with a private study room. This allowed me to work without disruption. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Students' Society of McGill University, for sponsoring the 24-hour work space at the McLennan Library. This provided me with a place to work after hours.

Most importantly, I wish to thank the unsung heroes in this effort: my family- my sister Lenore Richards, my brother-in-law Mark Richards, my nieces Sarah and Jacqueline Richards, my parents Robert and Elizabeth Zurla- for all the support, comfort, and encouragement they have given me over the years. I also thank the Rev. Neill Richards and Jessie Richards for their enthusiasm and belief in me. I wish to thank my bosses and co-workers at Thomson House for their friendship and kindness; for allowing me to work flexible hours and for swapping shifts, so that I could complete this dissertation and keep a roof over my head. In that respect, I wish to thank all my former employers for providing me the with means to support myself as a

student, and for teaching me the art of balancing work and study. I would also like to thank my colleagues, my fellow students, for their camaraderie. Lastly, I wish to thank Valeria Treskin, my first German teacher. Without her, none of this would have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

Among the poetry composed in the Early Middle Ages, the Old Saxon *Heliand* stands as a unique work. As a poetic rendering of the life of Christ, the dominant theme of the *Heliand* is, naturally, Christian in nature. Yet, the poem is rich in pre-Christian motifs from Nordic mythology. Its scriptural sources are Latin, yet the poem itself is composed in a vernacular. There is still another intriguing aspect to the *Heliand*: that is its epic form. Epic is the medium of heroic poetry, a form that traditionally conveyed non-Christian motifs and values. As such, Christians of the early Middle Ages eschewed the form.[1] Yet, epic continued to be transmitted through pagan culture, where it persisted into the ninth century, as witnessed in the *Heliand*. The structure of the *Heliand* is indeed epic (as chapters 3 and 4 will outline). Yet, as mentioned previously, its subject matter is overtly Christian. This is an intriguing aspect that deserves a closer examination.

As much of early mediaeval literature is sacred in nature, one is inclined to attribute this tendency to the Christian Church and its virtual monopoly on the medium of writing. One might consider it self evident that the Church's interest of propagating the faith would have been the main, if not sole influence, upon the subject matter of mediaeval literature. Indeed, it is a logical and convenient conclusion.

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[1] Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture. A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976) 20.

Yet. there is more to the propagation of Christianity than simple ideological conquest. According to the Canadian literary critic. Northrop Frye. the expansion of Christianity actually belongs to the perpetuation of myth. (Frye 1976. 7)

Myth is storytelling in its most primal form and it is present in all societies. M.I. Finley wrote, "A human society without myth has never been known, and indeed it is doubtful whether such a society is at all possible."[2] In addition to myth, every society has, what Frye calls a "verbal culture," a culture which develops and fosters storytelling in all its forms. (Frye 1976, 6) From this verbal culture two major categories of stories emerge: folktales and myth. Folktales are stories that are fantastic and entertaining in nature. (Frye 1976, 6) Folktales themselves are culture-specific, but their themes are universal. Other stories are more explanatory in nature. Like folktales, these stories are creative. Their function, however goes beyond simple entertainment. These stories identify and explain a society's values and ills, as well as its systems of law and belief. They also give shape to a people's history and their social structure. Frye identifies this category of stories as myths. (Frye 1976, 7) Individual myths interconnect to form a collective mythology, which encapsulates a society's total spiritual, social and historical concerns and values. (Frye 1976, 9) Unlike folktales, myths are exclusive to and definitive of their cultures. Whereas folktales tend to migrate from culture to culture, acquiring and shedding motifs along the way, mythology remains rooted in its respective culture. It grows and expands with it. (Frye 1976, 9)

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[2] M.I Finley, *The World of Odysseus* (New York: Viking Press, 1965) 15.

It becomes encyclopaedic in nature, comprising tales of a society's origin, its relation to higher beings, its values and traditions, as well as its fate and destiny. Frye identifies this type of mythology as a "myth of concern"[3] Frye defines the myth of concern as a myth that "exists to hold society together." (Frye 1971, 36) That what actually holds the society together is not the myth itself, but the society's collective belief in the myth. As mythology is rooted in action and not in abstraction, in common experiences and not symbolic representations of them, there is an inherent credence to mythology in a society. (Finley 21f) It is, as Bronislaw Malinowski wrote, "a reality lived."[4] Subsequently, the language ascribed to the myth of concern is one of faith and belief, not of logic and deduction. (Frye 1971, 36) Here, one should not confuse the term "faith" with the contemporary religious concept. The modern rendering of the term is actually the final stage of its evolution. (Frye 1971, 36) In its initial context, faith is simply a bonding element, universally serving a social, moral and spiritual purpose. Frye assigns the term *religio* to this fundamental aspect of faith. (Frye 1971, 36) As the myth of concern evolves, the concept of faith evolves as well, dividing into specific and separate values. According to Frye, it is at this later stage of development that faith actually becomes the exclusive domain of religion and spirituality. (Frye 1971, 36) Over time, new myths are added and incorporated into the overall body of mythology.

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[3] Northrop Frye, *The Critical Path. An Essay on the Social Context of Literary Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971) 36.

[4] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science, and Religion. And Other Essays.* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1954) 100.

Throughout this growth process, the concept of faith evolves into an "ultimate concern", an all-encompassing myth of "man's relation to other worlds, other beings, other lives, other dimensions of time and space." (Frye 1971, 36)

According to Frye, the mediaeval European myth of concern is the Christian mythology of the Bible. (Frye 1971, 37) The Bible, however, does not stand alone in the mythology of Christianity. Legends of the saints and of other Biblical figures, as well as the stories of the Apocrypha have contributed to the body of Christian mythology (Frye 1976,13) Altogether, the mythology of Christianity is broad and deep. Consistent with Frye's definition of a myth of concern, the mythology of Christianity spans from humankind's origin to its demise. It addresses the needs of the present through its rich characters and character types, parables and moral lessons. It provides man with answers to the fundamental questions of existence, origin, destiny, and of conduct in the present. It has given shape to a new morality and has entered everyday human existence through ritual. (Malinowski 100) The relevance of a given mythology, however, is finite. As one culture supplants another, the mythology of the new society replaces that of the old. (Frye 1976, 13f) In late antiquity, the rise of the Christian Church established Christianity as the new mythology, replacing classical mythology. (Frye 1976, 14) St. Augustine's *City of God* is illustrative of this turning point in history.[5] In *City of God,* St. Augustine undertakes an exhaustive deconstruction of polytheism. He is able to match and defeat every point of argument that formerly supported the old mythology with compelling and relevant Christian myth. The

[5] St. Augustine. *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*. Trans. Henry Bettenson. (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

scriptural writing of the Middle Ages, be it the Bible itself, exegesis, or subtle Christian tones woven into a secular text, is a continuation of this tradition. Text by text, the new myth of concern is enriched and propagated.

In the Early Middle Ages, Christian mythology emerged as the prevailing mode of understanding and organizing the world. Unlike its predecessor, Christianity was a written mythology. Its medium had evolved from the spoken word to the scroll, and to the codex. As a written mythology, Christianity was endowed with an element of permanence and stability. In the written medium, the material is preserved. An oral rendering, on the contrary, is evanescent. Once words are spoken, the words themselves and their impact ceases to exist: *Quod loquimur transit, quod scribimus permanet.*[6] In addition, the accuracy of the material is by virtue of the written medium, secure. Its transmission no longer relies on memory and mnemonic devices. The written medium does, however, require literacy. Subsequently, as one myth supplants another, so does its transmission.

In the early ninth Century, there was an area of Europe that was still undergoing the transition from polytheism to monotheism, from centrifugal tribal rule to centripetal imperial rule. It is the thesis of this dissertation that this transition is poetically reflected in the *Heliand*, 6,000 lines of alliterative verse that render the story of Christ's life and times in unique terms to a new audience.

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[6] "That which we speak passes away, but that which we write remains." Pope Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job,* Trans, Rev J. Bliss, vol. 3. part 2 (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1850) 559.

In the *Heliand* one witnesses how the old order meets the new, how Norse mythology[7] mixes with Christian mythology, and how oral epic formulae intermingle with the written word. My analysis of the work will show how the two traditions meet and synthesize. Before that can happen, an introduction to the poem and its scholarship is necessary. This material will be addressed in chapter 1. Chapter 1 will also discuss the polemic over the dating of the text. In this discussion, I will outline the respective social climates in which the *Heliand* would have been composed. Lastly, chapter 1 will discuss the intended audience of the *Heliand.* It is my belief that the poem was composed for a specific audience, that being the Saxon nobility. I will cite specific examples from the text in support of this.

Chapter 2 will discuss the significance of the written word to the Carolingians and the efforts taken by the poet to portray the central figure of the poem, Jesus Christ, in terms that would be understandable and acceptable to his Saxon audience. Chapter 3 will discuss the significance of the epic as a medium. The key characteristics of the epic hero will also be outlined. Examples from the text will demonstrate how the poet blends Scripture with epic motifs and formulae without compromising or blaspheming either medium. A significant sub-chapter in this analysis will be a discussion of the contest. As a defining trait of epic poetry, the contest is rendered in a unique way in the *Heliand.* Once again, examples from the text will demonstrate how this key aspect of epic poetry fuses with the Gospel. Chapter 4 will discuss the more subtle nuances of the

[7] To understand the notion of pre-Christian spirituality in Northern Europe thoroughly, I consulted sources from its geographic cousin, Norse mythology. I find Norse mythology to be a more comprehensive and intact source of information.

poem, such as geography- both physical and spiritual- and the measurement of time. It will also discuss how the poet uses elements of oral poetry and incorporates them into the text. Chapter 5 will discuss the concept of the Germanic *drohtin-* its social and historical significance- and its portrayal in the text. This will require an overview of the Saxon and Frankish cultures. Chapter 5 will also discuss how social and political elements such as sacrifice, oaths, and law are portrayed in the text. Examples from the text itself will illustrate these points. The final discussion will outline the events of arrest and execution of Jesus Christ. Again, examples from the text will demonstrate how the poet reconciles the apparently conflicting images of legal execution, ritual sacrifice, and Christian Scripture.

It may seem irrelevant to the subject of poetry itself, but before one can understand poetry that is specific to a society, it is necessary to understand the fundamental characteristics of the society in question: its origins, its social structure, and its interactions with other societies, be they other Germanic tribes or the Romans. In the matter of the *Heliand*, two societies are affected: the Franks and the Saxons. I believe that an introduction to their histories will help us understand how their respective world views came to be. With respect to the *Heliand*, this understanding should make it clear to the reader why certain motifs were chosen over others, why certain scriptural material was omitted, and why other material was embellished. In all, the study will introduce a new perspective on the poem, which had heretofore been mostly linguistic and theological in nature. This is not to suggest that scholarship has ignored the political themes of the *Heliand.* G. Ronald Murphy, SJ wrote in *The Saxon Savior*:

Even politically, the *Heliand* author shows his deep sense of proper balance.While identifying the Saxons with Christ and Peter, and associating the Franks with Caesar and Rome, he lets the good and bad of the status quo stand, and does not turn his work into political propaganda for one side or the other.[8]

The objective of this study is to expand on this statement and to open a broader discussion of the social and political aspects of the poem. This, in turn, will generate further research into these details in the future. However, before any such investigation of the subtleties of the poem can be undertaken, an introductory study of the overall concepts must be conducted. This study will serve that purpose. It will support Murphy's statement on the fairness of the poet. Examples from the text itself will demonstrate how the poet pays equal respect to both cultures in the text; how he neither gratuitously inflates nor blindly disparages either of them. While the poet does not go to the extreme in his characterizations, he does reveal a distinct, yet subtle slant towards the Frankish element. This study will highlight this aspect. In the end, it should be evident that the legacy of the *Heliand* does not so much stand as a fly in amber as a static preservation of the past. Rather, it stands as a chrysalis in amber; a metamorphosis captured.

OVERVIEW

In the ninth Century, Saxon society was indeed undergoing a metamorphosis. Thirty-three years of warfare spanning from 750-803 had decimated the population and

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[8] G. Ronald Murphy, SJ, *The Saxon Savior. The Germanic Transformation of the Gospel in the Ninth-Century Heliand* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 120.

displaced families. A once confederate pagan society had been subjugated to a central ruler and had forcibly become Christianized. This, however, was no sudden transformation. Incorporation into the empire was a gradual process. It was imperative for the dominant Franks to ensure that this process progressed towards assimilitation and not regress into unrest. In order to achieve this, the Saxon society itself had to be dismantled and reassembled- or at least its ruling class had to be restructured. The lower classes, which were subjugated to the upper class, should ostensibly follow suit. Politically, the change of order was not as radical as it would seem. While some of the nobility had its land confiscated by the Franks, many Saxon nobles were able to retain their land, and were granted certain measures of authority within the empire.

The actual transformation of Saxon society was in its ideology. Under ideology, the change in social order and religious order is to be understood. In addition to matters of religion and social order- and perhaps most importantly- language belongs to this ideological transformation. By language, it is not simply to suggest the adoption of the Franconian dialect as the "official language" of the empire. More than that, it is one's daily and intimate use of language which is impacted. To express it in Sausseureian terms, *langue,* not *parole,* is uprooted and reassigned by the change. This, according to the 20th Century Italian social critic, Antonio Gramsci, is the core element necessary for a revolution to realize itself:[9]

> Language is transformed with the transformation of the whole of civilization, through the acquisition of culture by new classes and through the hegemony exercised by one national language over others, etc., and what it does is precisely to absorb in metaphorical form the words of previous civilizations

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[9] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed.& trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971) 541.

> and cultures....The new "metaphorical" meaning spreads with the spread of the new culture, which furthermore also coins brand-new words or absorbs them from other languages as loan words giving them a precise meaning and therefore depriving them of the extensive halo they possessed in the original language.(451f)

That is to say, the seizure of political power over a people is only the beginning of the process. In order to assume total control over a people, the dominant society must also incorporate the conquered people into its ideology. It is not enough only to enforce a new code of law and new hierarchy. Incorporation into the new social order must enter and infiltrate the inner psyche of the conquered people.[10] The esoteric and intellectual aspects of society, namely religion, morality, philosophy, and art must be redefined and reorganized in a manner that is conceptually consistent with the dominant class. This, according to Gramsci, begins at its most fundamental level: language. (Gramsci 451) It may seem incongruous to apply 20th Century social theory to a ninth Century epic poem, as this material was obviously not available to the poet. Yet, nearly one thousand years prior to Gramsci's imprisonment, during which he formulated this theory, the *Heliand* poet composed a work that is consistent with his philosophy. My analysis of the poem will demonstrate how the *Heliand* poet has composed a work in which Saxon concepts of authority; social order and spirituality are redefined in Frankish-Carolingian terms. While Gramsci was clearly not an influence on the poet, The Venerable Bede, Hrabanus Maurus, and St. Augustine were. I will demonstrate how these Church fathers affected and influenced the form, language, and style of the *Heliand* poet.

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[10] Terry Eagleton. *The Rape of Clarissa. Writing, Sexuality and Class Struggle in Samuel Richardson* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982) 1f.

CHAPTER 1

HELIAND SCHOLARSHIP

THE TEXT

The *Heliand* comprises 5,983 lines of alliterative verse recounting the birth, life, and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The text is divided into 71 "songs", or fitts. It is preserved in two complete manuscripts and two fragments.

Manuscript M, *Monacensis,* is housed in the Staatsbibliothek München and dates to the ninth century. Its exact date and place of composition are unknown. It is the older of the two complete manuscripts, but it is also the least intact. Lines 1-84 (most of fitt 1), 2198-2225 (the last half of fitt 26), 2514-2575 (the last third of fitt 30 and the first half of fitt 31), 3114-3490 (the end of fitt 37, all of fitts 38, 39,40,41, and the first half of fitt 42), 3951-4016 (most of fitt 58 and half of fitt 59), 4675-4740 (the last half of fitt 61 and first half of 62), 5275-5868 (most of fitt 63, all of fitts 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, and the opening lines of fitt 70) are missing; at least one sixth of the text[11]. Despite the lacunae, M is considered to be the better of the complete manuscripts. The handwriting is cleaner, there are fewer errors (which appear to have been corrected by the original writer himself), and the Old Saxon dialect is purer.[12] Divisions in the text are marked by enlarged capital letters.

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[11] *Heliand*, ed. Walter Mitzka, 8th edition (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1965) XII.

[12] Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittlelalters. Erster Teil. Die Althochdeutsche Literatur* (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959) (=Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen Bd. 6 Teil 1) 157.

Manuscript C, *Cottonianus*, housed in the British Museum, dates to the tenth century. It is the more complete of the two. The Old Saxon dialect differs from that of M. There appears to be a presence of lower and middle franconian influences in the text. (Ehrismann 158) Based on this evidence, Ehrismann believes that C may have been written at Werden. (Ehrisman 158) Other scholarship, however, suggests it may have been written in Winchester. (Bostock 169) The manuscript contains some errors which appear to have been corrected by the poet himself. Other corrections appear to have been corrected by another hand. (Ehrisman 158) The layout of the text is also unique from M. C is divided into 71 separate sections headed by Roman numerals.

Manuscript P, a fragment discovered in 1880 in the University Library of Prague, dates to the ninth century and contains lines 958-1106 (last half of fitt 12 and most of fitt 13). Its dialect is closer to that of ms. C. Manuscript V, a fragment housed in the Vatican Library, contains the Sermon on the Mount and lines 1279-1358 (most of fitt 16).

Of the four manuscripts, M appears to be the source of C, as both manuscripts contain the same errors. (Ehrismann158) P and V appear to have derived from a different source. None of the manuscripts are titled. The title *Heliand* is a relatively modern addition to the text. It was not assigned to it until the 19th century.

SCHOLARSHIP

Heliand scholarship begins in the 19th century with JA Schmeller's two volume edition, *Poema Saxonicum saeculi noni,* published in 1830 and 1840 respectively. It was in his editions that the title *Heliand* appears for the first time. Early *Heliand* scholarship can be divided along two lines: Christianity and linguistics. AFC Vilmar's *Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand als Einkleidung der evangelischen Geschichte*, published in 1845 and 1862 was one of the earliest interpretations of the poem. His interpretation, however thorough, was also heavily influenced by the nationalistic tendencies which prevailed over most, if not all, 19th Century literary scholarship.[13]

Removed, yet still indirectly related to the prevailing nationalism, was the analysis of the language. As the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* allowed early linguists to formulate and forensically construct a national language of Germany, the *Heliand* allowed linguists to explore the grammar and orthography of a specific regional dialect, Old Saxon. (Martin 8) Yet, early scholarship has suggested that the language of the *Heliand* is not Old Saxon per se, rather "biblical Saxon", a composite of the Saxon dialects.[14] Further research suggests that the dialect is indeed Saxon, but

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[13] Another epic of the Middle Ages, the *Nibelungenlied*, was also read through the lens of nationalism at this time. Bernhard Martin. *Nibelungen- Metamorphosen: Die Geschichte eines Mythos* (München: Iudicium Verlag, 1992) 15f.

[14] J. Knight Bostock, *A Handbook on Old High German Literarure*. 2nd Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1976) 181.

had been exposed to Franconian and Frisian influences, as evident in ms.C. The use of the Old lower Frankish diphthongs: *ei* and *ou* are specifically cited as examples.[15]

Determining the location and date of the composition has proven to be a difficult task. The scholarship is riddled with speculation, conjecture, and contradictions. And in the absence of an original manuscript, scholarship on the origin of the *Heliand* will always remain strictly theoretical. Contemporary scholarship has accepted this and has moved away from that debate, turning towards an examinination of the subject matter. As to the time and place of composition, current scholarship places it around the year 830 at Fulda monastery. A contrary theory places the composition around 850 at Werden. Still other theories offer Corvey, Mainz, and Welnao as possible locations. The latter three have since been eliminated. (Bostock 179)

This discrepancy in the time and place of composition divides *Heliand* scholarship along diverging paths. The year 830 at Fulda would ascribe the poem to the reign of emperor Louis the Pious; the year 850 at Werden, to the reign of Louis the German. Each time and place of composition provides a differing social and historical context in which the poem could have been written. First, I will present the scholarship and context of the year 850 at Werden.

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[15] Walter Mitzka, "Die Sprache des Heliand und die altsächsische Stammesverfassung". In. *Der Heliand,* eds. Jürgen Eichhoff and Irmengard Rauch (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973) 133.

850 AT WERDEN

In 850 Louis the German, son of Louis the Pious, was ruling as king of east Francia. The 843 Treaty of Verdun had divided the Carolingian realm between Louis, Lothar, and Charles (later, the Bald). Louis the German had interacted with the Saxons long before he was crowned their king. By the end of 840, while the Saxon territory was under Lothar's rule, Louis had forged an alliance with Saxon nobles[16] after years of hostility.[17] By 842, select members of the Saxon nobility were working in concert with Louis, protecting and preserving his interests in the Saxon territory. (Tellenbach 418) But not all of the Saxon nobility stood behind Louis. Some families allied themselves with the eldest brother Lothar. (Tellenbach 419) Lothar also had a secondary alliance within the lower ranks of society, known as the Stellinga. In 841 the Stellinga rose up against the nobility, but were ultimately defeated. Little is known about the exact details of the conflict, but the annals indicate that there had been more than one insurrection.[18]

Order was eventually restored in the region and the Saxon nobility resumed its position of influence. By 850 Louis the German's dealings in the region were minimal.

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[16] Gerd Tellenbach, "Stämme und Reichspolitik von Ludwig dem Frommen," *Königswahl und Thronfolge in fränkish-karolingischer Zeit*, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975) (=Wege der Forschung Band 267) 417.

[17] Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians. A Family who Forged Europe*. Trans. Michael Idomir Allen, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 160-161.

[18] April 842: Louis thus feared that Norsemen and Slavs might unite with the Saxons who called themselves Stellinga, because they are neighbours, and that they might invade the kingdom to avenge themselves and root out the Christian religion in that area.
June 842: Louis, however, distinguished himself by putting down, not without rightful bloodshed, the rebels in Saxony who, as I said before, called themselves Stellinga. Nithard, "Histories," *Carolingian Chronicles*, trans. Bernhard Walter Scholz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970) 167, 170.

If the *Heliand* were composed at his behest at Werden around 850, there would have been little, if any, relevant social context in which to compose a poem that is so rich in themes of loyalty and duty. The nobility, for whom the poem was written, had been coexisting with Christianity by this time. The evangelical tone of the poem and its impact on society would likely have been diminished by this time. Also, the nobility had already accepted the virtue of cleaving to a central leader and were reaping its benefits.

Indeed, the heroic elements of the *Heliand* may have resonated with the warrior elite, as did the *Hildebrandslied* of the same century. But the *Heliand*, unlike the *Hildebrandslied*, was the product of a different tradition, that of the monastic scriptorium. It did not derive from generations of storytelling, as did the *Hildebrandslied*. It is unlikely that a composed work such as the *Heliand* would have been performed in the same manner as the *Hildebrandslied* (sung) for a broad or lay audience. I believe that the intended audience of the *Heliand* was more exclusive.

The seminal argument in favour of composition around 850 at Werden is found in Richard Drögereit's monograph, *Werden und der Heliand.*[19] Drögereit's theory is based on paleographical evidence, namely on the use of the fricative consonant [b] in the manuscript. Drögereit relies heavily on orthography to substantiate his argument. There are other clues that indicate the possibility of composition at Werden. Willy Krogmann cites two specific examples: *leia* and *pascha*, stating that use of *leia* is indicative of the region of the Rhenish Slate Mountains, and that pascha was typically

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[19] Richard Drögereit, *Werden und der Heliand. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Abtei Werden und zur Herkunft des Heliand* (Essen: Verlag Fredebeul & Koenen) 1951.

used within the Archdiocese of Cologne. (Krogmann. qtd. in Bostock 180) According to Krogmann, the *Heliand* could only have been written somewhere between the Rhine and Ruhr rivers. Unfortunately, Werden monastery lies just outside this delineated area. Although, a point in favour of Krogmann's theory is that part of Werden's diocese does lie within these linguistic boundaries. Krogmann, like Drögereit, also cites the occurrence of the fricative consonant [b] in the manuscript, as being indicative of and unique to the area around Werden monastery. (Krogmann, qtd. in Bostock 180) However, the persistent fact that these findings are based on a later copy of the original manuscript- not on the original- blemishes Drögereit's and Krogmann's theories.

Wolfgang Haubrichs' 1966 essay, "Die Praefatio des Heliand. Ein Zeugnis der Religions-und Bildungspolitik Ludwigs des Deutschen"[20] also supports 850 as the year of composition. He continues Drögereit's theory and focuses on the *Praefatio*, positing it as proof of the later date of composition. He claims that the imperial title, *Ludouuicus piissimus Augustus* referred to Louis the German, not Louis the Pious, as it was previously believed to be. Haubrichs' essay focuses primarily on the text of the *Praefatio* itself. He discusses it in great detail, analyzing its language, style, and structure. The structure of the *Praefatio* is indeed significant to Haubrichs. Citing Baesecke's 1933 work, *Der Vocabularius St.Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission* (Haubrichs 402.n.9), Haubrichs states that the leonine hexameter of the *Praefatio* was not of the Fulda tradition, but that of Werden. This, however, only proves positively that the *Praefatio* could have been written at Werden, not the *Heliand* itself. Haubrichs

[20] Wolfgang Haubrichs. "Die Praefatio des Heliand. Ein Zeugnis der Religions- und Bildungspolitik Ludwig des Deutschen," *Der Heliand,* eds. Jürgen Eichhoff and Irmengard Rauch (Darmstadt: 1973) 400-435.

also claims that, as king of Bavaria, Louis the German commissioned a translation of the Gospel into Saxon. Curiously, the source he cites[21] does not support this statement at all. On the contrary, the citation supports the theory of an earlier year of composition and places it at Fulda.[22]

THE *PRAEFATIO*

As certain works of scholarship in support of the year 850 rely on the *Praefatio*, it is necessary to introduce and discuss this particular text briefly. The P*raefatio* is an alleged introduction to the poem, composed in two parts: prose and verse. Determining the authorship of the *Praefatio* is problematic. It appears to have been written by more than one hand. This is evident when one compares the content of the two parts. Both render differing versions of the poem's genesis. Written in prose, part A portrays the *Heliand* and its composition of it as the fulfillment of a spiritual obligation: that of emperor Louis the Pious'duty as God's earthly servant to bring the gospel to all in the vernacular, and to stimulate reading of the gospels within the empire:

> Although august Louis the Most Pious with his most elevated and excellent temper of mind wisely strives to arrange and order very many matters advantageous to the common weal, yet he is especially proved to be zealous-devoted, too- in what concerns sacred religion and the eternal salvation of souls, making it his daily preoccupation, by wisely instructing the people made his subjects by God, always to fire them to better and nobler ways and to check and suppress all harmful and superstitious practices....

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[21] William Foerste, "Otfrids literarisches Verhältnis zum *Heliand*,"131. In Eichhoff, ed, 432.

[22] "Die Entstehung des *Heliand* fällt nun in die Zeit von 822 bis 840.", Foerste, 131.

> For he enjoined a certain man of the tribe of the Saxons, who among his own people was regarded as no mean poet, to attempt to translate in verse into the German language the Old and New Testament....[23]

> Cum plurimas Reipublicæ utilitates Ludouuicus piisimus Augustus summo atque præclaro ingenio prudenter statuere atque ordinare contendat, maxime tamen quod ad sacrosanctam religionem æternamque animarum salubritatem attinet, studiosus ac devotus esse comprobatur hoc quotidie solicite tractans, ut populum sibi a Deo subiectum sapienter instruendo ad potiora atque excellentiora semper accendat, et nociva quæque atque superstitiosa comprimendo compescat....Præcipit namque cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret,... *(Praefatio* A)

Part B, the so-called *Versus* gives the poem's origin the glossy veneer of a legend, purporting that the poem came to the author in a dream. This account reads much like a re-telling of Bede's *Caedmon.* Caedmon had been an illiterate shepherd until a vision in the night blessed him with the ability to compose poetry. Caedmon then entered a monastery, where he displayed an uncanny skill for memorizing Scripture and interpreting it into the vernacular. For his ability to disseminate the great works of Scripture to the public, Caedmon was an invaluable liaison between the Christian establishment and the laiety.[24] The parallel between the *Caedmon* story and the *Versus* is obvious, if not plagiaristic.

> ...he surrendered his weary limbs to quiet sleep, suddenly a Divine voice comes resounding down from the high heavens: "O! What art thou doing, O poet? Why dost thou waste the opportunity to compose a poem? Begin to recite in order the Divine Laws, to translate the most illustrious decrees into thy own tongue!" (Magoun 126)

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[23] F.P Magoun, "The Praefatio and Versus Associated with some Old- Saxon Biblical Poems," *Medieval Studies in Honour of Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford.* ed. Urban Holmes (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1948) 123f.

[24] Peter Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1970) 149.

> convictus in somno tradidesset membra quieto, mox divina polo resonans vox labitur alto, "o quid agis Vates, cur cantus tempora perdis: incipe recitare ex ordine leges, transferre in propriam clarissima dogmata linguam." (*Versus* 23-26)

> Bede's account:
> he there composed himself to rest at the proper time; a person appeared to him in his sleep, and saluting him by his name said, "Caedmon, sing some song to me."..."Sing the beginning of created beings," said the other...[25]

> Bede's Latin Account, lines 8-22:
> ibique hora competenti membra dedisset sopori, adstitit ei quidam per somnium eumque salutans, ac suo appellans nomine: 'Cedmon,' inquit, 'canta mihi aliquid'....At ille, 'Canta', inquit, 'principium creaturarum'. (Colgrave 416)

Such a direct reference to the source is inconsistent with the careful and subtle writing style of the *Heliand* poet. While it is self evident that the *Heliand* is derived from the four gospels of the New Testament, the *Heliand* poet exercises more discretion in the selection of his material, and its interpretation is done with greater consideration of his audience. Further analysis of the poem will prove this to be so.

The authors of the *Praefatio*, whatever their identities may be, must have been versed in Anglo-Saxon literature. Not only because of their reference to Bede, but also from their use of the term, *vittea*:

> In accordance with the manner of that poetry he divided the whole work into "fitts," which we may call "[reading] units" or "sections" (Magoun 125)

> *Iuxta morem vero illius poëmatis omne opus per vitteas distinxit, quas nos lectiones vel sententias possumus appellare.* (*Praefatio A*)

Vittea is a latinized form of the Anglo Saxon *fittia*: a section of a poem, or metrical foot. Despite their use of this term, the authors could not have been contemporaries of

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[25] Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969) 417.

the *Heliand* poet. The style of Latin used in the *Praefatio* is more consistent with that in use around the turn of the tenth century. (Magoun 113)

The *Praefatio* alone is an unreliable source of dating the *Heliand*'s composition. The validity of it and its relevance to the *Heliand* text was called into question as early as 1851[26]. The actual text of the *Praefatio* is disjointed and unbalanced, as it is divided awkwardly into prose and verse sections. In contrast to the symmetrical order of the *Heliand*,[27] it is highly unlikely, if not impossible, that the *Praefatio* and the *Heliand* were written by the same hand. Also, the *Praefatio* does not appear attached to any extant manuscript. Rather, it appears in a catalogue compiled by the Protestant reformer and humanist, Flacius Illyricus, in 1552 titled *Catalogus testium veritatis.* (Bostock 183) The connection between Illyricus and the *Praefatio* is strictly that of one between a text and its editor. It has been determined that Flacius Illyricus was not the author of the *Praefatio.* (Bostock 183)

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[26] "In Wahrheit hat sich mehr und mehr gezeigt, wie schlecht Vorrede und Versus wenigstens zum *Heliand* passen,..." Püning, Qtd in. Willy Krogmann, "Die Praefatio in Librum Antiquum Lingua Saxonica Conscriptum," Eichhoff, 21.

[27] For a complete synopsis of the Heliand's structure, see: G Ronald Murphy: "Symmetrical Structure in the Heliand," *Heliand* Appendix 4. 221-230. See also Johannes Rathofer: *Der Heliand. Theologischer Sinn als tektonische Form*, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1962).

830 AT FULDA

Another theory of place and time of composition supports Fulda in the year 830. Founded by Boniface in 744, Fulda monastery was one of the largest and richest monasteries in Francia. Its property and external sources of income included the northern and southern regions of East Francia, as well as endowments from the families of its bretheren[28]. Its school was one of the largest in the empire. It attracted bretheren from all over Frankish kingdom: from Bavaria to Saxony. Among its illustrious alumni was Otfrid von Weissenburg, composer of the *Evangelienbuch*[29].

A key point in favour of Fulda and the approximate year 830 is the connection to Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda monastery, and supporter of Louis the Pious during the times of conflict with his sons. Hrabanus Maurus' association with the Carolingians traces back to Charlemagne- he was a student of Alcuin. As abbot of the monastery, Hrabanus Maurus generated a rich canon of exegetical and didactic writing; among which, the *Matthew Commentary,* a source of the *Heliand.* Maurus' writing reflects a thorough research of all relevant treatises- both pre-Christian and Christian- while adhering closely to the original Scripture. While he accepted classical Greek and

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[28] Raymond Kottje, "Schriftlichkeit im Dienst der Klosterverwaltung und des klösterlichen Lebens unter Hrabanus Maurus." In. *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen.* Ed. Gangolf Schrimpf. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1996) (=Fuldaer Studien 7) 179.

[29] It has been suggested by William Foerste that the Heliand was actually a source of the Evangelienbuch. William Foerste, "Otfrids literarisches Verhältis zum Heliand," In. Eichoff, 131.

Latin works. Hrabanus Maurus eschewed trivial court poetry, dismissing it as frivolous.[30]

For Hrabanus Maurus, writing was first and foremost a spiritual endeavor. Writing required study, research, and introspection. Through this, one gained a more complete understanding of Scripture, which in turn, brought one closer to God.[31] As Hrabanus Maurus wrote in an epistle in 835: "[W]riting is worth more than the vain shape of an image and gives the soul more beauty than the false painting...Writing reveals the truth by its countenance, its words and meaning."[32] As a writer, Hrabanus sought to enrich and elevate the impact of Scripture by incorporating a didactic message into the work.

I believe that Hrabanus Maurus' influence is clear and present throughout the *Heliand*. The poet had chosen themes of loyalty and leadership to complement the portrayal of the life and deeds of Christ, as prescribed in Scripture. The poet's exploration of these themes is thorough, as he portrays both their good and bad aspects. In addition to showing the rewards of loyalty and the nobility of leadership, he also shows the consequences of loyalty gone astray, as well as the abuse of leadership. The poet is persistent in his incorporation of these themes into the poem without oversaturating the text. If the *Heliand* were indeed composed at Fulda, the poet was

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[30] Johannes Fried, "Fulda in der Bildungs- und Geistesgeschichte des frühen Mittelalters," In. *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. Gangolf Schrimpf (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1996) 29.

[31] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751-987* (New York: Longman, 1983) 202.

[32] Qtd. in. Rosamund McKitterick, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995) 297f.

most likely to have been a student of Maurus. One sees in the *Heliand* the combination of Scripture: Tatian's *Diatessaron*, Hrabanus' own *Matthew Commentary*, and Bede's *Lucas Commentary* and vernacular epic motifs. The poet could have had access to the aforementioned sources, as texts were frequently lent between monasteries. Whether the poet's sources were acquired or borrowed from nearby Mainz or Lorsch, all these texts are certain to have passed through Fulda monastery.

As to determining the time of the *Heliand*'s composition, Hrabanus Maurus's *Matthew Commentary* provides the earliest possible date. The *Commentary* was completed in 821. The *Heliand*, therefore, could not have been written prior to that year. If, in fact the *Heliand* were composed in response to the troubled reign of Louis the Pious, 840 is the latest year in which it could have been written, as Louis the Pious died in 840. Prevailing scholarship places the time of composition within this 21 year time frame.

While it may not contribute to answering the question of the date, one of the extant manuscripts, the Vatican manuscript (*Vat. pal. lat. 1447*) seems to support the location of Fulda. Manuscript V, a fragment, whose provenance, as stated earlier, is unique from C and M, may well be the closest to the original text. This manuscript also contains the Old Saxon *Genesis*. These manuscripts, found in Mainz, date from the eighth and ninth centuries. The defining aspect of Ms.V is the unique handwriting. Unlike mss.C and M, the Mainz fragment (V) contains both the insular and Caroline miniscule, thus connecting the Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian styles to one another.[33]

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[33] McKitterick. *Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians.* 751-987. 202.

Events and people contemporary to this period of history also provide a richer and more complete social context. For instance, the unknown author refers indirectly to the work of the Irish geographer Dicuil, a contemporary of Louis the Pious. His geographies depicted the Nile as flowing northward, as it likewise does the *Heliand*: "where a river flows, the fairest of streams, northward to the sea- the mighty Nile."[34] *...thar ên aha fliutid, Nîlstrôm mikil norð te sêeua, flôdo fagorosta.* (l.758-760) Dicuil was not simply a contemporary of Louis the Pious. Like Hrabanus Maurus, Dicuil, too was connected to the emperor. He had once worked in service to him. (Bostock 155)

Another telling event of the period was the precarious state of the empire and the turbulent relationship between Louis the Pious and his sons, Lothar, Pepin, and Louis. In 830 the empire was in turmoil. The ruling class was fractious and the emperor, Louis the Pious, was embroiled in a fierce power struggle with his sons. One may trace the origin of this calamitous state of affairs back to Louis' ascent to the throne in 814. Having been raised in Acquitaine, Louis entered Francia as an outsider. Athough he was bestowed the honour befitting a king and emperor; he must also have been viewed with certain scepticism by the nobility. The arrival of officials from Acquitaine and Septimania, as well as the exile of Louis' half-siblings to various convents and monasteries must also have widened the chasm between Louis and the nobility.

The turning point in Louis the Pious' relationship with his sons was his second marriage and the subsequent birth of a rival heir. Upon the death of his first wife,

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[34] G Ronald Murphy, SJ, trans. *The Heliand.The Saxon Gospel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 28.

Irmengard. Louis remarried. His second wife. Judith of Bavaria, bore him two children. Charles and Gisela. The 823 birth of Charles had forced Louis to divide the empire along new lines at the cost of the elder siblings' inheritances. In 829 Lothar, the eldest son, had been stripped of his title as co-emperor and was compelled to remain in Italy. The following year the three elder siblings, Lothar, Louis, and Pepin, forced Louis to abdicate and confined their stepmother Judith to a convent on charges of intrigue. Pepin and Louis arranged for Lothar to be reinstated as co-emperor. Louis the Pious eventually regained his authority and struck Lothar from his will. In his stead Louis the Pious named Charles as his successor. In an act of retaliation, both Pepin and Louis had undertaken revolts of their own against their father. Pepin was subsequently deposed. In 833 the three elder brothers in concert with Pope Gregory IV attempted to depose Louis the Pious once again. Louis the Pious and Charles were imprisoned. Judith was exiled to Italy. In a turn of events, Pepin and Louis secured the release of their father and their stepmother the following year. In return for their deeds, Louis and Pepin regained their lands. Louis the Pious was re-crowned emperor and reigned until his death in 840.

This albeit condensed synopsis of events clearly reveals a period of unrest. These were times riddled with intrigue, imprisonment, and forced abdications. A poem conveying themes of unity among warriors and loyalty to a single leader simply seems more appropriate and necessary at this time. This is not to suggest an oversimplified cause-and-effect relationship between the historical evidence and the text. It does, however, offer a more logical social and historical context than the events of 850. Yet, in light of these events, it is indeed possible that the *Heliand* may not have been composed in 830. Rather, it could have been composed closer to 835. To underscore a

previous statement, the absence of an original manuscript can neither confirm nor refute any proposed date of composition. As questionable as circumstantial evidence is, it is nonetheless the only evidence available to us.

While the scholarship in favour of the year 850 as the approximate date of composition, and Werden monastery as the site offers compelling paleographical evidence, I find the events which took place on and around the year 830, and Fulda monastery's connection to the Carolingians more convincing. Therefore, I believe that the *Heliand* was composed around the year 830 at Fulda monastery.

REACHING THE SAXON NOBILITY AS AN AUDIENCE

In order to understand the significance of the *Heliand* and its intended social impact, we must also consider the audience for whom it was intended. As stated previously, the *Heliand* is a written work, composed and produced in a monastic scriptorium. Though it does indeed bear the characteristics of oral epic poetry, it is not a product of the oral tradition. That the *Heliand* is a composed work immediately presupposes a literate class as its intended initial audience.[35] It also suggests that it was intended for a clerical or wealthier class, as book production in the Middle Ages was a costly undertaking. The materials necessary for their composition and binding were

[35] The broader audience of the *Heliand* may have been illiterate. "Die innerklösterliche Situation Corveys in den Jahrzenten nach 822 war damit geprägt von der Anwesenheit literater, theologisch umfassend gebildeter Mönche und dem ungebrochenen Zustrom illiterater sächsischer Adliger, deren faktische Christianisierung aufgrund ihrer Verwurzelung in den Vorstellungswelten der heimischen Kultur erst noch stattzufinden hatte" Gantert, 281.

dear, and the actual task of writing was labour intensive. At this time, books were produced for specific purposes. They were not the recreational time-fillers that they are today. The mediaeval book served a didactic purpose, namely the propagation of the faith and the spread of knowledge. Monasteries, naturally, were great repositories of all books. In the monastery it was not only a monk's task to copy and preserve Scripture for posterity, it was also his obligation to devote himself to reading every lent.[36] Fulda monastery had perhaps one of the largest libraries north of the Alps. It was able to provide a lenten book for each of its more than 600 monks. (Kottje 178) Of its vast collection, the *Heliand* is likely to have been a part.

Typically, it was the nobility which sent its sons to the monastery. The newly incorporated Saxons also adopted this practice and sent their children to Frankish monasteries to be educated. This began as early as the late 8th century. Noble Saxon families sent their children as hostages to Frankish monasteries in exchange for clemency and favours.[37] By the end of the Frankish-Saxon wars, much of the Saxon nobility were eager and active benefactors of the church. Their donations supported the founding of monasteries in Saxon lands, which, in turn, received the children of the nobility into their fold.

In light of the exclusively noble origin of the Saxon population of the monasteries, it is logical that the text and tone of the *Heliand* should appeal to a nobleman's values and world view. This is evident in the numerous references to

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[36] Jean Leclerq, OSB. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture.* Trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961) 22.

[37] Walter Mitzka, "Die Sprache des Heliand und die altsächsiche Stammesverfassung," In. Eichhoff, 140.

nobility and to the warrior society in the poem. Most notably, the chief characters are ennobled. To a reader raised in the rigid Saxon caste system, this is a significant detail. The first of such characters to whom the reader is introduced is Zachary. Although he is a quiet and mild figure in Scripture, Zachary is portrayed in the *Heliand* as a man of great dignity from an illustrious clan:

> At that time there was in that place an old man, a man of experience and wisdom. He was from the people, from Levi's clan, Jacob's son, of good family. (Murphy *Heliand* 6)

> Than uuas thar ên gigamalod mann,
> that uuas fruod gomo, habda ferehtan hugi,
> uuas fan them liudeon Levias cunnes,
> Iacobas suneas, guodero thiedo:
> (l.72-75)

As Zachary is visited in the temple by the archangel Gabriel, he is informed that he will be granted a child who is to become a warrior companion of the Saviour. The child will be named John; and to remain pure in body, mind, and soul, he must abstain from wine and hard cider all his life. Zachary is then specifically instructed to raise his child with loyalty, *thurh treuua*. (l.131) This is a detail not found in Scripture. As early as fitt 2 the reader is introduced to the themes of loyalty, obedience, and their rewards.

Different castes in Saxon society interacted with one another, but by law intermarriage was prohibited. To this effect, Joseph and Mary both come from noble families: "Joseph, a nobleman, was engaged to her..." (Murphy *Heliand*12) *Sea ên thegan habda, Ioseph gimahlit, gôdes cunnies man*. (l.254-255); "this virtuous woman, this lady of the nobility-" (Murphy *Heliand*13) *thea idis anthêttea, aðalcnosles uuîf*. (l.297)

As the progeny of nobles, Jesus Christ is Himself a nobleman. More than a nobleman. Christ is a king : "Then he said that a wise king, great and mighty, was to come here to the middle world; he would be of the best lineage." (Murphy *Heliand* 23) *thô sagda he that hêr scoldi cuman ên uuîscuning mâri endi mahtig an thesan middilgard thes bezton giburdies*;... (l.582-584) Once again, the poet is appealing to the Saxon's sense of status. Christ, as a nobleman, is also the chieftain of a retinue:

> He chose for Himself twelve good, loyal men to be the followers of whom He, the Chieftain, wanted to have around Him every day from this day forward in His personal warrior company. (Murphy *Heliand* 43)

endi im selbo gecôs
tuuelibi getalda, treuuafta man,
gôdoro gumono, thea he im te iungoron forð
allaro dago gehuuilikes, drohtin uuelda
an is gesîðskepea simblon hebbean.
(l.1250-1254)

As to the social origins of Christ's retinue, the apostles, the *Heliand* and Scripture only reveal those of Andrew, Peter, James, John and Matthew respectively as fishermen and a tax collector. The social rank of Thomas, the two Judases, James, Simon, Bartholemew, and Philip is unknown at first. It is not until fitt 17, during the Instructions on the Mount, when the poet ennobles them all[38]: "They listened to the Chieftain of the People giving law to the nobly-born." (Murphy *Heliand* 49) *gihôrdun thesoro thiodo drohtin seggean êu godes eldibarnun*; (l.1386-1387) This is yet another detail not found in Scripture.

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[38] Or does he? The term *eldibarnum* actually glosses as "the sons of men." The more technically appropriate term would have been *eðilifolk*, which glosses as "people of noble origin." By inserting "nobly" into his translation, Murphy may have been exercizing some creative license in this passage After all, in order to join a retinue, one had to be of the noble class. Perhaps *eldibarnum*, or "sons of men"is already understood as the sons of noblemen.

While the apostles' social rank is given an indirect reference in the poem, their character is the primary focus of the poet's attention. Whenever mentioning the apostles, the poet uses descriptors such as "loyal" and "brave" as modifiers and epithets, constantly reinforcing the significance of these virtues. For example, in fitt 35, as the apostles are about to set sail on the Sea of Galilee, the poet inserts a deviation from Scripture, which originally read:

> Vespere autem facto solus erat ibi.
> Abandè giuuortanemo eino uuas her thâr. (Tatian.81:1)
>
> Mt.14:22: Immediately Jesus made His disciples get into the boat and go before Him to the other side, while He sent the multitudes away.

In the *Heliand* the passage is rendered as:

> There on the shore by the water Christ's warrior- companions, the twelve men whom He Himself had chosen, assembled out of their good loyalty. Nor did they have any doubt- they would gladly sail over the sea in God's service. (Murphy *Heliand* 94f. emphasis mine)
>
> Thô te thes uuatares staðe
> samnodon thea gesîðos Cristes, the he imu habde selbo gicorane,
> sie tuelibi thurh iro treuua gôda: ni uuas im tueho nigiên,
> nebu si an that godes thionost gerno ueldin
> obar thene sêo sîðon.
> (l.2902-2906)

Also noteworthy is the element of selection. The apostles are the chosen ones selected by Christ Himself. By this virtue, they stand out from all other men. They are an elite unit. As warrior companions of Christ, the apostles are loyal, brave and dutiful. Most importantly, they do not doubt their leader, no matter how precarious the situation in which they find themselves. They are also ready to learn Christ's words and to serve His will:

> Heroes were very eager and willing to stand around God's son, intent on His words. (Murphy *Heliand* 49)

Heliôos stôdun.
gumon umbi thana godes sunu gerno suîôo,
uueros an uuilleon:...
(l.1383-1385)

Although the apostles are regularly referred to as warrior-companions- *gesiô*- their service to their chieftain is not exclusively military in nature. During the Instructions on the Mountain, Christ orders the apostles to spread His teaching:

> He gave them two orders there. They were always to say His words on how one should get to the kingdom of heaven, the most extensive and good, and also gave them power so that they could heal the crippled and blind-human weaknesses. (Murphy *Heliand* 63)

He im thô bêôiu befal
ge te seggennea sînom uuordun,
huuô man himilrîki gehalon scoldi,
uuîdbrêdan uuelan, gia he im geuuald fargaf,
that sie môstin hêlean halte endi blindi,
liudeo lêfhêdi,
(l.1838-1842)

Now as missionaries, the apostles'obligations have been expanded to include intellectual duties. In this context their situation is not unlike that of the Saxon audience and their peers. One must bear in mind that Charlemagne had brokered treaties with the Saxon nobles throughout the wars of conquest. On the conditions of submission to Frankish authority and acceptance of Christianity (read: baptism), Saxon nobles were permitted to participate in Frankish society as members of the noble, ruling class. They reserved their right to bear arms and to hold sway over their lands. The codification of Saxon law in 797 solidified their position in society and their superiority over the lower castes.

As former warriors themselves, nobles participated in Frankish military campaigns. As early as 778 Saxons were dispatched to Spain to aid the Franks in battle.

In the summer of 782 Saxon troops under Frankish command undertook a campaign against the Sorbs.[39] Others entered into service to the Frankish court as clerics or administrators. While hostages were sent to the Frankish court for instruction in the monasteries as early as 772, the first administrators, *Grafen*, were named at the annual assembly at Lippspringe in 782.[40] By this time, much of the Saxon lands had been annexed by the Franks. The officials, although Saxons by birth, had essentially become Frankish officials in service to Charlemagne.

Christianity notwithstanding, the apostles are portrayed as characters with whom the noble-born Saxon reader can relate. The apostles and the retinue in which they serve are a viable and valuable point of contact between the Saxon and Frankish cultures. The portrayal of the characters and their leader resonates with the reader yet more profoundly, as I will outline in chapter 5.

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[39] Martin Lintzel, "Die Unterwerfung Sachsens durch Karl den Grossen und der sächsische Adel," In. *Ausgewählte Schriften* Band I. *Zur altsächsischen Stammesgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961) 103.

[40] Lintzel. *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 105.

CHAPTER 2

THE CAROLINGIANS AND THE WRITTEN WORD

By the ninth Century, the Frankish Empire had fully incorporated the written word as an official means of communication. The court employed a staff of scribes and ministers (*missi dominici*) to commit the acts of the emperor and of the church to a written form, and to relay them throughout the empire. The empire had become, to use a modern term, a bureaucracy. The rise of the written medium and the expanding boundaries of the empire increased the demand for literacy on society. In Merovingian Gaul, education was available to the nobility and the free-born; the former receiving instruction by private tutors or at the royal court, the latter in boys' schools.[41] Hagiographical sources indicate that monasteries also became centres of education for the laiety as well as its own bretheren. (McKitterick 1989, 216) Under the Carolingians, education rose greatly in significance. The *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 required the establishment of schools for all levels of education. (McKitterick 1989, 220) Educating a child was advantageous to a family, as literacy had now emerged as a means of mobility. Educated boys earned positions in the court or clergy.

The written word was not only a means of legal communication, but also a medium for artistic and spiritual expression. Monastic scriptoria began to produce books of poetry and Holy Scripture in great numbers, further attesting to the heightened significance of the written word in Carolingian culture. (McKitterick 1989, 166)

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[41] Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989) 214.

This period of production and reproduction is commonly known as the "Carolingian Renaissance". As the reproduction of works far outweighed the production of original material, some historians question if this was a true renaissance. "Reform" is perhaps a more appropriate and accurate term. Reform was also a necessity, as Charlemagne had inherited a kingdom in literary and linguistic ruins.

Although schools had been established, and though there was a steadily increasing use of the written word as an official means of communication in Merovingian Gaul, proper Latin had nonetheless fallen into misuse. Clergymen, despite their training, were poorly educated.[42] Respectively, biblical and scriptural texts were filled with errors. To stem the tide of misuse and deterioration of the Latin language, Charlemagne commissioned scholars from Italy: Peter of Pisa, Paulinus of Aquilea, and Paul the Deacon to conduct the necessary reforms. Also, Charlemagne had commissioned Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon, who had been residing in Parma, to oversee the reform of education in the empire. In addition to his educational reforms, Alcuin also reformed calligraphy, establishing the Carolingian Miniscule as the norm[43]. The reforms of language and writing led to a period of production unlike any before in Francia. The scriptoria were preserving the classics while contributing new works of literature to the canon. Although they were indeed new works, they were not original compositions.

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[42] The clergy's disconnection from the language of the Church is best illlustrated by a Bavarian priest who had been prounouncing baptisms: "in the name of the fatherland and the daughter:" *in nomine patria et filia, Riché*, 54.

[43] Ernst Robert Curtius,. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. Willard R. Trask. (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1973. 48.

In respect to mediaeval book production, "original" is a contentious term. In the scriptoria, absolute originality was tantamount to blasphemy and was eschewed. To compose a new work during this era, both sacred and secular texts were collected, interwoven, and reinterpreted. The finished text, although not an original work, was nonetheless unique from the original text.

In the monastery, pre-Christian texts were not patently forbidden. Many libraries contained works of antiquity in their collections. The reading of secular texts was considered an enriching and challenging undertaking in a monk's education. In reading these texts, a monk was to disregard the non- or pre-Christian elements and seek the universal truths within: truths which concurred with Christian doctrine. As Hrabanus Maurus wrote in *De Institutione Clericorum*: "That is what we customarily do, and what we ought to do when we read pagan poets ...If we meet with something useful, we convert it to our own dogma: *ad nostrum dogma convertimus."* (Leclercq 55f) This, in turn, fostered one's own spiritual growth, thus ultimately bringing him closer to God's word. It may seem paradoxical to gain spiritual insight through secular literature. Yet this was an effective exercise and a common practice among monastic scribes as well as the fathers of the Church. For example, both St. Benedict and St. Augustine had received a secular education prior to entering the monastic life. Both abandoned their studies, but neither renounced his education outright. Rather, they rejected its wayward tendencies while retaining the wisdom it imparted. (Leclercq 21)

Within the monastery walls, Benedict's life experience was transformed into the *Rule.* The quest for knowledge became equal to the search for God. (Leclercq 22) For the monk, this was achieved through reading and study: *lectio divina.* (Leclercq 22) It

was a monk's fundamental duty to read daily and concentrate his thoughts on what he had learned: *meditari aut legere*. (Leclercq 22) By reading, it is understood that it was not the silent, passive act that it is today. Reading was done aloud. This monastic style of reading was as much an aural experience as it was a visual one. The monk spoke the words he read as he read them. This process engaged more of the senses, involving not only the eyes, ears, and mind, but also one's musculature, in the experience of receiving the written word. To read the word was to hear and literally feel the word. One then reflected upon it: *meditari*. Benedict chose this term intentionally. *Meditari* was indeed synonymous with the simpler *cogitare* and *considerare. Meditari,* however, went beyond this basic meaning. It presupposed a more intense and heightened engagement of the mind. When applied to reading, *meditari* implanted the word and the concept it signified in one's mind, committing it to memory. It was the third and final element of the learning process: speaking, thinking, and remembering. (Leclercq 25)

The Carolingian monastery was a centre of learning as well as a spiritual community. These monasteries taught a "mixed curriculum." As scriptural texts written in proper Latin were scarce, Roman literature was the only source of correct grammar and style. It is from these origins, as well as the introduction of properly trained monks from abroad, namely Alcuin of York, to Charlemagne's court, that liturgical texts could once again be restored to their original and proper linguistic state, and assume their rightful place in the curriculum. Scripture may have superseded epic poetry as educational material, but it never fully proscribed it. The pronounced epic texture of the overtly Christian-themed *Heliand* bears strong witness to this. The poet seems to have been as well versed in secular literature and heroic poetry as he was in Holy Scripture.

This is evident in the text itself. The epic style of composition and the elevated rendering of the figures stand as a testament to the poet's mastery of epic motifs and structure. This use of a more accommodating writing style marks a sharp departure from the aggressive tactics used by Boniface to a more sensible and less hostile strategy for evangelization. This change in philosophy is best summarized by Pope Gregory in a letter to Abbot Mellitus of Canterbury:

> ...the idol temples of that race should by no means be destroyed, but only the idols in them....For if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. When these people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with, but now recognizing and worshipping the true God.[44]

The former policy of destruction and building anew has now been replaced by one of deconstruction and reconstruction. The vessel remains, only its contents are changed. Converts, or those to be converted, enter a familiar domain, but engage in different rituals. Through this new policy in evangelization the symbols of the old sacred language are redefined in terms of a new spiritual vocabulary. It is a notion that has persisted through the centuries, for this same concept is echoed some 1200 years later in Gramsci's writings, as mentioned in the introduction. The poet uses this method not only to introduce his readership to the Frankish written culture, but at an intuitive level, he also uses it to incorporate them into the Frankish social order. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

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[44] Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1969) 107.

It is from this tradition that the *Heliand* originates. Its Scriptural sources- the four gospels of the New Testament, Hrabanus Maurus' *Commentary of Matthew*, and Bede's *Commentary of Luke*- are carefully and cleverly condensed and distilled into a poetic vessel. As a poem recounting the life of Christ, the religious significance of the *Heliand* is self evident. Yet, the complete message of the *Heliand* is not exclusively religious. There is another dimension to the poem, one that is reflective of the socio-political environment in which the poem was written. In its most subtle form, it is manifest in its numerous references to the act of writing. As discussed earlier, the written medium presupposes a literate or noble class as an intended audience. This is immediately introduced at the beginning in fitt 1:

> There were many of the wise who wanted to praise the teachings of Christ, the holy word of God, and wanted to write a bright-shining book with their own hands, telling how the sons of men should carry out His commands. (Murphy *Heliand* 3)

> That uuolda thô uuîsara filo
> liudo barno lobon, lêra Cristes,
> hêlag uuord godas, endi mid iro handon scrîban
> berehtlîco an buok, huô sia is gibodscip scoldin
> frummian, firiho barn.
> (l.5-9)

While references to an oral tradition and the act of speaking remain in the text, they are equally matched in number to references of writing. In this subtle manner, the poet sets in motion the proscription the old oral Germanic tradition by the new written culture of the Carolingian Franks. The equal balance of the two traditions indicates that the poet was mindful of and respectful towards his readers' history and culture while remaining contemporary and current.

REDEFINING TERMS: CHRIST AND OÐIN

The task before the *Heliand* poet was to create a text that was true to Scripture, yet accessible to the newly converted Saxons. To the Saxons, Christianity was an utterly foreign concept. The Saxons had only nominally accepted Christianity, and recently so. Mass baptisms of the people had taken place, but at the point of a sword. Capitularies had been issued, outlawing the old ways and enforcing the new under penalty of death. Despite these drastic measures, the conversion of Saxons was not complete. The Frankish Church had merely won bodies over. The hearts and minds of the Saxons still remained loyal to the old beliefs. The formidable task of completing the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity would prove to be a slow, gradual process. The old beliefs persisted at least one generation beyond their mass conversion. The dates of composition of the *Heliand* attest to this. Whether it was composed in 830 or 850, approximately 30-50 years after the conclusion of the Saxon-Frank wars, allusions to Oðin, the chief deity of the Saxons, appear at pivotal moments in the text. For example: Christ's baptism, although true to Scripture, is coloured with Norse-pagan motifs.

> Christ came up radiant out of the water, the Peace-Child of God, the beloved Protector of people. As He stepped out onto the land, the doors of heaven opened up and the Holy Spirit came down from the All-Ruler above to Christ- It was like a powerful bird, a magnificent dove- and It sat upon our Chieftain's shoulder, remaining over the Ruler's Child. (Murphy *Heliand* 35)

Krist up giuuêt
fagar fon them flôde, friðubarn godes,
liof liudo uuard. Sô he thô that land ofstôp,
sô anthildun thô himiles doru, endi quam the hêlagno gêst ahslu,
fon them alouualdon obane te Kriste:
--uuas im an gilîcnissie lungres fugles.

> diurlicara dûbun - endi sat im uppan ûses drohtines ahslu
> uuonoda im obar them uualdandes barne.
> (l.982-989)

Compared to:

> Ecce aperti sunt in caeli, et vidit spiritum die descendentem corporali specie ut columbam, venientem super se.
>
> Senu thô aroffonota uuarun imo himila, inti gisah gotes geist nidarstigantan lichamlichero gisiuni samaso tubun, quementan ubar sih. (Tatian 14:4)
>
> Mt.3:16 and the heavens opened and he saw the Spirit of God come (Lk.3:22) down upon him in the material shape of a dove,...

Consistent with Scripture, the bird which descends from heaven is a dove. The place it assumes has been changed. It does not rest above Christ's head. It rests upon His shoulder. It is a subtle variation, but it directly refers to depiction of Oðin. Of the many forms Oðin assumes, one is of a regal figure watching over the nine worlds with the ravens Huginn (thought) and Munınn (memory) perched upon his shoulders[45]. As do the ravens with Oðin, the dove makes physical contact with Christ's body. Its shifted position upon the shoulder portrays Christ as a figure equal in appearance- and ostensibly- significance to Oðin. (Murphy 1989, 79f)

In fitt 19, Christ is once again portrayed in parallel terms to Oðin. Just as Oðin's throne in Gladsheim is surrounded by twelve seats for the gods, Christ is surrounded by His twelve apostles[46].

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[45] Brian Branston. *Gods of the North* (London: Thames and Hudson. 1980) 117.

[46] H.A. Guerber. *Myths of the Norsemen* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. 1925) 18.

Seated at the top of a mountain. Christ delivers the Instructions on the Mount. He is petitioned by the apostles to reveal His mastery of runes. which he does. in the form of the Lord's Prayer:[47]

In this passage, Oðin and Christ are once again portrayed in parallel terms. In Norse mythology, Oðin is known as a master of runes. He acquired his knowledge of them after having been hanged from the World Tree for nine days while fasting and enduring piercings from a spear. *Hávamál* recounts Oðin's ordeal. One will see that it is in essence, a stylized sacrifice. Yet, Oðin emerges alive and imparts his wisdom onto Man:

138 I wot that I hung on the wind-tossed tree
all of days nine.
wounded by spear, bespoken myself to Oðin,
bespoken myself to myself
upon that tree of which none telleth
from what roots it doth rise;

139 Neither horn they upheld nor handed me bread;
I looked below me-
aloud I cried-
caught up the runes, caught them up wailing,
thence to the ground fell again...

142 Runes wilt thou find, and rightly read,
of wondrous weight,
of mighty magic,
which that dyed the dread god,
which that made the holy hosts,
and were etched by Oðin,

---

[47] Do this for Your own followers- teach us the secret runes. (Murphy *Heliand* 54).
Dô thîna iungourn sô self: gerihti ûs that gerûni. (l.1594-1595) A more thorough discussion of runes is found in chapter 6.

144 Know'st how to write. know'st how to read.
know'st how to stain know how to understand.
know'st how to ask. know'st how to offer.
know'st how to supplicate. know'st how to sacrifice?[48]

While the verses above depict a sacrifice, they ultimately reveal that Oðin's ordeal was actually a test of strength. The true sacrifice Oðin makes for mankind occurs at Ragnarök, when he is devoured by the Fenriswolf. After Oðin's demise, the world may begin anew.

In the *Heliand*, the portrayal of Christ as analog to Oðin ends at the crucifixion. References to Oðin cease at this point in the poem. After the crucifixion, Christ has surpassed Oðin in strength and power. Whereas Oðin perishes in Ragnarök, Christ rises from the dead.

> Brilliantly radiating, God's Peace-Child rose up! He went about, wherever He pleased, in such a way that the guards, tough soldiers, were not at all aware of when He got up from death and arose from His rest. (Murphy *Heliand* 191)

Lioht uuas thuo giopanod
firio barnon te frumu: uuas fercal manag
antheftid fan hellodoron endi te himile uueg
giuuaraht fan thesaro uueroldi. Uuânom upp astuod
friðubarn godes, fuor im thar hie uuelda
sô thia uuardos thes uuiht ni afsuobun,
derbia liudi, huan hie fan them dôðe astuod,
arês fan thero rastun.
(l 5772-5779)

A second sorrow comes to Odin's wife:
Odin goes forth to fight the wolf;
Frey, who killed Beli, battles with Surt.
Lifeless has fallen Frigg's beloved.[49]

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[48] "Hávamál," *The Poetic Edda,* trans. Lee M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969) 36f.

[49] "Voluspá" *Poems of the Elder Edda,* trans. Patricia Terry (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,1990) 6.

The *Heliand* poet masterfully employs the figure of Christ to appeal to the Saxon's apparent continued worship of Oðin. By portraying Him initially as Oðin's equal, he clearly and effectively defines Christ in terms that are understandable to new Christian. From this point onward the portrayal of Christ shifts, gradually distinguishing Him as Oðin's successor. In this way the *Heliand* poet delicately dismantles Oðin worship without denigrating the Norse god.

CHAPTER 3

EPIC POETRY AND MEDIAEVAL POETICS

The *Heliand* has long been regarded as a literary tool of evangelization. Indeed, the Christian motifs are clear and present. Yet, the presentation of the subject matter is done in the tradition of the heroic epic. Christ's scriptural identity as the Saviour of Mankind has been altered to fit the role of epic hero, the great figure who must undergo and prevail in an overwhelming conflict or challenge. As the Christian elements of the poem have been altered to accommodate the northern Germanic concepts of spirituality, the portrayal of Christ has also been customized as another accommodation to the Saxon readers of the *Heliand.* In order to comprehend the significance of the epic form and its relevance to the Saxon culture better, I will outline the characteristics of epic poetry and apply them to the subject matter of the *Heliand.*

THE MEDIUM OF EPIC

It is the thesis of this dissertation that the medium in which the *Heliand* was written was carefully and deliberately chosen by the poet. While the sermon had been widely used as a form of instruction in both religious and social matters within the Frankish Empire, epic was nonetheless a more accessible form to the *Heliand*'s initial audience[50]. Just as Saxons were new to the Christian church, the Church itself was new to the Saxon territory. Prior to the wars of conquest the Church had only existed as an

archipelago of monasteries. Church parishes were not established until after the Frankish-Saxon wars. The mass and the sermon were therefore relatively new to the majority of the Saxon people. Although no written records (i.e. actual texts of sermons) exist, one can logically presume that sermons had been preached to the rank and file of Saxon society, as well as to the upper strata, which had been sent to monasteries as part of the mass. Written documents respectively enforcing or promoting a conversion of faith in this region are scarce. The Capitularies, namely the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, and the *Heliand* are the main surviving texts of note.[51]

THE ORAL TRADITION OF THE SAXONS

Prior to the wars of conquest the spoken word prevailed as the principal means of communication among the Saxon people. Legend and law were not codified as they were among the Franks. The Saxons preserved their culture and beliefs by means of an oral tradition, a verbal chain which linked the present generation to its ancestors. It is not known how the Saxons specifically carried out this tradition- whether select individuals were specially trained to recite the laws and legends- or if it was a more personal transference unique to each clan. The existence of priests in Saxon society suggests the former. Yet, in the absence of hard or written evidence, one cannot exclude the latter. Oral transmission persisted into the ninth century, unchanged since

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[50] Rosamund McKitterick The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reformations 789-895 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977) 81.

[51] *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae.* In. *Leges Saxonum und Lex Thuringorum.* Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui in Usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis Separatim Editi. 40ff.

the time of Tacitus' report of 98 AD: "They relate in ancient song, which is the only kind of historical tradition among them...." *Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est*[52].

Tacitus' observation is astute and significant. At a perfunctory level, these "ancient songs" preserve the past and keep it alive. Thus, in essence, epic is an early form of historiography. Beyond this, however, at its core:

> the epic shows human dignity, not only because it covers a vast expanse of time and space, but also because human thought organized those incomprehensible dimensions into a meaningful system and reassures people about their existence in an unfathomable universe.[53]

To a preliterate society, epic not only demystifies the world, it assigns and defines its place in it. Like a fingerprint, epic is a unique identification mark of a society. The figures and their actions are characteristic of their respective cultures and are not interchangeable. As to its historiographical purpose, epic is "the entire world-outlook and objective manifestation of a national spirit presented in its self-objectifying shape as an actual event.[54]..." Indeed, at the centre of every epic is an actual historical event. It may be embedded within layers of embellishment that had accumulated over the generations, but it is never obscured. Yet, it is these selfsame embellishments that link the present generation to the original event. Initially it may appear as a corruption of the event, the equivalent of drawing oneself into a famous painting.

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[52] Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. Herbert W. Benario, Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1991. 2.2.

[53] Masaki. Mori, *Epic Grandeur* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997) 50.

[54] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. *Aesthetics. Lectures on Fine Art.* Trans. T.M. Knox. Vol. II. (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1975) 1044.

In actuality it is not. The addition of contemporary material is, in fact, intrinsic to the oral tradition itself. Every transmission of a story is an interpretation, and is subject to the personality and values of the teller[55]. The role of the teller is not merely to recount, but to interpret the material to his audience. To prevent gross deviations in the account, the teller is bound by tradition to preserve the facts and the motifs that are fixed and unique. It is his presentation of the remaining narrative that is open to embellishment. Thus, as a translator or interpreter of the poem, the storyteller follows certain guidelines: .

> The translator must know and understand the social and class orientation of the work's form and idea.
>
> The translator must also consider the unique national reflection in the translation: its content, form, structure, style, language, etc.
>
> The translator must reveal that what is universal to all in the translation, that which is common to all, regardless of what country, epoch they belong to, where they were raised and where they live.[56]

Through translation, the tone of the poem is customized to accommodate the values and needs of its audience. In essence, the poem assumes its audience's identity. In this manner, the current generation becomes involved with, and present in, its past actions, forging its own link on the chain of running narrative. Thus, epic is "the proper foundation[s] of a national consciousness." (Hegel 1045.) To its original audience, epic is not idle entertainment. Its form, figures and motifs are neither stereotypical nor

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[55] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology*. Trans. H.M. Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965) 23.

[56] Anna Lilova, *Vvedenie v Obschuyu Teoriyu Perevoda*, (*Introduction to a Common Theory of Translation*) (Moscow: Vischaya Schkola, 1985) 109-110; translation mine)

clichéd. although they may appear so to the modern reader. Nor are these elements random. The figures. motifs. and action of epic are the product of careful and deliberate choices: choices that speak of and to its society. As the Saxons traditionally perpetuated an oral culture, the epic, therefore, is the ideal medium with which to reach them and educate them.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF THE EPIC

The structure of the *Heliand* is consistent with the pattern of an oral epic, but it moves a step beyond its traditional bounds. As does orally derived epic, the *Heliand* preserves and perpetuates the distinct characteristics of Saxon culture. Yet, as a contemporary work, it introduces foreign -namely Christian- elements and concepts to the action. For the *Heliand* poet to have been so knowledgeable of both Saxon and Christian values, it is highly likely that he was a continental Saxon who had been educated in a monastery. The poet also appears have been versed in vernacular oral poetry. This is evident in his use of the typical devices of oral poetry. Fixed phrases, such as: "I have heard it told": *Sô gifragn ik*, and the use of kennings such as "helmet-lovers": *helmgitrôsteon*, for Roman Centurions, "jewel-giver": *mêðomgebon,* for overlord, and "speechless beings:" *unqueðandes*, for the elements and objects of nature thrown into turmoil at the Crucifixion, all hearken back to the tradition of the oral epic. Furthermore, as an indirect descendant of the oral tradition, the *Heliand* is also a translation. and its composer is a translator. The poet, although unconscious of it, was

bound to the same fundamental rules of translation (as listed above) as is his modern-day counterpart. Regardless of epoch, these guidelines reveal the inherent social nature of translation. It does not merely provide an oversimplified glimpse into another world, it incorporates the reader into a new culture: its values, customs, philosophy, world view, and of course, its manner of speech and expression- both verbal and non-verbal. The task of the translator is twofold. It is both linguistic and social. Subsequently, one may argue that the translator wields significantly more power than the actual author or composer. In essence, the translator holds a microcosm of an entire society in his hands. It is the translator who crafts the original text into a new form. Through his skills of language and rhetoric, it is actually the translator, and not the original author- as one may think- who shapes the mind of the reader and influences his view and his opinions of the world that are presented to him. This is not in any way to suggest that the translator is free to manipulate the reader and lead him astray. The translator, after all, is bound to tradition. The translator is entitled, as per the guidelines of translation, to certain omissions and embellishments as he deems fit and appropriate to his audience. It is precarious ground that the translator treads, as it is a fine line that separates interpretation from manipulation.

The action of the *Heliand* revolves around the life of Christ and all who surround him. Redundancies and irrelevant material in the Gospels are eliminated. All that remains is germane to one figure: the central figure of Christianity, Christ. While the poet recounts the Saviour's life faithfully according to Scripture, it is his portrayal of Christ and His environment that has been altered and customized to suit his readers. As previously outlined, one manifestation of His character is as a figure analogous to

Oðin. This is but one aspect of His identity. Above and beyond this portrayal, the die in which the figure of Christ is cast, is also that of a hero: the central figure of epic poetry.

DEFINITION OF THE EPIC HERO

As a character, the hero stands out from his surroundings. His extraordinary nature elevates him above others. But, it also estranges and isolates him.[57] While he may be physically portrayed as an individual person, he is not an individual in his mental character. The hero's character actually forms a composite of his society. He a figure created to fulfill its needs and compensate for its deficiencies. Typically, he is portrayed as a leader of people. As an epic hero, he is not only the head of a collective; he also assumes the body of it. His choices are his peoples', his destiny is his peoples'. (Lukács 67) As a figure above his people, the hero must also bear a name that embodies his stature and role. The selection of a hero's name is not a random choice. It is chosen with care and deliberation.[58] *Heliand*, meaning "saviour", is a direct translation from the Scriptural *Salvator* and *Ihesus*. With regard to the *Heliand*, the name for the poem's hero has long since been in existence. It emerges from a rich and illustrious provenance. The origin and mythology surrounding the character of Christ, His life and times has already been firmly established in Scripture.

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[57] Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel, A historico-philosophical essay on the forms of great epic literature*, Trans. Anna Bostock (Cambridge (MA): MIT Press,1971) 66.

[58] "A man's name is very important in heroic poetry: it becomes equal to the sum of his accomplishments." Thomas Green, *Descent From Heaven A Study in Epic Continuity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) 16.

But. these elements emerge from a Latin/ Mediterranean milieu. To a society which had little. if any contact with Rome. the Mediterranean figure of Christ. and the Greek and Latin mythology of Christianity are utterly alien to the Saxons.

Conceptually, linguistically, and geographically, the figure of Jesus Christ and mythology which defines Him must be altered to conform to the mindset and value system of a northern European culture. It is the *Heliand* poet's creative task and spiritual obligation to portray the life and times of the Saviour of Mankind in terms that both honour Scripture, yet portray Him as a figure whose magnitude the Saxon audience can comprehend and ultimately accept. To do this, the poet relies heavily on the techniques and motifs that are familiar to his audience: those of the old oral tradition.

THE PORTRAYAL OF THE HERO

The hero's entry into the action must be as distinctive as the hero himself. It marks his introduction to the characters around him and to the audience's consciousness as well. The entrance turns the focus of attention onto the hero and establishes the magnitude of his character. Epic poetry assigns great importance to this aspect and devotes much attention to entrances and exits. Likewise, entrances and exits in the *Heliand* are altered from the Scriptural account and rendered in a manner consistent with this tradition. Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem in fitt 45 unfolds in the same bold fashion as any other found in epic poetry:

Then Christ the Rescuer, the holy One, came near to Jerusalem. Many people of good will there were glad to come and meet Him. They received Him with honour and they strewed the road before Him with their clothes and with plants-with bright flowers and with tree branches from the beautiful palms - covering the earth of the entire path that God's Son wanted to take to the famous hill-fort. The crowd of people surrounded Him happily, and in their joy they started singing a song of praise. (Murphy *Heliand* 120)

Thô nâhide neriendo Crist,
the gôdo te Hierusalem. Quam imu thar tegegnes filu
uuerodes an uuilleon uuel huggendies,
antfengun ina fagaro endi imu biforen streidun
then uueg mid iro giuuâdiun endi mid uurtiun sô same,
mid berhtun blômun endi mid bômo tôgun,
that feld mid fagaron palmun, al sô is fard geburide,
that the godes sunu gangan uuelde
te theru mârean burg. Huarf ina megin umbi
liudio an lustun, endi lofsang ahôf
that uuerod an uuilleon:
(l.3671-3681)

In Scripture, Christ's arrival into Jerusalem is rendered differently:

Et cum adpropinquassent Hierosolimis et venissent Betfage ad montem Oliveti, tunc Ihesus misit duos discipulos dicens eis: ite in castellum quod contra vos est, et statim invenientis asinam alligatam et pullum eius cum ea (Lk. 19:30) alligatum, cui nemo unquam hominum sedit. Solvite illum (Mt.21:2)et adducite eum mihi, et si quis vobis aliquid dixerit, dicite ei: (Lk 19:31) quia dominus operam eius desiderat, (Mt 21:3) et confestim dimittet eos. (Mt.21:6) Euntes autem discipuli fecerunt sicut praecepit illis Ihesus.... (Mt.21:4) Hoc autem factum est, ut inpleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: dicite filiae Sion: ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus (Jn 12:15) sedens super pullum asinæ (Mt 21:5) subiugalis. (Mt.21:8)[M]ulti substernebant vestimenta sua in via, alii autem cedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in via....(Mt.21:9) [T]urbae autem quæ præcedebant et quae sequebantur clamabant dicentes: osanna filio David!... (Mt.21:10)Et cum introisset Hierosolimam, commota est universa civitas dicens: quis est hic? Populi autem dicebant: hic est Ihesus propheta a Nazaret Galileae.

Inti mittíu sie tho nahlichotun zi Hierosolimis inti quamun zi Betfage zi them berge oliboumo. tho her heilant santa sine zuene iungoron quaedenti in: faret in thia burgilun thiu dar uuidar íu ist, into slíumo findet ir eina esilin gibuntana inti ira folon mit iru gibuntanan, in themo neoman neo in aldere manno saz. Loset inan inti gileitet inan mir, inti oba uuer íu uuaz quede, quaedet imo uuanta trohtin sines uuerkes lustot, inti slíumo lorlazit sie. Gangente thie iungoron tatun so gibot ín ther heilant....Thaz uuard gitán, thaz uurdi arfullit thaz dar giquædan uuas thuruh then uuizogon quedentan: quædet Siones tohter: sinu thin cuning quam thir manduúari sizzenti ubar folon zamera esilinna... Imo farentemo manege streuuitun iro giuúati in uúege, sume hieúun zuuig fon bóumon inti streuuitun in uúege...thio menigi thio dar forafuorun inti thio dar after folgetun reofun quaedente: heil, lob si Dauides sune!...Mittiu her tho ingieng Hierusalem, uuard giruort al thiu burg quædenti: uuer ist therer? Thiu folc quadun: thiz is heilant uuizogo fon burgi Nazareth Galileæ. (Tatian116:1-4,117:1)

Mt 21:1-12 When they drew nigh to Jerusalem and were come to Bethpage, unto Mount Olivet, then Jesus sent two disciples, saying to them, "Go ye into the village that is over against you, and immediately you shall find an ass tied and a colt with her: loose them and bring them to me. If any man shall say anything to you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them: and forthwith he will let them go. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying: *Tell ye the daughter of Sion: Behold thy king cometh to thee, meek and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of her that is used to be the yoke*. And the disciples going did as Jesus commanded them. And they brought the ass and the colt, and laid their garments upon them, and made hit sit thereon. And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way: and others cut boughs from the trees, and strewed them in the way. And the multitudes that went before and that followed cried, saying: *Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest*. And when he was come into Jerusalem, the whole city was moved, saying: Who is this? And the people said: "This is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee!"

Notably missing are the ass, her colt, and Christ's instructions to retrieve them. The poet may have omitted this section out of respect for the Saxon's sense of social hierarchy. In the Saxon culture, not only were the social classes stratified, the animals associated with them were stratified as well. This sort of hierarchy among animals is also present at the Nativity. This scene will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. To the Saxons, a barnyard animal such as a donkey was associated with the lower classes. To present such a humble beast to the Saviour of Mankind for Him to ride as He enters the city of Jerusalem would likely have been unfathomable to the status conscious Saxon. It conjures an unrealistic image. Furthermore, the descriptive "meek" in reference to Christ is contrary to the heroic portrayal of Him. I believe that these were necessary and deliberate omissions made by the poet. However, the poet does embellish the fanfare surrounding Christ's arrival into Jerusalem by adding "bright flowers" and "beautiful palm" fronds to the description of the scene. Nowhere in the Scriptural account are flowers and palms specifically mentioned. The addition of flowers and palm fronds may have been derived from another source, perhaps the celebration of the Palm Sunday mass. Regardless of the poet's source of these details, his rendering of this scene changes the tone of the original Scriptural account from a reverent entrance to a grand spectacle. The shower of colour from the flowers and palms, and the joviality of the singing in the streets create an image of splendour and celebration truly befitting a hero.

The exit out of Jerusalem is not as grand as the entry, marking a divergence from the typical pattern of the heroic character. This exit, however, displays a quality

and strength unique to the figure of Christ. This distinguishes Him from the secular hero: the ability to walk away from. and thereby rise above base provocation:

> Christ the All-Ruler did not want to listen to the Jews' reprimands and hostility, and so he went away from the shrine across the Jordan River.(Murphy *Heliand* 129)

> Crist alouualdo
> ne uuolda thero Iudeono thuo leng gelpes hôrian,
> uurêðaro uuillion, ac hie im af them uuîhe fuor
> obar Iordanes strom;
> (l.3954-3957)

It is not only the confident manner in which He leaves, it is also the means of His departure- the raft- that is also worthy of consideration. As river crossings are classically associated with the journey into the Underworld, the image of Christ boarding the raft on the river Jordan evokes a sense of foreboding in the audience[59]. As witnessed in the *Heliand*, Christ crosses the river with complete knowledge of His fate and He accepts it with the quiet calm befitting a heroic figure.

SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS

The hero, like those who surround him, is mortal. In that singular respect he is an equal to the common man. It is from this point of contact that he rises above others and distinguishes himself as unique. He is endowed with great gifts, typically of

[59] To enter the region of Hel, one must cross the river Gjöll. This, however. is not done by raft, as it is done in Hades. One crosses the river Gjöll over a bridge. In this scene. the imagery of crossing a river to meet one's irreversable fate is familiar. In order to maintain continuity with Christian Scripture, the poet preserves the raft as an actual vessel and as a motif. In so doing, he introduces the audience to a Mediterrannean image of Hell. I believe the raft is indeed a motif. as all other references to sea vessels depict boats that are engineered to sail the North Sea.

strength, stamina, intellect, and physical appearance. The hero recognizes his gifts and himself as unique, and understands it as a call to duty. He knows he has been chosen to lead and has been given the faculties to do so. As previously stated, epic is unique to its society. Likewise, every hero is unique to his environment. He is a reflection of his social and historical milieu. That it to say, heroes are not interchangeable figures. They are as much bound to their dwelling place as any other mortal, albeit in a literary sense. Achilles, for example, would be just as out of place meeting Hagen on the battlefield as would Sigurd be fighting Hector.

The *Heliand*, as any other epic, unfolds in its own social setting. Although its figures are contemporary to the lifetime of Christ, the *Heliand* was clearly intended for a modern (read: 9th century) audience. At this time, the wars of conquest, which had been resolved by treaties and compromises, had given way to infighting and manipulation among the new elite, all to gain favour and influence. This sort of unrest was not only endemic to the nobility. The Royal family was also affected by infighting and rivalry, as previously outlined. At this time, a message of unity and of order was needed now more than ever. I believe that the *Heliand* emerges as an attempt to remedy these uneasy times. Its message provides moral and social direction to a segment of society which could easily go astray.

In the *Heliand*, Christ and the apostles personify the ideal citizens within this new world order, the Christian sovereign and the Christian soldier. The Christian soldier is loyal to one leader. A Christian sovereign rules the land, yet yields to God's authority. The ideal Christian leader should remain respectful towards the law, even

when it contradicts his own needs and goals. Christ, as a hero, is aware of His sense of duty. He obeys and carries out God's will without question.

SERVICE

The hero has a sense of purpose. He knows that he was chosen for, and that he was destined for greatness. He is also aware that his gifts were granted him in order to fulfill a mission. This is manifested in his service to a king. Classically, it is a dichotomous constellation. The king is superior in rank to the hero and sovereign to the people. Yet, he is typically endowed with a weaker character, a trait unbecoming a monarch. The hero, the subordinate in the relationship, is endowed with the stronger ethical constiution, a quality one would expect, if not demand from a king. Despite the discrepancy, the hero and king accept their respective stations in rank and character.[60] In the *Heliand*, Christ, too, is in service to a king, only His king is not of an earthly realm. Christ is aware that, upon fulfillment of His Father's will on earth, He will join Him and ascend the throne of the Kingdom of God. Yet it is not the reward at the end that motivates and drives Him. It is the mission itself.

MAGIC, MEDICINE, AND MIRACLES

Another distinguishing characteristic of the hero and of heroic poetry is treatment of magic. While magic may appear to the modern reader as whimsical

[60] The characters of Siegfried and Günther in the *Nibelungenlied* exemplify this constellation.

diversion. magic was held in higher esteem in mediaeval society. Magic comprises two fundamental principles. The first is the "Law of Similarity", like actions producing like causes. That is to say, the magician elicits the desired result simply by imitating it on a model or effigy of the figure. The second is the "Law of Contact", the power of touch. An object that is to come in physical contact with the desired recipient is enchanted, cursed, etc. The recipient is affected upon contact with the object.[61]

We witness certain elements of magic in the *Heliand*, namely the "law of contact" in the form of miracles. Scripture simply portrays Christ as having innate power to heal the sick and to give sight to the blind. The skills were not learned or passed onto him. In the *Heliand*, Christ is also portrayed as having innate abilities as He does in Scripture. An example of this is displayed in His knowledge of runes during the Instructions on the Mount. This marks a slight divergence from His scriptural identity. It suggests that His abilities are of both a magical as well as spiritual nature. This is a significant detail. At this time, the audience is still most likely to be sceptical towards Christianity and new to literacy. His generation may have been perhaps the first to have been raised literate. His would have been the final generation of a preliterate society. To such a society, the audience's forbearers, runes elicited the presence of magic. One who could decipher and interpret them, naturally, was regarded to possess magical or divine powers.[62] The miracle at the Wedding Feast at Fort Cana is also tinted with magical elements:

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[61] James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough. The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*. vol.I (New York: Macmillan, 1935) 52.

[62] Richard Kieckhefer. *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 47.

> God's mighty Child gave his orders very quietly so that a lot of people would not know for sure how He said it with His words. He told those who were pouring to fill the vats there with clear water, and then He made the sign of the cross over it with His fingers, with His own hands- He worked it into wine! (Murphy *Heliand* 68)

> Thô sô stillo gebôd
> mahtig barn godes, sô it thar manno filu
> ne uuisssa te uuârun, huô he it mit is uuordu gesprac:
> he hêt thea skenkeon thô skîreas uuatares
> thiu fatu fullien, endi hi thar mid is fingrun thô
> segnade selbo sînun handun,
> uuahrte it te uuîne...
> (l.2037-2043)

The words He speaks are kept secret. No-one is able or permitted to hear them. As secret words spoken by Christ Himself, they are thus endowed with powers that ordinary speech lacks. These words have the ability to create and manipulate objects to fulfill a desired effect.[63] Also, the ritual hand gesture over the vat is unique to the *Heliand* text. The miracle, despite the ceremonial speech and gestures, is veiled in secrecy. The stewards who witness the event are sworn to silence. In Scripture, the event is rendered differently.

Christ speaks directly to the stewards and gives them direct commands which help bring the miracle to fruition. Despite their involvement in it, the stewards are not eyewitnesses to the miracle. The transformation is silent and unseen. No words are spoken. No gestures are made:

> Dicit eis Ihesus: implete hydrias aqua. Et implerunt eas usque ad summum. Et dicit eis Ihesus: haurite nunc et ferte architriclino. Et tulerunt. Ut autem gustavit architriclinus aquam vinum factam, et non sciebat unde esset (ministri autem sciebant qui hauerierant aquam), vocat sponsum architriclinus,

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[63] These are known as "performative words." Murphy, *Heliand*, 68 n. 102.

> Thó quad ín ther heilant: fullet thiu faz mit uuazaru. Inti si fultun siu únzan enti. Thó quád ín ther heilant: skephet nú inti bringet themo furistsizzenten. Inti sie bráhtun. Tho gicorota thie furistsizzento thaz uuazzar zí uuine gitán int hér ni uuesta uuanan íz uúas (thie thar scuofun thaz uuazar), thó gihalota then brutigomon thie furistsizzento inti quad imo:.. (Tatian 45:5-7)

> Jn 2:7-9: And Jesus saith to them: Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim. And Jesus saith to them: Draw out now, and carry to the chief steward of the feast. And they carried it. And when the chief steward had tasted the water made wine, and knew not whence it was, but the waiters knew who had drawn the water, the chief steward calleth the bridegroom,...

Although the epic hero is endowed with magical skill, he does not rely on it exclusively. The epic hero rises above such dependence. The epic hero is more dynamic and complex. He does not eschew magic entirely. He has merely minimized its importance.[64] For magic to be present in the text, it is apparent that the audience of the *Heliand* stood at the cusp of two traditions, one which venerates power of magic, and one which venerates the power of miracles and prayer.

More importantly, the *Heliand* poet is able to reconcile the pagan practice of necromancy and sorcery with the Christian phenomenon of miracles, and does so deftly.

Long before medicine became a science, and before Salerno would emerge as a centre of medical training, medicine and healing belonged to the realm of magic. It was done with medicinal herbs, and was practiced by a variety of folk: monks, priests, midwives, even laymen and women possessing only minimal knowledge and skill. The magic was not only in the ability to prepare the herbs, but in the herbs themselves. In the *Heliand*, Christ's healing powers diverge from this pagan practice, to join with

another. Christ's healing arts proscribe the use of herbs and tinctures with the divine powers of touch and speech. In fitt 26 Christ fuses the spell with the miracle as he reanimates the lifeless body of boy outside Fort Naim:

> Then He walked up to the stretcher, and the Chieftain's Son touched him with holy hands, and spoke to the hero, telling the young man to get up, to rise up from his by God's power. (Murphy *Heliand* 73)

> Thuo hie ti thero bâron geng
> iac hie ina selbo anthrên, suno drohtines,
> hêlagon handon, endi ti them heliðe sprak,
> hiet ina sô alaiungan upp astandan,
> arîsan fan theru restun. Thie rinc up asat,
> that barn an thero bârun: uuarð im eft an is briost cuman
> thie gêst thuru godes craft,
> (l.2198-2204)

The pagan and the Christian speech acts become one. Considering the numerous references to the healing of the sick in this fashion, one can surmise that the spells and creatures held a strong sway over the Saxon mindset. Capturing this fusion must have been of paramount importance to the *Heliand* poet.

UNIVERSAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HERO

In his monograph, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, Jan De Vries'outlines the inherent and universal characteristics of the hero[65]. These are not hard and fast rules to which the poet is bound. Rather, they are tendencies and motifs which appear time and again throughout the canon of epic poetry.

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[64] C.M.Bowra. *Epic Poetry* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966) 92.

[65] Jan DeVries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*. Trans. BJ Timmer (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

These same tendencies arise in mythology and in fairy tales as well. When compared to the trajectory of Christ's life in the *Heliand*, De Vries' outline of the heroic character will reveal a further correlation of the classic epic hero to the characteristics of Christ as portrayed in the *Heliand*.

PARENTAGE

The hero's mother is typically a virgin who has been visited by a god. (DeVries 211). To this, DeVries cites other circumstances, such as the father assuming an animal form and incest. To cite an example from Norse epic, the *Völsungasaga* incorporates both of the latter criteria in the births of Völsung and Sinfjötli. [66] A genesis as outrageous as this is out of place in the *Heliand*. Instead, the source, Christian Scripture, portrays the birth of Jesus Christ as the result of a visit by an angel sent by God to the Virgin Mary. In fitt 4, the poet follows the scriptural account:

> In mense autem sexto missus est angelus Gabriel a deo in civitatem Galileae, cui nomen Nazareth, ad virginem disponsatam viro, cui nomen erat Ioseph, de domo David, et nomen virginis Maria. Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: have gratia plena! dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus....Et ait angelus ei: ne timeas, Maria, invenisti enim gratiam apud deum; ecce concipies in utero et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Ihesum,...Et factum est ut audivit salutationem Mariae Elisabeth, exultavit infans in utero eius.
>
> In themo sehsten manude gisentit uuard engil Gabriel fon gote in thie burg Galilee, thero namo ist Nazareth, zi thiornun gimahaltero gommanne, themo namo uuas Ioseph, fon huse Dauides, into namo thero thiornun Maria. Inti ingangenti thie engil zi iru quad: heil uuis thu gebono follu! truhtin mit thir, gisegenot sîs thû in uuîbun....Quad iru ther engil: ni forhti thir, Maria, thu fundi huldi mit gote; seno nu inphahis in reue inti gibiris sun inti ginemnis

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[66] George K. Anderson, trans. *The Saga of the Volsungs. Together with Excerpts for the Nornagestsháttr and Three Chapters from the Prose Edda.* (Newark: Univesity of Delaware Presses, 1982. 57) 63f.

> sinan namon Heilant....Uuard thô, so siu gihorta heilizunga Mariun Elisabeth. gifah thaz kind in ira reue. (Tatian 3:1-2, 3:4, 4:1: emphasis mine.)

> Lk 1:26-28,1:30,1:41: And in the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth. To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among women....And the angel said to her: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace with God....And it came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the infant leaped in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost:

To it, the poet adds embellishments. Most notably, Mary is ennobled. She is, as is Joseph in the scriptural account, descended from the house of David (see quotation below). Scripture, however, provides no insight as to the matrilineal descent of Christ. The emphasis is only on the patrilineal descent of Jesus Christ. Through this slight addition, Mary is rendered as a peer of the audience, who are also of the nobility. In addition to the elevated social rank, Mary is endowed with a pristine virtue. A notable omission from the angel's greeting to Mary is the word "grace". It is replaced by "health" *hêl*. This may be interpreted two ways. While "grace" is an abstract concept, it might have been too difficult or awkward either to translate or transliterate. "Health," as a physical condition, is a more tangible concept, which would render a more effective image. Or, good health is yet another elevation of Mary's character, perfecting her in body, mind, and soul:

> His messenger Gabriel, the angel of the All-Ruler, then came to Galileeland.There he knew a lovely young woman, a girl who had reached her maidenhood. Her name was Mary. Joseph, a nobleman, was engaged to her, David's daughter.What a precious bride and virtuous woman she was! There in hill-fort Nazareth the angel of God addressed her face to face, calling her by name and saying to from God: "Health be with you, Mary. Your Lord is very fond of you. You are precious to the Ruler for your wisdom, woman, full of grace. You are to be sanctified more than any other woman. Do not waver in your mind and do not let yourself fear for your life. I have not come here to put you in any danger and I am not bringing you any kind of trick or deception. You are to become the mother of our Chieftain here among human

beings. You will bear a child, the Son of the high King of Heaven." ... The Holy Spirit became the baby in her womb.(Murphy *Heliand* 12f.: emphasis mine.)

Thô uuarð is uuîsbodo
an Galilealand, Gabriel cuman,
engil thes alouualdon, thar he êne idis uuisse,
munilîca magað: Maria uuas siu hêten,
uuas iru thiorna githigan. Sea ên thegan habda,
Ioseph gimahlit, gôdes cunnies man,
thea Dauides dohter: that uuas sô diurlîc uuîf,
idis anthêti. Thar sie the engil godes
an Nazarethburg bi namon selbo
grôtte geginuuarde endi si fon gode quedda:
'Hêl uuis thu, Maria,' quað he, 'thu bist thînun hêrron liof,
uualdande uuirðig, huuand thu giuuit habes,
idis enstio fol. Thu scalt for allun uuesan
uuîbun giuuîht. Ne habe thu uuêcan hugi,
ne forhti thu thînun ferhe: ne quam ic thi te ênigun frêson herod,
ne dragu ic ênig drugithing. Thu scalt ûses drohtines uuesan
môdar mid mannun endi scalt thana manu fôdean,
thes hôhon hebancuninges suno.
...Uuard the hêlago gêst,
that barn an ira bôsma;
(l.249-266, 291-292)

THE HERO'S FATHER IS A GOD (DeVries 211)

As a hero's mother is a virgin, the father is extraordinary in his own way. To return to the *Völsungasaga* to cite an example, Oðin's presence is indirect. He visits Rerir through a valkyrie, who presents an apple as an agent of conception for the unnamed queen. (Anderson 57) In fitt 4 of the *Heliand*, where Gabriel visits Mary, the text reveals that the father of Christ is not merely a god, He is God. Here the text demonstrates the love and understanding of the Christian Deity towards His mortal subjects. Through the Archangel Gabriel, God comforts and consuls Joseph in his time

of turmoil and doubt. He instructs him to continue the engagement, not to terminate it. The child Mary is carrying is not the fruit of deception or adultery. She is carrying out the will of God. With God's protection. Joseph's honour and Mary's life are not in danger, as they actually would have been, had the circumstances arisen from human error. Joseph and Mary need not fear societal retribution. The Christ Child is the progeny of an immortal God. As the Son of God, Christ is innately superior to others.

> By the power of God, the Holy Spirit will come to you from the meadows of heaven. From Him a child will be given to you in this world. Divine power from the most high King of Heaven will shade you in its shadow."(Murphy *Heliand* 12f)

> 'an thi scal hêlag gêst fon hebanuuange
> cuman thurh craft godes. Thanan scal thi kind ôdan
> uuerðan an thesaro uueroldi. Uualdandes craft
> scal thi fon them hôhoston hebancuninge
> scadouuan mid skimon.
> (l.275-279)

BIRTH

The birth takes place under unusual or unnatural circumstances. (DeVries 212) Once again, the birth of Völsung in the *Völsungasaga* is consistent with this pattern. After a six-year gestation period, Völsung is born by caesarian section, fully grown. (Anderson 57) The Christian myth offers a more humble beginning to the birth of Christ. The poet offers an altered interpretation of Scripture. This event is also embellished to reflect the auspicious nature of Christ's birth. Fitt 5:

> I have heard it told that the shining workings of fate and the power of God told Mary that on this journey (to the City of David) a son would be granted her. born in Bethlehem. the strongest child, the most powerful of all kings. the Great One come powerfully to the light of mankind-just as foretold by many visions and signs in this world many days before. (Murphy *Heliand* 15f. emphasis mine.)

> Thar gifragn ic, that si thiu berhtun giscapu,
> Mariun gimanodun endi maht godes,
> that iru an them siða sunu ôdan uuarð,
> giboran an Bethleem barno strangost,
> allaro cuningo craftigost: cuman uuarð the mârio,
> mahtig an manno lioht sô is êr managan dag
> biliði uuârun endi bôcno filu
> giuuorðen an thesero uueroldi. Thô uuas it all giuuârod sô,
> (l.367-374)

Scripture reveals no reference to fate:

> Factum est autem cum essent ibi, impleti sunt dies ut pareret, et peperit filium suum primogenitum et pannis eum involvit et reclinavit eum in presepio, quia non erat eis locus in diversorio.

> Thô sie thar uuarun, vvurðun taga gifulte, thaz siu bari, inti gibar ira sun êristboranon inti biuuant inan mit tuochum inti gilegita inan in crippea, bithiu uuanta im ni uuas ander stat in themo gasthuse. (Tatian 5:13)

> Lk 2:6-7: So it was, that while they were there, the days were completed for her to be delivered. And she brought forth her firstborn Son, and wrapped Him in swaddling cloths, and laid Him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

The *Heliand* places the birth in a manger, but makes no mention of there being no room for Mary and Joseph at the inn. I believe that the poet omitted this detail purposely. The denial of lodging was contrary to the Germanic notion of hospitality. To the audience, which valued generosity highly, this event would have been confusing, if not insulting. Had this detail been preserved in the text, it would have fallen at perhaps the most inopportune time. It would have likely alienated or offended the audience immediately. The miracle and glory of Christ's birth would have been rendered moot.

The Christ child is wrapped in more than mere swaddling cloths. He is dressed in clothing befitting His noble lineage. a detail sure to have been noticed by the high born audience:

> His mother, that most beautiful woman, took Him, wrapped Him in clothes and precious jewels, and then with her two hands laid Him gently, the little man, that child, in a fodder-crib, even though He had the power of God, and was the Chieftain of mankind. (Murphy *Heliand* 16)

> Thô ina thiu môdar nam,
> biuuand ina mid uuâdiu uuîbo scôniost,
> fagaron fratahun, endi ina mid iro folmon tuuêm
> legda liofliîco luttilna man,
> that kind an êna cribbiun, thoh he habdi craft godes,
> manno drohtin.
> (l.378-383)

Upon birth the child is immediately recognised as unique and extraordinary: An angel of God had visited horse-guards (*ehuscalos*) during the night to inform them of the Saviour's birth and has led them to behold the Christ child. The association with horses subtly elevates the status of the visitors, as horses are a sign of wealth and nobility. Sheep, as found in Scripture, are animals associated with the lower classes. (Murphy *Heliand* 16. n.25.) The witnesses of the birth are not lowly shepherds, as in Scripture. They are noble peers of the child. They accept Him and embrace Him as one of their own kind. Fitt 6:

> They soon found Him, the Chieftain of Clans, the Lord of Peoples. They praised God the Ruler with their words and made known widely all over the shining hill-fort what a brilliant, holy vision, from the meadows of heaven, they had been shown out there in the fields. (Murphy *Heliand* 18)

> endi fundun sân folco drohtin,
> liudeo hêrron. Sagdun thô lof goda,
> uualdande mid iro uuordun endi uuîdo cûðdun
> obar thea berhtun burg, hiulic im thar biliði uuarð
> fon hebanuuanga hêlag gitôgit
> fagar an felde.
> (l.430-435)

In fitt 8. the three wise men, depicted as kings, have arrived. Again, the poet emphasises status of the foreign visitors. The three wise men are not only kings, they are warriors as well. Christ is visited and praised by both the nobleman and the warrior.

> The thanes' hearts became merry within them; they understood from the beacon-light that they had found God's Peaceful Son, the holy King of Heaven. They walked inside the house with their gifts, those road-weary warriors from the East, and immediately recognized Christ, the Ruler. The foreign fighting men fell on their knees to the good Child and greeted Him in the royal manner. (Murphy *Heliand* 25)

Thô uuarð thero thegno hugi
blîðî an iro briostun: bi them bôcna forstôdun,
that sie that friðubarn godes funden habdun,
hêlagna hebencuning. Thô si an that hûs innan
mid iro gebun gengun, gumon ôstronea,
sîðuuôrige man: sân antkendun
thea uueros uualdand Krist. Thea uurekkion fellun
te them kinde an kneobeda endi ina an cununguuîsa
gôdan grôttun...
(l 665-673)

YOUTH

As a child, the hero is in danger of bodily harm or death. (DeVries 212) Typically, the child is exposed by one of the parents. This is a gruesome, yet common motif. It occurs frequently throughout both mythology and epic. Classically, when a father exposes a child, it is done to prevent harm that would someday come to him by the child's hand. When the mother exposes the child, it is usually done to conceal her dishonour or shame. (DeVries 213) The exposed child is typically raised by an animal. For example, in the *Thiðrekssaga*, Sigurd is raised by a hart.[67] In the Old Testament of

[67] Edward R. Haymes, trans. *The Saga of Thidrek of Bern*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1988) 105.

the Bible. Moses is exposed, but for his own safety. He, of course, is not raised by animals. Rather, he is raised by Pharaoh's daughter. In the New Testament, Christ, too is in danger of His life. But He is not exposed. Instead, Joseph and Mary flee with the Christ child as a family to preserve the Child's safety. They are guided by the voice of God to Egypt. In the *Heliand*, the peril of the Christ child is portrayed close to Scripture. Herod, fearing a loss of power to the newborn Saviour, decides to eliminate Him and all other male children of that age. Fitt 9:

> "I know his age, the number of His winters, and therefore I can see to it that He never ever grows old on this earth, here in this realm....Then Herod...gave the order that by the strength of their hand they were to decapitate the boys around Bethlehem, as many as had been born there who had reached two years of age." (Murphy *Heliand* 27f)

> 'nu ic is aldar can,
> uuêt is uuintergitalu: nu ic giuuinnan mag,
> that he io obar thesaro erðu ald ni uuirðit,
> hêr undar thesum heriscepi' Thô he sô hardo gibôd,
> Erodes...
> hêt that sie kinda sô filo
> thurh iro handmagen hôbdu binâmin,
> sô manag barn umbi Bethleem, sô filo sô thar giboran uurði,
> an tuêm gêrun atogan.
> (l.724-732)

> Occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem et in omnibus finibus eius, a bimatu et infra, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis.

> Arsluog alle thie knehta thie thar uuârun in Bethleem inti in allen ire marcun, zuuiiarigu in innan thes, after thero ziti thaz her suohta fon then magin. (Tatian 10:1)

> Mt.2:16: ...and he sent forth and put to death all the male children who were in Bethlehem and in all its districts, from two years old and under according to the time which he had determined from the wisemen.

REARING

The child typically grows at an accelerated rate and reveals his true abilities and strengths early in life. It is a sign of times to come, an early glimpse at future greatness. (DeVries 214) In the *Völsungasaga*, Sinfjöti passes a test of strength at age10. Signy sews the sleeve of his shirt onto his skin. Sinfjöti feels no pain when sewn into the shirt, or when the sleeve is torn off. Later, he shows no fear when asked to scoop flour from a sack containing a serpent in order to bake a loaf of bread with it. Sinfjöti shows both courage and strength as he effortlessly kneads the snake into the loaf. (Anderson 64) In the *Heliand*, Christ's physical growth is not unlike the development of any other child. His rapid intellectual and spirtitual growth are what set Him apart from the others. While still a child He reveals His gift of speaking and teaching in the temple. Fitt10:

> They found Him sitting there inside the shrine where wise and intelligent men read and learn in God's law how to praise the One who made the world in human words. There He was, sitting in the midst of them....With great interest He was asking them questions in wise words. They were all amazed that a young man, a child, would ever be able to say such words with His mouth. (Murphy *Heliand* 30)

> ...fundun ina sittean thar
> an them uu îha innan, thar the uuîsa man,
> suuîðo glauua gumon an godes êuua
> lâsun ende lînodun, huô si lof scoldin
> uuirkean mid iro uuordun them, the thesa uuerold giscôp.
> Thar sat undar middiun...
> ...endi frâgoda sie firiuuitlîco
> uuîsera uuordo. Sie uundradun alle,
> bihuuî gio sô kindisc man sulica quiði mahti
> mid is mûðu gimênean.
> (l.807-812, 815-818)

INVULNERABILITY

The hero is endowed with an impermeable spirit or skin. (DeVries 215) In Germanic epic and the *Edda* cycle, Siegfried/Sigurd is endowed with a horned skin. Although Siegfried's skin is impermeable, he does have a weak spot, as do other similarly endowed heroes. For Siegfried, the spot is on his back. Christ does not assume any such physical characteristic. Rather, His protective armour is invisible. It is just as impenetrable, manifesting itself as a bright light, sanctified by God Himself upon baptism. Unlike other heroes, there is no reference to a weak spot on Christ's body. Fitt12:

> Christ came up radiant out of the water, the Peace-Child of God, the beloved Protector of people... Then came Word from heaven, loud from the skies above, and greeted the Healer Himself, Christ, the Best of all kings, saying that He Himself had chosen Him from His Kingdom, and that He liked His Son better than all the human beings ever born, and that He was the most loved of all His children. (Murphy *Heliand* 35)

> Krist up giuuêt
> fagar fon them flôde, friðubarn godes,
> ...Aftar quam selbon
> thar uuord fon himile,
> hlûd fon them hôhon radura en grôtta thane hêleand
> Krist, allaro cuningo bezton, quað that he ina gicoranan habdi
> selbo fon sînun rîkea, quað that im the sunu lîcodi
> bezt allaro giboranaro manno, quað that he im uuâri allaro barno liobost.
> (l.982-983,989-993)

The element of a God-given fortifying light is repeated in fitt 38, at the Transfiguration:

> As He bowed down to pray up there, His appearance and clothes became different. His cheeks became shining light, radiating like the bright sun. The Son of God was shining! His body gave off light, brilliant rays came shining out of the Ruler's Son. His clothes were as white as snow to look at. Then, after this, a wonderful thing was seen there: Elijah and Moses came there to Christ, to exchange words with One so powerful!...

> Just as he said that word, the air parted in two, a cloud of light shone with a glistening glow and wrapped the good men in brilliant beauty. Then from the cloud came the holy voice of God; and the voice said to the heroes that this was His Son, the One He loved most of all the living, "I love Him very much in my heart. You should listen to Him- follow Him gladly!" (Murphy *Heliand* 102f)

Thô imu thar te bedu gihnêg,
thô uuarð imu thar uppe ôðarlîcora
uuliti endi giuuâdi: uurðun imu is uuangun liohte,
blîcandi sô thiu berhte suune: sô skên that barn godes,
liuhte is lîchamo: liomon stôdun
uuârnamo fan themu ualdandes barne; uuarð is geuuâdi sô huît
sô snêu te sehanne. Thô uuarð thar seldlîc thing
giôgid aftar thiu: Elias endi Moyses
quâmum thar te Criste uuið sô craftagne
uuordun uuehslean.

Reht sô he thô that uuord gesprak,
sô tilêt thiu luft an tuê: lioht uuolcan skên,
glîtandi glîmo, endi thea gôdun man
uulitiscôni beuuarp. Thô fan themu uuolcne quam
hêlag stemne godes endi them heliðun thar
selbo sagde, that that is sunu uuâri,
libbiendero liobost: 'an themu mi lîcod uuel
an mînun hugiskeftiun. Themu gi hôrien sculun,
fulgangad imu gerno'.
(l.3122-3131, 3143-3151)

While Christ is invigorated by it all and rejoices in the light, the brilliance of the light and the magnitude of God's power overwhelm the mortal Apostles Simon Peter, James, and John. They fall to the ground and temporarily lose consciousness.

> Christ's followers could not stand up to the brilliance of the cloud and the Word of God, His mighty strength, and they fell forward- they did not think their life-spirits would live much longer. (Murphy *Heliand* 103)

Thô ni mahtun the iungaron Cristes
thes uuolcnes uuliti endi uuord godes,
thea is mikilon maht thea man antstanden,
ac sie bifellun thô forðuuardes: ferhes ni uuândun,
lengiron libes.
(l.3151-3155)

THE CONTEST

The hero is challenged to battle a dragon or a beast. (DeVries 215) In Germanic Epic and the *Edda* cycle, Siegfried/Sigurd fights and kills a dragon. In Old Saxon epic, Beowulf does the same. Again, this is a rich and frequently used motif, as distinction in a contest is the poetic benchmark of the hero. As an open display of strength and strategy, the contest defines the hero's self worth and determines his place of honour among men. The greater the challenge, the higher the honour. The hero must always be at the ready to defend his honour, for honour is his most cherished quality. No challenge to it should go uncontested. In the *Heliand*, Christ is as able and adroit as any of His secular counterparts whenever he is challenged to defend Himself and His faith.

Christ, as a heroic figure is given numerous challenges to prove His value and display His glory. (Bowra 54) Traditionally these challenges and the details of such are the invention of the poet or bard. In the case of the *Heliand*, the source of all trials is founded in Scripture. They are merely altered to suit the new medium. In epic poetry, when the hero is not facing an adversary, he hones and displays his superior prowess through other physical challenges, namely in athletics. (Bowra 50) Christ too is a restless hero. Unlike other heroes, He does not challenge the apostles to foot races or tests of strength. Instead, He goes about fulfilling His mission on earth through travelling about the land. He teaches in parables and heals the sick. All the while His glory among the people grows and He is sought out by them.

While honour and glory elevate the hero's stature among his fellow men, pride is what keeps him grounded. The loftier tests of strength are counterbalanced by the

foolish tests of pride. These are classically instigated by bragging. (Bowra 51) For example: in *Beowulf*, Beowulf and Breca challenge each other to spend five days and nights in the sea. Neither can nor will step down from the challenge, for honour and pride are at stake.[68] Christ, on the contrary, is untouched by pride. As one of the seven deadly sins, pride has no place in His demeanor. Instead His glory is tempered by the Christian virtues of humility and honour. As the Saviour of Mankind, Christ's sense of honour is naturally an enhanced one.

In a contest, the hero's strength and consitution are challenged. Typically, this takes place in combat. The traditional hero is a man of war. The battlefield is the hero's forum to display his physical and tactical superiority openly. Christ, on the contrary, is a Man of Peace. As the Saviour of Mankind's souls, Christ's battles and His proving ground are of a much different nature.

The adversary need not always be a dragon or another warrior. Supernatural opponents frequently present themselves for contest as well. In the *Heliand*, Christ's test in battle is with a supernatural foe, Satan. To this battle, Satan does not arrive alone. Preceding him are "powerful creatures" (Murphy *Heliand* 36), *craftiga uuihte* (l.1030), or (Eng.) wights. *Uuihte* can be simply translated as "creature"or "being". It can denote both a person and a spirit.[69] Such beings were well known and real entities to the Saxon audience. Their inclusion in the scene cleverly and effectively incorporates pagan beings of evil with the Christian beings.

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[68] *Beowulf* 535ff. Qtd in. Bowra, 51.

[69] Jackob Grimm. *Teutonic Mythology*. vol.2 Trans. James Steven Stallybrass, 5th ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1966) 440.

Also, use of the word: *níðhugdig fiund* "hateful devil", on line 1056 evokes the image of Niðhogg, the serpent of the underworld. (Murphy *Heliand* 37 n.58) Satan himself has assumed a northern-inspired form. Fitt13:

> The good Chieftain Himself, the Son of the Ruler, after the immersion went out to the wild country.[...]He wanted to let powerful creatures test Him, even Satan...[...]Now the holy Christ did not want to listen any longer to this loathsome word, and so He drove him away from His favor, He brushed Satan away. (Murphy *Heliand* 39)

> Thô he im selbo giuuêt
> aftar them dôpislea, drohtin the gôdo,
> an êna uuôstunnea,
> ...uuelda is thar lâtan coston craftiga uuihti,
> selbon Satanasan...
> Thô ni uuelda thes lêðan uuord lengeron huuîle
> hôrean the hêlago Crist, ac he ina fon is huldi fordrêf,
> Satansasan forsuuêp.
> (l.1024-1026, 1030-1031, 1106-1108)

One should note Christ's active willingness to endure this battle (see above quotation). In Scripture, Christ is passively drawn to the desert. He is led by a spirit.

> Tunc Ihesus ductus est in deserto a spiritu, ut temptaretur a diabulo.

> Thô ther heilant uuas gileitit in vvuoustinna fon themo geiste, thaz her vvurdi gicostot fon themo diuuale. (Tatian 15:1)

> Mt.4:1 Jesus was led by the spirit into the desert, to be tempted by the devil.

It is a subtle change in the text that transforms Christ from a passive figure to one that is adventurous and bold, as a hero should be. Traditional epic poetry often compares the hero to a wild animal to characterize his ferocity or tenacity. Christ is never described in such savage terms. He is always depicted as a Man among men, the Best of all born. Christ is also unique in His calm demeanor. He is not as excitable as His traditional counterparts, who are quick to fight at the slightest provocation. Christ

comports Himself with serenity at all times. even when angered.While Christ and the traditional diverge in matters of demeanor. they share a common sense of tact. a strong wit. For the traditional hero, wit complements strength. For Christ. wit is His strength.

Typically the test of strength and fortitude is manifested in combat of some sort. Combat and other stylized acts of aggression, although brutal in nature, are germain to epic poetry, and to the society from which it originates. This was an epoch punctuated by constant warfare. It may appear gratuitious or excessive to the modern reader, but the aggression and violence portrayed in epic poetry were real aspects of life which were endured in some way by all. Therefore, the hero in combat was a figure one could relate to and emulate. Epic narrative reproduces this aspect of society and customizes its portrayal of contest, addressing and emphasizing its values and fears. A warrior society's greatest value was honour; its worst fear, dishonour.[70] The epic contest is therefore, a battle of honour. Material gain, desireable and necessary though it is, is secondary to the quest and preservation of a one's honour. (Parks 25f) Victory is an affirmation of one's self- worth; defeat, its loss. (Parks 26) While victory and honour were won by the individual, its benefits were communal. In a warrior society, the liege-lord claimed victory and shared his gains with his retinue.[71]

Victory and honour without an audience to bear witness was of little or no value at all. (Parks 27) It is the audience, after all, who lauds the hero.Without witnesses

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[70] Ward Parks, *Verbal Duelling in Heroic Narrative. The Homeric and Old English Traditions,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) 25.

[71] The chieftains fight for glory, the entourage for the chieftain....For they claim from the generosity of their chieftain that glorious war horse, that renowned framea, which will be bloodied and victorious; banquets and provisions, not luxurious yet abundant, serve as pay.

there is simply no praise. Also, the word "contest" itself presupposes the presence of witnesses. "Contest" is derived from the Old French *conteste*, which itself is derived from the Latin *contestari*. The root, *testis* means "witness" and is derived from the proto Indo-European *trei* (three) and *sta* (stand).[72] The presence of a third party lies at the very core of the word. Curiously, Christ's major battles are fought in virtual solitude. This may seem contrary to this paradigm for there to be no human witnesses present. The *Heliand*, however, is not a classic epic. It belongs in part to a larger Anglo-Saxon Christian tradition which casts God in the role of witness. (Parks 38) Also, indirectly bearing witness to the contests is the narrator himself. The narrator is naturally not an eyewitness to the action. He has acquired it from sources and is, in turn, passing it on to his audience. Every reference to the phrase "I have heard" is a reference to his sources. (Parks 39)

Above and beyond armed conflict, the hero also typically encounters an overwhelming force of nature, like a wall of fire, as in the *Edda* cycle. Or, he rises to the challenge of an supernatural beast, like Fafnir the dragon, also from the *Edda* cycle. In the *Heliand*, Christ, as per his function as hero, goes into battle as well, but not in the martial sense, for Christ's true nature as a Man of peace must remain intact. As would an epic hero do, He meets an enemy of supernatural origin in Satan. But His worst and most numerous foes were His fellow men.

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principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe...Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam: nam epulae et quamquam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Germania 14.

[72] Walter Ong, *Fighting for Life Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousnes,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981) 45.

To undergo these conflicts Christ does not suit himself in armour. Nor does he possess a signature sword that would have been forged especially for Him. Instead He arms Himself only with His faith in God to confront and defeat His nemeses: Satan in the forest, the Pharisees and Saduccees, and trial before Pilate and Herod.

Christ's battle with Satan in the forest bears all the markers of the epic battle between a hero and a foe. Firstly, as opponents, they are equally and suitably matched. Parity in strength and ability between the opponents heightens the tension of the battle and its effect on the audience. It distinguishes the hero as one who can meet and exceed a challenge, no matter how narrow the margin of victory. The pairing of combatants is significant to epic poetry. As equals, their qualities are elevated. They transcend their regular identites and personify the qualities for which they stand. (Bowra 57) In this contest Christ represents all that is noble; Satan, all that is base. Although superhuman ability is a hallmark of the hero, Bowra reminds us that mere physical strength alone is not enough for the hero to prevail. (Bowra 56) The hero must possess sharp faculties of mind. Christ proves this in His battle with Satan. Theirs is not a battle of strength; it is a battle of wits. One may classify it as a debate.Yet, superior display and execution of skills are expected from both parties. The thrusts and blocks in this contest are of a verbal nature. Both Satan and Christ rise to the challenge and each others'abilities. Satan's arguments and use of temptation are persuasive and seductive; enough to fell a lesser man. However, Christ's conviction and loyalty are stronger. In the end, Satan shows he is an honourable foe by conceding defeat and retreating back to the underworld.

RULES OF CONTEST

When reduced to its essential elements, the battle between Christ and Satan in the forest follows the traditional pattern of contest:

Engagement: Two adversarial figures are brought together to stand off against each other on a battlefield. (Parks 50) In the *Heliand*, Christ and Satan encounter each other in the forest:

> then the enemy came closer, the murky causer of harm, thinking now for sure that He was a man. Satan spoke to Him then in his words- the spear- enemy greeted Him. (Murphy *Heliand* 38)

> the fiund nâhor geng,
> mirki mênscaðo: uuânda that he man ênuuald
> uuâri uuisungo, spac in thô mid is uuordun tô,
> grôtta ina the gêrfiund:
> (l.1061-1064)

Flyting: The adversaries engage each other in taunts and insults in order to agitate one another and bring each other to a heightened emotional state or rage. (Parks 50) In the *Heliand*, Satan verbally engages and challenges Christ (three challenges):

> 1)"If You are God's Son," he said, "Why do You not command these stones to become bread?- if You have the power, Best of all those born, heal Your hunger!" (Murphy *Heliand* 38)

> 'ef thu sîs godes sunu', quad he,
> 'behuuî ni hetîs thu than uuerðan, ef thu giuuald habes,
> alloro barno bezt, brôd af thesun stênun?
> Gehêli thînna hungar.'
> (l.1064-1067)

> 2) "If You are God's Son," he said, "glide down to earth! It was written long ago in books, that the all-mighty Father has commanded His angels that they are to be Your guards on any of Your ways, and to hold You in their hands. Well?- You are not allowed even to hit Your foot against a rock, or a hard stone!" (Murphy *Heliand* 38)

'ef thu sîs godes sunu.' quað he.
'scrîd thi te erðu hinan. Gescriban uuas it giu langa.
an bôcun geuuriten. huuô giboden habad
is engilun alomahtig fader.
that sie thi ant uuege gehuuem uuardos sinðun.
haldad thi undar iro handun. Huuat, thu huuargin ni tharft
mid thînun fôtun an felis bespurnan,
an hardan stên.'
(l.1084-1091)

3) "if You will bow to me, fall at my feet and have me as lord, and pray at my lap, then I will let You enjoy all these possessions which I have shown You." (Murphy *Heliand* 38f)

'ef thu uuilt hnîgan te mi,
fallan te mînun fôtun endi mi for frôhan habas,
bedos te mînun barma. Than lâtu ic thi brûcan uuel
alles thes ôduuelon, thes ic thi hebbiu giôgit hîr.'
(l.1102-1105)

Trial of Arms: Following the verbal barbs, the physical contest or martial battle ensues. (Parks 50) In the *Heliand*, however, there is no pugilistic exchange between Christ and Satan. The battle remains one of words and wits. Christ meets every one of Satan's challenges and defeats him (three responses):

1)Then the Holy Christ responded, "People," He said, "the children of men, cannot live by simple bread, but they are to live on the works proclaimed aloud by the holy tongue, by the voice of God." (Murphy *Heliand* 38)

Thô sprac eft the hêlago Crist:
'ni mugun eldibarn', quad he, 'ênfaldes brôdes,
liudi libbien, ac sie sculun thurh lêra godes
uuesan an thesero uueroldi endi sculun thiu uuerc frummien,
thea thar uuerðad ahlûdid fon thero hêlogun tungun,
fon them galme godes:
(l.1067-1071)

2)Then the holy Christ, the Best of all ever born, spoke back, "It is also written in books," He said, "that you should not maliciously tempt your Lord and Master. This is no accomplishment to your credit" (Murphy *Heliand* 38)

Thô sprac eft the hêlago Crist,
allaro barno bezt: 'sô is ôc an bôcun gescriban', quað he,
'that thu te hardo ni scalt hêrran thînes.

fandon thînes frôhan: that nis thi allaro frumono negên.'
(l.1091-1094)

3) Soon after, the Best of those ever born spoke. He said that one should pray to the all-mighty God up above, and serve Him alone. "There is the help that reaches every man." (Murphy *Heliand* 39)

endi sân aftar sprac
allaro barno bezt, quað that man bedon scoldi
up te them alomahtigon gode endi im ênum thionon
suuîðo thiolico thegnos managa,
heliðos aftar is huldi: 'thar is thiu helpa gelang
manno gehuuilicun.'
(l.1108-1113)

Ritual Resolution: The contest ends either through a symbolic action or a conciliatory dialogue. (Parks 50) In the *Heliand*, it is an action. Satan retreats back to Hell:

Then the malicious destroyer, in a very worried mood, went away from there; Satan, the enemy, returned to the valleys of Hel. (Murphy *Heliand* 39)

Thô giuuêt im the mênscaðo,
suuîðo sêragmôd Satanas thanan,
fiund undar ferndalu.
(l.1113-1115:)

The ultimate battle of Christ's life, the crucifixion, is fought in the fashion of a Germanic epic. The Germanic tradition is rich in graphic violence, as the poetry of the period will testify. Yet, as previously stated, the violence is not gratuitous. Nor is it excessive. Every act of brutality, no matter how grim, is justified. Germanic epic poetry was a tradition born of the great migrations, a period characterized by extensive warfare. Brutality and savagery on the battlefield were a reality. True to the heroic tradtion, Christ enters His final battle with eyes wide open; knowing its outcome and knowing that it must be so. His life had been leading to this moment. The pain and

humiliation He is about to endure before the eyes of God and man is for the benefit of the same humankind that is condemning Him to death. Christ faces this test with unshakeable faith and fortitude. In His death Christ prevails against Satan, gaining the ultimate victory against the ultimate enemy. Defeat of this nature is by no means dishonourable.

Yet in the heroic epic, there is indeed glory in death. The hero's honour is actually intensified if he meets his demise in a great final stand. To meet death in this fashion is to meet destiny and fulfill it. He knows that not every foe can be vanquished, that there is an enemy destined to meet him and bring him down. The hero does not feel a sense of doom. Instead, he understands and accepts, even embraces his fate. He enters the battle and fights to his utmost ability, fully aware of its outcome. A lesser effort would undo all that he had lived for, that being distinction and honour. The dishonour, having been deflected off the hero, would have been thrust upon the others for having survived their leader. As Christ enters His final battle alone, the integrity of the apostles remains intact. The treatment of the battle in this fashion certainly must have resonated with the warriors among the Saxon audience. This ethic was the cornerstone of their society. In the end, Christ lives heroic life and dies a heroic death.

While a secular hero fights for his own glory, all of Christ's accomplishments are for the glory of God; not for Himself. While this elevated sense of honour is what distinguishes the hero from others, honour alone is not enough to sustain him. The hero needs companionship, an individual or group to which he can turn for cameraderie and friendship. For Christ, it is the apostles.

PARTNERSHIP

Typically, the hero wins a maiden after having conquered his nemesis. (DeVries 215) In the *Völsungasaga*, Sigurd, after having slain both Fafnir and Regin, wins Brynhild.[73] (Anderson 89) In the *Heliand,* this aspect is altered to conform to Scripture. Christ, a celibate, does not marry. Rather, He acquires the apostles. They are to become His retinue to accompany Him on His journeys and to serve Him. Fitt14:

> Christ, God's own Child, then set off for Galilleeland,...[...] It was there He began to gather men to be His followers, good men to be his word-wise warriors. (Murphy *Heliand* 40)

Krist im forð giuuêt
an Galileo land, godes êgan barn,...
He began in samnon thô
gumono te iungoron, gôdoro manno,
uuordspâha uueros.
(l.1134-1135, 1148-1150)

Christ and the apostles enjoy the same bonding ritual as does the secular hero with his companions: celebrating and communal eating. In Anglo-Saxon and respectively, Saxon society, communal eating encapsulated a value system: giving, sharing, eating and drinking: companionship. "Companion", *com-panis*, one who takes bread with someone, arises from this custom.[74] In Anglo-Saxon poetry and, respectively, in the *Heliand*, the eating hall was a gathering place for all.

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[73] But he ultimately marries Gudrun. Anderson 102.

[74] The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology, 196

It was the centre of the heroic world.[75] Moreso than the church, the eating hall was the actual cohesive element of a society. As a place of fellowship and celebration, the eating hall epitomized a society's sense of community (Magennis 1996, 35). The Exeter Book poem, *Widsith* summarizes the spirit of this place:

> Forþon ic mæg singan ond secgan spell,
> mænan fore mengo in meodhealle
> hu me cynegode cystum dohten.
> (Magennis 1996, 46)
>
> "Therefore I can sing and tell a tale,
> mention before the company in the mead-hall
> how noble men have generously been kind to me".
> (Magennis 1996, 46 n.50)

The mead-hall (*uuinseli*) is not simply a place of Bacchanalian indulgence. Key events in *Heliand* take place in the mead-hall. In fitt 3 Zachary is found in a mead-hall when asked to vouchsafe the naming of John (the Baptist): "Just go and ask the father, a man of long experience who in his wisdom has seated himself over there in his mead-hall." (Murphy *Heliand* 11) *ac uuitâ is thana fader frâgon, the thar sô gifrôdid sitit, uuîs an is uuînseli:* (l.228-229) In addition to the naming of John the Baptist, the banquet hall is also the sight of the wedding feast at Cana, where Christ performs His first miracle. In this episode the *Heliand* poet also provides a revealing and candid glimpse into eating hall culture:

> The Protector of People, God's own Child, went with His followers to the high house where the crowd of Jewish people were drinking in the guest-hall. ...The warriors were merry, the people were enjoying themselves together, the men were feeling good. The servants went around pouring from pitchers, they had clear wine in steins and barrels. The conviviality of the earls in the

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[75] Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) (= Cambridge Studies in Old Saxon England 18) 38.

drinking hall was a beautiful sight, and the men on the benches reached a very high level of bliss, they were very happy! (Murphy *Heliand* 67.)

godes êgan barn,
an that hôha hûs, thar the heri dranc,
thea ludeon an themu gastseli: he im ôc at them gômun uuas,...

Uuerod blîðode,
uuârun thar an luston liudi atsamne,
gumon gladmôdie. Gengun ambahtman,
skenkeoon mid scâlun, drôgun skîrianne uuîn
mid orcun endi mid alofatun; uuas ther erlo drôm
fagar an flettea, thô thar folc undar im
an them benkeon sô bezt blîðsea afhôbun,
uuârun thar an uunneun.
(1.2000-2003; 2005-2012)

Compared to:

Et die tertio nuptiae facte sunt in Canan Galileae, et erat mater Ihesus ibi.Vocatus est autem ibi et Ihesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias.

In thritten tage brútloufti gitano uuarun in thero steti thiu hiéz Canan Galilee: thar uuas thes heilantes muoter. Gihalot uuas ouh thar ther heilant inti sine iungiron zi thero brutloufti. (Tatian 45:1)

Jn 2:1-2: And the third day, there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee: and the mother of Jesus was there. And Jesus also was invited, and his disciples, to the marriage.

As seen above, the wedding itself receives minimal treatment in Scripture, providing the poet with an open contextual space to fill with the account of the heroic ritual. He does so without compromising the significance of the miracle that takes place. The numerous references to wine and revelry typical of Anglo-Saxon epic poetry meld seamlessly into the Scripture, enhancing the episode.

The motif of the mead-hall, wine, and its mass consumption is repeated in fitt 33, the beheading of John the Baptist:

> A huge crowd of men were assembled there in the guest-hall: the army leaders were there in the house where their lord was on his royal throne. Many Jews came to the guest-hall, they were in a merry mood with joy in their hearts. They saw their ring-giver there in his happiness! Clear wine was being carried to the drinking hall in pitchers; the servants who were pouring were hurrying back and forth with golden goblets. There was loud playfulness in the hall, the warrior-heroes wer drinking! This made the country's herdsman [the king] in his joy and pleasure think what more he could do for the people's enjoyment.(Murphy *Heliand* 89f)

> Thô uuarð thar an thene gastseli
> megincraft mikil manno gesamnod,
> heritogono an that hûs thar iro hêrro uuas
> an is kuningstôle. Quâmun managa
> ludeon an thene gastseli; uuarð im thar gladmôd hugi.
> bliði an iro breostun: gisâhun iro bâggebon
> uuesen an uunneon. Drôg man uuîn an flet
> skîri mid scâlun, skenkeon huurbun,
> gengun mid goldfatun: gaman uuas thr inne
> hlûd an thero hallu, heliðos drunkun.
> Uuas thes an lustun landes hirdi,
> huat he themu uuerode mêst te uunniun gifremidi.
> (l.2733-2744)

As with the wedding feast at Cana, Scripture provides but a minimal description of the festivities:

> Et cum dies oportunus accidisset, Herodes natalis sui cenam fecit principibus et tribunis et primis Galileae

> Inti sósó thó tág gilumphlih giburita, Herodes sinero giburti gouma teta then heriston inti then giereton inti then furiston Galileæ (Tatian 79:4)

> Mk 6:21: And when a convenient day was come, Herod made a supper for his birthday, for the princes, and tribunes, and chief men of Galilee.

The Last Supper, although portrayed much truer to the Scriptural event, nonetheless depicts a hero and his warriors meeting in a mead-hall and sharing a final meal before battle. The reference to eating hall culture is minimal, but nonetheless present: "He will then show you a magnificent house, a high hall, which is everywhere hung with

beautiful decorations" (Murphy *Heliand* 149): *Than tôgid he iu ên gôdlîc hûs. hôhan soleri. the is bihangen al fagarun fratahun.* (l. 4541-4543)

In all three examples there is no mention of food. While there is one reference to decor, the main emphasis is on drinking, intoxication, or both. It has even been suggested that Herod's fateful actions were the result of drunkenness.[76] Contrary to the Church's teachings, the excess of drink is not depicted as overindulgent or sinful in the *Heliand.* On the contrary, drinking is couched in positive terms and is coupled with merriment: *druncan drômead* (l.2054): joy and drinking. (Magennis 1985, 129) While other Christian poems within the Anglo-Saxon tradition portray indulgent feasting with disdain[77], the *Heliand* poet approaches the matter with respect to the Germanic culture from which his readers come. He was aware that excess was a valued tradition in the Germanic culture, and a long standing one at that.[78] The feast, as portrayed in the *Heliand,* is celebrated in true Germanic fashion, providing a candid glimpse into warrior culture and emphasizing the significance of the banquet. As previously mentioned there is no reference to food or eating. Drinking is the dominant activity. In all three references to feasting, The Wedding Feast at Cana, Herod's Birthday, and the Last Supper, wine is the libation of choice. While beer was the indigenous brew, wine

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[76] Hugh Magennis, "The Treatment of Feasting in the *Heliand*" *Neophilologus* 69 (1985) 131.

[77] Lines 483-490 of *Juliana* depict a feast presided over by Satan himself. Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry,* 44.

[78] As Tacitus observed in AD 98:
No other people indulge more freely in feasts and hospitality.
Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. (Germania 21:2:)
It is not disgraceful for any one to pass day and night in drinking.
diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum (Germania 22:1)

was not unknown to northern Germanic tribes.[79] The inclusion of wine may simply be a faithful rendering of Scripture. It may also be a calculated departure from pre-Christian ceremony, as beer was ritually consumed at pagan feasts of sacrifice.[80] By removing the beer from the event and replacing it with wine, the poet effortlessly replaces the anachronistic pagan ritual with modern Christian ceremony. Consumption was done in mass quantities, an aspect of Germanic culture that did not go unnoticed by Tacitus:

> If one would indulge their intoxication by furnishing as much drink as they long for, they will be conquered no less easily by their vices than by arms.
>
> *...si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.* (*Germania* 23)

The *Heliand*'s poet also capitalizes on this element of Germanic culture. When the wine runs out at the wedding at Cana, Mary's appeal to Jesus appears to be motivated more by a need to continue the merriment than by a sense of meeting a spiritual destiny:

> Then she asked the holy Christ earnestly to arrange some help for the people, for the sake of their happiness. (Murphy *Heliand* 67f)
>
> Siu thô gerno bad,
> that is the hêlogo Crist helpa geriedi
> themu uuerode te uuilleon.
> (l. 2021-2023)

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[79] "They have a beverage made from barley or wheat, fermented into something like wine; those nearest the frontier also purchase wine."
Potui umor ex hordeo aut frumento in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. (*Germania* 23)

[80] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North, The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964) 251.

Towards the end of the celebration. a second transformation occurs. this one among the guests: a miracle which inspired new loyalty.

> After those words, and after they had drunk this wine, many a thane became aware that the holy Christ had performed a sign there inside the house. They had more trust in His protection after that, more confidence that He had the power and authority of God in this world. (Murphy *Heliand* 68)

geuuar aftar them uuordun,
that thar the hêlogo Crist
têcan uuarhte:
thiu mêr an is mundburd,
geuuald an thesoro uueroldi.
(l. 2066-2071)

Thô uuarð thar thegan manag
siðor sie thes uuînes gedruncun,
an themu hûse innan
trûodun sie siðor
that hi habdi maht godes,

LOYALTY

In epic poetry the relationship between the hero and his partner or partners is vertical. The hero is clearly the superior while the partners are of lower social status or miltary rank. Such a constellation does not necessarily translate into obedience without question on the part of the inferiors. They are open to think and act according to their own free will, even if it is contrary to the hero's wishes. Theirs, after all, is a bond of loyalty, not of subservience. (Bowra 65) The apostles, although loyal to Christ and prepared to endure the hardships involved in spreading His teachings in hostile areas, nonetheless have their moments of weakness. The apostles'moments of doubt- namely those of Judas and Peter- are founded in Scripture.

JUDAS

When Judas betrays Christ, and when Peter denies Him three times, these actions and their motivations are founded in Christian doctrine. The case of Judas, his straying is orchestrated by fate. Judas acts accordingly, as if under a spell. He is not in control of his will. It is only when he is signified by Christ that he actively assumes the role of traitor. It is also at this point that Judas' sense of honour emerges, albeit slightly. As Christ is led away, Judas realizes the gravity of his actions and forsakes the silver coins he had earned in exchange for leader's blood. For this act he is shunned by all. Afterwards, he then takes his own life, an overt acknowledgement of his shame, the ultimate act of the untouchable. Judas hangs himself, as per Scripture and per Germanic law.[81]

> Et proiectis argentis in templo recessit, abiens laqueo se suspendit.
>
> Inti uouuorpfanen silabarlingon in thaz tempal thana fuor, gangenti erhieng sih mit strictu. (Tatian 193:3)
>
> Mt.27:5: And casting down the pieces of silver in the temple, he departed: and went and hanged himself with a halter.

To this account the *Heliand* poet introduces an aspect of the Germanic legal code. Judas is judged a deserter, and as such, meets a deserter's fate.

In one person Judas is the criminal, the judge, and the executioner. There is nobody present at his execution.

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[81] See note 166.

He has been shunned by his peers- the apostles- and by the officials who paid him the silver coins. His execution is a lonely, solitary event.[82]

PETER

Peter, the most steadfast of the apostles, is initially incredulous of his fate to deny his leader. It would never have entered his consciousness to act in such a treacherous manner, unless it was imposed upon him by an outside force. And indeed it was. Much like Judas, Peter commits his act mechanically, as if possessed by a greater power.[83] His will is detatched from his actions. It is only after the cock crowed, as prophesied by Christ Himself, that Peter comes to the full realization of his deed. His remorse is painful and bitter:

> Peter immediately felt pain within him, there was hurt in his heart, confusion in his mind. He was deeply concerned about what he had just said. He remembered the words which Christ the Ruler had Himself said to him before, that in the dark of the night, before the cockcrow, he would deny his Lord three times. This memory swelled up within him, a bitter feeling in his breast, and he walked out of the place in a rage, the man went off from the crowd because of his deep concern and feelings of sorrow. He was crying over his own words, his own failure. He was so worried that hot and bloody tears came pouring up from his heart. He thought he could never again make in the slightest for his deceitful deeds or return to his Lord and be in his favour. (Murphy *Heliand* 164f.)

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[82] -that he made himself a noose. The deserter bowed down, putting his head into the deadly rope to strangle and hang himself, and chose his punishment. Murphy *Heliand* 170.

> that he imu selbon thô sîmon uuarhte,
> hnêg thô an herusêl an hinginna,
> uuarg an uurgil endi uuîti gecôs.
> (l.5166-5168)

[83] He had no control over his words. It was supposed to happen that way. It had been thus determined by the One who is the Protector of Mankind in this world. Murphy *Heliand* 164.

> Ni habda is uuordo geuuald: it scolde giuuerðen sô,
> sô it the gemarcode, the mankunnies
> faruuardot an thesaru uueroldi. (l.4978-4980)

Thô uuarð an imu an innan sân.
Sîmon Petruse sêr an is môde.
harm an is hertan endi is hugi drôbi.
suîðo uuarð imu an sorgun, that he êr selbo gesprak:
gihugde thero uuordo thô: the imu êr uualdand Krist
selbo sagda, that he an theru suartan naht
êr hanocrâdi is hêrron scoldi
thrîuuo farlôgnien. Thes thram imu an innan môd
bittro an is breostun, endi is selbes uuord,
uuamscefti uueop, antat imu uuallan quâmun
thurh thea hertcara hête trahni,
blôdage fan is breostun. He ni uuânde that he is mahti gibôtien uuiht,
firinuuerco furður eftha te is frâhon kuman,
hêrron huldi: (l.4993-5008)

The scriptural account is not nearly as emotionally charged.[84] Other than a reference to weeping, there is no insight to Peter's state of mind and his overwhelming anguish. In this passage the *Heliand* poet has captured the inner turmoil of Christ's favourite apostle, the rock upon whom Christ was to build His church. Despite his inner turmoil, Peter does not take his own life as a consequence. Rather, he accepts his act of denial as a painful, yet crucial test of his faith towards his leader. To this the poet adds:

> People should not be amazed, warriors need not wonder, why God would have wanted such a loveable man and powerful thane to have such an evil thing happen to him as to deny his beloved Chieftain so shamefully because of the servant-girl's words. It was done for the sake of those people, for the sake of the sons of men. The holy Chieftain intended to make Peter the first man in the leadership of His household, and wanted Peter to realize how much strength there is in the human spirit without the power of God. He let Peter commit sin so that afterwards he would better appreciate people, how all human beings love to be forgiven when they have done something wrong. People love to be freed from their loathsome sins and crimes-just as God, the King of Heaven, forgave Peter the wrong he had done. (Murphy *Heliand* 165f.)

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[84] ... et recordatus est Petrus verbi domini quod dixerat ei: priusquam gallus cantet, ter me negabis hodie. Et egressus foras Petrus flevit amare.

... inti gihugita tho Petrus trohtines uuortes thaz er imo quad: er thanne hano crae, driio stunt forsehhis mih hiutu. Inti uzgangenti Petrus uuiof bittaro. (Tatian 189:6)

Mt.26:75.And Peter remembered the word of Jesus which he had said: Before the cock crow, thou wilt diny me thrice. And going forth, he wept bitterly.

Than ni thurbun thes liudio barn,
uueros uundroian, behui it uueldi god.
that sô hônlîco hêrron sînes
thurh thera thiuun uuord. thegno snellost.
farlôgnide sô liobes: it uuas al bi thesun liudun giduan,
firiho barnun te frumu. He uuelde in te furiston dôan,
hêrost obar is hîuuiski, hêlag drohtin:
lêt ina gekunnon, huilike craft habet
the mennisca môd âno the maht godes;
lêt ina gesundion, that he sîðor thiu bet
liudiun gilôbdi, huô liof is thar
manno gihuilicumu, than he mên gefrumit,
that man ina alâte lêðes thinges,
sacono endi sundeono, sô im thô selbo dede
hebenrîki god harmgeuurhti. (I.5023-5039)

Peter's act, although sharply contrary to his nature, was necessary. His loyalty and moral strength are put to a most rigourous test by God Himself, so that a valuable lesson may be revealed to him. It was a test of strength and loyalty turned on its side. In order to honour His Lord, Peter was to have dishonoured Him. He emerges from this trial a wiser and stronger man. Failure to follow through on the task would have been the true act of disloyalty and punishable by death.

JOURNEY INTO THE UNDERWORLD

The hero is sent on a mission into hell. (DeVries 216) This is yet another test of strength for the hero, as a battle or contest typically ensues. Scripture provides its own journey into hell at the crucifixion, as the veil of the temple is torn asunder.[85] Christ's

[85]Ihesus autem iterum clamans voce magna: (Lk.23:46) pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum! (Jn.19:30) et inclinato capite (Mt.27:50-52) emisit spiritum. Et ecce velum templi scissum est in duas partes a summo usque deorsum. Et terfa mota est. et petre scisso sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt. Et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt.
Ther heilant abur ruofenti mihileru stemmu: fater. in thino henti biuiluhu ih minan geist! inti nidargihelditemo houbite santa then geist. Senu tho lahan thes tempales zislizzan uuas in zuei teil fon

descent into hell is also repeated in prayer. in the Apostles' Creed. The *Heliand* recreates the cataclysmic events surrounding the death of Christ faithfully (see "**DEATH**") After Christ is laid to rest. the gates of hell are opened. Fitt 68:

> Light was at that moment opened up, for the good of the sons of men; the many bolts on the doors of Hel were unlocked; the road from this world up to heaven was built! (Murphy *Heliand* 191)

> Lioht uuas thuo giopanod
> firio barnon te frumu: uuas fercal manag
> antheftid fan helldoron endi te himile uueg
> giuuaragt fan thesaro uueroldi.
> (l.5772-5775)

While not an actual journey into hell, Christ's battle with Satan in the forest may be interpreted as a symbolic journey. The episode certainly bears the significant markers of a hero's journey into hell. Firstly, as the journey is a test of one man's strength, the hero must undergo the journey alone. In the battle in the forest, Christ, too departs alone. It is His will that no-one accompany Him.[86] Secondly, Christ undertakes this journey on His own volition.[87] There is also an implicit sense of duty in this episode.[88] By going into the forest to do battle with Satan, Christ is fulfilling a mission. While the

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obanentic zunzan nidar. Into erda giruorit uuas, into steina gislizane uuarun, inti grebir uurdun giofanotu. Inti manage lihamon heilagero thie dar sliefun erstuontun. (Tatian 208:6,209:1-s)
Mt.27:50 And Jesus again crying with a loud voice, (Lk.23:46)Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. (Jn.19:30And bowing his head (Mt.27:50-52) yielded up the ghost. And behold the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top even to the bottom, and the earth quaked, and the rocks were rent. And the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose.

[86] ...this was as he chose it to be. (Murphy, *Heliand*, 36) al sô he im selbo gicôs: (l.1029)

[87] He wanted to let powerful creatures test him. (Murphy, *Heliand*, 36) uuelda is thar lâtan coston, craftiga uuihti, (l.1030); emphasis mine.

[88] God the Ruler wanted to change that. He wanted to grant these people the high-heaven kingdom, and for this reason, he sent them a holy messenger, His Son. Murphy *Heliand* 37.

> Thô uuelda that god mahtig,
> uualdand uuendean endi uuelda thesum uuerode forgeben
> hôh himilrîki: bethiu he herod hêlagna bodon,
> is sunu senda.

secular epic hero is not acting on behalf of God; he is still motivated by duty of some sort. In the *Nibelungenlied.*[89] Siegfried's battle in the cave is precipitated by obliging Schilbung and Nibelung's appeal for his assistance in dividing their treasure. In the *Heliand*, Christ sets off for a place called a wasteland, *uuostunnea,* by the poet. This place is not in hell, but on earth, *midgardr*. It is not enclosed by a cave, but it is secluded. Here, Christ endures hardship by fasting for forty days. He encounters creatures from hell, who have materialized to spy on Him. Near the end of His fast, He finally encounters Satan, who engages Him in a battle of wits, the details and outcome of which have already been outlined. While Christ does not acquire a treasure hoard as a spoil of victory, as does Siegfried, He is enriched in a unique way. When Christ emerges from the forest He is greeted by a fleet of angels sent by God to serve Him.[90] In the end, the poet portrays Christ as having endured and prevailed in a test not unlike any other epic hero in his own journey into hell.

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[89] *Das Nibelungenlied. Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch.* Nach dem Text von Karl Bartsch und Helmut DeBoor, ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt und kommentiert von Siegfried Grosse (Stuttgart: Reclam,1997) 33-35.

[90] Afterward a great crowd came down from the All-Ruler above to Christ, God's angels, who were to render service to Him. They were to care for Him when it was over, serving Him with humility. Murphy *Heliand* 39.

Uuarð thar folc mikil
fon them aloualdan obana te Criste
godes engilo cumen, thie im siðor iungardôm,
scoldun ambahtscepi aftar lêstien,
thionon thiolîco: (l.1115-1119)

BANISHMENT AND RETURN

The hero is often driven from his kingdom and must prove himself to earn his way back in. (DeVries 216) Once again, the hero is challenged to prove his worth and display his strength. It is not only a physical challenge, but a psychological challenge as well. In the *Thiðreksaga*, young Sigurd is sent to the forest for nine days. During his exile he is confronted by a dragon. In order to defeat and kill the dragon, Sigurd must use both his strength and his wits. Afterwards, while consuming its flesh, Sigurd learns of Mimir's plans to kill him. He returns to Mimir, his foster father, and kills him before Mimir has a chance to kill him (Haymes 107f) Were it not for the exile, Sigurd would not have been able to sharpen his fighting skills. He also would not have acquired the impenetrable skin or the language of birds, which forewarned him of danger.

Christ's exile as a child does not provide Him with the tests of strength and wit as exile does for other epic heroes. Rather, the flight to Egypt ensures Christ's safety, so that He may survive the wrath of Herod. Upon Herod's death Christ returns to Israel and grows to adulthood. As an adult, however, Christ lives much like an exile, constantly wandering the land, and never settling in a fixed abode. Throughout His journeys, Christ has gained many followers- and enemies. To survive the attacks and threats, Christ relies on His wits. He never takes up arms when threatened. Nor does He allow Himself to become agitated or excited by the provocations. No matter how grave the threat may be, Christ rises above it calmly and emerges unscathed. Fitt 48:

> At that, the opponents wanted to capture Him there on the spot and throw stones at Him.[...] Christ, the All-Ruler did not want to listen any longer to the Jews' reprimands and hostility, and so He went away from the shrine across the Jordan River.[...] The time had come nearer when He would go back to Jerusalem to show them the power He had.[...] God's good Son set off from there, crossing over the river, until He and His followers, the Son of the Chieftain Himself and His warrior-companions, came to Bethany.... (Murphy *Heliand* 129-131)

Thô uueldun ina the andsacon thar
an stedi fâhen eftha stên ana uuerpen,...
Crist allouualdo
ne uuolda thero ludeono thuo leng gelpes hôrian,
uurêðaro uuilion, ac hie im af them uuîhe fuor
obar Iordanes strôm;...
Thiu tîd uuas thuo genâhit,
that hie eft te Hierusalem ludeo liudeo
uuîson uuelda, sô hie giuuald habda...
Thuo giuuêt hie im obar thia fluod thanan,
thie guodo godes suno, anthat hie mid is iungron quam
thar te Bithaniu,
(l. 3940-3941, 3954-3957, 3981-3983, 4010-4012)

DEATH

Heroes typically die young. Often a miraculous feat accompanies a hero's death. (DeVries 216) In the *Thiðrekssaga*, Sigurd dies at a young age. His death, however, is not miraculous. He dies at the hands of his brothers-in-law, a victim of treachery. His body is unceremoniously dumped outside Grimhild's bedchamber. (Haymes 213f) In the *Heliand*, Christ is aged 33 years at His crucifixion. The exact moment of His death is marked by cataclysmic forces of nature: the skies grow dark during daylight hours and massive earthquakes erupt. Graves open and the dead rise and walk the earth.

Fitt 67:

At midday a great sign was wondrously shown over the whole world when they lifted God's Son up onto the gallows. up onto the cross-it became known everywhere: the sun went dark. its brilliant. beautiful light was unable to shine. It was wrapped in shadow, dark and gloomy, and in a deep sinister fog. Of all overcast days it was the dreariest and darkest ever in this wide world for as long as Christ the Ruler was suffering on the cross, until none that day. At that time the fog lifted and the darkness dissipated, the sun's light began to grow brighter in the sky.[...]

As the Protector of the Land died on the rope, amazing signs were worked immediately so that the Ruler's death, His last day, would be recognized by the many speechless beings. Earth trembled, the high mountains shook, hard rocks and boulders in the fields cracked apart. The colorful curtain so wonderfully woven which had for many a day been hanging without harm inside the shrine (people, heroes' sons, were never allowed to look at the holy things hidden behind the curtain) was torn in two down the middle- Jewish people could then see the treasure-hoard! Graves of dead men opened up; and, by the Chieftain's power, they got up out of the earth alive in their bodies, and were caught sight of there, to the amazement of human beings. What a powerful thing that was, that Christ's death should be felt and acknowledged by so many beings which had never before spoken a word to human beings in this world! (Murphy *Heliand* 185,187)

Thuo uuarð thar an middian dag mahti têcan
uuundarlîc giuuaraht obar thesan uuerold allan,
thuo man thena godes suno an thena galgon huof,
Crist ant that crûci: thuo uuarð it cûð obar all,
huô thiu sunna uuarð gisuorkan: ni mahta suigli lioht
scôni giscînan, ac sia scado farfeng,
thim endi thiustri endi sô githrusmod nebal.
Uuarð allaro dago droubost, duncar suîðo
obar thesan uuîdun uueruld, sô lango sô uualdand Crist
qual an themo crûcie, cuningo rikost,
ant nuon dages. Thuo thie nebal tiscrêd,
that gisuerc uuarð thiu tesuungan, bigan sunnun lioht
hêdron an himile....
Sô thuo thie landes uuard
sualt an them sîmon, sô uuarð sân after thiu
uundartêcan giuuaraht, that thar uualdandes dôð
unqueðandes sô filo antkennian scolda,
gifuolian is êndagon: erða biboda,
hrisidun thia hôhun bergos, harda stênos clubun,
felisos after them felde, endi that fêha lacan tebrast
an middion an tuê, that êr magan dag
an themo uuîhe innan uuundron gistriunid
hêl hangoda -ni muostun heliðo barn,

thia liudi scauuon, huat under themo lacane uuas
hêlages behangan: thuo mohtun an that horð sehan
ludeo liudi- grabu uuurðun giopanod
dôdero manno, endi sia thuru drohtines craft
an iro lîchamon libbiandi astuodun
upp fan erðu endi uuurðun giôgida thar
mannon te mârðu. That uuas sô mahtig thing,
that thar Cristes dôð antkennian scoldun,
sô filo thes gifuolian, thie gio mid firihon ne sprac
uuord an thesaro uueroldi.
(l.5621-5633, 5658-5677)

These above outlined characteristics are not hard and fast rules of character development. They are merely frequently occuring tendencies in epic style. All together these qualities form a composite, the embodiment of a society's ideal. (Curtius 167) Noble in character and spirit, the hero is a pure being. He is not motivated by base gains. Rather, he is motivated by honour. His characteristics: high and unusual birth, rapid growth, supernatural strength and skill against adversity, high intellect, and a glorious demise are altogether unattainable or physically impossible for the common or individual man to embody. Yet, despite their unattainability, these are all qualities man admires and strives to emulate. To a Germanic society steeped in the oral tradition of epic poetry, the characteristics of a hero are highly valued qualities. The *Heliand* poet took painstaking measures to reproduce them and to customize them to the legend of Jesus Christ, thus rendering Him as the embodiment of a Germanic society's ideal figure.

CHAPTER 4

THE POET'S TECHNIQUES

The hero's actions need not always be grand. Sometimes subtle acts resonate with the audience just as clearly as the grand episodes. While the poet chiefly follows the paradigm of heroic poetry, he has also made certain concessions in the text to everyday Germanic culture. For this to be effective and relevant, the poet must be selective. The poet wants neither to overwhelm the audience with a litany of superhuman feats, nor does he want to drown them in the minutiae of commonplace details. The poet must display grandeur through simplicity without undermining the loftier elements of epic poetry. In composing his work, the *Heliand* poet blends and balances the motifs and action- be they spiritual or secular, epic or everyday- with great skill. And for the poet, this was a formidable task. He had a library of many texts from which to draw, but chose only a limited amount of the material to reproduce. He does so for good reason. A step-by-step account of Christ's life would likely not have had the same impact on the Saxon listener as did the presentation of select and edited highlights. Oversaturation of the material would have been counterproductive to his task. Exclusion of material is actually constructive. The poet's technique is not unlike the artist's use of negative space. It impacts the viewer, or in the case of the *Heliand*, the reader and listener, while it maintains compositional integrity. The *Heliand* poet is careful in his choice of material as well as his words. Without such care, his message would be lost in wordiness and needless repetition. Significant events and figures are portrayed according to their respective milieu and are not understated. Lighter subject

matter. likewise. is given appropriate attention and no more. In addition to scriptural knowledge and epic motifs. the poet appears also to have been well versed in the rhetorical arts as well. If the poet is a monk (or a layman educated in a monastery). this is a definite possibility, as the rhetorical arts were part of the monastic curriculum. Whatever the identity of the poet, and whatever his training may be, the text itself- the choice of words, the balance and presentation of the material, and the portrayal of the figures- convincingly reveal a command of rhetoric. The *Heliand* poet has composed his work with his listeners in mind. His task is to be selective with his material and he must remain focused in its presentation, lest he should alienate his audience or lose its attention. (Bowra 55) Although this practice is more typical of oral poetry, the *Heliand* boldly incorporates it while firmly belonging to the literary tradition. In this way the *Heliand* is a unique amalgam of oral and literary epic. The plot advances by following concentric actions which build upon each other and reinforce the overall message of the poem. The inclusion of certain miracles and parables are not mere devices of epic poetry. They are refrains and choruses of a much larger "song", that of life in a blended empire. These were expressly formulated and arranged to appeal to the Saxon world view and meld seamlessly with it. This is the mission of poetry at large and of the poet in question. Here follows a selection of lesser, yet relevant aspects of epic poetry and Germanic culture.

THE PUBLIC: CROWDS AND INDIVIDUALS

Epic poetry primarily focuses on the hero and his immediate companions. Little attention is paid to the public at large. They are typically treated as a mass and are seldom singled out. The *Heliand* poet also follows this tendency, as he only identifies select individuals by name. Those who are mentioned are established figures from Scripture: Lazarus, his sisters Martha and Mary. Otherwise, crowds in the *Heliand* are anonymous masses. They are, however, necessary bystanders as witnesses to, and beneficiaries of Christ's miracles. The division of the five loaves and two fishes among five thousand in fitt 34 is one such example.

The crowd can also be an overwhelming force. Before Christ can begin the Sermon on the Mount, He must physically separate Himself and the apostles from the crowd:

> The people came every day to the place where our Chieftain was with His retinue of warrior-companions, so that there was a great crowd of people there from many clans- though they did not all come with the same intent, nor did they all want the same thing. Some were looking for the Ruler's Son- many of the poorer people needing food- so that they could get donations of meat and drink from the people in the crowd there, since there were many good thanes there who gladly gave their alms to poor people. Some of them were of the Jewish clan, sneaky people, They had come there to spy on our Chieftain's deeds and words, they had a sneaky attitude of mind and ill-will. They wanted to make Ruling Christ loathsome to the people so that they would not listen to His teaching nor act according to His will. Some, however, were very wise men, men of intelligence and of worth before God, the elite among the people. (Murphy *Heliand* 42f)

> Thô fôrun thar thie liudi tô
> allaro dago gehuuilikes, thar ûsa drohtin uuas
> selbo undar them gisîðie, untthat thar gesamnod uuarð
> meginfolc mikil managoro thiodo,
> thoh sie tahr alle be gelîcumu gelôbon ni quâmin,
> uueros thurh ênan uuilleon: sume sôhtun sie taht uualdandes barn,
> armoro manno filu - uuas im âtes tharf-,

that si im thar at theru menigi mates endi drankes,
thigidin at theru thiodu: huuand thar uuas manag thegan sô gôd,
thie ira alamosnie armun mannun
gerno gâbun. Sume uuârun sie im eft ludeono cunnies,
fêgni folcskepi: uuârun thar gefarana te thiu,
that sie ûses drohtines dâdio endi uuordo
fâron uuoldun, habdun im fêgnien hugi,
uurêðen uuillion: uuoldun ualdand Crist
alêdien them liudiun, that sie is lêron ni hôrdin,
ne uuendin aftar is uuillion. Suma uuârun sie im eft sô uuîse man,
uuârun im glauuue gumon endi gode uuerðe,
alesane undar them liudiun,
(l.1217-1235)

Lastly, the crowd can be source of hostility. In fitt 32 a crowd lures Christ up a hill, in order to cast Him from it: "...and so they began to discuss among themselves how they could throw such a strong man off a cliff, over a mountain wall." (Murphy *Heliand* 87)

ac sie bigunnun sprekan undar im,
huô sie ina sô craftagne fan ênumu clibe uuirpin,
obar ênna berges uual:
(l.2673-2675)

Christ survives this attempt at His life. Starting at fitt 61 and continuing through fitt 66, it is mob rule which condemns Christ to crucifixion. The crowd persists until the act is carried through:

> The Jewish people stood there, stupefied, accusing God's Son with their words. They said that He first started insurrection in Galileeland, "and from there he traveled through Judea to here, creating doubt in peoples' minds and feelings. For this He deserves to die; He deserves to be punished by the edge of the sword if ever there was someone who was worthy of death because of His deeds. (Murphy *Heliand* 172)

Than stôdun dolmôde
ludeo liudi endi thane godes sunu
uuordun uurôgdun: quâdun that he giuuerêrist
begunni an Galieo lande, 'endi obar ludeon fôr
heroduuardes thanan, hugi tuîflode,
manno môdsebon, sô he is morðes uuerð,
that man ina uuîtnoie uuâpnes eggiun,
ef eo man mid sulicun dâdun mag dôðes gesculdien.
(l.5237-5244)

As stated above. the primary focus of epic poetry is on the hero and on his immediate followers. Although. on rare occasions, the more humble figures are given attention. Their relevance to the forward motion of the plot and accentuation of the hero justify such a divergence. The *Heliand* poet uses this technique to convey a didactic message. For example, in fitt 36, where Christ heals a woman from the Caananite clan, His interaction with the unnamed foreign woman displays and teaches tolerance of others:

> At that, God's Child of Peace heard what the woman wanted, and spoke to her in His words "It is well, woman, that you are of such good will! Great is your faith in the strength of God, the Chieftain of peoples. Everything will be done concerning your daughter's life just as you asked Me." (Murphy *Heliand* 98)

> Thô gihôrde that friðubarn godes
> uuillean thes uuîbes endi sprak iru mid is uuordun tô:
> 'uuela that thu uuîf habes uuillean gôden!
> Mikil is thîn gilôbo an thea maht godes,
> an thene liudio drohtin. Al uuirðid gilêstid sô
> umbi thînes barnes lîf, sô thu bâdi te mi.
> (l.3023-3027)

In the blended society of Saxons and Franks which had emerged after decades of hostility, this is a lesson of paramount importance. Its inclusion is not accidental. Lazarus the beggar of fitt 41 is personifies the Beatitude:

> Those were fortunate here in this middle world who were poor in their hearts through humility, to them is granted the eternal kingdom in all holiness, eternal life on the meadows of heaven" (Murphy *Heliand* 45)

> quað that thie sâlige uuârin,
> man an thesaro middilgardun, thie hêr an iro môde uuârin
> arme thurh ôdmodi: them is that êuuana rîki,
> suuîðo hêlaglîc an hebanuuange
> sinlîf fargeben.'
> (l.1300-1304)

and, "those were fortunate who were gentle people, they will be allowed to possess the great earth, the same kingdom." (Murphy *Heliand* 45)

Quað that ôc sâlige uuârin
mâðmunðie man: 'thie môtun thie mârion erðe.
ofsittien that selbe rîki.'
(l.1304-1306)

Lazarus' life of hardship and humility is rewarded in heaven. In this passage the poet dismantles greed and gluttony typical of Germanic culture while ennobling the modern concepts of devotion and intellectual pursuits. The rich man who enjoyed the luxuries life had to offer without sharing his wealth is condemned to Hel for his decadent and base selfishness. Lazarus' humble life and endurance of poverty is richly rewarded in the end. In his life he never abandoned the hope of joining the rich man at his table. In a subtle way, Lazarus is expressing a form of loyalty. He carries on through life believing that he will one day be rewarded for his devotion to his principles and his tenacity. In the end he is justified. His reward in the afterlife is far superior to the opulence the rich man ever enjoyed in his living years. This must certainly have been a challenge to the poet to ennoble poverty so convincingly, as his audience would have likely found Lazarus to be the more contemptible figure, and the rich man to be one of their own kind. The poet succeeds in doing this by evoking the Saxon value of generosity and turning it on its side. Had the rich man been generous and shared his wealth with one less fortunate, he too would have found himself resting on Abraham's lap. But greed and selfishness had gotten the better of the rich man, which dominated his behaviour; even into the afterlife. It takes the words of Abraham himself to mend the rich man's ways and accept his fate. The rich man is eternally condemned to Hel, but the audience and those of his class have a chance to change their destiny. While one would expect the episode to conclude with a lesson in charity, the poet does not suggest it at all.

Instead, he instructs the reader through the voice of Abraham to learn and to study in order to avoid the fate of the rich man:

> They will never journey to that inferno, if they do what is commanded them by those who read the books for human instruction. (Murphy *Heliand* 111)

an that fern faren, ef sie gefrummiad sô,
sô thea gebiodad, the thea bôk lesat
them liudun te lêrun.
(l. 3401-3403)

Despite the curious turn of events in the episode, the audience nonetheless learns much from the episode. The rich man was ignorant of Lazarus, perhaps not unlike the nobles who refused alliances with the Franks. In the end, he and they were stripped of their riches and paid for their ignorance with their property and their lives. Lazarus tenaciously endured hunger and humiliation until he was vindicated. This may suggest that the nobles who had allied themselves with the Franks may have been heavily scrutinized by their peers. Perhaps they had even been shunned. In the end, however, these nobles were rewarded with privileges and positions of power. Their newly forged loyalty to the Franks had paid dividends. Also, the overall notion of enduring a hard life must also have resonated with the audience. It was not long ago when the Saxon lands were a battlefield. The recent conquest of the Saxons by the Franks had lasted more than 30 years, the span of an entire generation. Accepting this defeat and adjusting to the new social order must certainly have been both humiliating and bewildering. Yet, one had no choice but to accept the new reality. For the *Heliand* audience in the monastery, the transition from old to new is accomplished through reading and learning. Through the lesson learned from the life of Lazarus, the audience knows that, trying though they are, his efforts to assimilate will be rewarded.

THE TREATMENT OF LANDSCAPES: PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND COSMOGRAPHY

The *Heliand* poet is not afraid to diverge from the norms of epic style when it is for the benefit of his audience. The treatment of landscape is one such aspect to receive careful attention. Epic poetry tends only to give only nominal consideration to landscape and scenery, providing just enough information that is pertinent to the action. Descriptive tangents, however flowing or engaging, are counterproductive to the epic style. They shift the narrative away from the plot and create images that are unfamiliar or just plain unnecessary to the listener. The *Heliand*'s audience is a distinct group with a much different sense of geography and a different approach to the organization of land and of the cosmos than other audiences of epic poetry. One notable motif found in the *Heliand* is the repeated reference to earth as "the middle world"or *middilgard.* While terms such as *erða* (earth) and *uuerold* (world) did exist in Old Saxon, the poet also uses *middilgard.* In Norse cosmology *miðgarðr* was the middle realm, the realm of man. Above it was the upper realm of *Asgard* and below it were lower realms of *Niflheim* and *Muspellheim.* These upper and lower places are spacially defined in terms of their relation to the middle realm, which in turn defined man's place in the cosmos. This is a defining and fundamental element of man's world view.[91] Including this term could not have been an artistic embellishment or a nostalgic hearkening to a bygone era. *Middilgard* was a real place in the Germanic culture and it was necessary to

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[91] Jan De Vries. *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte.* Band II. 2., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. (Berlin: DeGruyter & Co. 1957) (= Grundriss der germanischen Philologie 12/II) 372.

incorporate this concept into the text. Through the use of *middilgard,* the poet was able to introduce the Christian cosmography of heaven, earth, and hell to the reader and depict them in analogous and comprehensible terms.

While the depiction of a city is perceived as wonderous or fantastic to the imagination of most other audiences, it is a more practical notion to a Saxon, as the city conceptually resembles their hill-fort. The *Heliand* poet capitalizes on the Saxons' identification with their land by altering the Scriptural landscape to construct a familiar environment, bringing the story and its message closer to them. The cities of Bethlehem, Rome, Cana, and Jerusalem are depicted as Saxon hill-forts. Unfamiliar places are reshaped into analagous settings. The desert, for example, is an unknown place to a Saxon. In order to portray Christ's journey into the desert, where He exposes Himself to the temptations of Satan, the desert in the *Heliand* is transformed into a forest. The remoteness and isolation are preserved.

The portrayal of time and its passage alternates between primitive and contemporary units. In epic poetry, time is traditionally synchronized with the rhythmn of nature: sunrise, sunset, the passing of the seasons, the phases of the moon, daily rituals. (Vansina 100) For example, as king Herod plots to eliminate the Christ child, he calcultated His age by winters: "I know his age, the number of his winters..." (Murphy *Heliand* 27) *nu ic is alder can, uuêt is uuintergitalu.* (l .724-725)

Time as measured in units, such as hours or months, is unknown. Yet in the *Heliand,* time is synchonized to both nature and the monastic division of the day. Monastic time appears where specific divisions of the day are required to advance the action and emphasize the moral of the passage. Yet, it is distinctly not a stylistic

embellishment on the author's part. The use of monastic time in the *Heliand* corresponds to specific citations from Scripture. The story of the workers who came late to the vineyard (fitt 42, Mt.20:1-16) is one such example. In the story of the vineyard, time is expressed in monastic hours, but it is presented in a natural, or solar, context. The poet's use of *none* (3:00pm) is qualified by an explanatory phrase: "...some came there at none (that was the ninth hour of the long summer day)" (Murphy *Heliand* 112) *...sum quam thar te nônu, thuo uuas thiu niguða tîd sumarlanges dages.* (l.3420-3421) The subsequent eleventh hour/ *elliftun tîd* stands on its own as a natural progression of time. Despite the close attention given to dividing the time of daylight hours, the end of the day is not given as a monastic hour. Rather, it is described in more esoteric terms as the "resting" of the sun: "...the sun went to rest." (Murphy *Heliand* 112); *sunna ti sedle* (l.3423) Another passage portrayed in monastic hours is the Passion, specifically, the death of Christ (fitt 67, Mt.27:45). The action begins at midday and reaches it peak at 3:00, *none*: "...Christ the Ruler was suffering on the cross, until none that day." (Murphy *Heliand* 185);*...uualdand Crist qual an themo crûcie, cunigo rikost, ant nuon dages...* (l.5629-5631) Here, *none* appears without context. This is most likely an intentional omission. Repeating the contextual material as provided in fitt.42 is an unecessary distraction the the action taking place. The absence of a qualifier, however, preserves the austerity of the scene and emphasizes its significance. The reader can clearly visualize the action unfolding in his mind's eye and reflect upon it. Monastic time is used sparingly in the *Heliand.* Natural time is the preferred measuring unit and is used more liberally. The use of monastic time, however

infrequent, reveals a subtle clue that the *Heliand* was indeed initially intended for a monastic readership.

Water scenes are treated with careful detail. The fishing nets used by Andrew and Peter are not cast out: Mt.4:18 And Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee saw two brethren, Simon who is called Peter, and Andew his brother, casting a net into the sea (for they were fishers.). Instead, the nets are staked in place, as they typically were in northern Europe. (Murphy *Heliand* 40 n.62). James and John are found sitting on a sand dune, not in a boat: Mt.4:21 And going from thence, he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in a ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets: and he called them., with their father mending nets that had torn in the night: "They were hard at work with both hands repairing and reweaving the nets that they had torn the night before on the water." (Murphy *Heliand* 41)

> brugdun endi bôttun bêdium handun
> thiu netti niudlîco, thea si habdun nahtes êr
> forsliten an them sêuua.
> (l.1177-1179)

There is no mention of nighttime fishing in Scripture. (Mt.4:21) When James and John join Christ, one of the possesions they forsake is a nailed ship *neglitskipu* (l.1186), a vessel unique to the North Sea. Boats are not only dear to the Saxon audience; they are also an important motif in epic poetry. At a perfunctory level they are means of transportation. Beyond that, boats are also vessels for burial. At a spiritual level boats are the transporters of the soul into the next world. Given the significance of boats to the Saxon people, much descriptive attention is given to their construction. Therefore, the ability of the hero to build and sail a ship expertly are skills that would be noticed and admired by the Saxon audience. While Christ does not fashion a ship out of stray

materials. as would his secular counterparts. He shows that He is an experienced sailor. The storm on Sea of Galilee (fitt 27). wherein Christ calms the waves. resembles a storm one would encounter on the North Sea. The apostles are also depicted as experienced sailors, "weather-wise warriors" (Murphy *Heliand* 75); *uuederwwîsa uueros* (l.2239). Their boat even resembles a North Sea vessel, a "high-horned ship" (Murphy *Heliand* 75) *hôh hurnidskip* (l. 2266:). In fitt 35, Christ and the apostles are again at sea in a high-horned ship (Murphy *Heliand* 95) *hôh hurnidskip* (l.2907). A fog rolls in: "Night wrapped the seafarers in fog." (Murphy *Heliand* 95) *the sêolîðandean naht nebulo biuuarp* (l.2909-2910 :); followed by a storm. There is no reference to fog in the Scriptural account:

> Navicula autem in medio mari iactabatur fluctibus; erat enim contrarius ventus;
>
> Thaz skef in mittemo seuue uuas givvuorphozit mit then uundon: uuas in uuidaruuart uuint. (Tatian 82:1)
>
> Mt.14:24 But the boat in the midst of the sea was tossed with the waves: for the wind was contrary.

The apostles display expert seamanship against the squall until the ferocity of the storm overwhelms them:

> The earls daringly kept on sailing over the waters....A great storm arose, the waves of the sea roared against the bow stempost! The men fought to steer the boat into the wind- their minds were in panic, their emotions filled with worries. The lake-sailors began to think that they would never make land because of the violence of the storm. (Murphy *Heliand* 95)

nâðiun erlos
forðuuardes an flôd;
...thô uuarð uuind mikil,
hôh uueder afhaban: hlamodun ûðeon,
strôm and stamne; strîdiun feridun
thea uueros uuiðer uuinde, uuas im uurêð hugi,
sebo sorgono ful: selbon ni uuândun

lagulîðea an land cumen
thurh thes uuederes geuuin.
(l.2910-2911, 2913-2919)

The sea is a familiar setting and storms are a common occurrence. The reader knows of its perils and can identify with the apostles' fears. Rather than bringing the event to a tragic end, the poet follows Scripture to reveal Christ's ability to calm the storm. Classically, this episode is understood as a metaphor of faith. Christ asks the apostles to be brave and show their faith in the face of danger. When they do so, they overcome the danger. Through this example, the reader is taught a spiritual lesson, to place his faith in the new Lord, Jesus Christ. He has no need to fear. The Christian Lord is powerful enough to tame the violence of a North Sea storm, all for the protection and safety of his believers. If one were to omit the Christian element of the episode and consider it in a strictly secular sense, one can also interpret Christ's rescue of His men at sea as a form of *munt*, protection.[92] The apostles, unable to surmount the storm on their own, call for the help of their leader, who guides them to calm waters. In this respect, the poet marries the concepts of Christian faith with a warrior's code of fidelity. This aspect introduces yet another interpretation of the episode. If one can put all faith in a Christian Lord without fear, one may likewise place one's faith in the new Christian ruler, for the emperor is a protector of the Christian church and its earthly ambassador. Faith in Christ is equal to faith in the emperor. The layman displays this respectively through piety and loyalty. In a subtle, yet compelling manner, the reader is intoduced to the significance and magnitude of a central ruler.

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[92] G.Ronald Murphy, "From Germanic Warrior to Christian Knight. The Heliand Transformation," In. *Arthurian Literature and Christianity. Notes from the Twentieth Century*, ed Peter Meister (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999) 12.

Graves also are altered and depicted in a more recognizeable fashion. Northern European graves are not cut into the rock face, as they are in Scripture.[93] They are mounds or ditches dug into the earth, in accordance with the northern European ritual. The poet is mindful of this difference and makes the appropriate adjustment to accomodate his audience while maintaining the integrity of the Scriptural imagery. When Christ raises Lazarus from the grave, Lazarus emerges from the ground:

> Then He spoke to the women and told them to lead Him to where Lazarus was buried in the ground. There was a stone on top of the grave, a hard rock cover. (Murphy *Heliand* 133)

> endi thô te them uuîbun sprac,
> hêt ina thô lêdien, thar Lazarus uuas
> foldu bifolhen. Lag thar ên felis bioban,
> hard stên behliden.
> (l.4073-4076)

In Scripture Lazarus is laid to rest in a cave. All that remains in common with the *Heliand's* rendering is the stone covering.

> Ihesus ergo rursum fremen in semetipso venit ad monumentam; erat autem *spelunca*, et lapis super positus erat ei.

> Ther heilant abur gremizonti in imo selbemo quam ci themo grabe; uúas thár *cruft*, inti stein uuas geseszzit ubar sia. (Tatian 135:23:)

> Jn.11:38: Jesus therefore again groaning in himself, cometh to the sepulchre. Now it was a cave; and a stone was laid over it.

There is, however, one scene in which a grave is depicted as it is in Scripture. In fitt 68, Christ is entombed in a rock face. The poet's phrasing and choice of words suggest his awareness that this is a most unusual method of burial. It is, nonetheless, the grave of no ordinary man. A great miracle is about to take place at this site. As per Scripture the

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[93] Mt.27:60 And he laid it in his own new monument, which he had hewed out in a rock. and he rolled a great stone to the door of the monument. and went his way.

gates of Hell will open upon Christ's resurrection.[94] In this one scene, conformity with Scripture meshes with Nordic in a most ideal fashion:

> He took the beloved body in his arms, just as one should with one's lord, wrapped it in linen, and carried it devoutly- as the Chieftain deserved- to the place where they had hewn out the inside of a rock with their hands, a place where no hero's son, no one had ever been buried. There they commited God's Son, the holiest of corpses into the folds of the earth in the way customary in their country, and closed the most godlike of all graves with a stone....It was not long then until: there was the spirit coming, by God's power, the holy breath, going under the hard stone to the corpse! Light was at that moment opened up, for the good of the sons of men; the many bolts on the doors of Hel were unlocked; the road from this world up to heaven was built! (Murphy *Heliand* 189f, 191)

	endi ina fan
antfeng ina mid is faðmon,	sô man is frôhon scal,
liobes lîchamon,	endi ina an lîne biuuand,
druog in diurlîco	-so uuas thie drohtin uuerð-,
thar sia thia stedi habdun	an ênon stêne innan
handon gihauuuan,	thar gio heliðo barn

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[94] Acceperunt autem corpus Ihesu et ligaverunt eum linteis cum aromatibus, sicut mos Iudæis est sepelire.
Infengun sie tho thes heilantes lichamon inti buntun ínan mit sabonon mit biminizsalbun, soso uuísa is Iudon zi bigrabanne. (Tatian 212:7)
Jn.19:40 They took therefore the body of Jesus and bound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.
Notably absent from the poetic rendering are Nicodemus (mentioned in Jn.19:39) and the reference to anointing the corpse. However, Hrabanus Maurus states in the *Matthew commentary* that the body was simply wrapped in linen. *Domini non auro, non gemmis et serico, sed linteamine puro obuoluendum sit.* Hrabani Mauri. *Expositio in Matthaeum (V-VIII)* cura et studio B. Löfstedt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000) (=Corpus Christianorum CLXXIV A) 762.
The newness of the gravesite is consistent with Scripture.
Erat autem in loco ubi crucifixus est ortus, et in horto monumenum novum, in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat. (Mt. 27:60) Et posuit illud Ioseph et advolvit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti et abiit.
Uúas thár in thera steti thar her arhangan uuard garto, inti in themo garten niuui gráb, in themo noh nu níoman ingisezzit uuas. Inti legita thaz thara Ioseph inti zuogiuualzta michilan stéin zi then turon thes grabes inti gieng thana. (Tatian 213:1-2)
Jn.19:41 Now there was in the place where he was crucified, a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre where no man had been laid.
Mt.27:60 And laid it in his own new monument, which he had hewed out in a rock. And he rolled a great stone to the door of the monument, and went his way.
What follows is a deviation, as the Gates of Hell opening are not found in Scripture. Rather, this is found in the Apochryphal Gospel of Nicodemus: Þan Ihesus strake so fast, Þe yhates in sonder yhede And Iren bandes all brast. (l.1402-1404) *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*. Ed. William Henry Hulme. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) 110.

gumon ne bigruobon. Thar si that godes barn
te iro lanuuîsu. lîco hêlgost
foldu bifulhun endi mid ênu felisu belucun
allaro grabo guodlîcost....

Thuo ni uuas lant te thiu.
that thar uuarð thie gêst cuman be godes crafte,
hâlag âðom undar thena hardon stên
an thena lîchamon. Lioht uuas giopanod
firio barnon te frumu: uuas fercal manag
antheftid fan helldroron endi te himile uueg
giuuaraht fan thesaro uueroldi. (l.5732-5741; 5769-5775)

Hell is also presented as a composite of northern and mediterrannean concepts. For a northern European warrior, Hel is a place of dishonour and shame. Warriors are selected to ascend to *Valhalla.* If a warrior is condemned to Hel, it is as a consequence of his weakness and lack of courage in battle. According to Norse myth, these condemned warriors were expected to wait in Hel until Ragnarök, when they will join forces with Loki. (Branston 91) To reach Hel, one travels a road. The opening of this road is typically a cave or crevice in a ravine. This may also explain the poet's avoidance of crypt graves in the text. Not only are they unfamiliar in northern regions, they also resemble an opening to Hel. As graves are the site of miracles in the *Heliand*, setting these miracles in caves would have likely created a disturbing, if not confusing image in the readers' minds.

Hel itself comprises different realms. *Niflheim* is a dark and foggy realm while Niðafjöll is a hilly terrain plunged in darkness. There is a region in Hel overseen by the eponymous Queen Hel. Her realm lies just beyond the river Gjöll. Hell as a hot and fiery abode shows the Christian influence on this realm. The name *fern* (l.899), is derived from the Latin *infernum*, the lower regions. It is not simply a nether region. *Fern* is a hot and fiery place. John the Baptist describes it as such in fitt 11: "...and they

do not have to go to Hel's realm, to the heat of that infernal place." (Murphy *Heliand* 32)...*endi that sie an hellea ni thurbin, faran an fern that hêta* (l.898-899 :). In one phrase the poet is able to fuse the Nordic region of Hel. a dark lair derived from *halja,* a place of concealment, with the Mediterrannean-Latin region of fire. This composite appears again in fitt 21, where Hell is described as both dark and hot and reached by a road: "What is worse, this road leads people to where the heroes become lost- to Hel-land, where it is hot and black, terrifying inside." (Murphy *Heliand* 61) While hel is portrayed in both nordic and mediterranneans terms, heaven is always portrayed as the Christian realm. There are no direct references to *Asgard* or *Valhalla* in the *Heliand.* Heaven is a kingdom, *hebanrîki*, or a meadow, *hebanuuange*, just as it is called in Scripture.

ELEMENTS OF ORAL EPIC

Heroic poetry was originally a spoken art, intended first and foremost for a listening audience. Formulaic expressions, such as: "You will hear" or "I have been told" are telltale characteristics of this tradition. The use of such expressions is, above all, practical. It engages the audience to listen closely and focus their attention on the subsequent action or dialogue. On a secondary and more personal level, it bonds the singer to his art, affirming his place in the tradition at large. It is an open declaration that he, above all others, had been chosen to receive the poem and to spread its message. On a stylistic level, the use of such expressions lends immediacy to the poem. It draws the audience closer to the figures: their actions and their motives, connecting

them to the work as well, ultimately establishing the poem's position in the human experience. What appear to be merely functional devices are, in actuality, markers of a greater collective consciousness.

Centuries of oral transmission gave way to composition. The epics were committed to the written word many generations after their inception. Writing may have terminated the spontenaiety and intimacy of the form, yet it immortalized the work for posterity. One may say that the *Heliand* is the converse of this process. It is in many ways a heroic epic in form and style, yet it does not arise from the oral tradition. The *Heliand* is clearly a written work. It was composed in a monastic scriptorium and intended to be read aloud. The words and their phrasing were chosen carefully, not improvised. The poet did not rely on his imagination, as did other poets and singers of heroic verse. The *Heliand* poet drew his material and phraseology from a source of his own: Scripture, a long established tradition unto itself. Despite the wealth and breadth of material, the poet chose his motifs prudently and deliberately. The cautious measures proved effective. The poet, by selecting and employing only the most significant motifs from Scripture, was able to thoroughly blend them with the formulae of heroic verse, resulting in a richer, more engaging text. The poet maintained his monastic loyalty towards Scripture while remaining ever aware of his audience's perspective and their sense of reality. This ability to select elements from both oral and written poetry, to draw from the spiritual realm and from secular reality, and to adapt them seamlessly to one another, generated a unique work, marking a transition from one tradtition to the next.

One way the poet achieves this is by interweaving the formulaic expressions typical of oral poetry with references to the written word and the act of writing. They appear with nearly equal frequency.

THE USE OF METONOMY

The most commonly used device in the poem is metonomy. This was used abundantly in oral Germanic epics. The poet, following this tradition, also makes ample use of it. Metonomy allows the poet to refer repeatedly to a figure in contiguous terms without sounding repetitious or tedious. It also allows the poet to add nuances to a figure's character at the source while avoiding unnecessary verbosity. For it to be effective, the poet must use terms, or a code, that are understandable to the audience. Misuse or overuse of terms, however grand or ornately structured, only creates confusion among the listeners and ultimately alienates them. To prevent this, poets draw from a set of common terms related to the figure or object. For example, the use of the terms "linden" and "iron" automatically evoke weaponry, as they were the chief building materials of armaments. In the *Heliand*, the figure upon whom metonomy is most widely used is Jesus Christ. He is called the "Protector of People": *managoro mundboro*, the "Chieftain of Clans": *folco drohtin*, "God's Child": *barn godes*, the "Land's Herdsman": *landes hirdi*, the "Rescuer": *neriendon*, the "Healer": *hêleand*, "God's Peace-Child": *friðubarn godes*, and the "Best of all Sons": *allaro barno bezt*. The apostles are called "warrior-companions": *gesiðos* by the poet. The poet is selective in his use of metonomy. Not all figures are portrayed in these terms. The poet

repeatedly uses metonomy in relation to positive characters and events: Christ, the apostles, baptism. Negative figures such as King Herod, the Jewish mob outside Pilate's headquarters, Satan, and events such as the crucifixion are not circumlocuted. They are mentioned in full, yet are modified and intensified by negative parenthetical statements such as "the slithery-mouthed king": *slîðuurdean kuning*, for Herod and "the enemy, worst of all wicked": *uurêðo giuuaro, uuamscaðono mêst*, for Satan. The placement of characters along positive and negative axes creates an individualised association of the figures with their respective qualities and deficiencies.

EPITHETIC FORMULAE

Another element typical of oral poetry found in the *Heliand* is the epithitic formula. These formulae are set phrases used by the singer as both mnemonic and emphatic devices. The imagery they evoke is unique and specific to the culture. (Vansina 70) Since the recitation of poetry was originally an improvised art form, it was in the singer's best interest to have as many such formulae in his repetoire. His value as a singer depended on it. The use of imagery was a prized technique. In many cultures, the singer's talent was judged by his ability to maintain the integrity of the verse and his avoidance of "breaking down" into prose. (Bowra 221) The use of formulae allowed the recitation to flow smoothly. It enlivened otherwise dull or blunt passages. It also aided the listeners, allowing their attention to loosen periodically, thus preventing the oversaturation of material. The familiar imagery of the formulae was also soothing and welcome to the ears of the audience. (Bowra 226, 231)

Epithetic formulae appear in two forms in epic poetry. They can be a noun-adjective pair:[95] an object or proper name affixed to a set modifier. such as: bitter tears. Or, it can be a set of lines repeated regularly. The *Heliand* poet employs the former with greater frequency than the latter. Pairings such as: *hêlagna gêst* (holy spirit), *hêlagna hebancuning* (holy heaven-king), *uuârsagano uuord* (words of the soothsayers), *himilisc hêrro* (heavenly Lord), *allaro barno bezt* (the best of all Sons), etc., appear regularly while set phrases such as: l.1463: *Than seggeo ic iu te uuâron ôc* ("Now I say to you truthfully:" Murphy *Heliand* 50), derived directly from Scripture (*Amen dico vobis*), appear only when necessary. By refilling the heroic mold with Scriptural elements, the *Heliand* poet merges two traditions with fluid style, enriching both. He also constructs the pairings to have the repetitive tonal quality typical of alliterative verse. Thus the new standard proscribes the old norm.

The formulae of the *Heliand* were chosen deliberately in order to evoke specific and distinct images. In doing so, the poet goes beyond simply employing a poetic device. The images themselves are no longer ornamental. They now carry significance and convey a meaning. This was a bold action taken by the *Heliand* poet, for within the tradition of oral poetry, deviation from the familiar was often met with skepticism, if not rejection. In some societies, gaps and flaws in the recitation were met with public ridicule or worse: death. (Vansina 33f) The *Heliand* poet deftly introduces new concepts, all while remaining mindful of his audience and their standards. To do this, he employs a method familiar to his audience, repetition. Repetition is frequently used by epic poets. It trains the audience's collective ear to recognize key figures and critical

[95] Bowra's term, 222.

actions quickly. The poet can keep the audience engaged and involed in the action without overwhelming or alienating it. In the *Heliand*. the use of repetition adds the desired didactic texture to the poem without overextending the fabric of the medium.

It was never the poet's intention to write soley for the sake of entertainment. The physical text is merely a vehicle. The message contained within it is the mission and task of the poet. His audience is incredulous at best, hostile at worst. The poet never loses sight of it or of his purpose. While his secular counterparts were jugded by their quick recall of familiar motifs, the *Heliand* poet is equally held to task for his expertise in, and dextrous use of, his sources. The poet's familiarity with Scripture, exegesis, and ecclesiastical meditations emerges clearly. The influence of one certain work is apparent: St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana, On Christian Teaching.*[96]

Begun in the late fourth century, *On Christian Teaching* was primarily intended for use as a primer in the art of sermon writing. Beyond that initial purpose, Augustine himself invited his readers to apply the lessons to other areas of communication, such as letters, books, treatises, and speech. (4.102) According to Augustine, one's goal- whether preaching or writing- should be to "instruct, delight and move." (4.96) The audience should be naturally moved to listen or read with reverence and understanding. It should not be forced upon them. Otherwise the message or instruction would be all for nought. The purpose- education- will have been defeated.

For the *Heliand* poet, this is the crux of his assignment. He is not merely entertaining his audience. He is indeed educating them and assimilating them into not one, but two foreign modes of thinking. One is of a religious and spiritual nature, the

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[96] St. Augustine. *On Christian Teaching*. Trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

other of a socio-political nature. As a monk, the poet's first order is to promote Christianity and Christian thinking. As a subject of the Frankish Emperor, his second order is to promote the Frankish model of authority. His task is to dismantle the old notions of polytheism and centrifugal model of authority and replace them with Christianity and a centripetal model of power. It is indeed possible to fulfill these two tasks simultaneously, as both Christianity and the Frankish court are constructed around a central authority figure. In Christianity, naturally, the figure is Christ. In the Frankish empire of the Carolingians, it is the emperor. Each in his own right is a lord. While Christ is Lord and Saviour of man's soul, the emperor is lord and master of Christianity's earthly realm. As a guardian of Christian domains the emperor is a vassal of Christ. His duty as emperor is to serve God and protect His domain. As a subject of the empire, man is a vassal of the emperor. He, respectively, is obligated to serve and obey his lord, the emperor. These notions of obedience, service, and loyalty are the central teachings of the *Heliand.* The apostles obey Christ and Christ obeys God. To facilitate the instruction of these concepts to his readers, the poet selects his language and motifs carefully. As St. Augustine writes in Book I: "All teaching is teaching of either things or signs, but things are learnt through signs." (1.4) The modern reader would immediately recognise this statement as the fundamental principal of semiotics. Indeed, this approach to understanding the *Heliand* has received much attention.[97] For the *Heliand* poet, however, this statement is not understood in terms of linguistics. Rather, it is more closely related to the art of rhetoric and to be implemented as a guideline for style. The poet does so in choosing concepts and motifs with which his

[97] For a recent detailed semiotic analysis of the Heliand, see: Priscia Augustyn, *The Semiotics of*

readers can identify. The poet then reinterprets these motifs to reflect the values of the new empire in which the reader finds himself. The focus of the poet's attention and energy is the acknowlegement and ultimate acceptance of authority- both spirtitual and political.

To this effect, the pivotal motif of the *Heliand* is the concept of leadership. This is exemplified by the term "lord." "Lord," to a Saxon, evokes specific characteristics: he is a provider, he is a leader, he is the object of respect and loyalty. In Augustinian terms, "lord" is a sign to the Saxons. "Lord" is a concept that is deeply ingrained and dear to the Saxon culture. This is the poet's point of contact with his audience's scope of understanding. The concept of a superior being- socially and supernaturally- is common between the two cultures. The only difference is in their perception of this figure. Whereas the Saxon culture equates "lord" exclusively in military terms with the "liege-lord," the Frank's association with the term is twofold. It has both material and spiritual connotations. A "lord" is both a "liege-lord" and the spiritually hued "Saviour." Fitt by fitt, the *Heliand* poet respectfully and cleverly transforms these long standing Saxon images along the lines of the new Frankish paradigm.

Fate, Death, and Soul. The Christianisation of Old Saxon (New York: Peter Lang, 2002).

CHAPTER 5

DROHTIN/LORD

As previously mentioned, the liege-lord and the retinue formed the core of Germanic society. I have outlined how it is reflected in the *Heliand* as an epic motif. In this chapter I will discuss the social aspect of the liege-lord and retinue, and I will demonstrate how it is represented in the *Heliand.* In order to understand the social and political significance of this institution fully, it is necessary to review its origins.

The word *Drohtin* appears 107 times in the *Heliand* as a designation for Lord.[98] It is used in reference to both Jesus Christ and God, as well as a direct form of address. *Drohtin* appears to have a military origin, as it was regularly used to designate the liege-lord.[99]

The Christian influence on the term *drohtin*, as witnessed in the *Heliand*, is believed to be a later development in the evolution of the term, postdating the great migrations.[100] As its definition expanded, *drohtin* retained its original meaning. Evidence for this is found in the *Heliand's* primary source, the *Diatessaron.* In it, *drohtin/truhtin* is used in both sacred and secular contexts. It refers to God and Jesus Christ, as well as the head of a household. It always appears as a vernacular rendering of *dominus.*

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[98] Klaus Gantert, *Akkomodation und eingeschriebener Kommentar: Untersuchungen zur Übertragungsstrategie des Helianddichter* (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 1998) 182.

[99] Walter Schlesinger, *Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters. Bd. I Germanen, Franken, Deutsche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963) 10.

[100] D. H. Green. *The Carolingian Lord. Semantic Studies on four Old High German Words: Balder, Frô, Truhtin, Hêrro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 61

To the audience of the *Heliand*, Christian neophytes, *drohtin* primarily means liege-lord, a lord to whom one swears fidelity, a leader who swears to provide protection in return. *Drohtin* as the Christian Lord and Saviour is still a foreign notion. G. Ronald Murphy's work, *The Saxon Saviour* has shown the great effort made by the poet in order to introduce the concept of a Christian lord-and Christianity as a whole- to a pagan audience by coupling it with familiar (read: pagan) concepts and figures. Beyond the overt christianizing tendencies, the *Heliand* also coupled Frankish notions of power and authority with the pre-existing Germanic-Saxon concepts. It subtly and gradually introduced and assimilated the Saxons into a new order of society. *Drohtin,* as stated previously, is the primary concept, the point of contact, in this endeavor. Its dual meaning allows for the expression of a political concept without blaspheming the Christian integrity of the poem. The liege-lord, *drohtin*, is the foundation of power; his household, the retinue, is the fundamental unit of Saxon society. This concept was so deeply engrained in the Saxon culture, that by appealing to it, and by adding to its meaning, it would demonstrate the new Frankish order of society and government in a most effective and thorough manner.

How did the institution of *drohtin* and the retinue come to lay the foundation of Saxon society? How and when did the institution and concept evolve? The answer to the former is founded in one's basic need for safety and security. The formation of units or clans ensured safety, or at least a fighting chance against attack or invasion. As to the latter question, the answer is subject to speculation. Observations made by Julius Caesar and Tacitus both report of an organization similar to the Roman *Clientela* and

Patronatus, a band of men allied to a leader. This suggests that the existence of the Germanic retinue system at the latest pre-dates the arrival of the Romans.

The institution that Julius Caesar had initially observed, however, did not correspond completely to the Roman institution. The first difference is in its social structure. The Roman patron held a superior rank in society to his client. As a social subordinate, the client had no legal right to lay charges against his patron. (Green 67) The client could also be freely exchanged among patrons, not unlike any other item of property. The client was not at liberty to transfer patronage. (Green 69, n.2) The client remained with the patron for as long as the patron deemed fit and necessary. In the Roman system, the client was bound by obedience to his patron. This aspect of the relationship is denoted by the term *fides*. *Fides* bore a dual connotation. To the client, *fides* was equated with dependence on his patron. To the patron, *fides* denoted the trust that could be placed in his client. (Green 68) The vertical nature of the relationship was a defining characteristic of the Roman system and distinguished it from the Germanic model. Another difference was in the nature of the services rendered. Among all the services the Client provided for his Patron, military service was excluded. These are but a few of the fundamental aspects that set the Roman institution apart from the Germanic.

The Germanic system, the *Gefolgschaftswesen,* was similar in structure to the Roman institution- that of service- but differed in its social dynamic. At the core of the constellation was the liege-lord, or *Gefolgsherr*. He was surrounded by a band of warriors, a retinue, who served him. In exchange for their service, the retinue received support in the form of armaments, supplies, and housing. Although members of the

retinue were in service to its liege-lord, the nature of the relationship to their superior is built upon trust and loyalty. This loyalty was founded on mutual respect. Similar to the Roman instituition, the lord and the warrior belonged to different strata of society, but both parties were free-born men. In that one respect, the liege-lord and his retinue are equals, peers. The *Formulae Turonenses* document this: "It has pleased me to bind my free status to your service"[101] The warrior entered the retinue on his own accord and on his own terms.[102] The *Formulae* also reveal that the service rendered by the warrior was commensurate to the support he received from his liege-lord. Given this variable nature, obligation in the Germanic system was subject to flux, whereas the obligation in the Roman system was unquestioned and static.

Unlike the client in the Roman institution, the warrior in a retinue entered into the relationship with different motives: the desire for honour and glory- to earn it and to maintain it. In order to do so, the warrior was entitled to leave one lord to join another in battle.[103] Despite the fundamental differences of the institutions, Julius Caesar and Tacitus had only the incongruous Latin terminology for use in their descriptions.

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[101] David Herlihy, ed, *The History of Feudalism* (New York: Walker and Company, 1970) 85.

[102] Once again, the *Formulae Turonenses* bear witness to this:
Eo videlicet modo ut me tam de victu quam et de vestimento, juxta quod vobis servire et promereri potuero, adiuvare vel consolare debeas. Green *The Carolingian Lord,* 81n.1.
"This I have done in such a manner that you ought to help and console me both with food and with clothing, according to the degree that I serve you and merit from you," Herlihy 85.

[103] This is noted by Tacitus in *Germania*:
If the state in which they were born should be drowsing in long peace and leisure, many noble young men of their own accord seek those tribes which are then waging some war, since quiet is displeasing to the race and they become famous more easily in the midst of dangers, and one would not maintain a large retinue except by violence and war.
Si civitas in qua orti sunt longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Germania 14.

Hence, the translations of patron and client for liege-lord and retinue are only approximations. Caesar also noted another difference between the Roman and Germanic institutions: a social hierarchy within the retinue.

In 98 AD Tacitus observed a similar relationship in the northern Germanic territories, and assigned the simple terms patron and client to them in the *Annals*. (Green 70) In *Germania*, however, he introduces a new term to denote the client: *comitatus*. (Green 71) Common to both observations by Caesar and Tacitus is the military nature of the service rendered to the liege-lord:[104]. Like Caesar, Tacitus also observed a system of rank within the northern Germanic retinues. [105]

Despite the distinctive reciprocal nature of the relationship, the *Gefolgschaftswesen* was by no means a collective. Tacitus observed a distinct superiority of the liege-lord over the retinue. Despite the dynamic of superiority and inferiority within the relationship, the liege-lord ultimately led by example, not by mere virtue of rank. (Green 74) In the Germanic system, loyalty- mutual loyalty- *triuuo*, formed the core of the relationship. This stands in sharp contrast to the Roman system which set obedience, *fides,* at its core.

Triuuo not only bonded the warrior to his liege-lord, but also to his fellow warriors, for warriors were as loyal to one other as they were to their lord. If one suffered, all suffered. (Schlesinger 20) Such camaraderie maintained cohesion and

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[104] *ita circum se plurimos ambactos clientesque habet.* Qtd. in Green 64 and 70, n. 2..

[105] Nay, the entourage itself has ranks, in accordance with the judgment of him whom they are following, and thus there is great rivalry among a man's followers,...
gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius quem sectantur, magnaque et comitum aemulatio quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Germania 13.

unity within the retinue; hence the terms: *friund.* and *notfriund.* as the warriors' forms of address to one another. (Schlesinger. 20) As obedience was central to the Roman notion of *fides*, agreement was central to the Germanic concept of *triuuo*. Early uses of the word convey a term of agreement in some form, be it alliance, troth or treaty. (Green 117f) In its various forms and implications, the agreement is always between two parties. The reciprocity equally functioned along two axes: vertical, as seen in the relationship between warrior and liege-lord, and horizontal, as witnessed within the retinue. (Green 119) As part of the retinue, the warrior became a member of the lord's household. The lord of the house provided sustenance for his retinue. When necessary, the lord also protected and represented the household in legal and military matters. This duty to the household is known as *munt*. (Schlesinger 14) The *Gefolgschaftswesen*, held together by bond and oath, formed the core of Germanic society.

As was the *Gefolgschaftswesen*, Germanic society as a whole was also stratified. Tacitus identifies three levels: nobles, freemen, and slaves.[106] Of the three classes, only the nobility and the freemen were permitted to attend the annual assembly, the governing body of the Germanic tribes. Slaves had no direct representation. The assembly itself was run efficiently. Rank and prestige determined speaking order. The business conducted during the assembly was manifold. Matters of public policy were dicussed and legal disputes were settled. Approval was marked by a clashing of weapons, disapproval by shouting.[107] At the assembly, rulers and generals were elected.

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[106] *nobiles, liberti, servis: Germania* 25.

[107] If a proposal has displeased them, they show their displeasure with a roar; but if it has won favour, they bang their *frameae* together.
Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur, sin placuit, frameas concutiunt:.. Germania 11.

Rulers were selected exclusively from the nobility.[108] The nature of Germanic kingship was unique. The king did not hold absolute authority and could be relieved of his duties. Such was the policy in times of war. An interim ruler was elected for the duration of the conflict and was removed from the post upon its resolution.[109]

TWO SOCIETIES: THE FRANKS AND THE SAXONS

The period of the great migrations marked a turning point in Germanic culture. Constant warfare, both defensive and offensive, resulted in permanent changes to the institution of kingship. The Germanic paradigm of power and leadership had shifted. In the event of a defensive war, the ruler held his position for a longer interval. Ultimately, power in the territory shifted towards the central ruler and his place on top evolved into a permanent institution. (Lintzel 1933, 10) In an offensive war, a chieftain would declare his intentions to wage a war of conquest. Those willing to follow swore oaths of allegiance to the chieftain. The new retinue included freeborn individuals as well as other liege-lords with their entire retinues. Wars of conquest typically continued for long durations of time. In such campaigns, the liege-lord eventually became a permanent ruler. In victory, he ultimately assumed the role of king. (Schlesinger 23) Through such warfare new kingdoms were founded. Worship was also affected by this shift in power.

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[108] They pick their kings on the basis of noble birth. *Reges ex nobilitate...sumunt. Germania* 7.

[109] Martin Lintzel, *Der Sächsische Stammesstaat und seine Eroberung durch die Franken* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1933) 9f.

The gods that were associatied with planting and fertility, such as Tiwaz and Freyr, were proscribed in favour of martial gods, such as Wodan and Saxnot. Wodan was even regarded by liege-lords and kings as their own personal benefactors of victory.[110]

These rulers formed the nucleus of the new kingdom, which by virtue of the army that fought to conquer it, represented a confederation of different Germanic tribes. The ruler was the common thread that held this patchwork of ethnicities together. His identity became the identity of the new kingdom. Such was the trajectory of the Franks.

THE FRANKS

The Franks were an amalgamation of Rhenish tribes living near the Roman *limes* that banded together for military purposes. The name, by which they identified themselves, "Frank", originally meant "The brave" or "the hardy." (Geary 78) The association with "the free" was a later designation. (Geary 78) The Franks were in steady contact with their Roman neighbours, largely through their service in the Roman army. Following the sack of Rome in 410, the Roman empire was weakened and began its decline. The Franks gradually usurped the former Roman territory in Gaul. The dominant forces among the Franks were the Salians, from which emerged Merowech, the progenitor of the Franks' first dynastic family, the Merovingians.

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[110] Patrick Geary. *Before France and Germany. The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 61.

A descendant of Merowech. Clovis conquered the last Roman stronghold in Soissons. as well as other Germanic seats of power. codified Salic Law. and. most importantly. converted to Christianity. Clovis died in 511 and his empire was split into four sections among his sons. Despite the division, the empire, the *regnum Francorum,* remained intact. It expanded to include Aquitaine, Burgundy, Thuringia, Alemannia, Provence, Rhaetia, and Bavaria. Each territory followed its own local legal code, but was administered by a duke designated by the Franks. For all their expansion, the Merovingian Franks did not endeavor to conquer territory north and east of the Main. The land and its people-the Saxons- were largely left unaffected by Frankish expansion or hegemony.[111] Constant fighting and fratricide ultimately weakened the Merovingian dynasty. The Pippinids and Carolingians gradually rose in strength and influence.Ultimately, in 751, they usurped the empire.

Monasteries played a pivotal role in realizing the aspirations of the Pippinid/Carolingians. Monastic lands were privately held by families. Support from these families led to alliances with other benefactors, and, naturally, with the church. (Riche 32) Respectively, it became customary among the Carolingians to have their sons educated by monks. This marked a departure from the traditional practice of employing private tutors. (Riche 49) The alliance between the church and the Carolingians benefitted Rome as well. Boniface, on a mission from Popes Gregory II and III to christianize the Germanic people, solicited aid from Charles Martell in his

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[111]Although the Saxons in certain districts were sending tribute to the Franks as a result of the campaign in Thuringia. the Saxons largely an autonomous people. Martin Lintzel. Die Tributzahlungen der Sachsen and die Franken zur Zeit der Merowinger und König Pippin. *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Band I. *Zur altsächsische Stammesgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1961) 80.

efforts. Popes Gregory II and III would also appeal to Charles Martell for assistance against the Lombards. It was also under the Carolingians that the Frankish Church underwent long overdue reforms. (Riche 55) In 754 Pope Stephen II anointed Pippin III and his sons, Carlomann and Charles, uniting Rome with Carolingian kingship. Through this act, the Carolingian dynasty was legitimized, and Rome had a new guardian. Under Pippin III's son, Charles, known later as Charlemagne, the Frankish empire expanded further and reached its height of power. This was achieved through constant warfare. Military campaigns were undertaken nearly every year of his 47 year reign. Charles was a tireless and tenacious warlord. The capture of the Saxon territory best exemplifies this. The seizure of the entire Saxon territory came after 33 years of warfare, dating from 772-804.

THE SAXON WARS

The wars between the Franks and the Saxons began as a police action, as it were; an armed response to the frequent Saxon raids of Frankish lands. (Riche 88) It was also in Charlemagne's interest to protect the Rhine, as it was an economic lifeline for the empire, a major thoroughfare of trade and commerce.[112] Also, key cities such as Cologne, Mainz, and Worms were situated along its banks. To protect these cities and to secure the Rhine for commerce, it was also necessary also to secure the Weser and the lands inbetween. (Mayr-Harting 1115) Defence, not expansion, was the primary

[112] Henry Mayr-Harting. "Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No.444 (1996). 1114.

objective in undertaking campaigns against the Saxons.[113] In the end. all of the Saxon lands were conquered and annexed. The borders of the Frankish empire now reached the North Sea. The treasury was increased in 772 through the capture of the Irminsul, a sacred Saxon shrine, and the confiscation of its riches.[114]

During the early campaigns of the Frankish-Saxon wars, several Christian churches were destroyed by insurgent Saxons. Charlemagne's subsequent campaign saw to the construction of new churches in the conquered territory and forced baptisms upon the defeated Saxons. Thus the resolve to quell Saxon aggression became a mission to christianize the Saxon people. Christianizing the Saxons not only secured the safety of the churches and missionaries, it also forcibly shifted the social and spiritual orientation of the Saxons from paganism to a perspective which conformed to the Christian values of the Franks. This was vital to the conquest of the Saxons, as "no pacification of hostile peoples seemed possible until those peoples spoke the same religious language and accepted the moralities of dealings as between Christians."[115]

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[113] Einhard wrote in the *Royal Frankish Annals*:
Hardly a day passed without some incident or other which was well calculated to break the peace...Murder, robbery and arson were of constant occurrence on both sides. In the end, the Franks were so irritated by these incidents that they decided that the time had come to abandon retaliatory measures and to undertake a full-scale war against these Saxons. Qtd. in Mayr-Harting 1115.

[114] Et inde perrexit partibus Saxoniae prima vice, Eresburgum castrum/coepit, ad Ermensul usque pervenit et ipsum fanum destruxit et aurum vel argentum, quod ibi repperit, abstulit.
...und begab sich von hier erstmals nach Sachsen, eroberte die Eresburg, gelangte er bis zur Ermensul, zerstörte dieses Heiligtum und brachte das Gold und Silber, das er dort fand, mit.
Buchner, ed. *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*. Erster Band. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980) (=Ausgewählten Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Band V) 26f.

[115] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1983) (=Oxford History of the Christian Church) 183.

Abbot Sturmius was commissioned to oversee the christianization process. which was headquartered at Fulda monastery. Charlemagne also established a military command centre at Paderborn. (Riche 103f) As Charlemagne undertook campaigns in other parts of the empire, renegade Saxons capitalized on his absence and undertook offensive raids of their own along the Rhine. In response, Charlemagne established and maintained a Frankish presence in the Saxon territory by installing counts to govern the territory. (Riche 104) By 782, select Saxon nobles were recruited for this task of administration, serving alongside their former Frankish rivals. (Riche 104)

The turning point of the Saxon wars was Widukind's surrender in 785. In 778 Widukind, a Westphalian noble, led a rebellion against Frankish forces. Charlemagne's swift and effective retaliation forced Widukind to seek exile among the Danes. The following year, Widukind struck back, destroying churches and missions that had been established during his exile, as well as surprising and overwhelming Frankish forces at Süntel. Several critical and influential nobles perished in the attack. Charlemagne swiftly returned to the Saxon territory. He captured and decapitated 4,500 Saxons at Verden. (Riche 104) In 785 Widukind surrendered and allowed himself to be baptized. Charlemagne himself served as his sponsor.[116] In that same year, the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* was enacted to bring order to the Saxon territory and codify its laws. Violations against the church or Christian practice were met with a death sentence. For example:

> Whoever enters a church by violence, or forcibly removes or steals any object from it, or sets fire to the building, shall be put to death.

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[116] Martin Lintzel, "Karl der Grosse und Widukind." In:. *Ausgewählte Schriften. Band I Zur altsächsischen Stammesgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961) 213.

> Any non-baptized Saxon, who seeks to hide among his compatriots and refuses to request the sacrament, shall be put to death. (Qtd. in Riche 104)

Widukind's surrender and baptism seem to have effectively ended Saxon resistance. Seven years passed without conflict. In 792, however, hostilities were resumed in the regions north of the Elbe, resulting in mass deportations of Saxons from that region into Francia. By 804 the policy of displacement and division irrevocably broke the Saxon resistance. All of the Saxon territory was incorporated into the empire. Churches were built and monasteries at Werden, Helmstedt and Corbie were founded. Counts, both Frank and Saxon, were entrusted to govern the new territories and administer imperial policies. Wherever possible, a count's jurisdiction occupied the same space as the former Roman administrative territory. In the Saxon territory, where there was no Roman presence, new administrative districts were created. A count's responsibility was to administer justice, collect taxes, assemble military troops, and uphold the capitularies as per the proceedings of the annual assembly. (Riche 127) In the *Heliand*, I believe that one can see distinct similarities between the counts assigned to the Saxon lands and the figures of Herod and Pontius Pilate. Their roles will be discussed later.

THE SAXONS

Saxon history followed a fundamentally different trajectory. Unfortunately, the chronicles of Saxon history are not as copious as the Frankish. The first known account comes from Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD, who reports that the Saxon tribe originated in what is known today as Holstein. (Lintzel 1933, 5) The Saxons expanded their realm

through the conquest of land and the subjugation of its people. After having conquered territory along the Elbe, the Saxons followed a westward expansion. By the end of the third century, the Saxons reached the lower Rhine, where they shared a border with the Franks. Although they did not engage the Romans and remained outside their sphere of influence, the Saxons pursued a much different relationship with the Franks. The Saxons and Franks both clashed and collaborated throughout the centuries. In the mid 6th century they banded together to defeat the Thuringians. A campaign against the Boruktians followed. By the year 700 Saxon territorial expansions had reached its limit.

Saxon society was organized in much the same manner as depicted by Tacitus in *Germania* and in the *Annals*. Saxon lands were divided into three main territories, Westphalia, Eastphalia, and Angris. These regions were divided further into districts, or *Gaue*. There were approximately 100 of these *Gaue* within the Saxon territory. A chieftain or *satrapa* governed each district.[117] Saxon society was divided into three castes: nobility, the *edhilingui*, freemen, the *frilingi*, and semi-free, the *lazzi.* The nobles are believed to have descended from the original conquerers from Holstein; the freemen, from their warrior retinues; and the semi-free, from the conquered tribes. (Goldberg 471). There was no king who presided over the people, as noted in the *Vita Lebuini antiqua*. Only in times of war was a king elected to rule as sovereign. Otherwise, power and authority within the Saxon territory was locally held by the aforementioned *satrapa*. The gaps between the social strata were broad. A noble's *wergeld* was valued at 1440 *solidi*, or 700 cows, while a freeman's was worth 240.

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[117] Eric J. Goldberg, "Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages: The Saxon Stellinga Reconsidered." *Speculum* 70, 473. n.28.

A semi-free man's was worth 180. (Goldberg 472) The preservation and the perpetuation of the castes were strictly protected. Intermarriage between different castes was forbidden and punishable by death. (Goldberg 471 n.18) The basic unit of Saxon society was the household, which was headed by a nobleman. The free and semi-free served as members of the noble's household.

Despite the sharp social divide, every class was represented in the annual assembly. The assembly met at Marklo, near the Weser River. From every district, twelve elected representatives from each stratum of society attended. In total, approximately 3600 delegates attended the annual assembly. Matters of law and public policy were discussed, as well as military matters. The assembly also decided if war was to be waged that year. If a campaign were to be undertaken, a temporary leader was elected from among the chieftains. Upon conclusion of the campaign, the leader surrendered the post. (Lintzel 1933, 9f)

While this system of leadership diverged and evolved into a centralized power structure among the Franks, it remained unchanged among the Saxons. Up to the end of the Frankish-Saxon wars, the Saxon model of government remained representative. This was possibly due to the relative isolation of the Saxon lands. Just as they were untouched by the Roman colonization of Germania, the Saxons were also not as strongly affected by the great migrations. While other tribes endured constant warfare, the Saxons stood removed from the hostilities. This disconnection allowed for the old Germanic way of life to remain intact. Changing only in population, the Saxons conquered by Charlemagne at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth

century were much the same society as was observed by Ptolemy and Tacitus centuries earlier.

As the Saxon systems of government and social order remained the same. so did their belief system. The Saxons venerated Uuôdan, Saxnot, and Donar, and practiced a form of nature worship. The Saxons, the lower castes especially, held onto their beliefs tenaciously. (Goldberg 474). When it was introduced, Christianity was perceived by the freemen and the semi-free as invasive and foreign, a threat to their way of life and to their limited rights. (Goldberg 474) This naturally led to bloody conflicts with Anglo-Saxon missionaries, many of which resulted in murder or expulsion. Not all missionaries were met with hostility. Some found sympathy and converts among the nobility. (Goldberg 474)

Just as the nobles were first to accept Christianity, the nobles were also the first to engage the Franks peaceably during the wars. Throughout the wars of conquest, it was the nobles who brokered treaties, offered hostages, and submitted to baptism. The lower classes largely remained suspicious of the Franks and of Christianity. They, along with some recalcitrant nobles almost annually renewed hostilities with the Franks. Every campaign in the war of conquest was concluded with such treaties. Every treaty won more noble families over to the Franks. Through such alliances, the Franks gradually garnered powerful allies and maintained a presence within Saxon territory. In turn, the Saxon nobility retained their lands and preserved their elevated status in society as administrators in the new empire. With the codification of Saxon law in the early 9th century, the status of the nobility was secure and their authority as administrators was absolute.

Despite its submission to the Frankish crown. Saxon society as a whole underwent no radical change. The castes remained as they were. The nobility retained its dominance while the *frilingi* and *lazzi* continued to be subject to their authority. Geography was a dominant factor in the perpetuation of the old ways. As the Saxon territories were located on the fringe of the empire, the Saxons were physically removed from the direct influence of the Carolingian court. The only indication of Frankish dominion over the territory was in the presence of *the missi dominici.*

The historical synopsis has shown how deeply rooted Saxon culture is. Their ability to wage war for three decades against the Franks clearly shows that they were a people willing to fight to the end to preserve their ways. As conquerers, the Franks were just as tenacious. As it was famously written of the wars in 775:

> While the king spent the winter at the villa of Quierzy, he decided to attack the treacherous and treaty-breaking Saxons and to persist in this war until they were either defeated and forced to accept the Christian religion or entirely exterminated.[118]

Einhard wrote of the wars: "No war ever undertaken by the Frankish people was more prolonged, more full of atrocities, or more demanding in effort"[119]. Brutal though they were, the wars were not resolved by a show of superior military might alone.

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[118] *Carolingian Chronicles. Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories.* Trans. Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970) 51.

[119] *Quo nullum neque prolixius neque atrocius Francorumque populo laboriosius susceptum est; Vita Karoli Magni. The Life of Charlemagne,* Trans. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Edwin H. Zeydel (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972) 46f.

Indeed. Charlemagne's decisive victories on the battlefield gained him a foothold in the Saxon territory. but it was his abilities as a negotiator that ultimately won the Saxon nobles over. Not all negotiations were successful, as treaties were regularly broken and hostilites were frequently renewed. Some negotiations were indeed successful, as Charlemagne gradually won nobles over the the Frankish cause through the granting of priveledges and countships. In layman's terms, he bribed them.[120] Charlemagne was victorious in the end, but it is questionable how complete his conquest of the Saxon territory was. The Saxons, after all, were infamous for breaking treaties they had so willingly sealed.[121] In light of this uncertainty, I believe that the *Heliand* was composed in order to address this issue specifically and to bring about its resolution. The text itself is the most telling indication that the Saxons were still divided. The poem was written nearly 30 years- a full generation- after the conclusion of the wars. Its overtly Christian subject matter, the pagan motifs, and the overall didactic tone of their presentation all indicate that the Saxons as a whole had not fully accepted Christianity or the reality of Frankish dominion by this time. In *The Saxon Savior,* G. Ronald

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[120] "The king converted the greater part of that people[to the faith of Christ] partly through wars, partly through persuasions, and also partly through bribes." Qtd. in Goldberg, 476.
Quo cum rex pervenisset, partim bellis, partim suasionibus, partim etiam muneribus, maxima ex parte gentem illam [ad fidem Christi] convertit.. *Vita S. Sturmi* MGH SS 2:376

[121] For it is difficult to say how many times they surrendered to the king and promised to do what they were ordered, how often and without delay they furnished hostages that were demanded, and how often they received legates. Many times they were so badly defeated and weakened that they vowed to give up their cult of demons and indicated their willingness to submit to the Christian faith. But just as they were often ready to do this, just as often were they in a hurry to break their promises. Thus, I cannot say with certainty which of these courses of action they more truthfully favoured. *Vita Karoli Magni.* 51.
Dificile dictu est, quoties superati ac supplies regi se dediderunt, imperata facturos polliciti sunt, obsides qui imperabantur absque dilatione dederunt, legatos qui mittebantur susceperunt, aliquoties ita domiti et emolliti. ut etiam cultum daemonum dimittere et Christianae religioni se subdere velle promitterent. Sed sicut ad haec facienda aliquoties proni, sic ad eadem pervertenda semper fuere praecipites, non sit ut satis aestimare, ad utrum hourm faciliores verius dici possint; Vita Karoli Magni. 50.

Murphy has already outlined how the Christian elements of the poem superseded the pagan belief system. This chapter will consider how the poem adresses the shift in social and political values from the established Germanic traditions based on trust and loyalty, as perpetuated by the Saxons to the Gallo-Roman model of obedience to a central leader, as practiced by the Franks.

As indicated earlier, the basic unit of Saxon society was the household. At the head of the household stood the lord, or *Grundherr*. Surrounding him in service was the retinue. The dynamics of this constellation have aready been discussed. Let us consider how this applies to the *Heliand.* As the lord-retinue relationship formed the central unit of society in the Saxon territory, the relationship between Jesus Christ and the apostles forms the central relationship in the *Heliand.* As such, Christ's relationship with the apostles is portrayed much like that of the lord to his retinue. Naturally, the bond is spiritual in nature, as per scripture. Yet, the military nature of the retinue does transfer into the poem. This is evident in Thomas and Peter, who present themselves ready for armed combat:

> Then one of the twelve (Thomas was his name, he was an excellent man, the Chieftain's devoted thane) said, "We should not criticize His action or obstruct His will in this matter, we should continue on, stay with Him, and suffer with our Commander. That is what a thane chooses: to stand fast together with his lord, to die with him at the moment of doom.(Murphy *Heliand* 130)

> Thuo ên thero tuelibio,
> Thuomas gimâlda -uuas im githungan mann,
> diurlîc drohtines thegan-: 'ne sculun uui im thia dâd lahan,' quathie,
> 'ni uuernian uui im thes uuillien, ac uuita im uuonian mid,
> thuoloian mid ûsson thiodne: that ist thegnes cust,
> that hie mid is frâhon samad fasto gistande,
> dôie mid im thar an duome.
> (l.3992-3998)

Thomas is portrayed as a devoted [122] warrior. His loyalty to his Lord is unwavering, as is his faith in Him. He abides by his Lord's decisions and does not question or second guess His leadership. He is steadfast in his convictions and firmly aware of his role within the retinue. The poet's use of "devoted" (*diurlîc*) emphasises the value of these qualities. These were the standards against which a warrior's value was measured. Thomas' speech resonates with the warrior's code of duty. Within the retinue, duty to the lord was valued second only to honour.[123] As such, Thomas is prepared to die for his liege-lord. In his speech he reminds his fellow warriors of their obligation to do so as well. The Thomas of Scripture, on the contrary, is a much different character. He is not nearly as passionate or exiteable as the poetic Thomas. The only common trait between the two is loyalty:

> Dixit ergo Thomas, qui dicitur Didimus, ad condiscipulos suos: eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo.
>
> Tho quad Thomas, ther ist giquetan Didimus, ci sinen ebaniungiron: gemes uuir, thaz uuir sterben mit imo. (Tatian 135:8)
>
> Jn.11:16: Thomas therefore, who is called Didimus, said to his fellow-disciples: Let us also go that we may die with him.

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[122] While Murphy glosses *diurlîc* as "devoted," Cathey glosses it as "praiseworthy." Mitzka glosses *diurlîc* as "teuer," "preislich,"and "herrlich:" "dear," "praiseworthy," and "magnificent." Attention to this detail may seem like semantic hair-splitting, but the differing glosses alter the overall tone of Thomas' character. "Devoted" lends a more spiritual dimension to his service, while "praiseworthy" speaks more of Thomas' integrity as a warrior.

[123] ... it is shameful for the entourage not to match the valour of the chieftain. Furthermore, it is shocking and disgraceful for all of one's life to have survived one's chieftain and left the battle: the the prime obligation of the entourage's allegiance is to protect and guard him and to credit their own brave deeds to his glory:...
turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse; illum defendere tueri, sua quoque fortia fact gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentuum est: *Germania* 14.

When Christ is arrested and taken prisoner. Peter displays the tenacity and ferocity with which a warrior should defend his lord in battle.

> Then Simon Peter, the mighty. the noble swordsman flew into a rage; his mind was in such turmoil that he could not speak a single word. He heart became intensely bitter because they wanted to tie up his Lord there. So he strode over angrily, that very daring thane, to stand in front of his Commander, right in front of his Lord. No doubting in his mind, no fearful hesitation in his chest, he drew his blade and struck straight ahead at the first man of the enemy with all the strength in his hands, so that Malchus was cut and wounded on the right side by the sword! His ear was chopped off, he was so badly wounded in the head that his cheek and ear burst open with a mortal wound! Blood gushed out, pouring from the wound! The cheek of the enemy's first man had been cut open. The men stood back -they were afraid of the slash of the sword. (Murphy *Heliand* 160.)

> Thô gibolgan uuarð
> snel suerdthegan, Sîmon Petrus,
> uuel imu innan hugi, that he ni mahte ênig uuord sprekan:
> sô harm uuarð imu an is hertan, that man is hêrron thar
> binden uuelde. Thô he gibolgan geng,
> suîðo thrîstmôd thegan for is thiodan standen,
> hard for is hêrron: ni uuas imu is hugi tuîfli
> blôth an is breostun, ac he is bil atôh,
> suerd bi sidu, slôg imu tegenes
> an thene furiston fiund folmo crafto,
> that thô Malchus uuarð mâkeas eggium,
> an thea suîðaron half suerdu gimâlod:
> thiu hlust uuarð imu farhauuan, he uuarð an that hôbid uund,
> that imu herudrôrag hlear endi ôre
> beniuundun brast: blôd aftar sprang,
> uuall fan uundun. Thô uuas an is uuangun scard
> the furisto thero fiundo. Thô stôd that folc an rûm:
> andrêdun im thes billes biti.
> (l.4865-4882)

Once again, the Scriptural account is not nearly as emotionally charged as the poetic rendition:

> Simon ergo Petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit pontificis servum et amputavit aruiculam eius dextram; erat autem nomen servo Malchus.

> Simon Petrus habenti suert nam iz uz inti sluoc thes bisgoffes scalc inti abahio sin ora thaz zeseuua; uuas namo thes scalkes Malchus. (Tatian 185:2)

> Jn.18:10: Then Simon Peter, having a sword, drew it, and struck the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And the name of the servant was Malchus.

Peter's blind rage is evocative of the *berserkrs,* elite warriors in service to Oðin.[124] In mythology, the berserkrs were renowned for their superhuman strength and blind devotion to Oðin. To prepare for battle they donnned the skins of bears- hence the name "bear-shirt"- or wolves and howled until frenzied.[125] When in battle, they felt no pain, and they entrusted the care of all wounds to their god. In the *Ynglingsaga*, the berserkrs are said to have the ability to blind, deafen even paralyze their adversaries with fear.[126]

In society, the berserkrs were an elite unit dedicated to warfare and the defence of their liege-lord or king. The community shared the responsibility of the maintainance of the berserkrs as an offering to Oðin.[127] Whereas Peter neither dons an animal skin nor foams at the mouth, he is nonetheless blind and zealous in the defence of his Lord. Following Peter's outburst, the tone of the poem changes. Peter's rage is extinguished by his Master. The poet departs from a scene of raging brutality to one that demonstrates how one can rise above it. In the passage, Christ reminds Peter:

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[124] Murphy also notes a similarity between Peter's actions and the rage of the besrerkrs. *Heliand,* 160, n.250.

[125] Etymology: John Lindow, *Handbook of Norse Mythology* (Santa Barbara: ABC- CLIO, 2001) 75.

[126] Solche Macht hatte Oðin, daß er in der Schlacht seine Feinde blind oder taub machen konnte oder von Schrecken wie gelähmt, und ihre Waffen schnitten dann nicht mehr als Ruten Aber seine eignen Mannen gingen ohne Brünnen, und sie waren wild wie Hunde oder Wölfe. Sie bissen in ihre Schilde und waren stark wie Bären oder Stiere. Sie erschlugen das Menschenvolk, und weder Feruer noch Stahl konnte ihnen etwas anhaben. Man nannte dies "Berserkergang". Die Geschichte von den Ynglingen" In. *Snorris Königsbuch (Heimskringla) Erster Band,* ed. and trens. Felix Niedner (Düsseldorf: Eugen Dietrichs Verlag, 1965) (=Thule Altnordische Dichtung und Prosa. Band 14) 32.

[127] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Scandinavian Mythology.* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1969) 38f.

> We are not to become enraged or wrathful against their violence, since whoever is eager and willing to practice the weapon's hatred, cruel spear-fighting, is often killed by the edge of the sword and dies dripping with his own blood.' (Murphy *Heliand* 161)

> ni sculun ûs belgan uuiht,
> uurêðean uuið iro genuuinne; huand sô hue sô uuâpno nîð,
> grimman gêrheti uuili gerno frummien,
> he suiltit imu eft suerdes eggiun,
> dôit im bidrôregan:
> (l.4895-4899)

The dedication Peter exhibits is lauded, while the excessive nature of the display is quietly and calmly discouraged. Christ appeals to Peter's sense of reason to dissuade him from further acts of careless and impulsive fury. The poet uses this passage as an appeal to his audience. He emphasizes the virtue of loyalty, which is common to both cultures, while presenting an alternate means of its display. Thus the poet swiftly trumps the involuntary violent reaction with one based on strategy and reason. A warrior who thinks before he strikes is much more efficient and much more effective than one who wantonly slashes without prejudice.

CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES

The relationship between Christ and the apostles is initiated as per the Germanic paradigm. That is to say, the apostles are free born men *-ingenui in obsequio-*[128] and join Christ's retinue on their own volition. Theirs was not a decision borne out of personal fear or economic necessity. The apostles are all able bodied and independent men. They were skilled in various different trades which represented the

[128] F. L.Ganshof, *Feudalism*. Trans. Philip Grierson (New York: Harper & Row, 1964) 4.

various echelons of society. Each was practising and flourishing at his respective trade upon meeting Christ. As Christ's retinue, the apostles are prepared to serve and defend the interests of their Lord. Each apostle's decision to join Him was an act of his own free will. The devotion and faith that the apostles show toward their Lord is directly proportionate to that which they receive from Christ Himself.

This is evident in both Scripture and in the *Heliand*. In both texts the apostles are portrayed as eager and determined to renounce their former lives and join Christ in His retinue. The *Heliand* poet embellishes these decisive moments in the apostles' lives. Scripture portrays the events as a matter of course.

Andrew and Peter:

> They wanted very much to go together with God's Son, to be His warrior-companions; they would receive a blessed reward. (Murphy *Heliand* 41)
>
> uuas im uuilleo mikil,
> that sie mid them godes barne gangan môstin,
> samad an is gisîðea, scoldun sâglîco
> lôn antfâhan:
> (l.1167-1172)
>
> At illi continuo relictis retibus secunti sunt eum.
>
> ...sie thó sliumo fórlázenen nezzin folgetun imo. (Tatian 19:2)
>
> Mt 4:20: And they immediately leaving their nets, followed him.

James and John:

> They chose the holy Christ, the Rescuer, to be their Lord, they felt a need to deserve His help. (Murphy *Heliand* 41)
>
> gecurun im thana neriandan Krist,
> hêlagna te hêrron; uuas im helpono tharf
> te githionone:
> (l.1186-1188)
>
> illi autem statim relictis retibus et patre secuti sunt eum.
>
> ..sie sliumo forlazzanen nezin inti fater folgetun imo. (Tatian 19:3)

Mt 4:22: And they forthwith left their nets and father, and followed him.

Matthew:

A thane of the king chose Christ for his Lord- a more generous jewel-giver[129] than his former chieftain in this world had ever been! (Murphy *Heliand* 41f)

côs im the cuninges thegn Crist te hêrran,
milderan mêðomgebon, than êr is mandrohtin
uuâri an thesaro ueroldi:
(l.1199-1201)

Et surgens relictis omnibus secutus est eum.
Her thó arstantanti allen forlazanen folgeta imo. (Tatian 20:2)

Lk.5:28: And leaving all things, he rose up and followed him.

Having renounced their possessions and property, the apostles join Christ to serve in His "personal warrior company" (Murphy *Heliand* 43), *gesîðskepea.* (l.1254) These were men personally chosen by Christ (*selbo gecôs*) to serve in His private retinue. This aspect is significant, as the act of personal selection is repeated frequently during the gathering of the apostles and during the Instructions on the Mount. As warrior-companions in exclusive service to Christ, the apostles are thus portrayed as *antrustiones*, the hand- picked elite guard of the king. An *antrustio* belonged to the highest order of society, regardless of his status at birth. This is due to his direct relationship with the king. This would explain to the reader why fishermen such as Andrew, Peter, James and John are suddenly ennobled.[130]

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[129] Murphy notes that this is a reference to Germanic liege-lords and their spirit of generosity. *Heliand* 42 n.66. Could this reference to jewels also be a subtle jab at Oðin? Oðin was also known for presenting gifts- usually gold rings- to his followers. Davidson 37.

[130] So the ruling Christ had told the earls in front of Him the eight good fortunes. Murphy *Heliand* 47. Sô habde tho uualdand Crist for them erlon thar ahto getalda sâlda gesagda: (l.1325-1327); emphasis mine.

As a noble, an *antrustio* commanded a triple *wergeld.* If killed, the murderer was obligated to pay the victim's family three times the amount assessed to the death of a free man. (Ganshof 5) To the noble-born audience of the *Heliand,* who himself carried the highest *wergeld* in society; the inflated *wergeld* of an *antrustio* was real indicator of status. This validates the high rank of the apostles and serves as yet another affirmation of Christ's regal nature.[131]

In these two episodes- the gathering of the apostles and the Instructions on the Mount- Germanic and Frankish concepts converge. The elite guard, previously known to the Saxon reader as *berserkrs,* is depicted as Frankish *antrustiones.* The poet cleverly introduces the new concept in terms his reader can understand, namely by emphasizing the elite nature of the guard. Also, by using the term "word wise" (Murphy *Heliand* 40), *uuordspâha uueros* (l.1150) to describe the sort of warrior worthy to join Christ's retinue, it suggests that the poet is portraying the apostles as a guard that is not only martially superior, but also intellectually superior. In order to be "word wise," one had to be literate[132]. It is a subtle, yet effective reference to the virtue of learning and education.[133] This concept is repeated again just before the Instructions on the Mount: "Some, however, were very wise men, men of intelligence and of worth before God, the elite among the people." (Murphy *Heliand* 43)

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[131] Christ's speech supports this further: "Christ's word was so important to them in this world..." Murphy *Heliand* 41; *Thô uuârun im Kristes uuorð sô uuirðig an thesaro uueeroldi,...*(l.1182-1183)

[132] It has been suggested that the term "word-wise" only connoted leader's abilities in speech. Given the numerous references to the written word and the act of writing, I believe that the poet is adding a new dimension to the term, just as he does with *drohtin.*

[133] This motif is repeated in the story of the rich man and the beggar. See page 101f.

Suma uuârun si im eft sô uuîse man, uuârun im glauuue gumon endi god uuereðe, alesane undar them liudiun,...(l.1233-1235) It is repeated once again in a later episode, as Peter defends Christ on Mount Olive. As mentioned earlier, Christ teaches Peter the value of using reason and intellectual skill to defeat an enemy.

The *berserkr* element is not altogether eliminated from the overall portrayal of the apostles. In this episode, the poet fortifies the scriptural account with elements of the *berserkrs* and the cult of Oðin. Note the subtle reference to *Valhalla*, the hall of the slain[134], at the end of the passage:

> Success will come to you, help from heaven, and the Holy Spirit will speak mightily from your mouth. Therefore do not be afraid of human beings' hatred, do not fear their hostility. Even though they could take away the body's life by striking with the sword, they cannot do anything at all to the soul. Fear the ruling God, revere your Father, enjoy doing His bidding, for He has power both over people's life and over their body, as well as over the living soul itself. If you lose your life-spirit on this journey because of the teachings, you will be able to find it again before the light of God, because your Father, holy God, will hold it for you in the kingdom of heaven. (Murphy *Heliand* 64f)

huand iu thiu spôt cumid,
helpe fon himile, endi sprikid the hêlogo gêst,
mahtig fon iuuuomu munde. Bethiu ne andrâdad gi iu
thero manno nîð,
ne forhteat iro fiundskepi: thoh si hebbean iuuuas
ferrahes geuuald,
that si mugin thene lîchamon lîbu beneotan,
aslaan mid jsuerdu, thoh sie theru seolun ne mugun
uuiht auuardean. Antdrâdad iu uualdand god,
forhtead fader iuuuan, frummiad gerno
is gobodskepi, huuand hi habad bêðies giuuald,
liudio libes endi ôc iro lîchamon
gec thero seolon sô self: ef gi iuuua an them sîðe tharot
farliosat thurh thesa lêra, than môtun gi sie eft an

[134] The reference to Valhalla is admittedly controversial. It has been suggested that Valhalla did not exist among the continental Saxons, that it was a belief held only by the Scandinavians. I disagree. If the continental Saxons believed in a place called hel, they must also have believed in the existence of some sort of paradise in their vernacular cosmology.

themu liohte godes
beforan fîðan, huuand sie fader iuuua,
haldid hêlag god an himilrîkea.

In Scripture. Christ assures the apostles that God will speak through them. But the stirring words of assurance and the striking imagery are absent:

non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis....
nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere, sed potius eum timete qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam

ni birut ír thie thár sprehhent, úzouh geist íuuares fater sprihhit in íu....
ni curet thie forhten thithar lihhamon slahent, uuanta sie ni mugun thie sela arslahan, ouh halt forhtet thén thie thar mág sela inti lihhamon fliosan in hellauúizi. (Tatian 44:13,19)

Mt.10:20,28 For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you....And fear ye not them that kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him that can destroy both soul and body in hell.

THE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE MOUNT

Christ's retinue, having been assembled and introduced to the audience, is now ready for instruction and training, and to receive orders for their mission. Christ leads the apostles up a mountain, where He "unlocks his mouth" (Murphy *Heliand* 45) *endi is thô is mund altlôc* (l.1293) to teach the apostles the Beatitudes, lessons in moral conduct, parables, and prayer. Here it appears that the poet is inserting his own intentions through the words of Christ. Whereas Scripture simply states:

Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas; non veni solvere, sed adimplere.

Ni curet uúanen thaz ih quami euúa zi losenne odo uuizagon; ni quam ih zi losenne, úzouh si fullenne (Tatian 25:4)

> Mt.5:17 Do not think that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.

the *Heliand* poet writes:

> Do not think for a moment that I have come to this world to destroy the old law, to chop it down among the people and to throw down the word of the prophets- they were truthful men, clear in their commands. Heaven and earth standing now united will both fall apart before even a minute bit of their words, in which they gave true commands to the people here, goes unaccomplished in this world. I did not come to this world to fell the word of the prophets, but to fulfill them; to increase them and to make them new again for the children of men, for the good of this people. (Murphy *Heliand* 49f)

> Ni uuâniat gi thes mit uuihtiu, that ic bi thiu an thesa uuerold quâmi,
> that ic thana aldan êu irrien uuillie,
> fellean undar thesumu folke eftho thero forasagono
> uuord uuiðaruuerpen, thea hêr sô giuuârea man
> baralîco gebudun. Êr scal bêðiu tefaran,
> himil endi erðe, thiu nu bihlidan standat,
> êr than an thero uuordo uuiht bilîba
> unlêstid an thesumu liohte, thea sie thesum liudiun hêr
> uuârlîco gebudun. Ni quam ic an thesa uuerold the thiu,
> that ic feldi thero foasaono uuord, ac ic siu fulliun scal,
> ôkion endi nîgean eldibarnum,
> thesumu folke te frumu. (l.1420-1431)

In this passage, the poet is acknowleging his audience's past. The "chopping down" of the old law is most likely a reference to Boniface and his aggressive tactics as a missionary. On one occasion he cut down a sacred oak in Geismar and used its timber to build a Christian church.[135] Further into the passage, the poet shows reverence to the old belief, one that many before him have tried to destroy. Here the poet not only acknowleges the old belief, he shows proper respect to it. His words are almost laudatory. It may appear that the poet is sleeping with the enemy in this passage, but he is not. The poet's use of the phrase, "to increase them and make them new again"

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[135] Murphy 1989, 13f.

(*ôkion endi nîgean*) shows that his intention is to improve the old belief, not perpetuate it. He wants to renew it and redefine it in terms of the new belief, Christianity. His style shows that he is employing the new method of evangelization, one which places the emphasis on reconstruction and accomodation instead of force.[136] The placement of this statement is significant. Christ speaks these words during the Instructions on the Mount right after the Beatitudes and just before the lessons on morality. That is to say, in this episode, as Christ introduces a new philosophy of life, He briefly backpedals to acknowledge the old ways, as if to reassure and not lose His followers. Then He continues with the lesson, during which He introduces a new set of concepts along with the moral lessons and parables. In comparison, the original context of the Instructions on the Mount is actually quite close to the context in which they are portrayed in the *Heliand.* Both Christ and the poet are sharing and disseminating a new philosophy. While the apostles are hearing this for the first time in the scriptural account, the first post-war generation of Saxons are also hearing this for the first time. There is an element of discovery inherent in both settings.

The teaching of prayer is another point of convergence during the Instructions on the Mount. Elements of the retinue system, pagan motifs, and Christian spirituality all join together at this point. As men of the retinue, the apostles are obligated to provide service to their Lord. As a liege-lord, Christ is obligated to return the service through providing advice, counsel, and assistance, *rad.*[137]

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[136] See the letter from Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus in chapter 3, page 5.

[137] Samuel Berr, *An Etymological Glossary to the Heliand* (Berne and Frankfurt: Herbert Lang & Co., 1971) 315.

This arises in the teaching of the Lord's Prayer during the Instructions on the Mount. The Lord's Prayer is introduced as a revelation of runes: "teach us the secret runes" (Murphy *Heliand* 54); *gerihti ûs that gerûni*. l.1595. The introduction of runes marks a departure from Scripture, which only refers to the act of prayer:

> Tunc dixit unus e discipulis eius ad eum: domine, doce nos orare, sicut Ioahnnes docuit discipulos suos.
>
> Thó quad ein sinero iungirono zi imo: truhtin, leri unsih beton, sósó Iohannes lerta sine iugiron. (Tatian 34:5)
>
> Lk.11:1: And it came to pass, that as he was in a certain place praying, when he ceased, one of his disciples said to him: Lord teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.

Whereas the apostles's petition in the scriptural account is only for instruction in prayer, their petition in the poetic rendering is twofold. They ask both for instruction in prayer: "Best of all born, to teach us, your followers how to pray-" (Murphy *Heliand* 54); *allaro barno bezt, that thu ûs bedon lêres, iungoron thîne* (l.1590-1591) and for runes to be revealed. Although *gerihti* and *geruni* possess the alliterative quality that *lerian* and *bedon* lack, their inclusion is more than a mere poetic device. *Gerihti*, derived from *girihtan*, means to reveal. While the word *lêrian*, to teach, existed in Old Saxon, the poet nonetheless chose *gehriti*. "Reveal" is a significant and fitting choice for this episode, as *runen* originally meant "secret".[138] With the inclusion of the phrase: *gerihti us that geruni*, the scene is changed from one of simple instruction to one of private revelation. When considered in this context, the scene evokes a striking image. Christ and the apostles are atop a mountain, physically separated from others where a great secret is about to be revealed to the apostles. In all, the scene also succeeds in

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[138] Ralph W.V. Elliot. *Runes. An Introduction.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989) 1.

underscoring the elite nature of the apostles. They, above all, have been chosen to witness the revelation of runes. The association with runes immediately resonates with the reader as a matter of paramount importance, as knowledge of runes has always the domain of Oðin. In addition to their connection to Oðin, runes were also believed to possess magical powers or properties.[139] The revelation of runes was a sacred and solemn event. Through the connection to runes, the poet has captured the audience's attention and imagination. At this point, the poet uses the names "Lord," and "Victory-Chieftain" in the same stanza in reference to a higher being. Through the apposition of God and Oðin[140], the poet is able to dovetail the properties of the pagan god with the Christian God, once again providing his audience with a context in which to understand the status, sigificance and role of the Christian deity.

> I shall command you that when you want to bow your head in prayer, and you want to ask the Lord for help, to free your from loathsomeness- from the crimes and sins that you yourselves have wrongfully done here- do not do it in front of other people!...If you want to pray to the Lord and modestly ask His help- something you really need- so that your Victory-Chieftain will take away your sins, then do it very secretly. (Murphy *Heliand* 54)

> Ôc scal ic iu gebeodan, than gi uuilliad the bedu hnîgan
> endi uuilliad te iuuuomu hêrron helpono biddean,
> that he iu alâte lêðes thinges,
> thero sacono endi thero sundeono, thea gi iu selbon hîr
> uurêða geuuirkead, that gi it than for ôðrumu uuerode ni duad:...
>
> Ac than gi uuillean te iuuuomo hêrron helpono biddean,

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[139] See Hollander, 37, *Hávamal* 142:
Runes wilt thou find and rightly read,
of wonderous weight,
of mighty magic,
which that dyed [with blood, n.71] the dread god,
which that made the holy hosts,
and were etched by Oðin.

[140] Of Oðin's many monikers, *Sigfaðr*, father of victory is one. Turville-Petre 52.

thiggean theolîco. -thes iu is tharf mikil-
that iu sigidrohtin sundeono tômea,
than dôt gi that sô darno: (l.1565- 1569. 1573-1576)

In *Hávamal*, one can find an analagous passage:

'Tis readily found when runes thou ask,
made by holy gods,
known to holy hosts,
and dyed deep red by Oðin:
that 'tis wise to waste no words. (Hollander 26)

Another translation of the last line offers: "It is best for man to remain silent"[141] By the terms of silence and not wasting words, it is implied that excessive speech would nullify the magic of the runes.[142] In the poetic rendering, the *Heliand* poet suggests that a public display of prayer would not so much as cancel the petition, as it would devalue it. In addition to the importance of secrecy in prayer, the poet cleverly reminds the audience of the dangers of vanity. From the common element of secrecy, the poet is able to diverge and incorporate a Christian value to the scene without compromising the original context or the intended effect.

> Do not tell it to everybody so that people will praise you for it and hold your action in high esteem, because then your prayer to your Chieftain goes lost for the sake of vanity of fame. (Murphy *Heliand* 54)

ni mâread it far menigi, that iu thes man ni lobon.
ni diurean thero dâdeo, that gi iuuues drohtines gibed
thurh that îdala hrôm al ne farleosan. (l.1570-1572)

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[141] *The Elder Edda. A Selection.* Trans. Paul B. Taylor and W. H. Auden (London: Faber and Faber, 1969) 48.

[142] Hollander 26, n.35. Scripture also emphasises the value of silence and reticence. Despite the concordance, the poet omits this passage. The language is rather inflammatory and most likely would have been interpreted as derogatory by the audience:
Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici; putant enim quia in multiloquio exaudiantur.
Betonte ni curet filu sprehan sósó thie heidanon mán: sie uuanent thaz si in iro filusprahhi sín gihórte. Tatian 34:3.
Mt 6:7 And when you are praying, speak not much, as the heathens. For they think that in their much speaking they might be heard.

In Scripture, the emphasis is not on vanity, but on hypocrisy:

> Et cum oratis, non eritis sicut hypochritæ, qui amant in sinagogis it in angulis platearum stantes orare, ut videantur ab hominibus. Amen dico vobis: receperunt mercedem suam.
>
> Thanne ír betot, ni sít thanne sósó thie lihhizara, thie thar minnont in samanungu inti in giuuiggin strazono stantane beton, thaz sie sín gisehan fon mannun. Uúar is thaz ih íu sagen: sie inphiengun iur mieta. (Tatian 34:1)
>
> Mt.6:5 And when ye pray, you shall not be as the hypocrites, that love to stand and pray in the synagogues and corners of the streets, tht they may be seen by men. Amen I say to you, they have received their reward.

The choice of words and the cadence of the prayer are of paramount importance. The spiritual significance of teaching the Lord's Prayer is self-evident. It is arguably the single most important prayer in Christendom. The speech is direct and the voice is active.When reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Christian is addressing God personally, albeit as a collective: "deliver <u>us</u> from evil..." The *Heliand* poet alters the scriptural rendition slightly from:

pater noster qui in caelis es, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluuntas tua, sicut in cælo et in terra, panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, et ne inducas in tempationem, sed libera nos a malo	fater unser thu thar bist in himile, si giheilagot thin namo, queme thín rihhi, si thín uuillo, só hér in himile est, só si hér in erdu, unsar brót tagalihhaz gíb uns hiuti, inti furlaz uns unsara sculdi, só uuír fúrlazemes unsaren sculdigon, inti ni gileitest unsih in costunga, úzouh árlosi unsih fón ubile. (Tatian 34:6)

> Mt 6:9-13: Our Father who art in heaven,
> hallowed be thy name.
> Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done
> on earth as it is in heaven.
> Give us this day our supersubstantial bread.
> And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.
> And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

To:

Father of us, the sons of men.	Fadar ûsa firiho barno.
You are in the high heavenly kingdom.	thu bist an them hôhon himila rîkea.
Blessed be Your name in every word.	geuuîhid sî thîn namo uuordo gehuuilico.
May Your mighty kingdom come.	Cuma thîn craftag rîki.
May Your will be done over all this world-	Uuerða thîn uuilleo obar thesa uuerold alla,
just the same on earth as it is up there	sô sama an erðo, sô thar uppa ist
in the high heavenly kingdom.	an them hôhon himilo rikea.
Give us support each day, good Chieftain,	Gef ûs dago gehuuilikes râd, drohtin the gôdo,
Your holy help, and pardon us, Protector of Heaven,	thîna hêlaga helpa, ende alât ûs, hebenes uuard,
our many crimes, just as we do to other human beings.	managoro mênsculdio, al sô uue ôðrum mannum dôan.
Do not let evil little creatures lead us off	Ne lât ûs farlêdean lêða uuihti
to do their will, as we deserve,	sô forð an iro uuilleon, sô uui uuirðige sind,
but help us against all evil deeds.	ac help ûs uuiðar allun ubilon dâdiun. (l.1600-
(Murphy *Heliand* 55f)	1613)

A notable omission found in the *Heliand* is "the daily bread," *brót tagalihhaz.* In its stead is help and advice, *râd: Gef ûs dago gehuuilikes râd, drohtin the gôdo,...* "Give us support each day, good Chieftain."[143] The theme is repeated once at the end of the prayer: "help us against all evil deeds;" *help us uuiðar allun ubilon dadiun.* As documented in the *Formulae Turonenses*, support was an obligation of the lord to the warrior. The lord provided his warriors with both material and personal support. While daily sustenance is indeed vital to life, it is conspicuously omitted from the petition. Instead, the prayer emphasises petitions of moral support: "your Holy help;" *thîna hêlaga helpa;* as well as legal support: "pardon us...our many crimes;" *endi alât*

[143] James Cathey, "Give us this day our daily râd" *JEGP* 94 (1995) 159.

ûs...managoro mênsulido. The issue of material support is addressed only after the teaching of the prayer:

> "Do not be emotionally concerned about what you are going to eat and drink tomorrow, or what clothes you warriors are going to wear- the ruling God knows what those who serve Him well here need, those who follow their Lord's wishes." (Murphy *Heliand* 57)

ne mornont an iuuuomu môde,	huuat gi eft an morgan sculin
etan eftho drinkan	ettho an hebbean
uueros te geuuêdea:	it uuêt al uualdand god,
huues thea bithurbun,	thea im hîr thionod uuel,
folgod iro frôhan uuilleon.	
(l.1663-1667)	

The petition for *râd* is coupled by the petition for help: *thîna hêlaga helpa...* "Your holy help,..." This supplements the individual's need for personal support, *râd,* with spiritual guidance. It is noteworthy that spirtual help is secondary to personal help. As progenies of the warrior culture, the audience of the *Heliand* thoroughly understand the concept of *râd.* By placing the notion of "holy help" in the context of it, the spiritual message comes through clearly and is not lost on the reader. The poet pays due respect to the old institution while bringing the new to the fore. The petition for help is repeated once again at the end of the prayer. The petition is a call for protection. This is a sharp departure from the scriptural prayer, whereby the petition to God is direct. One is directly asking God not to lead him astray into temptation. He is placing his faith and confidence in the hands of God. He is submitting to His discretion and wisdom. At its source, temptation is defined in Christian terms, which are most likely still new and unfamiliar to the *Heliand* audience. A belief that is indeed real to the Saxon is the belief in wights and other destructive creatures.Wights are particularly threatening in that they have the ability to render themselves invisible. It is only natural that one

would petition a higher being to seek protection from such creatures. The *Heliand* poet recognizes this and adresses the need accoringly. In the poetic rendition of the prayer. the individual is asking for protection from an outside offender. At this point. the prayer most resembles the oath one takes when entering service, which reads: "Rather I am to remain under your power and protection at any time in my life." [144] This is reinforced by the subsequent petition: *ac help ûs uuiðar allun ubilon dâdiun.* "...but help us from all evil deeds." (Cathey 159) Once again, the poet portrays God as a protector. In Scripture, the individual is asking for deliverance. In the poetic rendition, he is petitioning for protection. The individual recognizes the danger of "evil deeds," and knows to avoid them. But he cannot surmount the challenge alone. To do so, he must ask for assistance. Once again, the petition echoes the oaths sworn by men for protection.[145] The prayer, spiritual in both nature and form, has taken on a distinct political colouring. The term "lord" now simultaneously evokes the power of both the Lord Christ and a liege-lord, thus uniting the two as one concept.

EXCLUSIVITY

According to Tacitus, a germanic warrior was historically free to change lords to suit his own needs. The Carolingians under Charlemagne, however, ushered in a policy of exclusive service. The contemporary Carolingian oaths attest to this:

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[144] *Formulae Touronenses #43*, Qtd in. Herlihy, 85.

[145] I have appealed to your piety and you have willingly agreed that I should deliver or commend myself under your protection. *Formulae Turonenses* #43. Qtd. in Herlihy. 85.

> We wish that every free man in our kingdom select the lord whom he prefers, us or one of our faithful subjects.
>
> We also command that no man abandon his lord without just cause, nor should anyone receive him, unless according to the customs of our ancestors..."[146]

As the Instructions on the Mount continue, the poet attempts to dismantle the long standing tradition of changing lords for one's own personal gain through Christ's lessons:

> Earls should very much avoid taking oaths. Anyone who swears often, always gets worse, since he cannot control himself. (Murphy *Heliand* 52.)

bethiu sculun mîðan filu
erlos êðuuordo. Sô huue sô it ofto dôt,
sô uuirðid is simbla uuirsa, huuand he imu giuuardon ni mag.
(l.1514-1516)

In both church and state, the emphasis is now on exclusive service to one lord. This new reality is reflected in the portrayal of the apostles. They are true to only one Lord, Jesus Christ. Judas, the only one who breaks away to join the services of another lord- Satan- dies as a consequence. His act of switching lords is depicted as disloyal as his character is morally weakened by the pursuit of material wealth. The consequences for his actions are grave:

> He wants to get buried treasure for himself, precious jewels, and for that, to hand Me over, his Chieftain, his Lord....Cruel things started going into his body, horrible little creatures, Satan wrapped himself tightly around his heart, since God's help had abandoned Judas in this world. This is the woeful situation of people who, under heaven, change lords. (Murphy *Heliand* 151f)

endi uuili imu thar sinc niman,
diurie mêðmos, endi geben is drohtin uuið thiu,
holdan hêrran...
gramon in geuuitun

[146] *Annales Regni Francorum* No.204, 847. Qtd in Herlihy 87.

an thene lîchamon, lêða uuihti,
uuarð imu Satanas sêro bitengi,
hardo umbi is herte, sîður ine thiu helpe godes
farlêt an thesumu liohte. Sô is thena liudo uuê.
the sô undar thesumu himile scal hêrron uuehslon.
(l.4578-4580, 4623-4627)

The Christian attitude towards the pursuit of material gain was a difficult concept to reconcile with the Saxon audience. Material gain was a real necessity in the Saxon culture. It provided income for the household, it kept a warrior well equipped, and it distinguished him from others. The Saxon displayed his wealth openly. Because of this, deconstructing the Saxon notions of wealth receives much attention in the Instructions on the Mount. The poet strikes at the old order and undercuts the quest for wealth. Through Christ's instructions, he exposes the true nature of materialism. Riches may be dazzling and enticing to behold and aquire, but in actuality they are ephemeral:

> If you want to follow My words, then do not collect a great treasure of silver and gold here in this middle world, a treasure-hoard, because it turns to rust, thieves steal it, worms ruin it the clothes get torn, golden wealth disintegrates. (Murphy *Heliand* 56)

Ef gi uuilliad mînun uuordun
than ne samnod gi hîr sinc mikil silobres ne goldes
an thesoro middilgard, mêðomhordes,
huuand it rotat hîr an roste, endi regintheobos farstelad,
uurmi auuardiad, uuirðid that giuuâdi farslitan,
tigangid the golduuelo.
(l.1641-1646)

Also in the Instructions, the poet capitalizes on the Saxon virtue of generosity while tempering it with Christian humility:

> Share your posessions with needy folk!... When you are giving alms to the poor man with your own hands do not do it loudly! Do it for the man gladly and humbly and for God's appreciation.(Murphy *Heliand* 53.)

Erod gi arme man....

thîna alamosa theumu armon manne,
gerno thurh godes thanc:
(l.1540, 1555-1557)

than thu mid thînun handun bifelas
ac dô im thurh ôdmôdien hugi.

Scripture provides the poet with a solid and reasonable foundation upon which to base his lesson. The overall message of provision by the Lord is presented as a reward for good service. In a society where warriors were constantly vying for favour from their liege-lord, this is a concept that should resonate with the reader:

> Your holy Father in the heaven-kingdom grants you reward on the basis of the humility with which you earls serve Him so devotedly among the people. (Murphy *Heliand* 56)

iuuua hêlag fadar
thes ge im mid sulicum ôdmôdea,
sô ferhtlîco undar thesumu folke.
(l.1634-1637)

He gildid is iu lôn aftar thiu,
an himilrîkea,
erlos theonod,

While the Christian values of humility and devotion are front and centre of this episode, the emphasis is ultimately on service: service to the (Christian) Lord and to the emperor. One must recall that at this time Saxon nobles, the readers' peers, were serving the Frankish court as administrators. Service was rendered in the monastery as well at court.

Incorporated into the dynamic of politics and religion, are motifs of society and nature. This is most evident in the setting of the sermon. As per Scripture, it takes place on a mountaintop.While the physical setting is not altered, the image it evokes in the audience's mind is significantly different:

> Et cum vidisset turbam, ascendit in montem; et cum sedisset, vocavit ad se quos voliut ipse, et venerunt ad eum.

> Mít thiu hér gisah thie menigi. steig ufán berg: mit thiu hér gisaz, giholota thie zi imo thie hér uuolta. (Tatian.22:5)
>
> Mt 5:1: And seeing the multitudes. he went up into a mountain, and when he was sat down. his disciples came unto him.

The mountain does not merely suggest physical separation from the masses as in the Scriptural account. The act of selecting individuals and climbing the mountain also evokes an image of social separation as well as physical elevation. (Murphy 1989, 81) Christ and His hand- picked apostles literally rise above the masses.

The mountain itself is a rich motif. Before the introduction of Christianity to the people, rocks were believed to bear mystical and sacred properties, such as the ability to render one invisible or to reveal wisdom. Certain rocks and stones were associated with the gods.[147] Larger rock formations and mountains were named after the gods. (Grimm 1222) An oath sworn on a rock, therefore, was an auspicious event. It signified the presence of the gods as witnesses to it. Saxo Grammaticus recounts the tradition of standing on a rock to elect a new king:

> When they were to choose a king it was our forbears' custom to proclaim their votes while standing on stones fixed in the ground, as though to augur the durability of their action through the firmness of the rocks beneath them.[148]

To the Christian, the symbolic quality of the rock is self evident: steadfastness, constance, and strength. In the Old Testament, it was on a mountaintop where Moses received the Ten Commandments. In the New Testament, a mountain is the site of the

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[147] Jakob Grimm. *Teutonic Mythology*. Trans. James Steven Stallybrass. Vol 2. 5th ed., (New York: Dover Publications, 1966) 1218.

[148] Saxo Grammaticus. *The History of the Danes. Vol. I*, trans, Peter Fisher, ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson, (Cambridge: DS Brewer Rauman & Littlefield, 1979) 14.

eponymous Instructions. The steadfastness of the rock is echoed later as Christ declares Peter as the rock upon which He will build His church:

> Your convictions are like a rock, you are as solid as hard stone- the sons of men will call you Saint Peter- on top of that rock my great hall will be built, the holy house of God, and there His family will happily gather. (Murphy *Heliand* 100)

hugiskefti sind thîne gelîca,
sô fast bist thu sô felis ther hardo; hêten sculun thi firiho barn
sancte Pêter: obar themu stêne scal man mînen seli uuirkean,
hêlag hûs godes; thar scal is hîuusiki tô
sâlig samnon.
(l.3067-3071)

Members of the retinue were honour-bound to avenge wrongdoings against one another. Not to avenge one's comrade was a grave dishonour. In complete contrast to this custom, Jesus Christ states clearly during The Instructions on the Mount that this will not be tolerated or condoned. To express this, the poet must be forceful and convincing. In this one speech, the poet makes an attempt to dismantle an otherwise highly effective system of justice.

> I now want to add more depth to this concept, to push it further: whosoever is hostile to another in his feelings, angry in his heart- they are all brothers after all, the blessed people of God, they belong to the clan, they are family relatives!...It is also written in the law in true words, as you all know, that one shoud love his neighbor zealously in his heart, be kind to his relatives, be good to his fellow clansmen, be generous in his giving, be loving to each of his friends, and shall hate his enemies, resisting them in battle, and with a strong mind shall defend himself against their wrath. Now I say to your truthfully with greater fullness for the people, that you are to love your feelings, just as you love your family relatives, in God's name....this is how a person's feelings against his enemy should be directed. Then, you will have as your own, the gift that our can be called the Heaven-King's sons, His happy children- and you cannot obtain anything better than that in this world. (Murphy *Heliand* 50f)

Than uuilleo ic it iu diopor nu,

furður bifâhan:
man uuiðar ôðrana
bilgit an is breoston
sâlig folc godes.
man mid mâgskepi-....

uuârun uuordun,
that man is nâhiston
minnian an is môde,
gadulingun gôd,
frâhon is friunda gehuuane,
uuiðarstanden them mid strîdu
uuerean uuiðar uurêðun.
fullîcur for thesumu folke,
minneon an iuuuomu môde,
an godes namon....

geflîit uuiðar is fiunde.
that gi môtun hêten
is blîði barn.
geuuinnan an thesoro ueroldi.
(l.1436-1441, 1446-1456, 1459-1463)

sô huue sô ina thruh fiundskepi.
an is môdsebon
-huuand si alle gebrôðar sint,
sibbeon bitenga.

Ôc is an them êo gescriban
sô gi uuiton alle,
niudlîco scal
uuesen is magun hold,
uuesen is geba mildi,
endi scal is fiund hatan,
endi mid starcu hugi,
Than seggio ic iu te uuâron nu,
that gi iuuua fiund sculun
sô samo sô gi iuuua mâgos dôt,

sô is môd te thiu
Than môtun gi thea fruma êgan,
hebencuninges suni,
Ne mugun gi iu betaran râd

An aspect of Saxon culture not missed by the poet was feasting. This was a ritual that bonded the retinue together. As previously outlined in chapter four, feasting is a communal activity, a time of gathering and sharing. In addition to their bonding element, these banquets were a currency of sorts.[149] Banquets were a way in which one displayed his wealth and generosity. In *Germania* Tacitus describes of the importance of such displays of sharing food and table among friends.[150] The banquet also functioned as an assembly, albeit in microcosm. Each entered the hall with arms and took his place at his own seat, much the same manner one did as he entered into the

[149] Banquets and provisions, not luxurious yet abundant, serve as pay. N*am epulae et quamquam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Germania* 14.

[150] No other people indulge more freely in feasts and hospitality...each one offers a banquet as generous as his fortune permits.
Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget....pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit, Germania 21.

annual assembly. It was during a banquet when minor disputes were resolved. Some disputes. as Tacitus notes. spontaneously generate out of drunkenness.[151]

The notions of revelry and drunkenness are not lost in the *Heliand*. It is the political aspect of the banquet that has been removed. In fitt 24, the Wedding at Cana and 33, the Beheading of John the Baptist, centre on a feast. While these are specific festivities: a wedding and birthday, they are nonetheless depoliticized. The feast of Herod's birthday approaches the political realm of the custom feasting, but the power struggle with John the Baptist is founded in Scripture. John the Baptist has offended Herod, yet Herod cannot eliminate him, for fear of revolt.

> Herodes autem insidiabatur illi et volebat occidere eum, nec poterat. Timebat enim populum, quia sicut prophetam eum habebant.
>
> Herodias fareta sín inti uuolta inan arsláhan, ni mohta: forhta thén liut, uuanta her inan habeta samaso uuizzagon. (Tatian 79:2)
>
> Mc.6:19, Mt.14:5: Now Herodias laid snares for him and was desirous to put him to death, and could not....And having a mind to put him to death, he feared the people: because they esteemed him as a prophet.

While the poet follows the Scriptural account of John the Baptist's fate faithfully, he does insert a sly social commentary in a sub-plot:

> After these words the woman's [Herodias, the wife of Herod] mind began to worry. She was afraid that John would move the king with his speeches and

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[151] As is common among drunken men, frequent quarrels occur, which are rarely settled just by insults but more often by murder and wounds. Yet they generally take counsel in banquets about reconciling enemies with each other, about entering upon marriage relationships, and about choosing chieftains, finally about peace and war, with the belief that no other time does the mind lie more open to honest thoughts or grow more enthusiastic for great ones.
T*um ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. sed et de reconciliandis in vicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat.... Germania* 22.

> wise words to abandon her. She then began secretly to plot many harmful things against John and told her fighting-men, her earls, to capture the innocent man and to lock him up in prison in irons, chained hand and foot. (Murphy *Heliand* 89)

	Thô uuarð an sorgun hugi
thes uuîbes aftar them uuordun;	andrêd that he thene ueroldcuning
sprâcono gespôni	endi spâhun uuordun,
that he si farlêti.	Began siu imu thô lêðes filu
râden an rûnon,	endi ine rinkos hêt
unsundigane	erlos fâhan
endi ine an ênumu karkerea	klûstarbendiun,
liðocospun bilûcan:	
(l.2717-2724)	

Scripture makes little mention of the wife Herodias and no mention at all of a personal guard. Rather, the level of intrigue is minimized to a conversation between Herodias and her daughter as they plot the demise of John the Baptist:

> Quæ cum exisset, dixit matri sue: quid petam? At illa dixit: caput Iohannis Baptisatae. Cumque introisset statim cum festinatione ad regem petivit dicens: volo ut protinus des mihi in disco caput Iohannis Baptiste.
>
> Só siu úzgieng sár mit ilungu zi themo cuninge, bát inan quedenti: ih uuili diske Iohannes houbit thes toufares. Só siu tho íngieng sár mit ilungu zi themo cuninge, bát inan quedenti: ih uuili thaz thu sliumo gebes mir in diske Iohannes houbit thes toufares.(Tatian 79:6-7)
>
> Mc.6:24-25: Who when she was gone out, said to her mother: What shall I ask? But she said: the head of John the Baptist. And when she was come in immediately with haste to the king, she asked, saying: I will that forthwith thou give me in a sdsh the head of John the Baptist.

Given the absence of Scriptural foundation, this may be an indirect reference to Judith, the second wife of the emperor, Louis the Pious, who had been suspected and accused of intrigue. In addition to inserting the element of intrigue, the poet uses the episode to underscore the danger of oaths sworn in vain:

> He then ordered his brother's child, a high-spirited young girl, to come out to where he was sitting on his bench, tipsy from the wine, and he spoke to the woman....If you fulfill my request and do what I ask in front of these people-

> and I will keep my word- that I will give you afterwards as a present, here in front of my ring-receiving friends, whatever you ask for! (Murphy *Heliand* 90)

Hêt he thô gangan forð
is brôder barn,
uuînu giuulenkid,

mîn uuord for thesumu uuerode,
liahto fora thesun liudiun endi ôk gilêstien sô,
that ik thi than aftar thiu
sô hues sô mi bidis
(l. 2745-2747, 2752-2756)

gêla thiornun,
thar he an is benki sat
endi thô te themu uuîbe sprac;...
ef thu mi thera bede tugiðos,
than uuilliu ik it hêr te uuârun gequeðen,
êron uuilliu,
for thesun mînun bâguuiniun:

As per Scripture, the girl asks for the head of John the Baptist. The king, having sworn before witnesses to grant her wish must honour his pledge. True, Herod had harboured desires to eliminate his rival, but he knew it was in his best interest not to act upon them. Despite that, he allowed impulsiveness and unclear thinking to undermine his prudence. Acting on his own, he forced himself into an inextricable position. Promises made in public or private were serious matters. Once spoken, they were to be honoured. One was duty bound to uphold his promise. To break a promise was to defile one's own character. Subsequently, the discomfort and unease of Herod's predicament is felt by all:

> It was painful to all the people, painful to all the men's feelings, when they heard the maiden saying that. So it was also for the king. He could not make what he had said into a lie, he could not bend his words. (Murphy *Heliand* 90f)

That uuas allun them liudiun harm,
them mannun an iro môde,
thô sie that gihôrdun thea magað sprekan;
sô uuas ik ôk themu kuninge:
he ni mahte is quidi liagan,
is uuord uuendien:
(l.2776-2779)

Through this episode, the poet is able to demonstrate the power of the oath and the negative consequences of oaths sworn without proper regard or consideration. It also

shows the magnitude of such actions. Because of his actions. Herod bears the responsibility of John's demise. He has also suffered a great indignity as a consequence. His reputation among his peers and subjects is irrevocably damaged. Yet the poet shows that it is not just Herod who has suffered in the loss. Everyone in attendance at the feast as well as the entire community who had supported and followed John the Baptist is affected by Herod's irresponsible behaviour. Such is the gravity and scope of the oath. One must enter into such a contract with proper reverence or suffer grave consequences.

BREAD, MIRACLES, AND SACRIFICE

The absence of bread in the Lord's Prayer must have been an intentional omission by the poet. "Bread" in the context of the prayer evokes a spiritual sign to the reader or speaker. The Christian knows that bread is not exclusively indicative of the actual loaf one eats. Rather, it is simultaneously understood to comprise spirtual nourishment as well.[152] If portrayed as such, this would be the first indication of bread signifying something other than what it actually is. There is no other context presented in the poem in which to understand bread as spiritual sustenance. To suddenly insert this association now would simply confuse the reader. Furthermore, bread bears a much different significance in the poem as a whole.

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[152] ...speziell ist jedoch der Wortsinn der Brotbitte nicht auf das materielle Brot zu beschränken, vielmehr die Seelenspeise- geistige und sakramentale- gleichfalls as partieller Wortsinn "unsres täglichen Brotes aufzufassen". Peter Bock, SJ Qtd in: Cathey, 'Give us this day our dailly *râd'* JEGP 94 (1995)160.

In reference back to Jesus' journey into the forest (fitt 13). Satan challenges Christ to transform the stones into bread. The intention behind it was lure Christ into submitting to the temptation of instant gratification by sating physical hunger.[153] Temptation is motitvated by the physical urge to eat. The object of tempation is also physical. The bread in this episode is the actual loaf. Christ's response to the challenge also considers bread as the physical item. To it, however, He adds a separate spirtual nuance when He says: "the children of men cannot live by simple bread, but they are to live on the teaching of God in this world..." (Murphy *Heliand* 38)

> ni mugun eldibarn,... ênfaldes brôdes,
> liudi libbien, ac sie sculun thurh lêra godes
> uuesan an thersero uueroldi.' (l.1068-1070)

In fitt 34, Christ feeds a crowd of five thousand with two loaves of bread and five fish. Once again, the bread is the actual loaf. Specifically, it is barley bread (*girstin brôd*). The nourishment of the crowd is strictly physical.[154] As in the previous episode, a spiritual significance is added separately to the act of receiving and eating bread. In this episode, however, yet another dimension is added. The division and giving of bread is accompanied by a miracle:

> At the same time the Chieftain of Mankind, the holy King of Heaven, hallowed the food by His own power, broke it with His hands, gave it out to His followers, and told them to bring it to the people and divide it among them. They obeyed their Chieftain's order, and to everyone gladly brought His gift, His holy help. It grew between their hands- there was food for every single person! (Murphy *Heliand* 93)

> allaro barno bezt, hêt imu thiu brôd halon
> endi thea discos forð. That folc stillo bêd,

---

[153] "Heal your hunger!" Murphy, *Heliand*, 38. *'Gehêli thînna hungar'*. l.1067.

[154] You give these people enough to eat so that you have them willing to stay here." Murphy *Heliand* 92. 'Gebad gi thesun liudun ginôg, uuenniad sie hêr mid uuilleon.'(l.2830-2831).

sat gesiði mikil:
manno drohtin.
hêlag hebencuning.
gaf it is iungarun forð.
dragan endi dêlien.
is geba gerno drôgun
hêlaga helpa.
meti manno gihuemu:
(l. 2851-2860)

undar thu he thurh is selbes craft.
thene medt uuîhde.
endi mid is handun brak.
endi it sie undar themu gumskepie hêt
Sie lêstun iro drohtines uuord,
gumono gihuemu,
It undar iro handun uuôhs,

With this episode, the loaf of bread has been endowed with both a physical and spiritual connotation. By keeping the physical properties and spiritual properties of the bread separate from one another, the poet makes a clear association of bread with miracles, while preserving its primary significance. The reader is now to understand bread as both a foodstuff and a conduit of miracles. This act prepares the reader for comprehending the most significant miracle of the poem at the Last Supper.

Once again, bread is introduced as the actual loaf. It is not until Christ Himself handles the bread and speaks, that it becomes endowed with miraculous qualites, both good and bad. At the Last Supper, Judas is identified as the traitor after he eats the bread. Before this can happen, Christ Himself must touch it:

> After that He took some of the food in front of the men and put it into the hands of Judas,...As soon as the disloyal traitor took the food and put it into his mouth to eat it, the power of God left him. (Murphy *Heliand* 151f)

thes môses for them mannun
Iudase an hand...

that môs antfeng
sô afgaf ina thô godes craft,
(l. 4613-4615, 4620-4622)

Nam he thô aftar thiu
endi gaf is themu mênscaðen,

Sô thô the treulogo
endi mid is mûðu anbêt,

During the meal, the bread is miraculously transformed into the body of Christ. For this to take place, the bread, once again, must be handled by Christ Himself:

> He broke it [the bread] with His hands and gave it to His followers... "Believe Me clearly," He said. "that this is My body....This body ...is a thing which posesses power:" (Murphy *Heliand* 153)
>
> mid is handun brak,
> gaf it undar them is iungaron...
> endi sprak uuourd manag:
> 'gilobiot gi thes liohto', quad the, 'that thit is mîn lîchamo
> ...thit is mahtig thing,
> (l.4634-4635, 4637-4638, 4645)

Although a true rendering of Scripture, the consecration of the bread and wine was not an unfamiliar sight to the Saxon reader. In pre-Christian societies, ritual sacrifice was accompanied by a communal meal, where the priest would consecrate beer. This was done by passing a sacrificial cup over an open fire. Following this, the priest would consecrate the flesh of the animals which had been slaughtered and whose blood had been strewn on the altar, the temple walls, and upon the congregation.[155] Following the consecration of the beer, toasts were drunk to Oðin/Wodan for victory, to the king to his success, to Njörð and Freyr for a bountiful harvest, and to the memory of kinsmen. (Neidner 150) Notably and naturally omitted from the Last Supper is the spraying of blood. Yet, blood is nonetheless present in the chalice. The significance of the consecration is not lost on the reader. The transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ assume the place of the flesh and blood of the sacrificial animals in the mind of the Saxon reader. As did the ancestors of the reader bond with the ancients and the gods through the act of ritual eating and drinking, the apostles too, are ceremonially and spiritually joined to their leader through the communal taking of bread and wine. The reader clearly understands that Christ and the apostles are not only

[155] Neidner, ed, "Die Geschichte von König Hakon dem Guten" In. *Snorris Königsbuch* I, 150.

preparing for a battle. but for a sacrifice as well. This has been foretold to them by Christ Himself. just as they are about to enter the city of Jerusalem.[156]

It is at the Last Supper when Christ makes it known to all how an act of treachery will initiate the sacrifice. The apostles, incredulous at first, accept the announcement. God's will has determined it to happen: "it is your Chieftain's will." (Murphy *Heliand* 150) *drohtines uuileon.* (l.4563-4564) Also omitted from the ritual are the toasts to the gods. These are replaced with instructions from Christ to the apostles:

> Always remember how I commanded you here to hold firmly to your brotherhood. Have and attitude of devotedness in your mind and lovingness in your feelings toward one another, so that the sons of men, the people of earth, will all understand that you are obviously my disciples.(Murphy *Heliand* 153)

Gehuggiad gi simlun,
hueo ik iu hêr gibiudu, that gi iuuuan brôðerskepi
fasto frummiad: habbiad ferhtan hugi,
minniod iu an iuuuomu môde, that that manno barn
obar irminthiod alle farstanden,
that gi sind gegnungo iungaron mîne.
(l.4651-4656)

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[156] There everything will come to pass, it will happen among that people just as wise men said about Me long ago in there words. There, among that powerful people, warrior- heroes will sell Me to their leaders....They will take My life. I will rise up from death and come back to this light by the Chieftain's power, on the third day....With My life I will free mankind- the many people who have been waiting for so long for My help. Murphy *Heliand* 115f.

'thar uuirðid all gilêstid sô,
gefrumid undar themu folke, sô it an furndagun
uuîse man be mi uuordun gesprâkun.
Thar sculun mi farcôpon undar thea craftigon thiod
heliðos te theru hêri;...
bilôsiad mi lîbu: ik te thesumu liohte scal
thurh drohtines craft fan dôde astanden
an thritten dage....
Ik uuilliu si selbo nu
lôsien mid mînu lîbu, thea hêr lango bidun,
mankunnies manag, mînara helpa.'

Through these three examples. the poet shows how bread signifies more than daily sustenance.When handled by Christ. bread is associated with miracles. As a consequence, bread has been endowed with its own distinct significance. It has been assigned a separate place removed from the prayer's petition.

POLITICAL PRESENCE

It was suggested at the beginning of this chapter that the characters of Herod and Pontius Pilate resemble actual political figures present in the recently conquered Saxon territory. King Herod is described in fitt 1 as an outsider sent by the Romans to govern the territory. This aspect is consistent with Scripture, but its rendering is clearly the poet's invention. With Herod's introduction to the poem there is an immediate reference to outside rule:

> In Jerusalem, Herod was chosen to be king over the Jewish people. Caesar, ruling the empire from the hill-fort Rome, placed him there- among the warrior companions- even though Herod did not belong by clan to the noble and well-born descendants of Israel. (Murphy *Heliand* 5)

	Erodes uuas
an Hierusalem	ober that Iudeono folc
gicoran te kuninge,	sô ina thie kêsur tharod,
fon Rûmuburg	rîki thiodan
satta undar that gisîði.	Hie ni uuas thoh mid sibbeon bilang
abaron Israels,	eðiligiburdi,
(l.60-65)	

(l. 3522-3526. 3531-3533. 3538-3540).

There is a reference to a great empire as well. While the poet is specifically referring to Biblical Rome, an indirect reference to the Frankish empire is discernable.[157] The official religion of the Franks, Christianity, and the emperor's connection with Rome figures prominently as well:

> At that time the Christian God granted to the Roman people the greatest kingdom. He strengthened the heart of their army so that they had conquered every nation. Those helmet-lovers from hill-fort Rome had won an empire. (Murphy *Heliand* 5)

Than habda thuo drohtin god
Rômanoliudeon farliuuan rîkeo mêsta,
habda them heriscipie herta gisterkid,
that sia habdon bithuunga thiedo gihuilica,
habdun fan Rûmuburg rîki giuunnan
helmgitrôsteon, sâton iro heritogon
an lando gihuem, habdun liudeo giuuald,
allon elitheodon.
(l.53-60)

The events of recent history: the 33 years of war between the Franks and the Saxons, the mass deportations, the taking of hostages, the forced mass baptisms, and the subsequent placement of Frankish counts in the territory, are facts that should be considered when reading into the poet's portrayal of foreign rulers in the *Heliand.* These are major events that had a profound impact on Saxon society. The wars brought an end to their way of life as they knew it. The confederation of of independently governed districts had been consolidated into one mass territory and had been absorbed into the fold of an imperial state.

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[157] Murphy suggests the same in fitt 1, suggesting a parallel between the Roman empire and the Carolingian empire in the description of Herod and the people of Israel. *Heliand* 6 n.10.

The presence of Christianity as manifest in the construction of churches and the founding of monasteries slowly eroded and usurped the old polytheistic system of belief. While nobles were allowed to retain their status in society, they were nonetheless subject to a foreign ruler and his ministers. In his portrayals of Herod and Pilate, the poet appears to be influenced by these events as well. Both, as previously mentioned, are portrayed first and foremost as outsiders. While the portrayal of Pilate is not as harsh as the portrayal of Herod, neither figure is portrayed in fully complementary terms. There is a lingering tone of mistrust in the poet's cadence, a discomfort almost. The poet, after all is subject to the same ministers as his audience. He too, must acknowledge their authority. It does not necessarily require him to embrace it. The overall tone of the language in the portrayal of both figures subtly suggests a mild level of solidarity with, or at least a measure of compassion for the audience. When criticizing authority figures in this manner, the poet is treading on dangerous ground. While the critical portrayal may communicate sympathy, there is also an outside risk of renewing wartime insubordination. Failing that, if the albeit cynical portrayals bring the audience closer to acceptance of foreign rule, it is ultimately a worthy risk.

HEROD

The first outsider to be introduced to the reader is Herod. Scripture gives no indication as to Herod's demeanor. Only his reactions to the Wise Men are recorded. Both accounts describe him in moments of anger:

> Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est et omnis Hierusolima cum illo....
>
> Thô thaz gihorta Herodes ther cuning. uuard gitruobit inti al Hierusalem mit imo.... (Tatian 8:2)
>
> Mt 2:3: And king Herod hearing this, was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

> Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a magis, iratus est valde et mittens occidit omnes pueros...
>
> Thô Herodes gisah uuanta her bitrogan uuas fon then magin balg sih harto inti sententi arsluog alle thie knehta... (Tatian 10:1)
>
> Mt.2:16: Then Herod perceiving that he was deluded by the wise men, was exceeding angry: and sending killed all the men-children...

In fitt 7 of the *Heliand,* the poet renders the scriptural account of the three wise men faithfully. While he does not identify them as kings: *magi/ cuninges* (Tatian 8:1), the poet does depict them as noblemen. Herod recognizes them as such.[158] Although they are demoted from their scriptural rank of royalty, the wise men are nonetheless high-born men and therefore, peers of the noble-born audience. It is with the portrayal of Herod where the poet exercises great liberty by diverging from the scriptural account. Herod's actions and personality receive great embellishment:

> They found Herod there, the powerful man sitting in his hall, the slithery-mouthed king, angrily talking with his men- he always enjoyed murder.[...] (Murphy *Heliand* 21)

Thô si Erodesan thar	rîkean fundun
an is seli sittien,	slîðuurdean kuning,
môdagna mid is mannun:	-simbla uuas he morðes gern-
(l.548-550)	

[158] I can see that you are of noble birth.". Murphy *Heliand* 22. *Ic gisiu that gi sind eðiligiburdiun.* l.557.

There is no scriptural foundation to be found for this scathing characterization. The gap between Scriptue and text so creatively filled by the poet may be interpreted as the poet's own commentary. As previously suggested, it is most likely a left-handed editorial comment on the administrators sent by the emperor to govern the region, suggesting an abuse of authority on their part. Given the strong language and emotionally charged tone of the passage, this characterization may also be personal. It also suggests a measure of sympathy and solidarity of the poet towards his audience. He too, is subject to the administrators' heavy-handed means of government. Unfortunately, there is no such documentation in existence that evaluates the character or personality of these regional administrators. All that is left behind is a poetic fingerprint.

> It seemed to them that a man was telling them in words that they should not go back to that loathsome man Herod again, that moodily violent king. (Murphy *Heliand* 26)

	that im thûhte that man im mid uuordun gibudi,
that sie im thanan ôðran uueg,	erlos fôrin,
liðodin si te lande	endi thana lêðan man,
Erodesan	eft ni sôhtin,
môdagna cuning.	
(l.682-685)	

The scriptural foundation provides no such personal commentary:

> Et responso accepto in somnis, ne redirent ad Herodem, per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam.
>
> Inti inphanganemo antvvurte in troume, thaz sie ni vvurbin zi Herode, thuruh anderan uueg vvurbun zi iro lantscheffi. (Tatian 8:8)
>
> Mt 2:12: And having received an answer in sleep that they should not return to Herod, they went back another way into their country.

As Herod learns of Christ's birth, his reaction is violent. He is not only feels threatened by the existence of a rival; he is physically sickened as well.

> At that, Herod felt pain in his chest and in his heart, his mind began to reel, his spirit was worried. He had just heard it said that he was to have a more powerful king, of good clan, over his head, that there was a more fortunate person than he among his warrior-companions. (Murphy *Heliand* 23)

Thô uuarð Erodesa
harm uuið herta,
sebo mid sorgun:
that he thar obarhôbdon
craftagoron cuning
sâligoron undar them gisiðea
(l.606-611)

innan briostun
bigan im is hugi uuallan,
gihôrde seggean thô,
êgan scoldi
cunnies gôdes,

Could this rendering be a subtle allusion to the rivalry among counts? Power and privilege are indeed seductive. Realistically speaking, it is not uncommon for one who has had a taste of privilege to want more. Futhermore, if the son of the emperor himself (Lothar) can usurp the throne and depose the emperor, certainly a nobleman could perpetrate a similar act on one or many of his own peers. The language of the *Heliand* is certainly suggestive of such inclinations. It is more enhanced than the original rendering. Scripture portrays Herod in subtler terms, revealing just a minor hint of devious intentions:

> Tunc Herodes clam vocatis magis diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stelle, quae apparuit eis, et mittens illos in Bethleem dixit: ite et interrogate diligenter de puero: cum inveneritis renuntiate mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum.[...]
>
> Thô Herodes tuogolo gihaloten magin gernlicho lerneta fon in thie zît thes sterren thie sih in araugta, in santa sie in Bethleem sus quedanti: faret inti fraget gernilicho fon themo kinde; thanne ir iz findet, thanne cundet iz mir, thaz ih thara queme inti beto inan.[...] (Tatian 8:4)
>
> Mt.2:7-8: Then Herod, privately calling the wise men, learned diligently of them the time of the star which appeared to them; And sending them int Bethlehem, said: Go and dilligently inquire after the child, and when you have found him, bring me word again, that I also may come and adore him.

Herod's murderous intentions are not unique. The annals of Frankish history are rich in accounts of bitter rivalries within the dynasties, fratricide, intrigue, submission and exile to monasteries. The *Heliand* poet's portrayal of Herod seems evocative of the murderous and violent past as he continues the episode:

> I have heard it told that immediately after the cruel-minded king said the words of his soothsayers...He said that he wanted to go there with his warrior companions to adore the Child. (He was hoping, with the edge of a sword, to become the Child's murderer.) (Murphy *Heliand* 24f)

Thô gifragn ic that sân aftar thiu slîðmôd cuning
thero uuârsagono uuord them uurekkiun sagda,...
quað that he thar uueldi mið is gisîðun tô,
bedon te them barne, Than hogda he im te banon uuerðan
uuâpnes eggiun.
(l.630-631; 643-645)

In light of the lack of scriptural foundation for the inflated portrayal of Herod, one is given the impression that the administrators sent to govern the region were a mistrusted and maligned group. The reader is given a candid, if biased evaluation to the new administrative system in place and to those in positions of responsibility. As the administrators are officers of the imperial court, their power is real. Their authority is unquestionable. Their presence is permanent. They cannot be as easily deposed as the old interim kings of former times. Like the government and establishment they represent, the administrators now hold sway in the Saxon territory. One may dislike them and one may vilify them, as did the poet. Above all, however, one must now abide by them. The administrators are a real and physical sign of the new order in the empire.

PONTIUS PILATE

Pontius Pilate too, is initially portrayed as an outside authority figure in the *Heliand.* The poet consistently refers to Pilate as a foreigner, an officer from Rome.[159] The introduction of Pontius Pilate to the poem is formal:

> There were many thanes there, [in the assembly house] surrounding their military governor. He was their lord's delegate from Fort Rome and held the lord's authority over its kingdom. He had come from Caesar, the emperor, and was sent to the Jewish clans to rule the realm- he gave them advice and support. Pilate was his name; he was from Pontusland, born to that clan. (Murphy *Heliand* 169)

Thar thegan manag
huurbun umbi iro heritogon. Thar uuas iro hêrron bodo
fan Rûmuburg, thes the thô thes rîkeas giuueld:
kumen uuas he fan themu kêsure, gisendid uuas he undar that cunni ludeono
te rihtiene that rîki, uuas thar râdgebo:
Pilatus uuas he hêten; he uuas fan Ponteo lande
cnôstles kennit.
(l.5124-5130)

As is the portrayal of Herod, the Scriptural portrayal of Pilate is simple and matter-of-fact.[160] Pilate is an outsider, as was Herod. Although he is the official who condemns Christ to death, Pilate is not as reviled by the poet. There is indeed a tangible attitude of mistrust towards Pilate, as he is an invasive foreign element thrust upon the people. The poet describes him as an "angry-minded man" *uurêðhugdig man.* (l.5201)[161]

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[159] Such as: "The delegate of Caesar from Fort Rome", "Caesar's thane, the delegate from Fort Rome" Murphy *Heliand* 171. *bodo kêsures fan Rûmuburg, tegenes...bodo kêsures.* (l. 5175-5176, 5192-5193).

[160] Et adduxerunt eum vinctum in pretorio et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato presidi.[...]
Inti leittun inan gibuntannan in frithof into saltun themo Pontisgen grauen Pilate,[...] Tatian 192:3.
Mt.27:2: And they brought him bound, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.

[161] Murphy translates uurêðhugdig as an adverb, angrily. Achim Masser translates it as an adjective, angry. Achim Masser. "Pilatus im Heliand," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 96 (1973) 9.

Yet. the poet shows a degree of respect for his authority. As is Herod's. Pilate's inner character is not clean. but the treatment of Pilate differs from that of Herod.While Herod was motivated by selfishness and greed, Pilate is not. He acts upon external pressure. He is a loyal and dutiful officer of the empire. As such, he is obligated to enforce Caesar's laws, while remaining respectful towards local legal customs. Despite his public hand-washing of the affair, Pilate is nonetheless indicted as a co-conspirator in Christ's execution by the poet.

Although he defers to a higher authority, king Herod, and acquiesces to the will of the people, as per local custom, Pilate nonetheless held and exersized the authority that ordered Christ to be put to death. Pilate's first encounter with Christ is routine.When Christ is presented to Pilate as a criminal; Pilate is quick to assert his power over his prisoner:

> He commanded the Son of God to approach him, and questioned Him intensely and straightforwardly about whether He was the clan king of these people. (Murphy *Heliand* 171f)

> Thô uuende ina fan themu uuerode uurêðhugdig man,
> thegan kêsures, the obar thea thioda uuas
> bodo fan Rûmuburg-: hêt imu thô that barn godes
> nâhor gangan endi ina niudlîco,
> frâgoda frôkno, ef he obar that folc kuning
> thes uuerodes uuâri
> (l.5201-5206)

Scripture does not reveal this aspect of Pilate's character. Pilate's behaviour towards Christ is inquisitive and not at all accusatory.[162] Once again, this may be an indirect

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[162] Introivit ergo iterum in pretorium Pilatus et vocavit Ihesum et dixit ei: tu es rex Iudeorum?
Ingieng tho abur in thaz thincus Pilatus init gihalota then heilant ini quad imo: thu bis cuning Iudeono?
Tatian 195:1
Jn.18:33: Pilate therefore went into the hall again and called Jesus, and said to him: Art thou the king of the Jews?

reference to the local administrators' heavy-handed manner towards their constituents. The interrogation reveals nothing to substantiate the charges. Pilate is willing to release Jesus, but the demands of the crowd force him detain Him. Pilate's frustration with the crowd outside the assembly hall increases and affects him adversely, changing his demeanor from imperial to devious: "in his slyness" (Murphy *Heliand* 173); *sliðmôdig man* (l.5247) to belligerent: "The hostile-minded governor" (176); *gramhûdig man* (l.5355) Likewise, Pilate's treatment of Christ changes for the worse. The crowd is directly responsible for the shift, manipulating Pilate's sense of loyalty to Rome and his duty to maintain order within the empire to bring him around to their will:

> You are not a friend of Caesar ...if you let Christ leave here safe and sound. That might one day come to cause trouble and pain for you, since whoever speaks the words He does, whoever raises himself so high that he says that he would like to have the title of kingship- without the emperor giving it to him!- is bringing disorder into Caesar's world empire by disdaining the emperor's word and by ignoring the emperor in his attitude. (Murphy *Heliand* 176f)

'ne bist thu', quâðun sia, 'thes kêsures friund,...
ef thu ina hinan lâtis
sîðon gisundon: that thi noh te soragan mag,
uuerðan te uuîte, huand sô hue sô sulic uuord sprikit,
ahabið ina sô hôho, quiðit that hie hebbian mugi
cuningduomes namon, ne sî that ina im thie kêsur gebe,
hie uuirrid im is uueruldrîki endi is uuord farhugid
farman ina an is muode'
(l.5358-5365)

Scripture reveals no such metamorphosis of Pilate's character. It does, however, reveal an alliance formed between king Herod and Pilate, an event curiously omitted in the *Heliand*:

> Et facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in ipsa die nam antea inimici erant ad invicem.
>
> Inti uuarun tho giuuortan friunta Herodes inti Pilatus in themo tage sie uuarun er untar zuuisgen fiianta. (Tatian 196:8)

> Lk.23:12: And Herod and Pilate were made friends that same day: for before they were enemies one to another.

Unlike the *Heliand*'s rendering of the interrogations, Pilate's demeanor in the scriptural account remains even. Only the influence acting upon him grows. His sense of duty is questioned:

> Exinde querebat Pilatus dimittere eum. Iudei autem clamabant dicentes: si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Cesaris: omnis qui se regem facit contradicet Cesari.
>
> Fon thanan suohta Pilatus inan zi forlazzanne. Iudei riofun tho quedenti: ob thu desan forlazzis, thanne ni bistu friunt thes keisures: allero giuuelih ther sih cuning tuot ther uuirdarquidit sih themo keisure. (Tatian 198:1)
>
> Jn.19:12 And from henceforth Pilate sought to release him. But the Jews cried out, saying: If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend. For whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar.

Pilate has no other choice but to condemn Christ to death, but not without granting one more chance to release Him. The crowd, when given the choice to release Christ or Barabbas the thief, chooses to pardon Barabbas. Scripture only provides an account of Pilate's actions. It does not reveal his inner thoughts. The *Heliand* enhances the scene, vividly describing the turmoil weighing on Pilate's conscience:

> The governor became very upset, inside he was churning, the thoughts of his mind turned despondent. Both things were painful to him; that they should kill an innocent man; and that he did not dare to dismiss the case in the presence of these people because of what they had said. Then, in his heart, his mind gradually inclined toward the Jewish leadership, toward acting acccording to to their will. He did not defend himself in the slightest from the serious sin he was there doing to himself. (Murphy *Heliand* 180)

	Thuo uuarð im uurêð hugi,
them heritogen,	- huarboda an innan-,
giblôðit briostgihâht:	uuas im bêðies uuê,
gie that sea ina sluogin	sundia lôsan.

gie that bi them liudion thuo
thuru thes uuerodes uuord.
hugi an herten
te uuerkeanne iro uuillion:
thia suârun sundiun,
(l.5464-5472)

forlâtan ne gidorsta
Uuarð im giuuendid thuo
after thero hêri Iudeono.
ne uuardoda im nieuuiht
thia hie im thar thuo selbo gideda.

In one final attempt to distance himself from the impending crucifixion, Pilate washes his hands before the crowd and declares: " 'I do not want to be in any way responsible'." (Murphy *Heliand* 181); *'ne uuilliu ik thes uuites plegan.'* (l.5478)

After Pilate passes Chris's death sentence, his character undergoes a change. His authoritarian rule is still intact, as he is called: "...the hard military governor,[...]" (183); *hard heritogo* (l.5558). Yet, he displays a show of compassion (or respect), as he accomodates Joseph of Arimathea's request to claim Christ's body in order to give it a proper burial.[163] In doing this, Pilate has allowed an enemy of the empire to be buried with dignity. With this act, Pilate recedes from the action, only to be mentioned expositorially in fitt 70.[164] Curiously, Pilate is not the one who commands that a guard be placed over the crypt in which Christ is entombed. Rather, it is an unnamed mass that arrive at this decision. They choose the guards from among their number:

> The next morning many of the hateful Jewish were assembled...they were holding a secret meeting... "Order the grave now to be put under guard ad watched so that His followers do not steal him from the rock and then say that the powerful One has arisen from His rest....Warriors were picked from the Jewish battle group for the guard. (Murphy *Heliand* 190)

Niðfolc Iudeono
uuarð an moragan eft, menigi gisamnod,
.....
rekidun an rûnon:...

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[163] The military governor had no desire to refuse what Joseph wanted,[...]" Murphy *Heliand* 189. *Im ni uuelda thie folctogo thuo uuernian thes uuillien* (.5727-5728).

[164] "If this becomes known to the military governor,..." Murphy *Heliand* 194. *ef it uuirðit them folctogen cûð, uuiht, uui gihelpat iu uuið thena hêrrosten....* (l.5886-5887).

Nu thu hier uuardon hêt,
obar them grabe gômian that ina is iungron thar
ne farstelan an them stêne endi seggian than, that hie astandan sî,...
Thuo uuurðun thar giscerida fan thero scolu ludeono
uueros te thero uuahtu: (l.5749-5752; 5756-5758; 5761-5762)

In Scripture, Pilate is still present. He is the one who orders a guard to watch over the crypt:

> Altera autem die, quæ est parascheve, convenerunt principes sacerdotum et Pharisaei ad Pilatum...Ait illis Pilatus: habetis custodiam: ite custodite sicut scitis.
>
> In andremo tage, thie dar ist frigetag, quamum thie heroston thero bisgofo inti thie Farisei zi Pilate...Tho quad in Pilatus: ir habet bihaltera: faret inti bihaltet sosa ir uuizzit. (Tatian 215:1,4)
>
> Mt.27:62,65 And the next day, which followed the day of preparation, the chief priests and the Pahrisees came together to Pilate...Pilate saith to them: You have a guard: go guard it as you know.

Pilate's absence from this scene is a curious departure from Scripture. The poet's motives behind this are apparently of his own machination, as *The Matthew Commentary* offers no insight to this deviation either. The *Commentary* only addresses the meaning of *parascheve*, which is also omitted[165] from the *Heliand* text. (*In Mattheum* VIII 764) In light of the overall portrayal of Pilate, this may be an attempt made by the poet to distance Pilate from the Crucifixion and execution of Christ, thereby rendering him a more humane character. Despite his significant role in Christ's demise, he is nonetheless portrayed in more sympathetic terms.

[165] Or maybe it was not? There is a lacuna in the manuscript exactly where this information would have been. The poet's use of license does not indicate strongly enough whether or not this term would have been included in, or excluded from this scene.

Pilate is a loyal administrator. He is respectful towards his superior in Rome and to his constituents in Jerusalem. Unfortunately, this duality is his weakness. His sense of loyalty is easily manipulated to serve the interests of the crowd while justice for the innocent goes ignored. In light of the poet's diversion from Scripture, the treatment of Pilate may be a reference to the weaker or less experienced administrators installed in the Saxon territory. If so, Pilate may serve as an example of the grave consequences that are the result of weak leadership. When authority is questioned and it is not defended, mob rule usurps power.

THE ARREST AND THE EXECUTION OF CHRIST

Christ's arrest and execution mark a convergence of Scripture with Germanic law. It is depicted as both a hanging and a crucifixion. There are references to both a gallows and to nails. In legal terms, the charge laid against Christ is treason:

> He has misled many of this people with His teachings, and has confused them by putting doubt in their minds about whether we should pay taxes to Caesar's imperial court...He says he is the Christ, the king of this realm-..." (Murphy *Heliand* 171)

He habat theses uuerodes sô filu
farlêdid mid is lêrun - endi thesa liudi merrid,
dôit im iro hugi tuîflien-, that uui ni môtun te themu hobe kêsures
tinsi gelden;...
quiðit that he Crist sî, kuning obar thit rîki,
(l.5186-5189; 5191)

Under Germanic law, the punishment for treason was hanging.[166] This method of execution is a significant detail to the Saxon raised in the Germanic culture, outside of Frankish jurisdiction. This is because execution by hanging had been long since been abolished in the Frankish empire.[167] As Christ Himself had foretold that He was to be sacrificed for humanity, it seems natural and logical to the Saxon audience that His death should take place on the gallows, as hanging was also a method of sacrifice. It was not exclusively a method of execution. Sacrifice by hanging signified a sacrifice to Oðin. Oðin himself was the god of the hanged.[168]

The initiation of arrest is consistent with the scriptural account. Christ is implicated by Judas, who, as per Scripture receives a reward of 30 silver coins in exchange for his service. However, the arrest is conducted in the Germanic manner. The matter is raised for discussion in an assembly meeting.[169]

> They ordered their men to assemble the people there, arranged in their battle groups, the enormous gathering of their clan. They held a secret council about mighty Christ....Then Judas, a follower of Christ, one of the twelve,came up to where the Jewish nobles were seated in assembly. (Murphy *Heliand* 135, 147)

	hêtun iro gumskepi thô,
uuerod samnoian	endi uuarbos fâhen,
meginthioda gimang,	an mahtigna Krist
riedun an rûnun:...	

---

[166] "traitors and deserters they hang from trees" P*roditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, Germania* 12.

[167] Francois Ganshof, "The Impact of Charlemagne on the Institutions of the Frankish Realm" *Speculum* Vol.40. No.1 (1965) 52.

[168] Hence his moniker, *hanga Týr*. Turville-Petre 253.

[169] As Tacitus notes in *Germania*: It is also permitted to make an accusation before the council and to bring a capital charge.[...]"
Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen apitis intendere. Germania 12.

Thô geng imu lûdas forð. iungaro Kristes.
ên thero tuelibio. thar that aðali sat.
ludeono gumskepi:
(l. 4135-4137. 4478-4479)

During the council meeting, while discussing the charges against Christ, an anonymous delegate voices a fear of imperial retribution. In his speech, he specifically mentions the possibility of a cavalry attack. The anonymous speaker's concern is worthy of note.[170] In Scripture there is also a mention of a fear of invasion and takeover by the Romans, but there is no specific threat of a cavalry attack:

> Si dimittimus eum sic, omnes credent in eum, et venient Romani et tolent nostrum it locum et gentem.
>
> Oba uuir inan so forlazemes, alle giloubent inan, inti coment Romani inti nement unsera stat inti thiota. (Tatian 135:28)
>
> Jn.11:48: If we let him alone so, all will believe in him: and the Romans will come, and take away our place and nation.

The anonymous speaker in the meeting continues to express a fear of loss and exile.[171] This may have been an attempt by the poet to communicate directly to his audience, as exile was greatly feared in Germanic culture. So much so, that it was considered a fate worse than death. Exile rendered a man without armaments, without shelter, and without companions. It left him completely vulnerable and utterly defenceless. Perhaps this anonymous speech is also a reference to Charlemagne's sweeping victories over

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[170] Then people will come at us with armies of cavalry and our overlords will be warriors from Rome. Murphy *Heliand* 135 n.197. *Than us liudi farad, an eoridfolc, uerðat ûsa obarhobd rinkos fan Rûmu.* l.4140-4142. This reference to a mounted force must therefore be a contemporary allusion to the Frankish military forces and the dominion of the Carolingians. Murphy *Heliand* 135 n.197.

[171] We will either live dispossessed of our kingdom or we will suffer the loss of our lives. heroes and our heads. Murphy *Heliand* 136.
Than uui these rikies sculun lôse libbien eftha uui sculun ûses lîbes tholon, heliðos ûsaro hobdo. (l. 4142-4144).

the Saxons. which came at great human cost, and his policy of deportation. which left many displaced and disarmed.

The *Heliand* poet describes the arrest in military terms. Christ is captured as a prisoner of war. The poet's rendering of the scene portrays an advance, a retreat, and a secondary assault. The poet also depicts Christ as mounting a defence of his own. Although He is fated to be carried off in chains, He does not immediately acquiesce. This detail is not found in Scripture.

> They were carrying fires with them, bringing lighted lamps and burning torches from the hill-fort, as they moved up the mountain for battle....As the rescuing Christ told them in soothsaying that He was the one, the Jewish people became frightened; they were so terrified that they instantly fell backwards and everyone of them was on the ground. The army of warriors pulled back in retreat- they could not stand up to the Word, the voice, of God. But there were some real fighting men among them who ran back up the hill, strengthened their resolve, controlled their inner feelings, and went again forward in hatred until they had Christ the Rescuer surrounded with their men.... The Jewish warriors then grabbed at God's Son, a cruel clan, a hate-filled mob. The angry army of men massed around Him- they did not see their crime- they fastened His hands together with iron handcuffs and His arms with chains. (Murphy *Heliand* 158,159,161f.)

drôg man fiur an gimang,
logna an liohtfatun, lêdde man faklon
brinnandea fan burg, thar sie an thene berg uppan
stigun mid strîdu....

Sô im thô neriendo Crist
sagde te sôðan, that he it selbo uuas,
sô uurðun thô and forhtun folc Iudeono,
uurðun underbadode, that si undar bac fellun
alle erlo sân, erðe gisôhtun,
uuiðaruuardes that uuerod: ni mahte that uuord godes,
thie stemnie antstandan: uuârun tho sô strîdige man,
ahliopun eft up an themu holme, hugi fastnodun,
bundun briostgithâht, gibolgane gengun
nâhor mid nîðu, anttat sie thene neriendion Crist
uuerodo biuurpun....

Uuerod ludeono
gripun thô an thene godes sunu, grimma thioda.
hatandiero hôp, huurbun ina umbi
môdag manno folc -mênes ni sâhun-.
heftun herubendium handi tesamne.
faðmos mid fitereun.
(l.4812-4815; l.4848-4858; l.4913-4918)

When brought into custody, Christ is brought before a tribal council for questioning and sentencing. Here, the poet uses descriptive license to underscore the depth of humiliation that Christ willingly endures. The overall scene depicts taunting and ridicule: *sprâkun gelp (nhd. Hohn) mikil, hafdun ina te hosca (nhd. Spott).* The people responsible for these litanies are described as having the minds of wolves: *habdun im hugi uulbo.* (l.5056) Throughout the entire interrogation, Christ remains bound in irons. He stands before the council and "law-interpreters" (Murphy *Heliand* 167); *êosago* (l. 5058), who themselves are anything but fair and impartial:

> Many of the law-interpreters gathered there in the morning, angry and adamant, people of ill-will set on treachery. These fighting men walked together in battle groups to the secret council. They began to consult with one another on how they could lead the mighty Christ by means of liars' perjury into saying something sinful with His own words, so that they could then subject Him to terrible torture and sentence Him to death. (Murphy *Heliand* 167)

Uuarð thar êosago
an morgantîd manag gisamnod
irri endi ênhard, inuuideas gern,
uurêðes uuillean. Gengun im an uarf samad
rinkos an rûna, bigunnun im râdan thô,
huô sie geuuîsadin mid uuârlôsun,
mannun mêngeuuitun an mahtigna Crist
te geseggianne sundea thurh is selbes uuord,
that sie ina than te uunderquâlu uuêgan môstin,
adêlien te dôde. (l.5058-5067)

As mentioned above, Christ is brought before "law-interpreters." Here, the poet is explicitly referring to the Germanic concept of law, as Germanic law was an oral code.

Before law was codified, it was memorized by lawyers. To pass law or judgement, therefore, was to speak it. (Murphy *Heliand* 147 n.223) The presence of the law-speakers signifies that this tribunal is a Germanic trial, not a Frankish *mallus*, a mobile court of law which was presided over by a court appointed official and witnessed by the peers of the accused. In the face of ridicule, Christ stands silent and strong.[172] At the hearing, false testimony is given, yet Christ does not give in. The most severe questioning comes from a bishop. In the text, the bishop is described as a "deadly-minded man" (Murphy *Heliand*167); *baluhigdig man* (l. 5081) In Scripture he is simply called *sacerdotum, heithaftano* (Tatian189:4) The bishop attempts to elicit a condemning testimony from Christ:

> He spoke to Christ in God's name and requested Him earnestly to tell them if He were the Son of the living God...(Murphy *Heliand* 167)

	endi fragodi Krist
iac ina be imu selbon bisuôr	suiðon êðun,
grôtte ina an godes namon	endi gerno bad,
that the im gisagdi,	ef he sunu uuâri
thes libbiendies godes:	
(l.5082-5086)	

Christ deflects the questioning with eloquence and honesty, yet He is nonetheless condemned a blasphemer, *mênsprâca* (l.5103) and brought before Pilate.

The interrogation by Pilate is rendered true to Scripture. Pilate's speech has been embellished somewhat. He asks if the prisoner brought before him, "should pay

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[172] He stood there in chains and bore with patience whatever evil things this clan's people did to Him. Murphy *Heliand* 166f.
thar he geheftig stôd, tholode gethuldiun, sô huat sô im thiu thiod deda liudi lêðes (l. 5053-5055).

with his life-spirit, if he is worthy of death" (Murphy *Heliand* 171): *ef he sî is ferhes scolo, endi imu sô adêliad, ef he sî dodes uuerd.* (l.95195-5196)

He acknowleges the ancestral traditions of the people and the primacy of tribal law.[173]

Throughout the arrest and interrogations, it is the crowd that is most hostile, not Pilate:

> The Jews were boasting of their feats: of what was the greatest harm they could do to God's Son as He was held in iron bonds. They surrounded Him with warriors and hit Him on the cheeks with their hands- that was all done to ridicule Him- the enemy horde heaped words of mockery and scorn upon Him." (Murphy *Heliand* 168)

Iudeo liudiun,
sô haftemu mêst,
Beuurpun ina thô mid uuerodu
an is hleor mid iro handun
felgidun imu firinuuord
bismerspråka.
(l.5111-5117)

Thô uuas thero dâdio hrôm
huat sie themu godes barne mahtin
harmes gefrummien.
endi ina an is uuangon slôgun,
- al uuas imu that te hosce gidôen-,
fiundo menegi,

As the mob becomes increasingly hostile, it gains support from the king's retainers and King Herod himself: "Then the angry Jewish people stood there harassing and accusing God's Son until the point when the king's attitude and that of all the king's retainers became hostile to Him." (Murphy *Heliand* 174)

Iudeo liudi
uuurrun endi uuruogdun,
an is huge huoti
farmuonstun ina an iro muode:
(l.5283-5286)

endi thena godes suno
anthat im uuarð thie uuerold-cuning
endi all is heriscipi,

In the end, it is the crowd that manipulates Pilate into sending Christ to His death:

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[173] "... take him back to your people and pass judgement on Him in accordance with what the law of your ancestors' commands..." Murphy *Heliand* 171.
antfâhad ina than efi under iuuue folcscepi,...sô it an iuuuaro aldrono êo gebiode. (l .5195, 5197).

> ...he knew that the leadership was persecuting the rescuing Christ out of jealous hatred, and yet he had listened to them and carried out their will. (Murphy *Heliand* 178)

> that hie thia saca uuissa,
> that sia thuru nîðscipi, neriendon Crist,
> hatoda thiu hêri, endi hie em hôrda te thiu,
> uuarahta iro uuillion (l.5221-5424)

Christ's execution is a crucifixion on a gallows. In this episode, the poet smoothly fuses the Scriptural cross with the Germanic noose:

> There on the sandy gravel they erected the gallows,...a tree on a mountain- and there they tortured God's Son on a cross. They eagerly pounded cold iron, sharp-pointed new nails- horrible fastenings- through His hands and His feet with hard Hammerstrokes. (Murphy *Heliand* 182f)

> Thuo sia thar an griete galgon rihtun,...
> bôm an berege, endi thar an that barn godes
> quelidun an crûcie: slôgun cald îsarn,
> niuua naglos nîðon scarpa
> hardo mid hamuron thuru is hendi endi thuru is fuoti,
> (l.5532-5537)

Given the dominant legal and cultural undertones of the episode, the crucifixion of Christ generates a dual interpretation. It is both a sacrifice and an execution. In Germanic culture, human sacrifice was a regular practice. This included the sacrifice of prisoners of war to the gods. (Turville-Petre 252.) Typically, it was committed as an offering to Oðin.[174] Through this conjoined rendering, the graphic nature of Christ's

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[174] Of the gods they worship Mercury [Oðin] above all, whom they consider it right on specific days to appropriate with human as well as other sacrifices.
Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Germania 9.
Tacitus later describes a sacrifice to Oðin in detail:
At an appointed time, people of the same name and of the same blood, represented by embassies, come together into a forest hallowed by the auguries of their ancestors and by ancient awe and, with the slaying of a human being in public sacrifice, they celebrate the dread beginnings of the barbarian ritual.

execution was likely to be less of an assault on the audience's sensitivity. Sacrifices and hangings were customs that had been practiced by Germanic peoples for centuries. In the poetic rendering of Christ's sacrifice, only the location of the sacrifice has been altered to conform to Scripture. It takes place on a mountaintop. The instrument of Christ's execution, however, is rendered differently from the scriptural account. The poet describes it as a gallows (*galgon*), a tree (*bôm*), and a cross, (*crûcie*). In one sentence, the poet seamlessly fuses elements of Germanic law, ritual sacrifice, and Holy Scripture. The gallows, the tree, nails, and the cross are repeated throughout the Passion, always in concert with one another. The poet even refers to the gallows in the form of a kenning, as a "criminal-tree" *uuaragtreuue.*[175] (l.5563) The existence of this kenning subtly suggests a testament to the long history of the gallows in Germanic culture. This would further explain the appositional placement of these terms throughout the Passion. Following the execution and resurrection, the poet adds an element of Germanic mythology in one final scene, conjuring the image of a Valkyrie[176] in the form of an angel:

> ...an angel of the All-Ruler came down out of the skies above, moving along on its coat of feathers like a roaring wind so that all the ground was set to shaking; (Murphy *Heliand* 192)

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stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram eiusdem nominis eiusdemque sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordi. Germania 39.

[175] Murphy suggests that this may not be a kenning, rather a direct reference to a specific tree. Murphy *Heliand* 183 n.289. I tend to think that this is indeed a kenning, given its proximity to a metonymical reference to a tree on line 5554: *bômin treo* ≈ "beam-tree." Translation mine.

[176] While Murphy posits that the image is obscure, I believe this is a reference to a valkyrie. It is true that valkyries typically rode horses, but they were also known to don feathers. Branston 84.

engil thes alouualdon obana fan radure.
faran an feðerhamon. that all thiu folda an scian.
thiu erða dunida (l.5797-5799)

In Scripture, there is no reference to feathers. But there is a reference to the ground shaking.[177]

Here in this scene, the action of the poem effectively ends. There are two and a half[178] episodes that follow, but these last fitts conform to Scripture more faithfully. Including fitt 69 and beyond, references to Germanic culture all but disappear. That is not to say that they vanish altogether. There are indeed some minor embellishments that persist to the end. These, however resemble stylistic flairs more than the far-reaching cultural refererences of past episodes. Although the style and cadence of the final fitts are consistent with the overall style and cadence of the poem, there is nonetheless a noticeable lack of depth in these final fitts. In light this difference, one may suggest that these final fitts more or less serve as an epilogue to the poem, bringing the story to a logical, yet open ending.

[177] Et ecce terræ motus factus est magnus, angelus enim domini descendit de celo et accedens revolvit lapidem.
Inti sinu tho erthbibunga uuas giuuortan michil: gotes engil steig fon hímile inti zuogangenti aruúalzta then stéin. Tatian 217:1.
Mt.28:1 And behold there was a great earthquake. For an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and coming rolled back the stone, and sat upon it.

[178] Fitt 71 is a fragment.

CONCLUSION

This purpose of this study was to introduce to a new perspective on *Heliand* scholarship. As one reads the text in this new light, one will begin to understand how rich and deep a poem the *Heliand* truly is. It seems that, for every motif one uncovers, yet another emerges. One can easily lose oneself the labyrinthine pursuit of thematic permutations. This is why my focus for this study remained on the surface of the poem. Subsequent study of the poem will allow for closer analysis of the finer details.

But before such pursuits can be undertaken, an introduction to the text and its scholarship was necessary. This was the purpose of the first chapter. As this is a work of mediaeval literature, the point of entry for the reader is not as wide as that for works of modern literature. Language presents another potential barrier. In the matter of the *Heliand*, language was indeed a concern. The dialect of Old Saxon is relatively obscure when compared to Old High German. This is owing to the few surviving specimens of Old Saxon literature. As such, relatively less effort has been made to reconstruct the dialect. In the matter of Old High German, the relative abundance of texts has allowed scholars to formulate a substantive composite of the dialect. While grammars and glosses of Old Saxon do indeed exist, they are not nearly as thorough as their Old High German counterparts. It is tragic that such a rich culture and vibrant dialect should have to succumb to a fate of near obscurity. Yet, the paucity of texts is an ironic sign of fertility. What was once a relatively untapped field of study, Old Saxon literature, namely the *Heliand,* is becoming a challenging subject area open for new investigation

and research. Recent dissertations attest to the growing interest in this field of literature. Most of these recent studies have been linguistic in nature, focusing on semiotic readings of the text.[179] Other studies investigate the less clinical aspects of the *Heliand,* examining specific motifs and concepts. Given the similiarities- both linguistic and cultural- to Anglo-Saxon, the monuments of Old Saxon may be included in a larger canon of literature.[180] The surviving texts of this conglomerate have provided scholars with insight to, and clues of the past. These clues, although they reveal only trace evidence of a bygone culture, are indeed vital to scholarship. It is the pursuit of these trace elements, these cultural footprints that formed the core of this study. These motifs and the texts from which they originate are a valuable source of information, despite the lacunae and discrepancies in the surviving manuscripts.

This is not to discount or discredit outside or secondary sources altogether. These sources provide missing and necessary insight into the text, as well as commentary. This was also outlined at the beginning of the study. The examination of the possible dates of composition revealed two varying social contexts in which to understand the poem. However compelling their contribution to scholarship may be, outside sources are nonetheless no substitute for the original text. The texts, both original and secondary, must be used in equal balance. Both contribute to scholarship in their own ways.

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[179] For Example: Priscia Augustyn, "The Semiotics of Fate, Death, and the Soul in Germanic Culture. The Christianization of the Old Saxon." Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2000.

[180] This was successfully proven in a recent dissertation, "The Pagan-Christian Concept of Wealth and its Relationship to Light in the *Heliand* and in *Beowulf*, with Consideration of Addtional Anglo-Saxon Works" Mark Dreisonstock. Diss. Georgetown University, 2000.

While the original text may deserve closer attention. neither source should trump the other. The relationship between the original text and its secondary material was best summarized by Northrop Frye in *The Critical Path*:

> Criticism will always have two aspects, one turned toward the structure of literature and one turned toward the cultural phenomena that form the social environment of literature. Together they balance each other: when one is worked on to the exclusion of the other, the critical perspective goes out of focus. If criticism is in proper balance, the tendency of critics to move from critical to larger social issues becomes more intelligible. (25)

The methodology of this study does not deviate far from Frye's comments. This study, although faithful to the primary text of the *Heliand*, relied equally on the contributions made by outside sources, namely the *Diatessaron* and the *Matthew Commentary,* in matters of content; *the Royal Frankish Annals* and Nithard's *Histories* for historical insight; and epic poetry such as the *Edda* cycle and *Völsungasaga* for access to character motivaion and stylistic motifs.

The aim of this study was also to illustrate how diametrically opposed political concepts meet and merge in the *Heliand.* The poet had before him the task of delineating and propagating foreign and unwelcome notions of power, authority and spirituality to an audience that was hesitant at best and recalcitrant at worst. His choice of material and his treatment of it reflected the values of his Frankish overlords, yet they were presented in a manner that was informative and respectful to the audience. Chapters 3 and 5 highlighted these events. Perhaps the most significant token of respect for the audience's heritage shown by the poet was the medium itself: epic. At a time when the sermon was the primary medium of instruction, the poet chose to address his audience in a form that was familar and relevant to them: epic. The medium of epic

allowed the poet to portray grand characters in a grand fashion without resorting to disengenuous exaggeration. In epic, the hero is by nature an outstanding character. He rises above all others and serves as a model for emulation. To portray Christ in these terms seems a natural fit. Christ embodies the values that all Christians strive to emulate: kindness, generosity, forgiveness, and moral strength. The poet seamlessly fused these values to those of the classic hero- leadership, bravery, and excellence in contest- to create a new hero: a leader who is bold, yet humble; powerful, yet not despotic. To do so, the poet also chose his language carefully.

It was mentioned at the beginning that language is the foundation for social change. Social change, after all, was the task before the poet. His use of the familiar *drohtin* and *gesiđ* to designate Christ and the apostles immediately resonated with his audience. These are terms that carried a specific meaning and connoted specific qualities. Over the course of the poem, the poet used these familiar terms in new contexts, thus redefining them and priming them for use in a new social order. *Drohtin* and *gesiđ* never lost their primary meanings of liege-lord and retinue. They were, however, manipulated by the poet to broaden their scope to include the additional meaning. This is indeed a significant aspect of the poem: not only for the sake of this study, but for *Heliand* scholarship in general. The poem has generated a wealth of semiotic studies. This, however, is not a study in semiotics. It is a textual study. The metamorphosis of language as witnessed in the *Heliand* is, with all due respect to semioticians, to be understood in this study as an organic process. Text and context are the catalysts of change.

When the *Heliand* is considered in its simplest terms, change is the dominant theme. This statement is not meant to blaspheme the Christian values that are so eloquently communicated in the poem. These values are valuable and vital to the poem. Yet, I tend to believe that Christianity was not the actual subject of the poem. Instead, I consider it to be one of the manifestations of change. The other manifestation of change in the *Heliand* is the reorganization of social order and its preservation, which was the crux of this study.

It is impossible to determine what the long-term intentions of the poet were, if there were any. In the present day, however, one has the advantage of historical perspective to answer this question. One can consider the poem in its historical and social context. From this perspective, the poem appears to have been written in order to address an immediate need. Regardless of when the *Heliand* was actually written, the poem appears to have proven effective. That is to say, Saxon society ultimately accepted Frankish dominion and social order. They embraced Christianity and involved themselves with the Christian Church. The Saxon territory had become a part of the empire, and the Saxon people had become subjects of it. This, however, was not immediately accomplished. The Stellinga uprisings of 841 and 842 indicate a distinct refusal among the Saxons to accept the new order. Yet, in spite of these outbreaks, Saxon society did indeed undergo a transformation. This is evident in its fruition: the rise of the Saxon kings to power and their subsequent dominion over their former captors. Indeed, it is true that the death of Charlemagne effectively left behind a vacuum of power in northern Europe. A leader of such magnitude was difficult, if not impossible to succeed. The Carolingian dynasty continued, but declined in strength and

cohesion with each successive monarch. As the once mighty Carolingian dynasty decayed, the Saxon Liudolfings grew in power and influence. They acquired great wealth and built alliances through strategic marriages. The founder of the dynasty, Heinrich I, was a shrewd negotiator and wise steward of his lands. The rise of the Liudolfings suggests that the Saxons had not only assimiliated into the new culture, but within 90 years- four generations- had also seized it. One only wonders how this was possible, how a society so profoundly steeped in confederation and independent rule, could accept and master an apparently contrary definition and organization of power in such a relatively short time. It is not impossible to rule out the teachings of the *Heliand* as a primer of sorts for the Saxons. Unfortunately, there is no documented testimony that would link the two together. This is not to suggest naively or boldly that the *Heliand* was composed in order to serve as a users' manual for the eventual usurpation of an empire. It is, however, a manifesto of change. The themes of power and authority are clearly redefined in Frankish terms. Through the fusion of the Germanic-pagan concepts of spirituality, its values, cosmology, speech and language with analagous Frankish-Christian concepts and terms, the poet created a new myth of concern for the Saxons. This laid the foundation for a new social order. The Saxon culture was thus redefined and poised to follow a new and divergent trajectory from the old. Perhaps the poet did not envision an empire ruled by his fellow Saxons as he composed his work, but it cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence that the values he presented in his work happen to be the same values that propelled subsequent generations of Saxons to the heights of power. This is a matter worthy of further investigation.

APPENDIX 1

References to the spoken word.

Fitt 4: "And so I have heard it told..." Murphy, *Heliand*,13; l.289: *sô gifragn ik*;

Fitt 5: "I have heard it told..." (15); l. 367: *thar gifragn ic*,...;

Fitt 8: "I have heard it told..." (24); l.630: Thô gifragn ic...;

Fitt 13: "Thus I have heard it told...(36); l.1020: *Sô gefragn ic*...;

Fitt 32: "I have heard it told... (86); l.2621: *Sô gifragn ik*...;

Fitt.41: "Then, I have heard it told. (110); l.3347: *Thô gifragn ik*...;

Fitt 46: So I have heard it told..." (124); l.3780: *Sô gifragn ik*..;

Fitt 47: "Then I heard it told..." (127); l.3883: *Thô gifragn ik*...;

Fitt 48: "Then, I have heard it told..." (129); l.3964: *Thuo gifrank ik*...;

Fitt 54: "And so, I have heard it told..." (146); l.4453: *Sô gefragn ik*...

Fitt 44 stands out from other instances in that the poet appears to be speaking to his audience directly (118 n.168): "I can also tell you...Listen now" (118f); l.3619: *Ôc mag ik giu gitellien*...l.3661: *Hôriad nu hui thie blindun*,

APPENDIX 2

References to the written word:

...That uuolda thô uuîsara filo
liudo barno lobon, lêra Cristes,
hêlag uuord godas, endi mid iro handon scrîban
berehtlîco an buok, huô sia is gibodscip scoldin
frummian, firiho barn. Than uuârun thoh sia fiori the thiu
under thera menigo, thia habdon maht godes,
helpa fan himila, hêlagna gêst,
craft fan Criste, - sia uurðun gicorana te thio,
that sie than êuangelium ênan scoldun

an buok scrîban endi sô manag gibod godes,
15 hêlag himilisc uuord:...

There were many of the wise who wanted to praise the teaching of Christ, the holy Word of God, and wanted to write a bright-shining book with their own hands, telling how the sons of men should carry out His commands. Among all these, however, there were only four who had the power of God, help from heaven, the Holy Spirit, the strength from Christ to do it. They were chosen. They alone were to write down the evangelium in a book, and to write down the commands of God, the heavenly word.(Murphy,*Heliand,*3)

32 That scoldun sea fiori thuo fingron scrîban,
settian endi singan endi seggian forð,...

These four were to write it down with their own fingers; they were to compose, sing, and proclaim what they had seen and heard... (4)

229 ...thoh he ni mugi ênig uuord sprecan,
thoh mag he bi bôcstabon brêf geuuirkean,
namon giscrîban. Thô he nâhor geng,
legda im êna bôc an barm endi bad gerno
uurîtan uuîslîco uuirdgimerkiun,
huat sie that hêlaga barn hêtan scoldin.
235 Thô nam he thia bôk an hand endi an is hugi thâhte
suîðo gerno te gode: Iohannes namon
uuîslîco giuurêt...

...Even though he cannot speak a single word, he can give us a message by writing the name in letters." At that, he approached Zachary and put a beech-wood stave on his lap, asking him very earnestly to carve in wisely determined words what this holy child was to be called. Zachary took the book into his hands and the thoughts of his mind turned gladly to God. He wisely carved the name John... (11)

350 ...Fôrun thea bodon obar all,
thea fon them kêsura cumana uuârun,
bôkspâha uueros, endi an brêf scribun...

People came together at all the hill-forts. The messengers who had come from Caesar were men who could read and write... (15)

528 ...That geld habde thô gilêstid
thiu idis an them alaha, al sô it im an ira êuua gibôd
530 endi at thera berhtun burg bôk giuuîsdun,
hêlagoaro handgiuuerk....

Many of the people at the shrine were overjoyed- they heard the great and welcome news being said about God. The woman had performed the sacred task there, the worship at tha altar, just as it was commanded in their law and in the book in the bright shining hill-fort. (20)

611 ...Thô he samnon hêt,
sô huuat sô an Hierusalem gôdaro manno
allaro spâhoston sprâcono uuârun
endi an iro brioston bôkcraftes mêst
615 uuisun te uuârun, endi he sie mid uuordun fragn,
suîðo niudlîco nîðhugdig man,
cuning thero liudio, huar Krist giboran
an uueroldrîkea uuerðan scoldi,
friðugumono bezt. Thô sprak im eft that folc angegin,
620 that uuerod uuârlîco, quâðun that sie uuissin garo,
that he scoldi an Bethleem giboran uuerðan: 'sô is an ûsun bôkun giscriban,'
uuîslico giuuritan, sô it uuârsagon,
suuîðo glauua gumon bi godes crafta
filuuuîse man furn gisprâcun,....

Then he called together all the good men in Jerusalem, the most learned and eloquent and those who truly held the most book-power in their breasts, and he asked them very carefully with words, that evil-minded man, the king of the people, where Christ, the greatest Man of Peace, was to be born in the earthly realm. The people then responded to him, men of truth, saying tht they did indeed know that He was to be born in Bethlehem. "It has been put down thus in our books, wisely written just as the soothsayers, very intelligent and leaned men spoke long ago by the power of God....(24)

1085 ...Giscriban uuas it giu langо,
an bôcun geuuriten, huuô giboden habad
is engilun alomahtig fader,
that sie thi at uuege hehuuem uuardos sinðun,
haldad thi undar iro handun....
1092 ...'sô is ôc an bôcun gesdcriban,' quad he,
'that thu te hardo ni scalt hêrran thînes,
fandon thînes frôhan:...

It was written long ago in books, that the all-mighty Father hs commanded His angels that they are to be Your guards on any of Your ways. and to hold You in their hands.... "It is also written in books," He said. "that you should not maliciously tempt your Lord and Master..."(38)

1431 ...That uuas forn gescriban
an them alten êo...

"It was written before in the old law" (50)

1446 ...Ôc is an them êo gescriban
uuârun uuordun...

"It is also written in the law in true words..." (50)

1502 Ôc is an them êo gescriban
uuârun uuordun, sô gi uuitun alle,
that mîðe mênêðos mancunnies gehuuilic,...

"It is also written in the law in true words, as you all know, that all of mankind should avoid false oaths,..." (50)

3401 an that fern faren, ef sie gefrummiad sô,
sô thea gibiodas, the thea bôk lesat
them liudiun te lêrun.

...They will never journey into that inferno, if they do what is commanded them by those who read the books for human instruction...(111)

5558 ...: "it is iu sô obar is hôbde giscriban
uuîslîco giuuritan, sô ik it nu uuendian ni mag."

It has been written for you thus over His head, so wisely cut ito the wood, that I cannot now change it! (183)

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