

Cur scriptor theotisce dictaverit : the educational  
purpose of Otfrid's Evangelienbuch.

by

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## CONTENTS

Preface	I
General Abbreviations	II
Abbreviations (Journals, Series, Publishers)	III
Abstract	IV
CHAPTER ONE : Introduction	1
Summary of Research on the 'Evangelienbuch'	3
Aims and Methods	9
CHAPTER TWO : Otfrid's Theoretical Approach	17
"Ad Liutbertum"	18
"Salomoni episcopo Otfridus"	43
"Hartmuate et Werinberto"	55
"Ad Ludowicum"	64
Cur Scriptor (I,1)	71
Invocatio (I,2)	88
Oratio (V,24)	94
Conclusio libri secundi (II,24)	96
Praefatio libri tertii (III,1)	98
Praefatio libri quarti (IV,1)	101
Conclusio voluminis totius (V,25)	103
Conclusions with reference to I,17-19	106
CHAPTER THREE : The 'Evangelienbuch' in its literary context	113
Latin Prose Gospel texts : the four Gospels	114
The 'lectionarium'	120

Tatian's 'Diatessaron'	124
Conclusion	129
Latin Christian literature and the 'Evangelienbuch'	134
Augustine's 'De doctrina christiana'	138
The "Classical versus Christian" debate	148
The Biblical Epic	160
Conclusions	176
The Carolingian context : Isidore	177
Carolingian Renaissance?	179
Hrabanus Maurus and his pupils	191
Christian vernacular works and the 'Evangelienbuch'	201
Conclusions	204
CHAPTER FOUR : The Five Senses in the 'Evangelienbuch'	211
Taste	214
Hearing	258
Sight	276
Smell	292
Touch	295
Summary of sensory imagery	301
CHAPTER FIVE : The narrative structure of the 'Evangelienbuch'	306
The fifth book of the 'Evangelienbuch'	306
Conclusions	321
Notes	324
Bibliography	384

## PREFACE

A small part of the material in this thesis has been adapted and published as a symposium paper on the "Seamless Robe" (see bibliography for details) and some of the argument relating to the structure and function of the Evangelienbuch first took shape as a paper delivered at the Kolloquium für ältere deutsche Philologie at the University of Trier, West Germany, in the Summer Semester 1987.

I am indebted to colleagues in the German Departments of the Universities of Stirling and Trier for encouragement and constructive advice, and to Dr L. Jillings and Dr B.O. Murdoch whose second year mediaeval German course first introduced me to Otfrid and mediaeval studies. I would particularly like to express my thanks to Dr Murdoch, whose supervision was scholarly, patient and enthusiastic at all stages in the writing of the thesis.

## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

a.	an, an der, am etc.
bzw.	beziehungsweise
c.	circa
cf.	compare
Ch.	Chapter
d.	der, des, etc.
diss.	dissertation
ed., eds.	editor(s)
edn.	edition
etc.	et cetera
f., ff.	and the following
esp.	especially
facs.	facsimile
fl.	floruit
FS.	Festschrift, Festgabe
i.	in, in der, im, etc
Jh.	Jahrhundert
mhd.	mittelhochdeutsch
MS, MSS,	manuscript(s)
n., nn.	note(s)
no., nos.	number(s)
N.S.	New Series
OHG	Old High German
p., pp.	page(s)
pl.	plural
rev.	revised
rpt.	reprint, reprinted
St.	Saint, Sankt
tr.	translator, translated
vol., vols.	volume(s)

ABBREVIATIONS ; JOURNALS. SERIES. PUBLISHERS

<u>ABäG</u>	Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik
<u>AION</u>	Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli (Sezione Germanica)
<u>ARCA</u>	Classical and medieval texts, papers and monographs. Liverpool : Francis Cairns, 1976ff.
<u>Archiv</u>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
<u>ATB</u>	Altdeutsche Textbibliothek
<u>CCL</u>	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
<u>CSEL</u>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<u>C.U.P.</u>	Cambridge University Press
<u>DtVjs</u>	Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
<u>DU</u>	Der Deutschunterricht
<u>ELN</u>	English Language Notes
<u>GAG</u>	Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik
<u>GRM</u>	Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift
<u>LiLi</u>	Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik
<u>LwJb</u>	Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft
<u>Med.Aev.</u>	Medium Aevum
<u>MGH</u>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<u>AA</u>	Auctores Antiquissimi
<u>Capit.</u>	Leges, Capitularia regum francorum
<u>Epp.</u>	Epistulae
<u>Poet.Lat.</u>	Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
<u>MLN</u>	Modern Language Notes
<u>MLO</u>	Modern Language Quarterly
<u>MLR</u>	Modern Language Review
<u>NdJb</u>	Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung
<u>NdMitt.</u>	Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen
<u>NTS</u>	New Testament Studies
<u>O.U.P.</u>	Oxford University Press
<u>PBB</u>	(Pauls und Braunes) Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. After 1955 <u>PBB/H</u> (Halle), <u>PBB/T</u> (Tübingen)
<u>PG</u>	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca
<u>PL</u>	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina
<u>PMLA</u>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<u>REL</u>	Revue des études Latines
<u>St.Gen.</u>	Studium Generale
<u>SM</u>	Studi medievali
<u>Vig.Chr.</u>	Vigiliae Christianae
<u>WBG</u>	Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
<u>WdF</u>	Wege der Forschung
<u>WW</u>	Wirkendes Wort
<u>ZfdA</u>	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
<u>ZfdPh</u>	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

## ABSTRACT

The Evangelienbuch by Otfrid von Weissenburg presents a number of problems for modern scholarship. The present study aims to draw together the results of major studies on the work, particularly from the last twenty years, and explain why there is still no consensus as to its nature, aims and literary status. This study addresses itself to these basic questions.

Otfrid's theoretical statements are examined, along with the literary, religious and historical background to monastic writing in the ninth century. It is clear that religious and pedagogical motivations lie behind the work, and that the Latin commentaries influence the author much more than either Latin or vernacular literary works, even in matters of structure and presentation.

The content of the Evangelienbuch is largely defined by the biblical gospels, but there are differences in the weighting and ordering of material. Thus many of the images Otfrid emphasizes are chosen to illuminate aspects of the teaching and learning process. The contrast between the numbers four and five serves to explain both literary and religious ideas involving evenness, balance and perfection and their opposites.

Finally, it is noted that the fifth book of the Evangelienbuch departs from the narrative structures of the biblical gospels. Otfrid's lengthy treatment of the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ leads, in Book V, to a

chronologically correct depiction of his afterlife in heaven which does not correspond to the biblical arrangement of material. This gives the Evangelienbuch as a whole a non-biblical "shape" with emphasis towards Christ's role in past, present and future time. Thus the language, style, structure and content of the Evangelienbuch aim to make the message of the gospels more accessible and relevant to the experience of ninth century readers and listeners. These are likely to have been very young, and therefore unable to tackle complex Latin commentaries, and yet also destined for the priesthood, or for a monastic career, and therefore expected to learn the basic principles of Christian theology, exegesis and moral behaviour. The possibility of subsequent use of the Evangelienbuch outside the schoolroom, in other parts of the monasteries or even in the world outside cannot be ruled out, but the work is designed for use as a school textbook.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction.

The Evangelienbuch of Otfrid von Weissenburg is one of the oldest pieces of writing in German Literature, and as such it has occupied a prominent place in the literary history books. The text of the work has been well preserved in four manuscripts<sup>1</sup> one of which is believed to have been corrected in the author's own hand.<sup>2</sup> Such a wealth of documentary evidence is rare for a ninth century work, but it has made the task of editing the text very much simpler than might have been expected. A definitive text has been in existence since the end of the nineteenth century thanks to the work of Graff, Kelle, Piper and Erdmann.<sup>3</sup> This pioneering work has left twentieth century scholars free to concentrate upon the task of understanding and evaluating the Evangelienbuch.

One of the major difficulties in preparing to look at the Evangelienbuch is the sheer range of knowledge required. Otfrid expects his reader to be familiar with both Old and New Testaments of the Bible, and with the commentaries that were used in the ninth century. For the modern reader this means just as much excluding notions that developed in the intervening 1100 years as acquiring knowledge that was common in Otfrid's time and area of influence. In addition to this it is useful to understand the major theological issues of the period, again with reference to current ninth century works and the most important patristic writers. The historical and political background is also important, in so far as it is

possible to reconstruct details from the sparse, often incorrect or ambiguous texts that have survived. In particular it is difficult to determine the true significance of words and concepts which are perfectly clear in their surface meaning, but notoriously resistant to exact definition in their ninth century context. This is a problem not confined to Old High German, since the Mediaeval Latinists have their own debates about superficially simple words like "regula" and "versus" or even "imperium" which have classical, Christian and perhaps also specifically Carolingian connotations all at the same time.

The second major prerequisite for a serious study of the Evangelienbuch is familiarity with the vast amount of secondary literature devoted to the work.<sup>4</sup> There is a bewildering amount of conflicting analysis of the Evangelienbuch dating from the early nineteenth century right up to the present day, and there is no sign of waning interest. The bibliography to the present study contains only those works quoted or referred to, and highlights in bold type the names of those authors publishing works specifically on Otfrid after 1973, which is the cut-off date of the standard Belkin/Meier Bibliographie. The inevitable length of the bibliography in the present study and the number of highlighted entries testifies to the continuing scholarly interest in the Evangelienbuch.

Much of the secondary literature deals with individual aspects of the Evangelienbuch which makes for a fascinating

diversity of approaches and results, but very little in the way of consensus. There is still no clear agreement among scholars as to the nature and purpose of Otfrid's long Old High German work, and there is much that remains to be explained.

#### Summary of Research on the 'Evangelienbuch'.

As with any discipline, there have been phases and trends in the course of the years, and there have been interlocking strands of research following the leads of major critics. The Evangelienbuch has fared rather badly in works of literary history and this is largely due to the uneasiness which scholars feel in the presence of a work which is undeniably important - the value of the work from a philological point of view alone will ensure its place in the canon of German literature - and yet which possesses few of the qualities which are reckoned to be necessary in a specifically literary work. The problem facing any modern reader of the Evangelienbuch is one of perspective : the fragmentary and often contradictory insights furnished by previous scholars provide views from many angles. And the effect of this phenomenon is to make the work appear interesting and comprehensible in its individual features, but strange and somehow incoherent as a complete work. The philologists have painstakingly researched Otfrid's dialect, vocabulary and even syntax, although it is written in verse form, offering the basis for a literal understanding of the text with a degree of reliability that still escapes scholars working with some

other contemporary writings, including the Old High German charms and the ever-problematic Muspilli.<sup>5</sup> There are exceptions to this, however, and those words, phrases and concepts in the Evangelienbuch which defy simple explanation (for example Otfrid's "literary" terminology) will merit closer inspection in the present study.

Much work has been done on the source material which Otfrid would have been most likely to incorporate, and this area of speculation has yielded a variety of possibilities, some of which have been dismissed and revived by critics over the years.<sup>6</sup> The question of genre has been raised more often than most, and with the most controversial results.<sup>7</sup>

Looking back over the history of critical appreciation of the Evangelienbuch it is possible to discern three stages of scholarship. The first, beginning with Trithemius at the end of the 15th century<sup>8</sup> and lasting until the end of the nineteenth century provides, as we have noted above, the groundwork for all future examinations of Otfrid's work. The period between 1900 and 1945 is a relatively fallow one, in which few major contributions to the study of the Evangelienbuch are made. There are, of course, very many valuable small studies, in the form of articles, and a number of dissertations which did not receive wide circulation, not to mention the worthy work done in this period on Otfrid's language.<sup>9</sup> Most of the literary histories up to the 1960's relegate the Evangelienbuch to the edges of literary respectability. Critics note Otfrid's innovative use of rhyme

with approval, but inevitably qualify their positive evaluations with sweeping criticisms of Otfrid's poetic skills. Examples like the following abound:

Mitunter wagt er Zuege, die den wahren Poeten ankuendigen, aber oeffter sinkt er zu den all taeglichsten Gemeinplaetzen der Moenchsphilosophie herab ... Zum Vergnuegen wird Niemand ihn lesen, und wer bloß wegen des Reichtums seiner Sprache ihn liest, den wird er vergnuegen. 10

Vers und Reim machen ihm immer zu schaffen, auf Schritt und Tritt muß er durch Flickverse oder Füllsätze nachhelfen, um den Vers zu füllen oder um einen passenden Reim zu gewinnen... 11

A later, but East German, assessment retains this extreme negative overtone : Erb maintains that Otfrid "vielfach nicht nur auf den heutigen Leser skurril wirkt" and goes on to say that "auch die dichterische Kraft seines Werkes aufs stärkste gemindert erscheint."<sup>12</sup>

It was not until the post-war era that a new impetus to the study of Otfrid and his writing emerged. H. Rupp<sup>13</sup> has covered the period from 1945 to 1962 with a lucid account of major developments in research on Otfrid and the Heliand. His analysis reflects the continuing preoccupation with the form of the Evangelienbuch : technical questions like the origin of Otfrid's rhyme and the relation of his verse form to the classical hexameter occupy more than half of the space he devotes to the Evangelienbuch. The question of how and why Otfrid selects some pieces of material from the gospels and rejects others, Rupp notes,<sup>14</sup> had until 1962 received insufficient attention. In this period the work of McKenzie<sup>15</sup> in particular stands out as a new beginning which challenges many long-held assumptions about the nature and function of

the Evangelienbuch. At this time too, some erroneous notions about the "patriotism", or even worse, the "nationalism" of Otfrid which had emerged in the early nineteenth century, and taken hold in the twentieth,<sup>16</sup> were finally dispersed.<sup>17</sup> McKenzie's analysis, in contrast to most previous studies, paid close attention to the presentation of the Evangelienbuch, including the layout of the manuscripts and the presence of marginal notes in Latin. His suggestion that Otfrid was writing a work of commentary, to be read alongside the Bible, had a profound effect upon prevailing opinions regarding the work. Another seminal thinker of this third phase is Friedrich Ohly, whose work signals a new departure from tradition in the interpretation of Otfrid's text and of mediaeval works in general.<sup>18</sup> For the first time the dimension of allegorical meaning and biblical exegesis is treated with the rigour it deserves. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of Ohly, and a great many subsequent books and articles on the Evangelienbuch depend upon Ohly's original stimulus.<sup>19</sup>

One positive development following in the wake of McKenzie and Ohly is that the research which emerged in the late nineteen-sixties and early seventies included some major attempts to deal with the construction of the Evangelienbuch as a whole. Important contributions were made by Wolfgang Haubrichs<sup>20</sup> and Wolfgang Kleiber.<sup>21</sup> Their studies on the subject of numerology and the symbolic elements in the construction of chapters and books in the Evangelienbuch have

become classics and have in turn inspired further investigations into this important field. It is thanks to these attempts to re-evaluate the Evangelienbuch as a complete and coherent text that scholars writing in the mid nineteenth-seventies could begin to write comprehensive analyses of the different aspects of the work. In 1975 Ulrich Ernst's scholarly volume appeared<sup>22</sup> and it is the most penetrating thus far. In the same year further studies were published, dealing with specific areas, and taking account of post-war developments : Patzlaff on rhyme<sup>23</sup> and Kartschoke on sources and influences<sup>24</sup> are both significant contributions, and Hartmann's Allegorisches Wörterbuch<sup>25</sup> fills a vital gap by gathering together allegorical material and potential patristic sources and parallels.

Unfortunately, the individual efforts of the 1970's seem to have been written with little or no reference to each other, and this has not helped to foster agreement between different schools of thought. A brave attempt to present a synthesis of critical opinions of the Evangelienbuch was made by Vollmann-Profe<sup>26</sup> whose Kommentar aims to provide an exhaustive commentary of the text of the work, along with a summary of past scholarship. Only the first instalment has appeared, suggesting that the undertaking was, after all, too ambitious. The commentary is good in so far as it goes, but it is now virtually impossible to envisage a sequel. The sum of recent scholarship is so great, and so controversial, that Vollmann-Profe's proposed commentary is obsolete almost before it has begun to face the heart of the Evangelienbuch itself.

The recent publication of a "Reclam" edition of excerpts of the Evangelienbuch, with comments by Vollmann-Profe, suggests that all hope of a complete commentary has been abandoned.<sup>27</sup> New studies continue to appear, for example Hellgardt on sources<sup>28</sup> and Greiner on the image of Mary in the Evangelienbuch.<sup>29</sup> One recent work on the "problem of rhyme" in German literature through the ages<sup>30</sup> mentions Otfrid in the sub-title and proceeds to blame him for the "Sündenfall" and "Irrweg" which rhyme in the German language supposedly represents. Such claims are, of course, wildly exaggerated since the Evangelienbuch, though attaining a small measure of influence upon contemporary monastic communities,<sup>31</sup> was more or less forgotten by the turn of the millennium. It was certainly not the only rhymed work in German at the time, and probably not the first, even though the sparse records of the period tempt later observers towards such conclusions.

Besides these major works mentioned above, there is a myriad of smaller publications dealing with minor aspects of the Evangelienbuch and much of this material is essential as background to the work. It would be inappropriate to examine the Evangelienbuch without taking into account the achievements of previous scholars, and yet equally impossible to do justice to all of their different points of view. The only feasible alternative is to return to the basic issues of contention, for there is agreement at least in the major points deserving closer study, and to find a way of looking at the text which provides answers to the most basic questions.

Only then can we begin to understand the deeper content of the Evangelienbuch on the level of ideas and literary endeavour.

#### Aims and Methods.

The Evangelienbuch demands a critical approach which takes into account both the diversity of its individual features and the unity of its conception. Faced with such a demand, the modern critic is ill-equipped to make any positive assessment of the work. It is very long, with 7104 lines of verse and an additional 312 lines of dedicatory epistles, also in verse, and a long prose letter of introduction in Latin. It is a religious work, and this brings ideological and social factors into the reckoning. The text incorporates a number of features which do not easily combine under one literary label. Otfrid paraphrases the gospel narratives, carefully expanding some stories and condensing others as he sees fit. He interprets and exhorts in the manner of a preacher, but the presentation of the whole is undeniably poetic. The structure of the work in long lines, which have rhyming halves, and are arranged in pairs, is the most obvious indication of its literary pretensions. The Evangelienbuch is clearly intended to be a single composition : its careful chapter headings and its division into chapters and books point to a high degree of forward planning on the part of the author. Regardless of the order in which the work was first composed<sup>32</sup> the fact remains that the work is a complete literary creation with a single line of narrative running from beginning to end.

It is part of the function of the literary scholar to

categorise and to criticise widely differing types of writing. In the case of the Evangelienbuch the critic is forced to stretch his categories and revise his customary criteria of excellence, because the work does not easily fit into the usual frameworks applied to the ninth century and to literature in general. It may be that Otfrid has unwittingly created a literary monster with features which are drawn from incompatible sources, or which demand incompatible types of treatment. It may be that critics of Otfrid are at fault in prescribing categories and genres which are too fixed and narrow to accommodate the Evangelienbuch. Wherever the fault appears to lie, it must be recognized at the outset that we are dealing with a problematic text, and due care must be taken in the application of necessarily prejudicial technical terms like "epic", "lectionary", or "commentary" which may bring additional complications to an already complex situation. Before evaluative judgements about the Evangelienbuch are made, it is necessary to look carefully at the inherent prejudices contained in our terminology, at the professed intentions of the author, and most essentially, at the evidence provided by the work itself. These questions are problematic because even the clearest of Otfrid's statements on the subject are rendered ambiguous by their dependence upon historical data which have since been lost. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to ask what exactly the Evangelienbuch is, and in what light it should be judged. With such basic questions still largely unanswered, it is not surprising that critics

fail to reach a consensus in their evaluation of the work. The task of any present-day student of the work of Otfrid is to sift through the material which has accumulated, and extract insights and information from the weight of controversy that threatens to obscure the work altogether. There is no shame in returning to the most basic questions of all : their apparent simplicity belies the complexity of the issues involved.

In considering the first of these basic questions, "what is the Evangelienbuch?" it is as well to bear in mind that the answer might not be a neat one : it is more likely to be a long description with many qualifications, than a single literary label. There are two ways of approaching this sort of question in a known context : the theoretical and the practical. The former entails looking at the many statements of a theoretical nature which Otfrid himself has recorded in his prefatory epistles and in the more reflective parts of the main text. Much work has already been done on this subject, and this is not surprising, since as we noted above, it is rare that a mediaeval author should leave so many clues as to his intentions and his own views on literary matters. It is not surprising, too, that in recent times scholars have tended to over-emphasize this aspect of Otfrid's work. A great many articles and even some large scale studies deal only with the "Ad Liutbertum" letter or the "Cur scriptor" chapter without much attention to the rest of the Evangelienbuch.<sup>33</sup> All too many critics attempt to deduce Otfrid's practice from his theory, and a careful study of the whole text is lacking in

their assessments. Equally, a study based exclusively on linguistic or statistical methods is bound to lead to less than satisfactory conclusions about the aims and purposes of the author. The recent study by A. Schwarz, for example,<sup>34</sup> employs an astounding range of modern linguistic and statistical terminology along with obscure diagrams and tables in order to analyse Otfrid's supposed approach to language. The conclusions, however, are meagre and often state in new words what has been evident for many years. It is hard to take seriously results like the following (p. 129) "Otfrid beschäftigt sich ausserordentlich intensiv mit der Darstellung und Erörterung sprachlicher Handlung" or "Sprachbetrachtung ist für Otfrid in sehr hohem Masse Sprecherbetrachtung". Whatever the author means by these phrases, he certainly does not describe processes consciously adopted by Otfrid. Though full of fascinating details, this study illustrates the danger of applying methods and especially concepts, which bring modern and materialist presuppositions to a work which belongs to a different and very distant age. Schwarz's Saussurian vocabulary does nothing to clarify the issue of language and how it is used in the Evangelienbuch. It shows only how a modern linguistics specialist would go about defining and describing a work such as the Evangelienbuch, and this specialist, because he uses tools and measurements alien to the text in hand, overlooks at least as much as he perceives.

It is impossible, of course, to recreate the conditions that prevailed in the ninth century and thereby to furnish a

starting point for the understanding of the Evangelienbuch. The work is a product of its time, and must be seen in its natural surroundings. The benefits of hindsight must be matched with a thorough knowledge of the traditions leading up to Otfrid's decision to write exactly this work in this time. The historical approach, however, has its dangers too, and care must be taken to avoid too rigid an attachment to so-called "sources" for the Evangelienbuch. Extreme approaches, like the ill-fated one of Plumhoff,<sup>35</sup> for example, to find a single source for the work, are clearly wrong. But equally, an effort to account for every line of the work by citation of commentaries and other "sources" would lead to a distorted view of the author's capability to select and form his material in an artistic creation.

Of course there must also be some understanding of previous and contemporary works which may have influenced the writing of the Evangelienbuch or which may shed light on Otfrid's undertaking. But here too, care must be taken to avoid hasty assumptions regarding sources or models for the Evangelienbuch. Such notions tend to mislead if applied in a prescriptive way before the Evangelienbuch has had a chance to present its unique qualities for our consideration.

Our judgement of Otfrid's theoretical approach must surely concentrate upon his own statements on the subject of literary production, and we must try to understand what these statements conveyed at the time when they were written. And armed with this information, in a necessarily incomplete form, it is then necessary to let the evidence of the surviving

manuscripts show if Otfrid succeeds in executing his plans and theories, in the terms he himself has defined. Only when this basic assessment is made (and scholarship has far from completed this task) does it make sense to begin some qualitative judgements about the work. In this way contradictory elements which might be perceived in the conception and the execution of the work are be allowed to stand alongside each other for long enough to let the modern scholar, armed with the necessary literary and historical background information, make a balanced evaluation of the whole work in all its complexity.

A second basic question, that of the reception of the Evangelienbuch, is equally fraught with problems. The prospective readers or audience of a work of literature have certain expectations and limitations which circumscribe any author's freedom to create his own work of art. How far Otfrid sets out to define and then mould his audience, and how far the likely audience is able to exert an inhibiting influence upon Otfrid, is an area worthy of debate. Indeed, the question of prospective readership is itself a difficult one, and the Evangelienbuch must be seen in the context of ninth century monastic culture which submits every human activity, including creative activities, to the greater aim of divine service and the immediate aim of usefulness in the Christian community. Once again, Otfrid's remarks must be read in conjunction with the whole effect of the work, as far as this can be discerned, and the prevailing religious world

view. Purely literary evaluations do not do justice to the work as a whole.

The individual features of the work, its language, style, structure, and its particular fusion of certain features, merit this same open-minded attention. And finally, when all the peripheral problems have been duly aired, it is surely desirable to look, as so few critics have done, at the content of the Evangelienbuch. It should be possible to determine what exactly Otfrid is communicating in this vast undertaking, and what, if any, his particular contribution to the history of ideas and literature in the West might be. Kleiber points out the comparative lack of detailed research devoted to the book's central ideas, which, though deeply rooted in religious themes, nevertheless deserve a searching analysis :

Während das Diatessaron Tatians eine sehr reiche Literatur hervorgebracht hat, fehlt für Otfrids Evangelienharmonie noch immer eine gründliche Darstellung von seiten der Theologen. 36

If Otfrid's formal innovations have received more than enough attention, the consequences of these far-reaching changes upon the ideas in the Evangelienbuch have been largely ignored. Just because there is little evidence of "Germanic" or "pagan" culture in the Evangelienbuch it is often assumed that the work merely passes on unchanged the Latin teachings of the Church. In fact, however, the Old High German re-telling and commentary of the New Testament Gospels re-moulds and compresses the material, displaying subtle links and contrasts with areas of the Christian literary and exegetical tradition. This hitherto neglected dimension of the work

provides the starting point for the present study.

It would be a mistake to hail the Evangelienbuch as an unrecognised masterpiece awaiting its due appreciation : where there are faults these should be pointed out and kept in mind. But it is equally unfair to dismiss the work as a failure, or to deny it a fair hearing alongside other religious works of the early Middle Ages. The concluding paragraph of McKenzie's study of the Evangelienbuch sets the record straight and points the way ahead for further investigations :<sup>37</sup>

Finally, it must be insisted that Otfrid not be judged by standards alien to the character and purpose of his work. By virtue of his exegetical interests, he is more than a mere translator, while the poetical form of his work raises him above the level of the simple commentator. But we must not apply to him the rule by which we measure the stature of the epic poet. Otfrid's very real poetic talents were directed to a higher goal, dedicated to the earnest and divine business of the podium and the pulpit. This is the light in which our poet must be judged...

## CHAPTER TWO

### Otfrid's theoretical approach.

Ulrich Ernst<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that Otfrid displays an unusual degree of literary awareness in the Evangelienbuch and he lists the sections of the work which deal with theoretical literary questions :

Außer den vier Widmungsschriften sind sieben Kapitel zu nennen, die um poetologische Fragen kreisen ;

I,1 Cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictaverit

I,2 Invocatio scriptoris ad Deum

II,24 Conclusio libri secundi

III,1 Praefatio libri tertii

IV,1 Praefatio libri quarti

V,24 Oratio

V,25 Conclusio voluminis totius

Any analysis of the theoretical background to the Evangelienbuch must take these sections into account. It should be noted at the outset, however, that four introductory letters and seven additional chapters combine to provide a very large amount of discussion by any standards. There must be some special reasoning behind this excess, one assumes, for no writer spends so much valuable time and manuscript space explaining himself unless he has a particular message or emphasis to convey to his audience or readership. In the case of Otfrid, there would appear to be several reasons behind the writing of these pieces. since there is some discrepancy in the ideas presented in the different sections. The context in

which each piece is written contributes to the meaning of the statements in each, and this must be borne in mind throughout. A second caveat to bear in mind in this connection is the fact that all of these above-mentioned sections are written within a tradition of similar writings. Otfrid's Latin and vernacular discussions are modelled on classical, early Christian and Carolingian styles and genres.<sup>2</sup> It is not always possible to identify an immediate "source" or model for Otfrid's writings<sup>3</sup> but the adherence to traditional formal patterns must always be taken into account. This means that not only the arrangement of material, but also the ideas themselves lose some of their particular force. If Otfrid proceeds within the fixed patterns of accepted structures, then his material must be subject to the chosen form, whether it be the dedicatory epistle ("Ad Liutbertum") or the praise poem ("Ad Ludowicum") or any other. This observation does not relegate all of Otfrid's statements to the level of empty formality, but it does warn against the danger of pinning too much significance upon single phrases and arguments which are part of an accepted pattern.

"Ad Liutbertum".

The letter to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz from 863-889, that "important and much studied Latin prose text by Otfrid of Weissenburg"<sup>4</sup> is different from the other theoretical pieces attached to the Evangelienbuch and contained within the work itself. The letter distinguishes itself on two accounts : it is written in Latin and it is written in prose. This

immediately gives it a superior status, at least as far as theoretical discussion is concerned, over the rest of the Evangelienbuch. Latin being the accepted language of academic debate in the ninth century and beyond, it is the obvious choice for an intellectual and very technical presentation of the author's intentions in writing the Evangelienbuch.

The presence of the letter to Liutbert proves that Otfrid himself undertakes the writing of a very long vernacular poem from a position of familiarity with Latin. Otfrid's argument in "Ad Liutbertum" displays a keen and logical mind, well-trained in the intricacies of Latin grammar and rhetoric, and well able to communicate complex ideas in this medium. Magoun, following Ehrismann, summarizes Otfrid's style thus :<sup>5</sup>

It must be remarked at the outset that Otfrid's Latin is not always easy and, generally speaking, exhibits an inflated, rhetorical style, often bearing the stamp of "official" language;...

Otfrid is evidently a competent Latin scholar who turns to the vernacular through deliberate choice and not through any lack in his own education.

Indeed some modern scholars maintain that Otfrid's linguistic competence is not confined to German and Latin, but includes Greek as well. Rohrer, for example, maintains that<sup>6</sup>

Von Walahfrid glauben wir es zu wissen, von Otfrid werden wir es nicht weniger annehmen dürfen (und müssen?), dass sie die griechische Sprache beherrschten.

Rohrer's parenthesis displays perhaps a little too much credulity in Otfrid's mention of

aliarum gentium lingua, id est Latinorum vel Grecorum...

("Ad Liutbertum," 110)

which after all, is a common locution used to denote respect for the classical tradition and the languages which, alongside Hebrew, bear the Christian scriptures. This is not, on its own, sufficient evidence to indicate that Otfrid was proficient in Greek. Hummel argues for this assumption too, however, bringing also a reference to just such a claim from a dedication written by a pupil of Otfrid's.<sup>7</sup> It is likely that this reference falls under the category of "praise-poem" exaggeration of the truth. The extent of Otfrid's familiarity with Greek is not proven, but it is safe to assume, from the evidence provided by the letter to Liutbert, that he does possess a good command of Latin, and of linguistic terminology and that this expertise is matched by a good literary background. He is sufficiently conversant with Latin epistolary models to avail himself of their formal patterns. He adapts traditional formulas to his own purposes, drawing from both classical and early Christian models. Wiebke Freytag<sup>8</sup> discerns the influence of one particular type of dedicatory epistle in the construction of "Ad Liutbertum", namely the accessus ad auctores. Her analysis concludes that Otfrid constructed his epistle according to the following schema :

salutatio	causa
	intentio
	materia (or) titulus (and) explanatio
narratio	ordo librorum
	numerus librorum
	qualitas carminis
	poetae vita
conclusio	

Certainly, a simple comparison between this traditional framework and the actual construction of the letter to Liutbert reveals considerable similarity, both in the subdivision of ideas into sense-units and in the ordering of these units into a whole. The purpose of a dedicatory epistle in general is to request official approval for an attached work of literature. The purpose of this particular form of dedicatory letter is to support this request with a full explanation of the nature and purpose of the work :<sup>9</sup>

Die Frageschemata der *Accessus ad auctores* sind es offensichtlich, die ein Bündel von Kriterien bereithalten, mit deren Hilfe sich Organisationsprinzip und Aussageintention erkennen lassen für Otfrids Mitteilungen über sein Werk in der narratio seines Briefes.

Freytag's study illuminates not only the form of the letter to Liutbert, but also the reasons behind Otfrid's recourse to so many dedicatory epistles. The classical Latin and Carolingian contexts in which the accessus were employed are surely relevant here :<sup>10</sup>

Das Wort "accessus" hat im Bereich der spätantiken, patristischen und vor allem mittelalterlichen Literaturtheorie eine Sonderbedeutung erhalten und meint die nach bestimmten Fragenkomplexen vorgehende philologische Untersuchung und Klassifizierung literarischer Texte für den Schulgebrauch.

This observation is completely in harmony with Otfrid's express statement of intent within the letter itself :

scripsi ... ut qui in illis alienae linguae difficultatem horrescit, hic propria lingua cognoscat sanctissima verba,...

("Ad Liutbertum," 23-27)

Both form and content of the letter to Liutbert lead, then, to the conclusion that the pedagogic impulse is a very important

factor in the writing of the Evangelienbuch. Other reasons mentioned under the heading causa may be regarded as subordinate to this aim, though not without their own importance. The request from brother monks<sup>11</sup> and the desire to follow the wishes of a certain noble lady are traditional reasons for writing, and similar grounds are cited by many authors of this and other periods. Efforts to identify the "venerandae matronae ... nomine Judith" (line 8f.) have been thus far inconclusive.<sup>12</sup> It is generally assumed that she was a person of noble birth known to Otfrid, perhaps a member of a religious order. Literary ambition arising from private aspirations would be regarded, in ecclesiastical circles, as an example of presumption, to be avoided at all costs. Acting upon the request of fellow-believers and for their education and edification may, however, be more easily represented as a virtuous and obedient act.

The mention of caritas (l. 22) which Otfrid has in common with some works of his teacher Hrabanus Maurus<sup>13</sup> and others is equally a traditional christian motif. Ernst<sup>14</sup> lists the following churchmen who availed themselves of this same argument of brotherly love in defence of their literary efforts : Alcuin, Theodulf, Benedict of Aniane, Walafrid Strabo and Paschasius Radbertus, alongside Hrabanus Maurus of course. Without reading too much into the mention of caritas in "Ad Liutbertum" and in the works of this group of authors, it is possible to detect a theological emphasis here which is typical of the Carolingian period. The caritas concept is, of course, biblical, and takes on specific meaning in the

monastic context. The allegorical chapter IV.29 of the Evangelienbuch picks up this motif and accords it an unusually deep and detailed treatment, suggesting that there is more resonance, perhaps, to this small mention in the letter to Liutbert than meets the eye on first reading.<sup>15</sup>

If, as we have suggested, the accessus form of the letter and the professed intentions of the author combine to make the pedagogic impulse the strongest motivation behind the Evangelienbuch, then one would expect that Otfrid would seek to promote the distribution of his work within the education system of his time. In real terms this means that he would need approval from his clerical superiors and permission to pass the work on to those actively engaged in the teaching profession. The letters to Liutbert and Salomo, archbishop and bishop respectively, take care of the first concern. Without express approval from higher-ranking clergy the work would not be allowed to circulate outside the monastery of its origins. The letter to Hartmuat and Werinbert of St. Gall takes care of the second concern : the work is sent as a gift to these men, evidently with the hope that it be used there in much the same way as in Weissenburg, namely as a learners' aid to the comprehension of the Latin gospels.

There is, however, a major obstacle which stands in the way of Otfrid's goals, and this is the novelty inherent in the Evangelienbuch itself. However logical and practical it may be for Otfrid to want to compose a work in German for those who find the Latin of the gospels and the scholarly

commentaries difficult to understand, the fact remains that the educational sector of a monastic order is not the most obvious place to introduce innovative material. There is concern among church leaders and monastic superiors to protect the impressionable minds of immature believers, and the old methods and materials of the Latin classical tradition, effective or not, were well established and trusted. Otfrid, as a product of this education, would have been only too aware of this factor, but equally, as an experienced schoolteacher himself,<sup>16</sup> he must have gained first hand experience of the learning difficulties experienced by increasing numbers of his pupils.

The traditional form of the letter to Liutbert, its adherence to Latin conventions and official jargon, and its deferential tone (in complete contrast with other parts of the Evangelienbuch itself, notably I,1 "Cur scriptor") may well be part of a calculated effort to present the innovative Evangelienbuch in a conservative and non-challenging manner. The frequent humility formulas in the letter support this interpretation :

indignus (title section)

vilitatis meae (line 4)

non quasi peritus (line 22f.)

meae parvae ... memoriae (line 37)

mea parvitas (line 126f.)

meae neglegentiae (line 130f.)

mea parva ... humilitas (line 132f.)

These phrases are matched, of course, with parallel phrases

exalting the addressee e.g. Dignitatis culmine (title section), Vestrae excellentissimae prudentiae (line 1) etc. Such phrases are entirely appropriate in this kind of writing, but the number present here suggests that Otfrid is consciously exceeding the required level of politeness.<sup>17</sup>

Otfrid makes efforts to place himself and his work under the authority and judgement of the archbishop : at the beginning and the end of the letter, Otfrid declares that he is willing to abide by the opinion of his superior. He evidently foresees the possibility that his work may not find favour with the archbishop :

... transmittens in capite causam qua illum dictare praesumpsi, primitus vobis enarrare curavi, ne ullorum fidelium mentes, si vilesceret, vilitatis meae praesumptioni deputare procurent.

("Ad Liutbertum," 2-5).

The phrase "si vilesceret" (l. 4) meaning "if (it) should prove to be unworthy" is an expression of deference to the Archbishop's right to judge in such matters. In MS V, the main MS from which the others are copied, the word "vilescet" is corrected to "vilesceret". The corrector, thought to be Otfrid himself, thus changes to a more sophisticated subjunctive. This is not just a stylistic correction, but a change in the meaning of the sentence : the possibility that the Evangelienbuch might be bad is presented as a yet vaguer surmise, leaving the way open for a more positive evaluation. The author certainly does not want to imply that his own opinion of the work is a negative one. The humility formulas are not intended to lead to the conclusion that the work is a

failure. Magoun<sup>18</sup> notes the correction in the Latin, but neglects to interpret its meaning.

The Evangelienbuch may be deemed "unworthy" in two possible senses : technically, in so far as it is badly executed, and then also morally, in so far as it is misdirected and able to lead astray or confuse inexperienced believers. Otfrid labours to pre-empt the former criticism by means of a long discussion of points of grammar, but the second is more difficult to forestall.

The major obstacle, in Otfrid's mind at least, to the acceptance of the Evangelienbuch as an educational aid lies in the key issue of the choice of language for the work. The greater part of the letter to Liutbert is devoted to discussion of the shortcomings of the vernacular as compared to the ordered perfection of Latin. This long technical section (lines 58-123) reveals only procedural information - how Otfrid wrote the work, and how he tackled the technical problems linked with the task of presenting deep and philosophical ideas in an "untrained" and "barbaric" ("inculta", "barbaries", line 58) language. This section in no way supports his decision to write in the vernacular, in fact it rather tends to argue against the suitability of the German language for use in Christian literary writings. The whole issue of Latin versus German occurs repeatedly in the Evangelienbuch and merits further discussion below.

If the technical section of the letter to Liutbert is not intended to support the use of the vernacular, then one might wonder what exactly its function is. The most obvious

contribution of the section is its power to establish Otfrid's credentials as a scholar and an expert on literary matters. The mention of Otfrid's former tutor Hrabanus Maurus ("Rabano venerandae memoriae" line 125) performs this same function, acting as a reference in recommendation of the author. Otfrid displays a good knowledge of the grammatical terms he uses, leaning on the established Latin textbooks of his day. The Etymologiarum sive originum Libri XX<sup>19</sup> of Isidore is a likely immediate source of Otfrid's terminology,<sup>20</sup> since it was one of the commonest reference works of the period, though of course Otfrid would have been familiar with older textbooks on the subject of grammar and rhetoric. The technical language is no doubt intended to impress the archbishop and establish a feeling of complicity between experts. A second function is that this section clarifies any uncertainties which a reader accustomed mainly to Latin texts might feel in the presence of a work in the vernacular. The fact that Otfrid senses the need for such a preface underlines the novelty of his undertaking. Otfrid shows how the notation and alphabet designed for Latin are not entirely appropriate for German, and he lists areas of contrast, showing how he has decided to indicate certain sounds and features which are uncommon or incorrect in Latin, but necessary and acceptable in German. It is impossible to say whether all of the decisions reached here derive from Otfrid's own reasoning or from some other source, but the argument shows at least that Otfrid has invested considerable time and effort in explaining the

problems that have to be faced and the solutions he adopts.

The whole section is a vital aid to the understanding of the Evangelienbuch because it indicates important details regarding the author's attitude to literary composition and his expectations of the work's reception. It is clear that the work is intended to be read in the first instance, though the possibility that it would be read aloud to another person or to a group of others must not be ruled out.<sup>21</sup> Otfrid's comments show that reading aloud is a likely and perhaps necessary part of the work's fate. The sound of the words must be correctly reproduced :

et hoc nisi legentes praevideant, rationis dicta  
deformius sonant ...

("Ad Liutbertum" 72f.)

Comments on rhyme and elision reveal this same concern for the sound of the spoken text. The usual practice in mediaeval times is for even silent reading to be accompanied by movement of the lips,<sup>22</sup> and the sound of the words was consequently of importance even for the reader who read in private, hence Otfrid's care to spell out the rules for the correct reading of his work.

Similarly, rules regarding orthography, punctuation and syntax need to be laid down because there is no standard grammar for German of the kind that was common for Latin. Otfrid falls short of providing such a work, but his attempt to sketch the key features of the vernacular is made as a start in this direction. Engel<sup>23</sup> points out that the classical authors began grammatical explanations in a fixed order starting :

... mit der Erörterung des Buchstabens und Lautes, kamen dann zur Silbe, zu den Versfüßen und besprachen zuletzt die Figuren. So suchten sie die rationale Regelmäßigkeit der Sprache zu fassen.

Otfrid's letter to Liutbert follows exactly this pattern, displaying the author's education within the classical tradition. Engel correctly identifies the force of these remarks of Otfrid's :<sup>24</sup>

Vergeblich sucht man hier nach einem Wort der Klage über den unschönen Klang, vielmehr wird der Versuch unternommen, die Schreibung eindeutig zu machen, um den richtigen Vortrag bzw. das adäquate Lesen des Werks zu ermöglichen.

This is, of course, entirely consistent with the pedagogical aims expressed elsewhere in the letter. If the text is to function as an aid in comprehension of the Latin gospel texts, then the Evangelienbuch itself must be unambiguous and as clearly presented as possible.

There has been much debate over what exactly Otfrid would have envisaged as "de(n) richtige(n) Vortrag" and the mention of "hujus cantus lectionis" (line 10) has called forth a variety of suggestions. Magoun interprets the phrase to mean quite simply "the sound of this text", but admits that others have suggested more precise definitions such as recitation, chanting or singing.<sup>25</sup> Otfrid's comparison of the Evangelienbuch with the "cantus ... obscenus" implies an area of overlap as well as contrast : how else could he hope that his work would offset the effect of the worldly cantus? Lack of surviving material from this period precludes comparison with contemporary writings. The meaning of "cantus ... obscenus" remains, for modern scholars, necessarily vague. It

could refer to heroic material such as the Hildebrandslied or to other, perhaps orally transmitted, works not known to later centuries. It would be unwise to assume that cantus signifies straightforward singing, even though the presence of apparently musical notation in parts of the MS could be cited in support of this theory. This is a view which was accepted by early scholars, for example Lachmann<sup>26</sup> and Wackernagel<sup>27</sup> but then dismissed by Saran<sup>28</sup> and is now much discussed by modern scholars.<sup>29</sup> However, it is equally erroneous to dismiss altogether the suggestion of elevated delivery of some sort which the phrase conveys. The influence of the Latin liturgy upon Christian forms of literary endeavour must not be overlooked<sup>30</sup> and it is likely that a recitative-like, rhythmical delivery of the sort commonly used then and now for the formal presentation of Latin religious pieces is what Otfrid had in mind. Kleiber's definition most accurately formulates the half-sung, half-spoken delivery that the letter to Liutbert demands for the German text of the Evangelienbuch:

Danach erscheint als gesichert, daß Otfrids cantus lectionis als ein genetivus definitivus aufzufassen sein wird und "gesangsweise Lesung" oder nach Jammers "gesangsmäßige Rezitation" bedeutet. 31

The presence of accent marks in the MSS lends support to this view.<sup>32</sup>

Thus far the letter to Liutbert has yielded little in the way of concrete information regarding the scope and purpose of the Evangelienbuch. The description of the structure of the work (lines 29-57) however, provides some details which point to the author's intentions and prospective audience.

The first indication of a plan of action on Otfrid's part is his mention of a division of the work into a middle section, dealing with the miracles of Christ, and the rest of the work. This division arose out of necessity when the work proved to be too exhausting for the writer :

... quamvis jam fessus (hoc enim novissime edidi), ob necessitatem tamen praedictam pretermisi invitus et non jam ordinatim,...

("Ad Liutbertum," 34-36).

There is also mention of some consideration for the endurance of the reader :

In medio vero, ne graviter forte pro superfluitate verborum ferrent legentes,...

("Ad Liutbertum," 32f.).

This is perhaps not a major motivation, since it is a familiar topos in Latin writings of all sorts.<sup>33</sup> But the use of the topos reminds the reader that the work in question is constructed as a single continuous text, in spite of chapter and book divisions. The notion that it might be read by a single reader from beginning to end, in private perhaps, over several days or weeks, appears to be a distinct possibility in Otfrid's mind.

More revealing than these formalities is Otfrid's confession (line 35f.) that he first decided to include all of the parables and teachings of Christ, but then had to resort to a selective treatment. It appears that Otfrid set out to provide a complete account, with nothing omitted save the gospel writers' duplication of events. In other words from the beginning a desire to impart a certain store of knowledge was implicit in the undertaking. The fact that this was

modified later does not detract from the original aim. The order of writing was not consecutive, and it appears, if Otfrid is to be believed, that the middle section was composed last, or almost last of all. There has been much discussion about the setting of limits on this vague phrase "in medio vero" (line 32) in an effort to detect Otfrid's workmanship in the structuring of the Evangelienbuch, but this line of research leads to imprecise conclusions which have little bearing on the work as a whole.<sup>34</sup> It is enough to accept Otfrid's vague explanation as the description of a tactic adopted in the composition of the central part of the work.

One aspect which Otfrid does take care to explain in detail is the division into five books. Each book deals with a phase in the life of Christ, beginning with the nativity and ending with the resurrection and ascension. This is the surface structure which reflects the historical content of the gospel narratives. A second explanation of the five-fold division of material is more theoretical and rests on a numerological system of interpretation whereby four connotes the perfection of the four gospels and five connotes the imperfection of the five human senses. The spiritual is contrasted with the material world, and this follows on from the line of argument in the previous section of the letter where the beauty and literary excellence of the Latin gospels is contrasted with the homely German of the Evangelienbuch. All of this is intentional, of course, and the religious theorizing is not separate in Otfrid's mind from the

linguistic and literary theorizing. Scholars who object to Otfrid's insistence upon using religious terms and religious reasoning instead of clear literary explanations miss the point of the whole undertaking. Much as modern scholars would appreciate an exact delineation of the sphere of literature and the sphere of religion, with a clear boundary between, such a state of affairs would be unthinkable in Otfrid's time and place. The monastic environment fosters a single approach to all areas of life, and this approach assumes automatically that religious considerations take precedence over all else. The all-pervasive force of Christianity in Otfrid's work ensures that even terms which have a primary non-religious meaning are suffused with dogmatic connotations.

This same moralizing tone is evident in the discussion of the numbers four and five which Otfrid proceeds to develop: the foursquare regularity of the gospels is portrayed as a positive quality, the unevenness of the number five, and the five human senses, is portrayed as a negative quality. We shall note again below<sup>35</sup> the notion of superfluity in connection with literary endeavour, and the restraining influence of grammar upon language being likened to that of religious discipline upon life. The point of this whole section of the letter to Liutbert is to present the Evangelienbuch as a humble human offering to the perfect divine being. The five senses are a necessary part of fallen human nature, and they require to be cleansed (purgamus line 52) by the message of the pure gospels. Otfrid offers his German text as a monk offers his fallible human life in

service to God. The form is weak, but the holding of the message of the gospels makes both the human life and the German Evangelienbuch acceptable in the sight of God. This is Otfrid's hope and his line of argument, and it is designed to appeal to the archbishop's sense of order. All of the technical and educational arguments are summed up in this single image, and the image of the fate of the physical human being at the hands of the divine supernatural being is so central to Christian thinking as to be immediately comprehensible. A man schooled in mediaeval exegesis, as the archbishop surely was, could not fail to appreciate the intricate symbolism of it all.

One last remark of Otfrid's in this section reveals another small indication of the purpose which the author intended the work to have :

*cordisque praecordia lectiones has theotisce conscriptas  
semper memoria tangent.*

("Ad Liutbertum," 55-57)

It is clear that Otfrid envisages his readers as memorizing the actual German text of the Evangelienbuch. This may be regarded as a somewhat optimistic assumption, when one considers the sheer length of the work. Otfrid cannot possibly hope that many readers would be willing or able to memorize the work from beginning to end. But once again the usual practices of the period must be taken into consideration. In the schools, and this includes the monastic schoolrooms, memorizing passages by rote is one of the principal teaching techniques, especially in the early stages

before pupils are able to compose texts themselves.<sup>36</sup> The subdivision into chapters as well as books would be a concession to the idea that the text might be used for teaching. In this way smaller portions could be assigned as daily study texts, and it is not unreasonable to assume that memorizing would be expected as a way of learning the lessons of the narrative. Even in private study within the monasteries memorizing of approved authors was encouraged, and given the comparative expense and rarity of new reading materials, the monks would devote concentrated attention to such works as they had.

A reverence for the Latin of the scriptures was central to mediaeval Christianity, and the Latin word lectio could mean both a "lesson" from the scriptures themselves such as was read aloud in church, and the activity of "reading" - whatever the text in question.<sup>37</sup> The Evangelienbuch is not here, or elsewhere, presented as something on the same qualitative level as the Latin scriptures themselves : such a notion would have been heretical in the extreme. But the serious and holy aura surrounding the reading of works with religious themes would have affected the reader's attitude to the work in question. The closer a book's affinity with the subject matter of the scriptures, the more intense would be the concentration expected of the reader. Reading is not intended as a pastime, but as an act of worship. Learning is not designed for self-improvement, but as an obedient following of the monastic rule with the ultimate aim of becoming more like Christ. Such is the theory. In practice

reading and writing, and all activities involving the use of these skills, even in monastic circles, were often debased, as Otfrid's mention of the "cantus ... obscenus" suggests. But the suggestion that Otfrid intended parts of his work to be memorised is not altogether implausible.

The importance of the five human senses merits more discussion<sup>38</sup> but within the letter to Liutbert itself there are sufficient clues to suggest that Otfrid's numerological framework is more than a pattern created as a device to impress the archbishop. The mention of the "sonus inutilium" (line 5) which "smote the ears"<sup>39</sup> of Otfrid's contemporaries and the "cantus ... obscenus" which had a negative effect upon their holy way of life, indicates that even at the outset of the letter Otfrid is preoccupied with the physical world and the need for a spiritual cleansing. These terms are contrasted with the sweetness "dulcedine" (line 12) which the reading of the gospels in one's own language provides. Images of hearing and tasting are used at the beginning to point out the contrast between worldly literature and Christian literature and this, too, belongs to Otfrid's network of imagery surrounding the composition of the Evangelienbuch.

The last section of the letter (lines 101-123) which comes just before the concluding remarks, is the most problematic of all as far as expressions of theory are concerned. This section has been much discussed in connection with the "Cur scriptor" chapter of the main text. The ideas present in the letter at this point are certainly echoed and

extended in that later section. The issue of native languages and the desirability of Christian writings in these languages is the key problem, and this is discussed below.<sup>40</sup> For the purposes of the present discussion of the letter to Liutbert, it is sufficient to note the insistence throughout the whole letter upon the writer being encouraged to write in his own native language no matter what that language may be. It is vital to avoid the (mistaken) assumption that Otfrid is concerned only for literary composition in his own particular dialect, or even in what could be generally termed as "Frankish", which would include several different dialects. The phrase "propria lingua" (lines 11f., 21, 26f.) alternates with "theotisce" (line 10) and "francisce" (line 24). Otfrid points out that the much admired Latin writers were writing in what was their own language : "suorum facta decorarent lingua nativa" (line 15), both Christian and non-Christian : "sua lingua dicta et miracula Christi decenter ornabant" (lines 18f.). This is an astute observation which is neatly carried from the classical context into first the Latin Christian context and then one step further into the vernacular Christian context. A logical progression calls for a similar development in Otfrid's native language, but in fact the Franks are reluctant to venture into literary creation in their own language, preferring the Latin of their religious teachers :

nos vero, quamvis eadem fide eademque gratia instructi,  
divinorum verborum splendorem clarissimum proferre  
propria lingua dicebant pigrescere.

("Ad Liutbertum," 19-21)

It appears, then, that the writing of the Evangelienbuch is begun at least partly because Otfrid detects a fault in the development of his own language and seeks to remedy this by emulating his illustrious classical and early Christian predecessors. However, it must not be forgotten that all of this is subject to religious considerations and takes place in an expressly Christian context. The insistence that the Franks are within the same tradition ("eadem fide eademque gratia instructi") is as much a profession of allegiance to the Christian literary and religious heritage as a declaration of qualified independence from it.

This point is easily overlooked in the attempt to depict Otfrid as the first author in the history of German literature and the staunch defender of all things Germanic against the tyranny of Latin. The plea for a Frankish literature must not be seen in opposition to the Latin Church and its long heritage, on the contrary, Otfrid sees his German poem as a continuation in the same tradition, a natural and logical development which need not conflict with the existing status quo. The argument breaks off here, as if to underline the limited nature of Otfrid's proposed innovation, to return to the religious basis of the Evangelienbuch.

It has been suggested<sup>41</sup> that the comments in lines 101-107 regarding the derisive laughter which would arise if the rustic German language were to appear alongside the polished perfection of Latin may be attributed to Otfrid's disapproval of the distorted German of the Old High German glosses. Kleiber<sup>42</sup> notes that Otfrid himself wrote thousands of Latin

glosses and around 180 of the surviving Old High German glosses are from his hand, and furthermore that Otfrid encouraged others to do likewise. This form of writing assumes that one language (Latin) has a dominant role and that when the second language (German) appears it is as an adjunct to the first, dependent upon the syntax of the first language for its structure. Otfrid was clearly convinced of the value of German glosses, but perhaps also conscious of the distortion which such slavish parallelism causes. His Evangelienbuch is based on Latin sources, of course, but the bilingual approach does not, in this case distort the German language. If anything it is the Latin that emerges in a curtailed form (in titles of chapters, for example) or as a supplementary note (in marginal references, for example).

There appears then, to be a deeper level of reasoning behind the last part of the letter to Liutbert and this is connected with Otfrid's theories of literary production. Otfrid's criticism of learned Franks who compose only in Latin (or Greek!)<sup>43</sup> and despise their natural language is based upon an understanding of the normal pattern of literary production:

Res mira tam magnos viros, prudentia deditos, cautela  
praecipuos, agilitate suffultos, sapientia latos,  
sanctitate praeclaros cuncta haec in alienae linguae  
gloriam transferre et usum scripturae in propria lingua  
non habere.

("Ad Liutbertum," 113-117)

Otfrid is aware that the first literary endeavours of any culture tend to be in the field of epic and historical writings - no doubt he had sufficient first hand knowledge of Latin writers, and second-hand knowledge of the Greeks, to

establish this fact. The amazing ("res mira") factor in the literary history of the Franks is that though in every way capable of literary endeavour, the Franks choose to compose in an alien language. There is scant surviving evidence to show what exactly the Franks did write, and Otfrid's derisory comments about the "cantus ... obscenus" suggest that he simply excludes all non-Christian writing from the reckoning on the grounds that it is, in his view, sub-standard on the level of content alone. What remains, then, is a large amount of literary activity on the part of monks, but mostly in Latin. The historical documents of the time are, with very few exceptions, entirely written in Latin.<sup>44</sup> Eginhard's Vita Karoli, for example, though dealing with Frankish history is written in Latin. The Strassburg oaths contain early fragments of the vernacular, but here, as elsewhere, their function is to ensure comprehension of the Latin main text. Catechetical writings fulfil the obvious needs of those who have no Latin and yet are required to confess their faith. All of these cases show the vernacular in a supplementary role to Latin. Otfrid takes a further step from the purely functional vernacular to the functional and felicitous Evangelienbuch.

It is an unnatural division in the Frankish mind and culture that Otfrid tries to bridge with the writing of the Evangelienbuch. The conversion of the Franks to Christianity, completed long before Otfrid's lifetime, had cut the Franks, at least the educated and monastic ones, from their literary heritage. Otfrid's tactic is not to go back to the old heroic

world view and the old alliterative medium, but to make a new start which is both Frankish and Christian. There are very many large issues contained in such an idea, not least the charge that such overt "nationalistic" tendencies would be sure to invite criticism from the Church authorities. These issues are discussed below<sup>45</sup> but the argument which Otfrid presents in the letter to Liutbert brings to the fore a well-researched theory which combines literary and religious elements :

Est tamen conveniens, ut qualicumque modo, sive corrupta seu lingua integrae artis, humanum genus auctorem omnium laudent, qui plectrum eis dederat linguae verbum in eis suae laudis sonare; qui non verborum adulationem politorum, sed quaerit in nobis pium cogitationis affectum operumque pio labore congeriem, non laborum inanem servitiem.

("Ad Liutbertum," 117-123)

Otfrid embraces the whole humanum genus in his argument and this is significant. He is not just arguing on behalf of the Franks. Equally important is his refusal to reject the corrupta lingua as a means of praising the creator, the God who made the human tongue (plectrum) for this purpose. In other words, this seemingly linguistic argument is an extension of the previous argument relating to the perfection of Latin, and the four gospels, and the imperfection of German, and the five books of the Evangelienbuch. The contrast is one of spiritual as against material, of divine as against human. It is Otfrid's contention, whether he speaks of language, or literature, or of life itself, that both of the sides of these parallels are a part of the divine order of things. And it is on the basis of this reasoning that he proceeds with his

humble vernacular work. There is no concession to secular thought intended in all of this - the term corrupta is a reference to human nature in its fallen state, and of course it is an elementary Christian assumption that the imperfect and fallen human effort is redeemable and able to be put to the service of God through divine grace. In all of this Otfrid maintains his distance from the "cantus ... obscenus" which is perhaps a more "natural" development than Christian writings in Latin, but certainly not what he would envisage in his projected new vernacular literature.

This last section of the letter to Liutbert contains some controversial ideas, but their true relevance is confined to the field of religious educational writings. When read in the context of accessus writings and current educational practice the decision to write the Evangelienbuch as a vernacular work of Christian literature makes practical sense : it facilitates the teaching of the gospel doctrines to those who are less experienced with Latin, and it offers an alternative to profane vernacular literature. Such reasoning shows an awareness of the need for each linguistic group to find expression in its own native language. It also displays the author's understanding of the complex relation between Latin and German in the monasteries. A foreign language, as Latin was for most of Otfrid's brother monks, however well established in the "official" life of the community, has a propensity to become "lip service" only: "...non labrorum inanem servitiem" ("Ad Liutbertum," 122f.) When understanding and experience are lacking, the formal beauty of Latin is of

little worth to the reader or listener. These considerations lie behind the impulse to teach which is present in the whole of the Evangelienbuch. Once again, Otfrid's argumentation gives some indication of the audience which the work may have been designed to attract : any context involving a need for imparting doctrinal information is a possible destination for the text of the Evangelienbuch. This includes teaching in schools and monasteries, private study for individuals in and outside the monasteries, and more formal contexts related to the liturgy, worship and daily routine of believers. Further indications regarding these possibilities are to be found in other theoretical discussions which are appended to and included in the Evangelienbuch.

"Salomoni episcopo Otfridus".

The letter to Salomo, bishop of Constance, is in relation to the other dedicatory pieces, one which "in der Vergangenheit von der Otfridforschung stiefmütterlich behandelt wurde."<sup>46</sup> Certainly it receives a disproportionately small treatment in most studies of the Evangelienbuch. One reason for this is that the letter to Salomo follows no single rhetorical pattern and yet displays affinities with this art. Scholars are perplexed because its particular make-up resists exact classification, but encourages the view that the author makes a deliberate selection from a large number of traditional models.

The most immediately distinctive feature of the poem is

its reliance upon the acrostic device which adorns both left and right edges of the Old High German text. Vollmann-Profe summarizes the history of the acrostic thus :<sup>47</sup>

Ein solches Akroteleuton stellt eine besonders kunstvolle Spielart des Akrostichons dar. Dieses stammt aus dem Orient (Babylon), tritt in hellenistischer Zeit auch in griechischer Poesie auf (Aratos u.a.), wird in der frühen Latinität (Ennius), vor allem aber in der Spätantike (Commodian, Venantius Fortunatus) und in der byzantinischen Kirchenpoesie verwendet. Außerordentlich beliebt war das Akrostichon in der lateinischen Dichtung der karolingischen Epoche. Von dort wurde es durch O. zum ersten Mal - soweit wir sehen - in die deutsche Dichtung eingeführt.

However, it must be noted that Otfrid's debt to the past is only a partial one. It is true that he adapts the acrostic and telestich to the Old High German language in "Ad Salomonem" and the other dedicatory epistles, but it is easy to overlook the fact that the message which is formed by the first and last letters of the Old High German strophes in each case is a Latin one. In "Ad Salomonem" the individual letters from the German text form the Latin message "Salomoni Episcopo Otfridus." The play on words is a bilingual one, and the effect is not to prove the literary potential of Old High German on its own, but rather to fuse the two languages. This is not only a difficult feat in technical terms, it is also daring in terms of the conventional attitudes towards the vernacular, since it places the vernacular alongside Latin, on an equal footing as part of a classical rhetorical adornment. Admiration for Otfrid's ingenuity increases when one realises, as Ernst first pointed out in 1975,<sup>48</sup> that a mesostich is also built into each of the three rhymed introductory letters. The individual last letters of the third half-line in each group

of four half-lines form exactly the same Latin salutation as those at the outer edges of the text. This inner acrostic is a feat which is all the more astounding since it affects the natural flow of the Old High German text so little as to remain undetected over all these centuries. This feature, unlike the left and right hand side acrostics, is not highlighted in the MSS of the Evangelienbuch. Such deliberate adornment of shorter pieces, usually Latin verse, was also much practised by Otfrid's teacher Hrabanus Maurus,<sup>49</sup> though of course in Latin, and the application of it to German may well be seen as a tribute to this man.

In a similar way, when one examines the form of the poem as a whole, it becomes clear that the classical heritage is not forgotten, but then neither is its example slavishly followed. There is no denying that the poem owes something to the "praise poem" and "dedicatory epistle" genres established long before Otfrid's lifetime. Georgi's useful study on the praise poem genre<sup>50</sup> does not mention the poem, no doubt because Otfrid's letter to King Ludwig (the German), "Ad Ludowicum", suits her purposes much better. Nevertheless, her work does shed light on the letter to Salomo. In particular Georgi's useful distinction between the historisch type of praise poem, which enumerates the great deeds of the addressee, and the ethisch, which concentrates instead upon his virtues and qualities, is relevant to the letter to Salomo. The poem clearly fits into the latter category, along with most mediaeval examples of the genre. In contrast to

most praise poems, including "Ad Ludowicum," the shorter "Ad Salomonem" displays relatively few links with the rhetorical features favoured by writers of such set-pieces. The anonymous "Ad Herennium"<sup>51</sup> text was much used by such writers and the later christianization of the concepts which it contained, by Alcuin,<sup>52</sup> ensured that the skill was not lost to the Christian writers of the early Middle Ages and beyond. The tradition of dedicatory epistles was also much respected by Christian authors, and the letters and theoretical works of Cassiodorus<sup>53</sup> served as models in this field. The Institutiones of Cassiodorus are behind much of the early mediaeval theorizing about the liberal arts and their relation to the Christian faith and the works of Isidore retained much of the old classical theory of the liberal arts for Christian writers in the Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup> As Latin became gradually more removed from the daily living speech of the writers, so imitation of the acknowledged masters became more slavish. In Otfrid's time this process had already begun : praise poems and dedicatory epistles were modelled on the example of the ancients. There is, of course, a certain amount of overlap in these two kinds of writing, since praise of a person in authority, both spiritual and political, is inevitably linked with requests for favours of one sort or another.

As far as "Ad Salomonem" is concerned, the classical and early Christian patterns are present as a dim outline. The simple outline of salutatio followed by the main text and then by the conclusio is adhered to, but beyond this there is no recognisable structural pattern.<sup>55</sup> There is a tendency to

disregard the formal ordering of ideas between opening and closing greetings, which tradition demands, in favour of a repeated recourse to humility formulas and blessings throughout the whole poem.<sup>56</sup> This is an important deviation from the norm and it deserves close attention.

Otfrid has both a classical precedent and a Christian moral imperative for his predilection for humility formulas :<sup>57</sup>

Nach Cicero (De inv., I, 16, 22), ist es zweckmäßig, daß der Redner Unterwürfigkeit und Demut bezeugt (prece et obsecratione humili ac supplici utemur). Demut ist hier also, was beachtet sei, vorchristlicher Terminus.

The classical use of humility formulas is well documented, and the letters of St. Paul are evidence enough of Christian use of similar features. The debate between Schwietering<sup>58</sup> and Curtius<sup>59</sup> over the relative importance of each need not concern us. It is evident that both are factors to be reckoned with in Otfrid's writing and in ninth century practices in general. It has been pointed out that Hrabanus Maurus wrote a dedicatory epistle to the archbishop Haistulph of Mainz, accompanying a written text,<sup>60</sup> which is similar in tone to "Ad Salomonem", though of course Hrabanus Maurus wrote in Latin prose. Compared with Otfrid's letters it falls somewhere between "Ad Liutbertum" and "Ad Salomonem". Vollmann-Profe notes the features which Hraban's letter and Otfrid's "Ad Salomonem" have in common :<sup>61</sup>

... dankbare Verehrung gegenüber dem Älteren und in der hierarchischen Ordnung Höherstehenden und zugleich Ausdruck eines gewissen Vertrauensverhältnisses.

The practice of sending dedicatory letters along with monastic

writings was widespread, and the usual purpose was to seek approval for the attached work of criticism or literature. The curious blend of humility and intimacy is attributable to the strict hierarchy of the Church institutions, as Vollmann-Profe rightly points out, and also to the obligatory unity of belief and practice that was, on the surface at least, supposed to prevail in monastic communities. The teacher-pupil relationship is potentially a strong one, especially in a community that was, in theory at least, celibate. There is no doubt that chosen individuals were sent from key monasteries to spread the ideas and reforms of particular teachers in other monasteries, and indeed Otfrid's travels bear the stamp of educational journeys to places of importance for the gathering of ideas to be taken back to his schoolroom:

Wanderungen kontinentaler Benediktinermönche von einem Kloster zum andern (meist zum Zwecke der Ausbildung) sind im 9. Jh. mehrfach belegt; sie waren allerdings nicht so zahlreich, wie man manchmal annimmt; die Regel Benedikts ächtet geradezu den monachus gyrovagus, den suuihharro (Regula S. Benedicti, c. 1). Die 'Bildungsreisen' der karolingischen Mönche betrafen nur eine kleine Oberschicht, die auf Grund ihrer Stellung, ihres Besitzes und ihrer verwandtschaftlichen Bindungen Freiheit und Rückhalt für eine Verletzung des monastischen Gesetzes der stabilitas loci besaßen - diese Freiheit nutzten sie dann aber auch kräftig... 62

It appears that Otfrid belonged to this "kleine Oberschicht" and brought back innovative teaching and literary ideas, of which the Evangelienbuch is a prime example.

Salomo retained close links with the crown, and it is likely that this fact has some bearing on Otfrid's decision to submit the Evangelienbuch to this particular bishop. The Salomo in question is Salomo I of Constance, not to be

confused with his more illustrious successor, Salomo III the abbot of St. Gall who presided over that monastery's most outstanding period, and was a friend of Notker Balbulus. All three Salomos were influential in their day. Salomo I worked closely with another important figure, Grimald, abbot of Weissenburg between 831 and 838 and then of St. Gall between 841 and 872. Both men were actively involved in political as well as religious affairs. They took leading positions in the King's chapel, and acted as advisers and messengers in matters of state. Salomo I visited Rome at least twice (in 857 and 864) no doubt combining secular and sacred business on these occasions.<sup>63</sup> The latter date overlaps with the time of writing of the Evangelienbuch suggesting that Otfrid had a shrewd eye for the most influential figures of his time and place.

It is likely that Otfrid would want to exploit any connection with authority, even second-hand connections, in order to promote his book, but it is also possible that Otfrid detected an ally in the person of Salomo on the level of conviction. The poem's German language may well recall the classroom environment in which the two would first have met. The evidence of the Old High German glosses suggests that in the eighth and ninth centuries the vernacular was very much a part of the teaching and learning process. Notker Labeo's exhaustive labours in the field of translation testify to the increasing need for a supplement to the Latin Christian and classical writings in the 10th century and beyond.<sup>64</sup>

Otfrid's connections with other monasteries, particularly Fulda and St. Gall, are relevant in the conception of the Evangelienbuch. Fulda was particularly well-disposed towards the composition of literary works in the vernacular. The outstanding figure in Fulda in the mid-ninth century is, of course, Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of this monastery for twenty years between 822 and 842. His work on this subject De inventione linguarum<sup>65</sup> demonstrates that he had a favourable attitude towards German, and an interest in other languages although his own massive literary output is confined to Latin. The translation of the Tatian harmony into Old High German took place in Hraban's Fulda, and links with St. Gall were close, allowing these attitudes to circulate in connected monasteries. The letter Otfrid wrote to Hartmuat and Werinbert of St. Gall testifies to this openness to the vernacular.<sup>66</sup>

The whole undertaking to write the Evangelienbuch, then, has its roots in the aftermath of Charlemagne's age of education and literary expansion, in the scattered Benedictine monasteries that carried on the message after the Frankish empire had begun to show visible signs of strain. Otfrid hints that he is following Salomo's own example, refusing to take credit himself :

Ofto wírdit, oba gúat thes mannes júngoro giduat,  
 thaz es líwit thráto ther zúhtari gúat0.  
 (Sal. 27f.)

The implicit parallel which is here<sup>67</sup> drawn between Otfrid and Salomo on the one hand, and the disciples and Christ on the

other (jungoro is often the word used in the Evangelienbuch for Christ's disciples) not only elevates the bishop's position even more, in relation to Otfrid, but it also lends biblical support to the ideas Otfrid expresses in the poem. Otfrid evidently accords a heavy significance to the teacher/pupil relationship and seeks to justify his leaning upon it for practical ends. There can be no higher example than that of Christ himself, and so the parallel is apt.

Otfrid's praise of the bishop is at least partly attributable to a desire to smooth the way for the attached Evangelienbuch which is being sent ostensibly for approval. As in the case of the letter to Liutbert, Otfrid acknowledges the addressee's right to judge the value of the work :

Lékza ih therera búachi iu sentu in Suábo richi,  
 thaz ir irkiaset ubar ál, oba siu frúma wesán scaL;  
 Oba ir hiar fíndet iawiht thés thaz wírdig ist thes  
 iz iuer húgu irwálla, wisduames fóllO. lésannes:  
 (Sal. 5-8)

The reference to wisduam (line 8) is a passing compliment which recalls the biblical figure of King Solomon, the bishop's namesake, who was renowned for his legendary gift of wisdom.<sup>68</sup> Two words in this section are problematic : "lékza" (line 5) and "frúma" (line 6). Both are vital as indications of the effect Otfrid intends his Evangelienbuch to have upon future readers, including the bishop Salomo. There is some confusion among scholars over the meaning of the first, which is taken to be a German form of the Latin lectio, meaning, as we noted above,<sup>69</sup> both the actual act of reading a text and

the text itself, which takes the form of an extract or "reading" most commonly from the Bible or other holy text. Bork<sup>70</sup> suggests that the word may refer to one or more parts of the Evangelienbuch, and concludes that Otfrid may have sent only some of the work to Constance at first. This is undoubtedly possible, since the text is divisible, and it may have been expedient to sound out the bishop's opinion before embarking upon the long and expensive task of having manuscripts prepared and copied for such a massive work. Vollmann-Profe, on the other hand, interprets the word to mean the whole of the Evangelienbuch, translating the line as follows : "Ich sende den Text dieses Buches zu Euch ins Schwabenland."<sup>71</sup> Since the Latin word is ambiguous, and the German leaves no certainty as to whether a singular or plural form is intended, speculation on this point seems fruitless. Whether or not all of the work is sent to Salomo, the purpose of the gift is clear : to let the bishop have a preview of the text, and to obtain his official approval of the work. The word "fruma" carries some indication of the nature of this approval. This word, which has a literal meaning "fruit" is used in a metaphorical sense throughout the Evangelienbuch. It usually refers to the concept of salvation, which is at the root of most Christian theology.<sup>72</sup> The force of the word in this context is that Otfrid intends the bishop to test the doctrinal soundness of the Evangelienbuch, in other words, to determine the work's ability to lead the reader along the way to salvation. If the work contains the necessary edifying dogma, or fruma, then the bishop would be in a position to

give what amounts to an imprimatur, a permission to have the work copied further and circulated beyond the walls of Otfrid's own monastery.

Haubrichs stresses the personal aspect of the letters Otfrid wrote to Salomo and to the two monks of St. Gall :<sup>73</sup>

... da es für sie - anders als im Falle der an König Ludwig den Deutschen und Erzbischof Liutbert von Mainz gerichteten Schreiben - keine offizielle Rechtfertigung oder Notwendigkeit gab.

Strictly speaking, this is indeed the case, since Salomo is not directly responsible in any way for the monastery at Weissenburg. But the letter is nonetheless vital as a means towards the distribution of the Evangelienbuch, much as a present day publisher sends complimentary copies of a school textbook to teachers who may be inclined to introduce the new work in their curriculum. A mediaeval manuscript depends upon personal recommendation for its survival beyond the time and place of its conception. One additional factor is surely relevant here too, and that is the psychologically understandable desire of the pupil to show off his great work to his former mentor. In the absence of Hrabanus Maurus ("venerandae memoriae", "Ad Liutbertum," line 125) the bishop Salomo plays this role.

From the tone of the latter part of the poem, it would appear that Otfrid is confident of a favourable response from bishop Salomo. Otfrid even goes so far as to include himself in the blessing which he bestows upon the bishop :

Rihte iue pédi thara frúa    joh míh gifúage tharazúa.

tház wir unsih fréwen thar    thaz gotes éwiniga jáR.  
(Sal. 39f.)

The plural form of the first person is repeated several times in the lines following after, which suggests that Otfrid very firmly underlines the close nature of the relationship he has described in the rest of the poem. Such presumption is unusual in a mediaeval author, and Ernst points out that the inclusion of Otfrid's own name in the poem, in Latin form, albeit after the name of Salomo, is a sign that Otfrid : "bekundet ... damit ein höchst ungewöhnliches Selbstbewußtsein."<sup>74</sup> This stands in contrast to the letter to Liutbert, where excessive humility is the keynote of the piece, and the name Otfridus is qualified by several indications of the author's inferior rank :

quamvis indignus tamen devotione monachus presbyterque  
exiguus...

("Ad Liutbertum," title section).

It is impossible to determine whether these separate styles of address reflect the real relationships which prevailed between Otfrid and his respective superiors. What is important, however, is that Otfrid chose to adopt differing positions vis á vis his addressees in the introductory letters and to present his arguments in these frameworks. The apparent contradictions involving humility and audacity on Otfrid's part are neatly explained by Vollmann-Profe. Speaking of the formulaic well-wishing section of "Ad Salomonem" (lines 33-48) she observes :<sup>75</sup>

In der Formel drückt sich nämlich ein Grundanliegen aus, das O. das ganze 'Evangelienbuch' hindurch immer von neuem bewegt : die Verbundenheit aller Glieder des corpus Christi in brüderlicher Liebe. Dieses Anliegen erscheint bei ihm als Allegorese (IV,29), als Paränese (z.B. V,12,57-100; Hartm. 129-148), als Gebet um Teilhabe an

der gemeinsamen Freude aller Erlösten im Paradies (z.B. I,28; II,24,39-46) - und als besondere Formel des Heilswunsches, in der unterstrichen wird, daß niemand außerhalb der bruderscaf das Heil erreichen kann.

This is a fundamental insight, which merits close attention. It is part of the aim of the present study to trace the working-out of these ideas in the whole of the Evangelienbuch.<sup>76</sup>

"Hartmuat et Werinberto".

Otfrid's letter to Hartmuat and Werinbert of St. Gall has many features in common with the letter to Salomo. The message formed by the acrostic device reads "Otfridus Uizanburgensis monachus Hartmuat et Uerinberto Sancti Galli monasterii monachus." The presence of Otfrid's name is, as we noted above, an unusual addition for this period, and its position in the first place before the names of the addressees is distinctly an indication that the author is writing to persons of equal or of lower rank than his own.<sup>77</sup> This does not, however, mean that Otfrid implies any sort of criticism or attempts to set himself above the two monks in any way. It is much more likely that this more intimate address is intended as an expression of unity between the two monasteries and brotherhood between the three monks. There is still a respectful tone in the letter, since the author refers in line 155, somewhat formulaically, to "thiu mines selbes nidi". Historical facts bear witness to the importance of the two St. Gall monks<sup>78</sup> as leading figures in the years leading up to the "golden age" of that monastery<sup>79</sup> which took place under the

abbacy of Salomo III, nephew of Salomo I to whom Otfrid wrote, in the period between 890 and 920. Hartmuat carried a heavy load of administrative duties on behalf of the abbot Grimald, who in the period 855-872 was very often absent on matters of state. In fact Hartmuat took over the abbacy of St. Gall on Grimald's death in 872.<sup>80</sup> There is an obvious connection between Otfrid and St. Gall through this man Grimald, who was previously abbot of Weissenburg. In addition to this link, it is assumed by most scholars that the three monks Otfrid, Hartmuat and Werinbert all met at Fulda in their younger years. This would explain the familiarity of Otfrid's address at the beginning of the letter. Like Otfrid, Hartmuat was a SCRIPTOR, and then eventually the monk made responsible to a large extent for his monastery's library. Werinbert, though not so highly placed as Hartmuat in the authority structure of the monastery, shared with Otfrid a career in the field of education. Werinbert was magister scholae of St. Gall, just as Otfrid filled this role for many years at Weissenburg.<sup>81</sup> All three monks would have inherited from their spell at Fulda a sound appreciation of the value of education in monastic life and a favourable attitude towards the use of the vernacular in teaching. Kleiber detects a slight divergence in the emphasis placed on these matters in Weissenburg and in St. Gall; in the case of the former :<sup>82</sup>

Mit Otfrid an der Spitze erhebt sich plötzlich Weissenburg zu größerer Bedeutung. Dem Bibelwerk haben nicht viele Skriptorien Vergleichbares entgegenzusetzen.

and in the case of the latter :<sup>83</sup>

Im gleichzeitigen St. Gallen lag der Schwerpunkt nicht auf der Schaffung eines umfassenden Bibelkommentars. Der reine Bibeltext und seine künstlerische Ausgestaltung in prachtvollen Handschriften stand hier im Vordergrund der Arbeit des Skriptoriums unter GRIMALD und HARTMUT.

The exchange of ideas between monastic communities which maintained special links, in spite of the considerable distances involved, must be seen as a fluid one, with consequences for all parties which may only emerge in later generations and in adapted forms. It is possible to trace signs in St. Gall of the influence exercised by the Evangelienbuch, such as, for example, the Galluslied of Ratpert which exists now only in Latin, but was originally a vernacular work.<sup>84</sup> Lack of surviving evidence, however, renders such speculations doubtful. A much more solid area of investigation is the tracing of ideas which different centres of learning held in common, particularly in the domain of theology, where interlocking strands of thinking point to dominant concerns without necessarily following exact sources and influences. The predominance of Augustinian thinking, for example, in both the work of Otfrid and the literary output of the St. Gall monastery in this period<sup>85</sup> is just the sort of mutual emphasis only to be expected when there is sharing of educational facilities and travel between different communities. This matter is discussed further in Chapter Three below.

The form of the letter to Hartmuat and Werinbert is, in Ernst's view,<sup>86</sup> less polished than that of the letters to Salomo and to King Ludwig, as if the lower status of the St. Gall addressees tempts Otfrid to expend less effort than usual

on technical precision and adornment. Krogmann goes so far as to suggest that the last four lines of the letter were added by the later hand, presumably Otfrid's own, and do not belong with the rest of the text.<sup>87</sup> It is true that the acrostic pattern stops immediately before the beginning of this last four-line section, but Ernst is right to point out a possible parallel with mediaeval Latin hymns which employ additional sections in the form of a doxology as an endpiece.<sup>88</sup> In fact, far from displaying carelessness in the construction of the letter to Hartmuat and Werinbert, Otfrid seems to have constructed his letters in a fixed pattern. If Ernst is correct in his assumption that the numbers of lines in each letter have a symbolic meaning, then his deductions as to what this meaning might be are very interesting :<sup>89</sup>

In den Verssummen der Widmungen an LUDWIG (96=12x8), an SALOMO (48=12x4) und die St. Galler Mönche (168=12x14) erweist sich als konstitutiver numerischer Aufbaufaktor die Zahl zwölf, die auf die Apostel als Fundament der Kirche deuten dürfte und sich hier stimmig zu der inhaltlichen Tendenz fügt, König LUDWIG als 'defensor ecclesiae', Bischof SALOMO als 'doctor ecclesiae' und die beiden Mönche als echte 'confratres ecclesiae' exemplarisch herauszustellen.

Lest this numerological theorizing be dismissed as far-fetched and unfounded, as indeed some such speculation undoubtedly is, it is essential to examine this statement in the light of what Ernst calls the "inhaltlichen Tendenz" of the letter.

The central theme of the letter is the notion of caritas,<sup>90</sup> which is defined in the particular sense of brotherly love between monks. Examples are drawn from the Bible to demonstrate the ideal relationship between men and

God, with particular emphasis upon the word drut, meaning "friend" or "loved one".<sup>91</sup> The community of believers in heaven is described as "drúta thine" (line 7) indicating the relationship between God and men which Otfrid sees as the ideal. The brothers Cain and Abel are cited (lines 27-38) and the story of Jacob and his brother is also mentioned (line 81) although Esau's name does not appear. These, along with the mention of Lamech (line 41f.), are cited as negative examples. The letter develops the idea of brotherhood and love in a list of short summaries dealing with major biblical figures. Enoch is called "drúhtines drút" (line 45); Noah "was góte ... drút" (line 64); Abraham also "was gótes drut" (line 75). Christ is described in the same terms : "drúhtines drútO" (line 106) and "thero selbun gótes druto" (line 111). These are all cited as positive examples to encourage the reader to follow this ideal. Indeed Otfrid makes it quite plain by addressing the reader with this same epithet :

Láz thir in múat thin thie thar bézirun sin:

so bistu (so ih thir ságen scal) gotes drút ubar aL.  
(Hartm. 123f.)

The letter develops from this narrative vein into a more theoretical discussion of minna, karitas and brúaderscaf:

Mínna thiu díura (theist káritas in wára),

brúaderscaf (ih ságen thir éin)- thiu giléitit unsih  
héim.

Oba wir unsih mínnon: so birun wir wérd mannon,

joh mínnot unsih thráto selb drúhtin unser gúatO;  
(Hartm. 129-132).

Both the horizontal dimension : love between men for each other, and the vertical : love between God and men, are

discussed, with Christ portrayed as the key figure in both :

In gibot er háрто sínes selbes wóрто,

thaz man sih mínnoti so er uns iz bílidotI.

Mit káritate ih férgon (so brúederscaf ist giwón,

thi unsih scóno, so gizám, fon selben sátanase naM) :  
(Hartm. 147-150)

Otfrid proceeds to direct this basic biblical commandment to "love one another"<sup>92</sup> specifically at the monastery of St. Gall. The place is mentioned no less than six times<sup>93</sup> : in the heading, in the acrostic and telestich; in line 113; in line 154, and finally in the last line (168). Otfrid's concluding four lines of blessings embrace Hartmuat, Werinbert, himself, and all of the (monastic) brothers who serve God at St. Gall. It would appear, then, that the scope of the letter is not just that of a personal dedication to two friends.

The whole piece uses biblical precedents. In the first section fraternity and love are stressed, in the second, these ideas are put into practice in a discussion of the gifts and services which take place between Weissenburg and St. Gall. The request for prayers in lines 149-160 is a formula more or less expected in Christian letters. It reflects the custom of intercession on behalf of related individuals and communities which was part of the duty of monastic settlements. At the very least this letter is intended to foster and strengthen links between one branch of the mater ecclesia and another. Ernst's numerological calculations cited above<sup>94</sup> would appear then to be entirely justified.

These notions are, of course, widespread and not an invention of Otfrid's. However, the way he presents the material in this letter suggests that he has a particular emphasis of his own to convey, an emphasis which ties in with the role he and his two friends play in their communities. Otfrid's position was, at the period of writing the Evangelienbuch, that of magister scholae, and this entails responsibility for the care and education of novices and younger monks. The idea of brotherhood which Otfrid presents through biblical examples entails the ranking of some "brothers" over others. The source for this area of reasoning is in the first place the Old Testament concept of the kinsman, or brother, as one who bears certain rights, and also certain responsibilities towards his dependent relatives: "Post venditionem potest redimi. Qui voluerit ex fratribus suis, redimet eum, ..."

Lev. 25:48

In New Testament theology, Christ is described in terms of the elder brother, the kinsman who redeems the children of God who share the promised inheritance with him:

At ubi venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, Ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus.

Gal. 4:4f.

References to the concept of sonship and adoption are common in the writings of the Church fathers and taken to particular extremes lead to doctrines hotly debated and condemned as heresy.<sup>95</sup> Otfrid would have assumed that his readers Hartmuat and Werinbert, learned men as they were, would have enough knowledge of these ideas to pick up his allusions in this

letter. One allusion in particular points not so much to commentaries and controversies, as to a passage from the Bible itself. Otfrid, in his discussion of bruaderscaf (inconsistent spelling renders this also bruederscaf) makes an apparently gratuitous mention of the power of brotherly love to release believers from Satan's power :

Mit káritate ih férgon (so brúederscaf ist giwón,  
thi unsih scóno, so gizám, fon selben sátanase naM) :  
(Hartm. 149f.)

These lines echo the passage in the New Testament letter to the Hebrews which stresses the family relationship between Christ and believers, and the special role of Christ as redeemer of his brothers :<sup>96</sup>

Qui enim sanctificat, et qui sanctificantur, ex uno omnes. Propter quam causam non confunditur fratres eos vocare, dicens : Nuntiabo nomen tuum fratribus meis : in medio ecclesiae laudabo te ... Quia ergo pueri communicaverunt carni, et sanguini, et ipse similiter participavit eisdem : ut per mortem destrueret eum, qui habebat mortis imperium, id est, diabolus : Et liberaret eos, ...

Heb. 2:11,12,14,15.

This text appears to be at least in Otfrid's memory as he writes. It provides the scriptural underpinning for the ideas Otfrid explains, just as elsewhere in the Evangelienbuch itself almost every line can be traced back to some biblical or patristic authority. Erdmann, and successive editors, uncharacteristically fail to see the biblical echo on this occasion.<sup>97</sup> In fact the brotherhood concept is very important in this letter and in the rest of the work. Not only is it at the basis of monastic life, but it also provides the basis of the mediaeval authority structure. The mention of Moses and



the brothers at St. Gall. There is no doubt that the author intends it to be read and used by all, under the guidance of his trusted friends.

"Ad Ludowicum".

The construction of the letter to Ludwig bears close affinities with the praise poem genre, as Georgi clearly indicates when she notes that the letter<sup>98</sup>

weist alle typischen Merkmale dieser Gattung auf und ist deshalb zutreffender als Preisgedicht denn als Widmungsgedicht zu bezeichnen.

The parallels with Latin samples of the same genre are indisputable, and the acrostic and telestich devices fall within the same tradition. Schönbach goes so far as to note that :<sup>99</sup>

... der einzige unterschied, der zwischen dem werke O.s und denen seiner nächsten theologischen vorgänger und zeitgenossen besteht, ist, dass es in deutschen versen verfasst war.

This early view is accepted by Georgi without question, and it even persists as an unchallenged assumption in most modern critiques of the letter. However, it must be noted at the outset that this change from the Latin tradition to a vernacular poem is no trifling external modification - it is a deep and significant transformation of the whole panegyric tradition. From the outset of the poem the importance of the vernacular is stated. Georgi notes the aptness of the author's use of the king's name, Ludowig, showing how the salutation (and indeed the whole poem) begins and ends with this name. The two aspects of his character which are

etymologically discernible in his name are precisely those discussed in the section framed by the acrostic and telestich devoted to this same name :<sup>100</sup>

Es verbinden sich in dem Namen Ludwig die beiden Elemente ahd. hlut = laut, im Sinne von berühmt, und ahd. wig = Kampf ... Ohne die Bedeutungsbezogenheit des Wortsinns auf den Namensträger zu überschätzen ... ist doch hier deutlich zu erkennen, daß dem Dichter die Bedeutung des Namens bewußt ist.

Georgi does not go on to analyse the significance of Otfrid's awareness. In fact this startling bilingual wordplay on Otfrid's part betrays a very complex relation between the Evangelienbuch and the Latin literary traditions from which it is forced to take its starting premisses. The German language is once again drawn into the domain of rhetorical wordplay, and Otfrid exploits its resources to contribute towards the literary finesse of his work. German and Latin thus share both the semantic and the stylistic burden of the text.

The issue of the separate and combined contributions of Latin and German material is further complicated by attempts to find precise sources and influences for the ideas which are present in the letter to Ludwig. Ernst attempts a balanced analysis by considering the political ideas of Eusebius and Augustine in turn,<sup>101</sup> the former advocating a temporal Christian empire led by the emperor of the Roman territories, and the latter concentrating upon a spiritual civitas Dei which has no fixed connections with worldly political institutions.<sup>102</sup> Ernst's conclusion suggests that the Evangelienbuch, and in particular the letter to Ludwig, draws from both traditions :<sup>103</sup>

Eusebianische Reichstheologie und augustinische Geschichtstheologie sind zu einer neuen Synthese verschmolzen, in der die eschatologische 'civitas Dei' mit dem fränkischen Reich identifiziert wird bzw. die eusebianische Idee des universalen christlichen Imperiums wichtige Züge der augustinischen Gottesbürgerschaft angenommen hat.

On the surface, this seems to be an admirable solution to the problem of reconciling Otfrid's political awareness, which is evident in his astute depiction of Ludwig as Christian king and defender of the Frankish nation, with his equally evident concern for spiritual affairs. However, the implications of Ernst's reasoning are far-reaching, and when applied to the details of the letter to Ludwig, and also of the "Cur scriptor" chapter which introduces the main text of the Evangelienbuch, they place a great strain on the actual text. This becomes clear when one attempts to deduce Otfrid's political intentions in the light of these two important sections of his work.

Two aspects of the letter to Ludwig are most often singled out by critics for comment: the fact that Otfrid addresses the Frankish-speaking readers and listeners rather than the king himself,<sup>104</sup> and the choice of the Old Testament figure of David as an ideal of kingship to which Ludwig corresponds.<sup>105</sup> The second aspect is important, but must not be exaggerated or made to reflect too directly upon the Frankish king himself. The figure of David is traditionally accepted as the ideal<sup>106</sup> and Otfrid, in seeking a biblical parallel, could hardly do otherwise than choose David. It is true that the figure of Solomon is also frequently used for this purpose<sup>107</sup> and even sometimes both Solomon and David are

cited together.<sup>108</sup> In Otfrid's context the warrior king David, patron of the arts and father of an illustrious line of descent, is most apt. The letter to Salomo is the most appropriate vessel for reference to Solomon, since as we have noted in the previous section above, the significance of the addressee's name can hardly be overlooked. It is possible too, that the kingly attributes most vital to Ludwig are those of prowess in battle, in Otfrid's view, whereas the elements of wisdom and spiritual power are more appropriate to the ecclesiastical addressees, though of course a certain amount of overlap is to be expected. If this interpretation is valid, and surely it is at least a possible one, then Ernst's synthesis seems less likely to reflect the full significance of the letter. In fact other factors point to a distinctly Augustinian separation of ecclesiastical and political authority, with the emphasis on the former. In this respect it is important to note that Otfrid composed four dedicatory pieces, of which three are directed to spiritual leaders and only one to the secular authorities.<sup>109</sup> Full discussion of the parallel with David is provided elsewhere<sup>110</sup> and need not be entered upon here. It is possible, however, to examine Otfrid's political intentions, in so far as these emerge in the letter to Ludwig, and in the first chapter of the Evangelienbuch itself.

A central issue in this discussion must be that of nationality, and this encompasses linguistic as well as political and religious factors. It is in this connection

that Otfrid's tactics of addressing not the king himself, but the Frankish-speaking people, are most commonly discussed. Georgi compares Otfrid's letter to Ludwig with a work by Theodulf<sup>111</sup> and concludes :<sup>112</sup>

Bei der eigentlichen laudatio unterscheidet sich Otfrieds Gedicht durch die Wahl der Er-Form bereits wesentlich von dem des Theodulf. Dadurch ist von vornherein das Verhältnis des Dichters zu seinem Publikum ein anderes. Ludwig ist gemeinsamer Gegenstand des Gespräches zwischen Dichter und Zuhörerschaft. Otfried hat also die Absicht, das Publikum für den Gepriesenen zu gewinnen. Das zeigt sich deutlich an der Redehaltung des Dichters den Zuhörern gegenüber.

Vollmann-Profe expresses this view more strongly and refers to Otfrid's poem as "Diese Werbung für Ludwig..."<sup>113</sup> From this line of reasoning develops the widely-held view that Otfrid wrote his Evangelienbuch, if not exactly at Ludwig's behest, then certainly with a view to furthering Ludwig's ambitions on the political front. From this starting point, only a short step is necessary for a host of further assumptions to follow on : for example, it is then quite plausible to argue that nationalistic motives lie at the root of the whole conception of the Evangelienbuch. From this has been derived the notion that the intended audience of the Evangelienbuch is the entire populace, and this in spite of an abundance of irrefutable evidence showing that monks alone would have been capable of dealing with the didactic and symbolic features of the work.<sup>114</sup> It is necessary to take into account the "Cur scriptor" chapter before definitive statements on these matters can be made, and therefore further discussion is reserved for the following section below which deals with this chapter. It is important to note at this stage, however, that

Georgi's reasoning is not water-tight. Third-person narrative in the vernacular is not in itself sufficient evidence for the assumption that the author intends to win support for the king among the readers and listeners. The avoidance of direct second person address may be attributed to other factors. It is possible that the author is inhibited by the unpretentious form of the vernacular and does not allow himself the double informality of personal communication and intimate vernacular language when speaking of his king. There is no doubt that Otfrid intends Ludwig to read or hear the dedication, but recourse to the third person adds a respectful distance to the proceedings. The fiction of an audience of attentive listeners creates a fitting background for Otfrid's praises, and an emphasis upon the majesty of Ludwig, linked always with his responsibility towards the nation in his care. This interpretation suggests that Otfrid far from being an ardent supporter of Ludwig, and a campaigner on his behalf, may well prefer the part of loyal subject, praising his monarch while making a request for patronage in the form of approval of the Evangelienbuch. Further discussion of the political background to the Evangelienbuch takes place below in Chapter Three.

The praise of Ludwig occupies the largest part of the dedication but it is in the last few lines of the piece that the element of true communication between the author and the king takes place :

Themo díhton ih thiz búah; oba er hábet iro rúah,  
ódo er thaz giwéizit, thaz er sa lésan heiziT;

Er hiar in thesen rédion mag hóren evangélion,  
 waz Kríst in then gibíete Fránkono thíetE.  
 Régula therero búachi uns zeigot himilrichi;  
 thaz nieze Lúdowig io thar thiu éwinigun gótes jaR!  
 (Ludw. 87-92).

In line 88 there is an indication that Otfrid believes the king to have power to promote the reading of the Evangelienbuch. This is very optimistic, perhaps a knowing over-estimation of the king's true sphere of influence intended as flattery. Otfrid adopts the role of mediator between the content of the gospels (line 89) which is present in his Evangelienbuch and the people, including the king, who speak his native language. The underlying idea in this section is that of the universality of the Christian message and the responsibility of the earthly political leaders, here represented by Ludwig, and of the Church, here represented by Otfrid and his monastic brothers, to distribute the "Régula", literally the rules of the faith, to the people in their care. This word regula is one which causes problems for critics because of its polyvalent force. It can mean moral frameworks, such as the familiar Regula Sancti Benedicti, which are applicable to daily life, or indeed it can mean literary composition, as is evident in Otfrid's later discussion of regula and ziti.<sup>115</sup> The fact that these rules show the way to heaven (line 91) indicates that a religious motive is at work. Interesting in this connection is Ehrismann's observation linking the so-called Ludwigslitanei with Otfrid's "Ad Ludowicum". Ehrismann distinguishes between

the narrative part of Otfrid's letter and his "segenswünsche", concluding that the latter derive from contemporary Latin texts designed for use in formal worship.<sup>116</sup> Two of his points are significant here, 1) that the structure of the poem with its repeated benedictions owes something to Christian sources as well as classical Latin ones :

Die widerholung gehört zum aufbau der litanei, und diesen gebrauch hat Otfrid nachgeahmt.

and 2) that the purpose of Otfrid's poem is not just a letter to the king, but also an example for others to follow:

Möglicherweise liegt hierin geradezu eine hindeutung auf die sitte, in der litanei öffentlich für das wol des königs Ludwig zu beten.

How far the author intends to use the king's name as support for the distribution of the book that follows, and for the furthering of the Christian religion and how far this pious aim is intended to strengthen the unity of the realm and the power of the king is a matter which is most usefully discussed with reference to the first chapter of the Evangelienbuch itself.

Cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictaverit (I,1).

The first chapter of the first book of the Evangelienbuch has been the object of much discussion : it is surely the most-discussed section of the entire work.<sup>117</sup> Its position inside the main text of the work gives it a unique importance above that of the letters which are appended to the work. In many ways the "Cur scriptor" chapter serves as a prologue, addressing the general reader or listener and building upon

the common ground of Frankish nationality and language which unites the writer with his readership and audience. There is no doubt that the piece is important as an indication of the author's intentions towards those who are to receive his work. However, it is unfortunate that critics have tended in the past to treat the chapter in isolation, apart from the dedicatory epistles and as if it were not attached to the long and solemn religious work which follows. The result of such thinking leads to conclusions about Otfrid's literary and other ambitions which create a false impression. For example, the much-used handbook by Bostock contains remarks in its later edition (though not in the earlier) which perpetuate the old idea of Otfrid as the bringer of a new age of Frankish nationalism :<sup>118</sup>

Even Otfrid, who conceived the grand design of providing his countrymen with a literature worthy of their national qualities, was inspired by Latin models and justified his endeavour by claiming that it would promote the understanding of the Scriptures.

This is by no means an uncommon view, which places the political priority well above the religious one. Evidence in its support is drawn from an allegedly growing confidence in the reign of Charlemagne and his descendants on the part of the Franks :<sup>119</sup>

Hinter den Aussagen Otfrids - und es ist nach Karl dem Großen gar nicht anders möglich - steht der Gedanke, daß weltliche, geistliche und literarische Herrschaft von den Römern auf die Franken übergegangen sind. Sie sind die Erben, die unmittelbaren Nachfolger des römischen Volkes, seiner Macht und seiner Kultur ... er wagte es, dieses Erbe nun in fränkischer Sprache als der Sprache des jetzt führenden Volkes weiterzutragen.

Rupp's footnote to this discussion, suggesting that Frankish

aspirations to the power once held by Rome were once more in evidence by 1100,<sup>120</sup> may succeed in lending plausibility to the notion of a Frankish nation with a growing awareness of national identity and a vision of supremacy for that period, but it hardly adds weight to the argument concerning Otfrid's ninth century work. Indeed the course of political events in the mid-ninth century would suggest to the contemporary observer that the great days of Charlemagne were rather waning than being continued. The old days of the "Admonitio generalis" and enthusiasm for education and the vernacular were long since past.<sup>121</sup> Otfrid may well have nurtured hopes that he might carry on the ideals formed in and around the court of Charlemagne, because he stood in direct contact with the key figures of that circle, but essentially these were the hopes of the previous generation. Otfrid was at work in a different, more unsettled milieu than that of Alcuin, the young Hrabanus Maurus and the others. Squabbles amongst rival branches of the reigning family<sup>122</sup> and an undistinguished reputation for stability and conquest as far as both Ludwig the Pious and Ludwig the German were concerned could hardly support such notions as "weltliche, geistliche und literarische Herrschaft". It is necessary to look very closely at Otfrid's supposedly nationalistic eulogy of the Franks before making any such sweeping statements about his motives.

In chapter I,1, as in the dedicatory epistles, Otfrid is writing from a defensive position, at least as far as his literary intentions are concerned. The issue of the

vernacular is here, as in the letter to Liutbert, central to the argument : the opening lines speak of literary composition in general terms, as the natural medium of expression of every people. Once again, the generalizing force must not be overlooked. Otfrid is not just speaking of the Frankish nation. The first mention of individual nationality, after the "theotisce" of the title, is a reference to the Greeks and Romans, accepted masters in the field of literary composition:

Sár Kriachi joh Románi iz máchont so gizámi,  
iz máchont sie al girústit, so thih es wola lústit;  
(I,1,13f.)

It is no coincidence that Otfrid chooses the two nations which provide the only languages, apart from Hebrew, which the Western Church deemed worthy to carry the written documents of the Christian faith. From a Christian and theocentric perspective the Incarnation is seen as the pivot around which all human history revolves, and the languages of Homer and the early Roman poets were seen as pre-Christian vessels preparing to carry the Christian gospel to the waiting world. These languages, in their infancy, had to develop the range of expression and subtlety of meaning which would later be required for the task of communicating the message of salvation to the whole of mankind. Thus the beginning of the "Cur scriptor" chapter spells out the early stages in the evolution of these languages, namely the formation of heroic epic tales of great deeds, recording the names of great men and the fame and achievements of national groups. Here, as in the letter to Liutbert, Otfrid shows a grasp of linguistic





The most cursory historical survey of the period reveals that this image which Otfrid projects of a noble and saintly Frankish people who delight to live by the commandments of God does not tally with the facts of the situation. Otfrid's so-called "nationalism" does not appear to be grounded upon facts or upon observation. Forster's analysis of the cryptic phrase isine steina (line 70) further reveals that there is more than a hint of idealisation in this chapter, and points to clear parallels between Otfrid's depiction of his native land, and the biblical description of the "promised land" of Canaan which was to inspire the Jewish nation through long years of persecution and wandering in hostile territory :<sup>126</sup>

Welche Deutung man auch vorziehen mag, die Feststellung der Bibelreminiszenz als Grundlage für die Interpretation von Otfrids Lob des Frankenlandes ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen.

Other nationalities mentioned by name in the chapter would appear similarly to be drawn from biblical rather than contemporary sources. The Medes and Persians are legendary destroyers :

Visio dura nuntiata est mihi : qui incredulus est,  
infideliter agit : et qui depopulator est, vastat.  
Ascende, AE lam, obside Mede : omnem gemitum ejus cessare  
feci.

Is. 21:2.

The terrifying writing on the wall of Belshazzar's banqueting hall contained the message :

PHARES : divisum est regnum tuum, et datum est Medis, et  
Persis.

Dan. 5:28

These two nations are cited by Otfrid as archetypal enemies of formidable strength (l. 85f.) and the claim that the Franks

would be able to withstand them is in effect a reference to the biblical passages above more than a statement of historical fact. The reference to Alexander the Great and the Macedonians which follows (lines 87-96) appears to derive in the first instance from an early chronicle on the origins of the Franks,<sup>127</sup> and certainly reflects Carolingian art-work depicting a heroic tradition leading from the ancient world to Hannibal and Alexander, and then to Constantine and other Christian leaders, and even right up to Charlemagne himself.<sup>128</sup> The reference here also owes something to the exegesis of signs and visions in the book of Daniel whereby the dream related by Daniel is given special significance. The dream is as follows :

Aries, quem vidisti habere cornua, rex Medorum est atque Persarum. Porro hircus caprarum, rex Graecorum est, et cornu grande, quod erat inter oculos ejus, ipse est rex primus.

Dan. 8:20f.

In the commentaries<sup>129</sup> the large horn between the eyes of the ram is interpreted as a prophecy of the coming of Alexander the Great. Too strict an application of these images to the political background behind Otfrid and his Evangelienbuch leads only to contradictions and confusion. The divided kingdom image in Dan. 5:28 and the warning (or example?) of Alexander the Great are cited as lessons from which the Franks can learn. The ideal of Christian nationhood, under a Christian ruler, is what is depicted here. Otfrid's "nationalism" is not a reflection of historical events, it is religious zeal based on biblical foundations, and directed at

his own fellow Franks.

As the chapter develops, Otfrid praises skills and qualities in other nations and in the Frankish nation. He praises, for example, the secular but technically superior writings of the Greeks and Romans :

Tharána dátun sie ouh thaz dúam: óugdun iro wísdúam,  
óugdun iro cléini in thes tíhtonnes reini.

Iz ist ál thuruh nótt so kléino girédinot

(iz dúnkál eigun fúntan, zisámáne gibúntan),  
(I,1,5-8)

The medium of dihta (tíhtonnes reini line 6) which implies literary endeavour, but not necessarily in verse form,<sup>130</sup> carries here the emphasis of depth and sophistication. The images of dúnkál and zisámáne gibúntan (line 8) are problematic<sup>131</sup> but on the simplest level of interpretation they connote hiddenness and completeness, as if the clever constructions of the ancients were containers of subtle knowledge which only initiates into the complexities of their skills could fathom. This point is further made with the help of another simile which has preoccupied critics in recent years :

Sie máchont iz so réhtaz joh so fílu sléhtaz,

iz ist gifúagit ál in éin selp so hélphantés béin.  
(I,1,15f.).

Opinions differ as to whether this is a reference to contemporary examples of inlay work, or of intricate ivory carvings such as were popular in Carolingian times, or even to the supposed lack of joints in the elephant's leg (a mediaeval popular misconception).<sup>132</sup> The substance was highly

prized, but its origins remained vague to a western audience who had never seen an elephant, or indeed a walrus, which was the more likely source for this material. Whether or not Otfrid has in mind a particular work of art made of this exotic substance, or a particular use for it, the context indicates that something in its nature has a bearing upon literary activity. This smooth, white and extremely valuable material does indeed connote purity (cf. "tíhtonnes reini", line 6) but purity of an artificial kind. The smoothness of ivory, or of substances taken to be ivory, was achieved by polishing and shaping so that the natural product, once it has been freed from irregularities by skilled craftsmanship, becomes an object lesson in perfection of form. It may then be put to decorative and functional use in the service of both God and man.<sup>133</sup> The process of craftsmanship as well as the finished product is to be taken into account. The parallel, fully explained, indicates that the raw material, that is to say a human language be it Greek, Latin, the Frankish vernacular, or any other, requires a purifying discipline because in its natural state it contains imperfections. Echoes from the letter to Liutbert are quite evident here, for example the use of the phrases "expolita" (line 107) and "verborum adulationem politorum" (line 120f.) with specific reference to linguistic improvement. The first expression is used in a positive sense, the second in an expressly negative one, showing that the author uses the image as a way of describing technique, and not just as a qualitative

judgement : the process itself is what interests Otfrid, whether it be used for good or ill. Whereas the letter to Liutbert uses this figurative sense of "(ex)polire" to develop a rather abstract argument, as befits a technical discourse, the "Cur scriptor" chapter resorts to more explicit and pictorial examples, in keeping with the more relaxed tone and of this introductory chapter.<sup>134</sup>

The section of the "Cur scriptor" chapter between lines 19 and 28 does contain a number of technical terms which are connected with the field of literary production, but these terms are by no means so easy to define as the clinical, one might almost say "scientific" terminology of the Latin letter to Liutbert. The passage begins with the merits of both poetry and prose :

Ist iz prósun slihti: thaz drénkit thih in ríhti;  
odo métres kléini: theist góuma filu réini.  
(I,1,19f.).

The point of this mention of these two basic modes of writing is precisely not to draw out a preference for one or the other. Both have positive qualities and both require the measuring of metrical feet and the balancing of long and short syllables (lines 20-26). The food and drink imagery here denotes a difference in consistency, but not in fundamental nature, since both are necessary for human wellbeing on a physical level. On the literary level the image denotes the comparative simplicity of prose, meaning ease of comprehension, and the complexity of verse, which requires more effort to "digest". On the spiritual level, it denotes

the difference between elementary (i.e. easily visible and obtainable) doctrine and the deeper mysteries of the faith which are reserved for the more mature believer. Wisniewski goes too far when she deduces that there is an "Erwartung" and "Erfüllung" contrast of a typological nature in this imagery :<sup>135</sup>

Ist die Erwartung, wie sie im Alten Testament zutage tritt, ein schlichter Prosa-Trank, so ist die Erfüllung durch die Gegenwart Christi in der Welt eine reine Vers-Speise, sconora und ziarara als Prosa es sein kann. Prosa verhält sich zum Vers wie der verhüllte Christus des Alten Testaments zum offenbarten Christus des Neuen Testaments, verhält sich wie Wasser zu Wein.

This observation is a confusion of the issue. The true contrast is literal and spiritual, or elementary and advanced, not Old and New Testament. Above all, the hiddenness lies on the side of the "Vers", i.e. the more elevated level, and not on the side of "prosa". This imagery can only be explained with reference to other food and drink images in the Evangelienbuch, which is one reason why Wisniewski's article goes astray on this one point. The subject is dealt with below in Chapter Four, but for the moment it suffices to note that the imagery is intended to echo the statements on the subject of grammar in the letter to Liutbert. Both of these sections indicate that any language needs a two-fold discipline of grammar and attention to metrical details. The image which summarizes this idea is once again one of extracting a pure and refined product from the rough substance in its natural state :

Yrfúrbent sie iz réino joh hártó filu kléino.

selb so mán thuruh nótt      sinaz kórn reinot.  
(I,1,27f.)

Correctness, regularity and balance together constitute the "purity" of form which Otfrid envisages. But here, as elsewhere in these introductory pieces, there is more than just literary theorizing going on. Vollmann-Profe<sup>136</sup> recognizes the significance of the wheat and chaff image for literature, but only briefly considers the idea that there might be another, deeper level of meaning to this passage. She notes that ákust (line 30) may be interpreted as "formaler Fehler" or as "Sünde", depending upon the context. The latter of these two meanings, with all of its moral connotations, is rejected in this case because Otfrid's context here is clearly pagan literature, since he mentions by way of contrast "sacred writings" (búah frono, line 29) :

Ouh selbun búah frono      irréinont sie so scóno;  
thar lisist scóna gilust      ána theheiniga ákust.  
(I,1,29f.)

This passage is generally interpreted as a reference to the versification of the original prose texts of the Bible or to Latin prose translations of original verse texts of the Bible. Clearly Otfrid wishes to convey that Latin re-workings of the Bible texts in fine prose or in verse serve to heighten the already considerable formal beauty of the scriptures.<sup>137</sup> This is certainly part of his intention, but there is more resonance behind the image than just literary theory, and Vollmann-Profe's analysis dismisses the other dimensions too hastily.

In the Bible the moral force of the wheat and chaff image

is very strong, especially when it appears in connection with divine judgement :

Cujus ventilabrum in manu sua: et permundabit aream suam: et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inexstinguibili.

Matt. 3:12

In the Old Testament the connotations are even more explicitly in harmony with Otfrid's line of thinking:

Propheta, qui habet somnium, narret somnium: et qui habet sermonem meum, loquatur sermonem meum vere: quid paleis ad triticum, dicit Dominus?

Jer. 23:28

In this case the symbolism means : "what is the chaff (false prophecy) to the wheat (the true word of God)?" In the light of this background Otfrid's image takes on deeper significance; the content, and not only the external form of the writings is a part of his concern. The pagan writings in Latin (and perhaps also Greek) are purified by literary techniques, (line 27f.) the Christian ones all the more so because they have no trace of impure content in the first place, and then the added benefit of superficial finesse in form. The symbolism could not fail to suggest these vivid parallels to any audience familiar with common Christian motifs. This small reference links up with a whole network of Christian imagery revolving around wheat/seed/bread and the connotations word/food/teaching. The image of weighing which is evoked in line 26 : "iz mízit ana bága al io súlih waga" ties in with the counting, measuring and balancing terminology of literary production, and with the food and grain imagery. It must also, however, suggest to informed Christian readers

the biblical images connected with justice, and particularly with the Day of Judgement when sinners are counted, weighed and remunerated according to their worldly conduct. These are all images which occur elsewhere in the Evangelienbuch and Chapter Four below is devoted to a full discussion of them. For the moment it suffices to note that Otfrid's apparently technical discussion of form in literature is brought by means of easily recognizable biblical imagery into the Christian moral and allegorical dimension.

This fact is to be borne in mind when studying another much discussed section of the "Cur scriptor" chapter :

Thaz láz thir wesán súazi: so mézent iz thie fúazi,  
 zít joh thiu régula; so ist gótes selbes brédiga.  
 Wil thú thes wola dráhton, thu métar wolles áhton,  
 in thína zungun wirken dúam joh sconu vérs wolles dúan:  
 Il io gótes willen állo ziti irfúllen,  
 so scribent gótes thegana in frénkisgon thie régula;  
 In gótes gibotes súazi laz gárgan thine fúazi,  
 ni laz thir zít thes ingán: theist sconi férs sar gidán;  
 (I,1,41-48).

The play on the word fúazi<sup>138</sup> meaning both metrical "feet" in classical poetry and human "feet" on the metaphorical pathway of life, conveniently depicts the close relationship between the form and the function of the Evangelienbuch. Just as the strict metre of poetry disciplines the unruly tendencies of a language, so the strict moral code of Christianity, carefully presented in the Evangelienbuch, is intended to guide erring souls towards their eternal reward. The repetition of regula

(lines 42,46) can be interpreted on many different levels. It may suggest just "moderation", or the Benedictine Rule itself. Werner Burkhard's otherwise idiosyncratic treatment of the Evangelienbuch accurately captures this point :<sup>139</sup>

Was aber bedeutet geistesgeschichtlich diese antikisierende Normierung des deutschen Verses? Otfrid selber hat darauf die Antwort gegeben, in dem Eingangsabschnitt 'Cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictaverit.' Sie war unserem Mönch nicht nur eine ästhetische Angelegenheit, vielmehr zugleich Ausdruck einer heiligen, im Wort Gottes begründeten Ordnung : zit (Zeitmass) joh thiū regula so ist gotes selbes brediga, einer Ordnung, in der alles Menschentum, Leben wie Kunst, schreiten soll ...

Gutenbrunner, in contrast, does not deny the religious significance of this word, but argues nonetheless for a more precise technical and literary meaning :<sup>140</sup>

Was regula angeht, so kommt man in Vers 35 und 46 mit der von Hörmann S. 37f. ermittelten allgemeinen Bedeutung wohl aus : 'Regel und Gesetzmäßigkeit, ordnendes Prinzip'. Aber in 42 kann auf die termini technici fuazi und zit kein so farbloser Wortgebrauch folgen ... Mir scheint, daß als drittes nur das schema homoeoteleuton übrig ist und gemeint sein muß.

The regula term which Otfrid uses cannot, it appears, be pinned down to any one specific meaning : the religious and the technical dimensions are both present.

An interesting parallel with Otfrid's regula terminology is to be found in a collection of biblical allegories once thought to have been by Hrabanus Maurus. It contains popular images and their current interpretations, many of which were indeed from Carolingian times. Under the heading regula there is only one reference and one interpretation :<sup>141</sup>

Regula : est eloquentia philosophorum, ut in libro Josue "Pallium coccineum, valde bonum, et regulam auream" quod mundi hujus amatores superbam et inanem approbat eloquentiam.

The context here invoked is the story of Achan, who at the fall of Jericho stole a golden rod (regulam) and kept it for himself. He was discovered and as punishment stoned to death by the people of Israel. What is significant is the equation of the stolen treasure with the "eloquence of the philosophers".<sup>142</sup> Otfrid, too, appears to depict the plundering of the treasures of the classical (and secular) world, but with different, and more commendable motives. The sin of Achan was to take and keep the forbidden treasure when he should have made it over to God :

Vos autem cavete ne de his, quae praecepta sunt, quippiam contingatis, et sitis praevaricationis rei, et omnia castra Israel sub peccato sint atque turbentur. Quidquid autem auri et argenti fuerit et vasorum aeneorum ac ferri, Domino consecretur, repositum in thesauris ejus.  
 Jos. 6:18f.

This is just what Otfrid does with the "eloquence" of the Greek and Roman works he praises so highly in the "Cur scriptor" chapter. This is surely an echo of standard exegesis, and a further elaboration of the idea of extracting what is useful and pure from the natural unevenness and worthlessness, whether it be in literature or in daily life. The useful part is retained and put to God's service. It is not kept hidden for private gain, but transformed into a part of the work of the Church.

Otfrid's literary terminology thus serves two purposes : the first is purely as information on the subject of literary composition as such, and the second purpose is much more deeply embedded in religious motivations. Engel analyses each term in turn<sup>143</sup> and summarizes the force of the "Cur scriptor"



one part of the God/man equation. The chant-like alternation of the style implants the ideas in the reader's or listener's mind and ensures that they are not forgotten. The form is skilful manipulation of the German language, the content is biblical : there is a clear reference here to the Old Testament prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, who were called into their ministries of prophecy in the same way :

Et volavit ad me unus de Seraphim, et in manu ejus calculus, quem forcipe tulerat de altari. Et tetigit os meum, et dixit : Ecce tetigit hoc labia tua, et auferetur iniquitas tua, et peccatum tuum mundabitur.  
Is. 6:6f.

Et misit Dominus manum suam, et tetigit os meum: et dixit Dominus ad me: Ecce dedi verba mea in ore tuo: ...  
Jer. 1:9.

There is also a possible echo from the Psalms, suggesting that Otfrid wishes to model himself upon the Old Testament writers of psalms :<sup>145</sup>

Domine, labia mea aperies : et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.  
Ps. 50:17

Such formulations are common in the liturgy and as introductions to later Christian writings in German, notably the Anegenge.<sup>146</sup> The force of the reference here is surely that Otfrid is indicating his ambition to be a sort of prophet,<sup>147</sup> meaning literally, one who "tells forth" the teachings of God. Like the Old Testament psalmists and prophets he demonstrates his calling as a mediator between God and men, and the rest of this chapter goes on to explain what this calling means in real terms<sup>148</sup> and how it reflects upon the glory of God and not of the writer.

Apart from these obvious parallels which are all based on

biblical models, there may also be some reflection here of contemporary views of language production. Hraban's poem on the subject of "grammatica"<sup>149</sup> meaning letters, in the sense of the actual written symbols, uses this very vocabulary of the finger of God in connection with the act of writing : just as the finger of God wrote laws in stone for the eternal benefit of his people, so the human hand, fingers, eyes and understanding rejoice in the task of writing down his "lex pia". Most significant of all, is Hraban's view that the written word alone is not subject to mortality, an idea that is common to both classical and Christian traditions :

Grammata sola carent fato, mortemque repellunt.  
Praeterita renovant grammata sola biblis,  
Grammata nempe dei digitus sulcabat in apta  
Rupe suo legem cum dederat populo,  
Sunt, fuerant, mundo venient quae forte futura,  
Grammata haec monstrant famine cuncta suo.

In the Christian context, and in connection with the whole area of "logos" theology, the letters themselves have a part in the divinity and the human writer seeks to be an instrument in the communication process between God and man, through the written word. Such a task brings honour, but also responsibility, and hence the rather pedestrian approach of Hraban and other commentators in their literary styles. These lines of Hraban's are, of course, directed primarily at the composition of Latin literary works and must not be construed as a specific encouragement for the writing of the Evangelienbuch or any other vernacular work. What they show, however, is the human body and the physical world working together with divine assistance in the form of inspiration

towards some eternal purpose : a combination which later takes on new importance in Otfrid's arguments on behalf of the humble vernacular. This point merits more discussion below in Chapter Three where Hraban's role, along with that of other Carolingian scholars, is more fully discussed.

There is humility in this pious ambition to write what God commands, and Otfrid makes reference to his own fallibility, asking for forgiveness ("thia súnta, druhtin, míno ginádlicho dílo," line 20) for divine guidance ("...thu drúhtin rihti wórt min!" line 32) and for protection from error :

Thaz ih, drúhtin, thanne in theru ságu ni firspírne,  
nóh in themo wáhen thiu wórt ni missifáhen;  
(I,2,15f.).

He also admits of the possibility that he might succumb to stupidity ("thúruh mina dúmpheit" line 19) or to evil influence from God's adversary, the devil :("Ouh ther wídarwerto thín ni quém er innan múat min," line 29). All of these phrases are commonplace Christian motifs which have their origins in the Bible and are utilized by patristic and Carolingian authors.<sup>150</sup>

The opening lines of the chapter also recall verses from the Psalms, for example :

Wola drúhtin mín, já bin ih scálc thín,  
thiu arma múater mín eigan thiu ist si thín!  
(I,2,1f.)

may be at least partly dependent upon :

O Domine quia ego servus tuus : ego servus tuus, et  
filius ancillae tuae.

Ps. 115:16



native language, but in all languages that he is master of:

Joh theih thir hiar nu ziaro in mína zungun thíono  
(ouh in ál gizungi, in thíu thaz ih iz kúnni),  
(I,2,41f.).

By turning the whole issue into an act of service to God, and an appreciation of the divine gift of language, Otfrid hopes to make it acceptable. This chapter presents the vernacular and the Evangelienbuch as an offering of praise, and its direct approach to God in the form of a prayer here is a measure of Otfrid's confidence in the divine calling he hints at in the opening lines of the chapter. The several clauses asking for guidance and protection are also an attempt to preempt any charges of doctrinal or factual error. Otfrid's intentions are in line with Christian ideals - if errors in the execution arise, then forgiveness is obtained in advance. It is quite clear that the prayer format, though ostensibly operating between author and God, is also designed to draw in readers and potential critics. The mention of God's lordship over all existing human languages (line 33) is hardly something an omniscient God would need reminding of. But there may well have been important and influential readers who required to be convinced of the validity of vernacular Christian writing of this sort.

With this short chapter I,2, Otfrid concludes his several requests for approval. He has covered a range of authority figures, from the bishop Salomo, to the archbishop Liutbert and then finally to God himself. The letter to the St. Gall monks takes care of lower-ranking colleagues. The letter to

Ludwig stands in contrast to these pieces, since it is addressed to a head of state, and not of the Church, but it speaks of him in his capacity as Christian ruler of a Christian people. Even the "Cur scriptor" chapter, with all its enthusiasm for the Frankish people and language, is concerned more with biblical and exegetical argumentation than political points. It too addresses a Christian readership or audience bringing the issue of vernacular writings to the fore in an expressly Christian and therefore limited context.

Oratio. (V,24).

The penultimate chapter of the Evangelienbuch is in many ways parallel to the second chapter of Book I, a fact which is significant in terms of the overall structure of the work.<sup>152</sup> As far as the content is concerned, it adds little to the understanding of Otfrid's theoretical approach which is gained in the reading of the letters and the first two chapters. The notion of God's sovereign power over the created world is repeated :

Erdun inti hímiles inti alles flíazentes,  
féhes inti mánes - drúhtin bist es alles.  
(V,24,5f.).

Otfrid attempts to draw together the text of the Evangelienbuch and the experience of the readers and listeners. He does this by addressing the audience in the first person plural, and suggesting that the same salvation which is the subject of the Evangelienbuch can be enjoyed by all men :

Mit in wir muazin niazan, thaz hábest thu uns gihéizan,  
thésa selbun wúnna thia wír hiar scribun fórna!  
(V,24,3f.).

As in the other pieces studied above, standard humility formulas are present :

léiti unsih in ríchi thín, thoh wir es wírdig ni sin;  
-----  
Theih thar thih lóbo ubar ál, so man drúhtinan scál,  
(V,24,16; 19).

The contrast between the physical and spiritual which was an important aspect of the imagery used previously to describe literary endeavour in the vernacular is also mentioned in this chapter, but in a much more clearly religious context. Just as the earlier images of the bridle, ivory craftsmanship and the threshing of grain were used to depict the purifying forces of grammar, and regularity in literature as an art and in the Evangelienbuch in particular, so the image used in the penultimate chapter echoes these ideas and fixes the emphasis firmly in the religious dimension:

Ist uns in thír giwissí ouh thaz irstántrnissi,  
thaz unser stúbbi fulaz werde avur súlih soso iz was.  
(V,24,11f.).

The knowledge, indeed the certainty, of the resurrection which the telling of the gospel message aims to bring, transfigures "stúbbi fulaz" (literally the "dirty dust") of human nature and brings it to the same spiritual renewal that is depicted in the life, death and resurrection of Christ.<sup>153</sup> Clearly the implication of this statement in Otfrid's chapter is to indicate the desired effect of the Evangelienbuch upon those who take part in the communal act of writing, reading and



What is intended is a mental cleansing, in preparation for the receiving of the word of God :

Thinu wórt hiar óbana, thi uns zéllent alla rédina-  
tharazúa firlih uns múates joh húges filu gúates;  
(II,24,27f.).

There is nothing unusual about the ideas present here, they are part of preaching commonplaces in use from the beginning of the Christian era until the present day. What is significant, however, is the application here to a specific text, namely the Evangelienbuch, which is not itself the actual (Latin) text of the scriptures. The little phrase "Thinu wórt hiar óbana" (line 24) unobtrusively claims for the Evangelienbuch a large measure of the authority normally reserved for the gospels themselves. Otfrid is implying that the Old High German work contains the very words of Christ, and this in spite of his previous disclaimers to any pretensions regarding the vernacular work's status. The four gospels/five books contrast and all of the earthly/spiritual contrasts noted above make it clear that the author is conscious of inferiority in many respects. But once again, the humble vernacular work dares to carry the message of salvation directly to Frankish speakers, and draws the readers into the prayer sections, creating a community of author, readers and God centred upon the gospel message as mediated in the text :

Firlih uns, druhtin, állen, thaz wir thaz thín io  
mit wérkon io irfüllen thaz thínu wort uns zéllen;  
wollen,  
(II,24,29f.).

The alliterative pair werkon and wort encapsulate the idea of practice in tune with theory. The alliteration is here no invention of Otfrid's<sup>155</sup> but it shows his awareness of the potential of linguistic, and indeed vernacular linguistic, features in making an important point. Putting words into action is one of the key ideas of the whole work and this is another indication of its intended sphere of influence : the practical application of the Evangelienbuch itself is encouraged as a tool in the Church's tasks of education and evangelisation. Not only must the Christian teachings be passed on, but the Evangelienbuch is to be one medium in that process.

Praefatio libri tertii (III,1).

The literary explanations contained in the first eight lines of III,1 merely echo the ideas expressed in Latin in the letter to Liutbert. Not all of the gospel material is included in the Evangelienbuch (line 5f.) and the order of events is different from that of the gospel sources, depending rather upon Otfrid's own recollection (line 6f.). The request for divine aid that was present in the prayer sections discussed above is repeated here too :

Gináda ih sina férgon mit fórahtlichen suórgon,  
(III,1,9).

The special contribution of this chapter, however, lies in the selection of a number of likenesses which Otfrid presents to depict the relationship which he perceives between himself, as writer of the Evangelienbuch, and Christ who is the central

figure in the work. Various incidents from the life of Christ are cited and they are made to relate to Otfrid and his Evangelienbuch. Fig. 1 below shows how the parallels are constructed. The gospel stories are interpreted so that their hidden spiritual meaning is made clear. The protagonist, Christ, remains the same but the other figures involved (lame and dumb persons, lepers, Lazarus, the child) provide pictures, or role-models, into which Otfrid projects himself, in order to illustrate some aspect of his calling as writer of

Fig. 1

Christ	Otfrid
Healed the lame (line 13) Cured the dumb (line 13)	Asks to be healed of lameness in telling forth the meaning of all this (line 14)
Healed lepers (line 15)	Asks to be purified a) physically from sores, etc. b) spiritually from sins (line 15f.)
Raised Lazarus (lines 19- 21)	Asks to be enlivened in his soul (line 22)
Is gentle, leads and protects as a father and a mother (lines 30-44)	Asks to be treated gently in his <u>muat</u> , i.e. in his mind, or inner self. (line 32)

the Evangelienbuch. In each case the miraculous deeds and the gentle nature of Christ are interpreted and applied precisely to the context of the writing of the Evangelienbuch. The image of lameness echoes the fuazi and pathway metaphor of I,1. The parallel between lameness and sin is derived from commentaries,<sup>156</sup> the physical deformity being a reflection of inner, i.e. spiritual unfitness. Hartmann, in her allegorical dictionary,<sup>157</sup> interprets Otfrid's phrase "er dúe theih hiar ni hínke, thes sésnes ouh ni wénke;" (III,1,14) to mean "den spirituellen Sinn unsicher aussprechen." The phrase conveys more than this, however, not only hesitation but also a distinct turning away from the correct path of interpretation, into error. Just a few lines above, Otfrid makes this very point : "In thesan búachon wanne ih áwiggon ni gánge," (III,1,11). What he really means, in both cases, is that he wishes God's assistance to avoid sin in general and the error of heresy in particular, heresy being nothing other than an incorrect version of the truth, a culpable, though not always deliberately intended, departure from the narrow Christian definition of what is true.<sup>158</sup> Leprosy, too, and the image of unclean wounds refer to the creeping disease of unforgiven sins.<sup>159</sup> The request for life in Otfrid's inner being, the sela, and gentle encouragement for the muat<sup>160</sup> are echoes of Otfrid's confession in the letter to Liutbert (lines 32-37) to a flagging of his spirits precisely at this middle section of the work, which was to cover the many miracles of Christ. These cameo pictures of the relationship between Christ and

the writer of the Evangelienbuch bring a deeper dimension to the comments on the process of writing the work. And because Otfrid persists in seeing his role in terms of biblical themes, images and events, it is necessary to look very closely at all of these chosen images, and take them into account when determining his literary intentions.

The concept of healing is clearly linked with all of those images mentioned above, along with the already familiar concept of cleansing and purifying. The concept of parenthood echoes the dependence which is displayed in the prayer-like sections of the chapters discussed above, and reinforces the concept of monastic brotherhood in joint sonship with Christ as part of the "family" formed by God the Father and all believers. In this chapter, as in the others discussed above, it appears that Otfrid's literary theorizing takes place in close connection with a large body of religious, but remarkably consistent, themes and images.

#### Praefatio libri quarti (IV,1).

The preface to the fourth book has much in common with the introductory and concluding chapters discussed above. Once again there is some statement of what Otfrid intends to write next (Nu will ih scriban... line 5) and also a very long reference to what has been mentioned before concerning the impossibility of including every detail (lines 23-36). In this case, however, a further reason is cited for the omission of some material, namely that Otfrid wants to hurry to make sure that he has opportunity to deal adequately with the key

event of the crucifixion :

Nub íh es thoh bigínne, es étheswaz gizéle,  
jóh ouh thanne giíle zi thes krúzonnes héile.  
(IV,1,25f.)

This is a small remark with deep significance. The Evangelienbuch is not concerned with expansive exegesis of the whole content of the gospels. It is constructed with the emphasis towards the end, the culmination of Christ's earthly life and the beginning of his reign in the next world. In other words, Otfrid has taken the liberty of re-organising the biblical structures, in order to create a new emphasis of his own. Chapter Five below investigates this policy in detail.

Otfrid's preface to his fourth book sustains the reader or listener's interest with promises of the approaching "grand finale" of the work. The chapter evolves into prayer form two thirds of the way through (line 37) and ends, like the other prayer sections discussed above, in a brief and formal evocation of the future reward of believers in the presence of God in heaven. There is in this chapter the customary request for divine guidance : "er selbo ríhte mir thaz wórt!" (line 5) and also a reminder of the omnipotence of God :

... allaz, druhtin, thíner thank  
drúhtin, allaz thín duam, thaz éwiniga wisduam!  
(IV,1,49f.).

At this late point in the development of the Evangelienbuch there is less need for literary explanations and more urgency to lead the work to its logical conclusion with the death and resurrection of Christ.

Conclusio voluminis totius (V,25).

The last chapter of the last book of the Evangelienbuch opens with a literary metaphor which has not been used before in the rest of the work :

Selben Krístes stíuru    joh sínera ginádu  
bin nú zi thiú gifíerit,    zi stáde hiar gimíerit;  
(V,25,1f.)

The image of the ship returning to harbour after a long voyage is common in classical Latin literature as a motif representing the activity of creative writing, and especially of epic poetry.<sup>161</sup> Christian writers, however, adapted the image to all kinds of writing, and there are various levels of interpretation in the Christian context. Kartschoke summarizes the most basic level of meaning :<sup>162</sup>

Der christliche Symbolgehalt der nautischen Metaphorik ist hinlänglich bekannt. Das Schiff ist Symbol der Kirche, des Menschen Leben gleicht einer Schiffsreise, die Welt dem wildbewegten Meer, auf dem der sündige Mensch Schiffbruch erleidet.

The Schiffsreise at the heart of Otfrid's imagery recalls the earlier references to human "fuazi" on the journey through life, and just as the steps on the way are also literary units of measurement, so here the image of a sea voyage is also a way of depicting the writing of the Evangelienbuch. The notion of a long journey with a beginning and an end reflects the single linear narrative of the Evangelienbuch. Though there may be breaks and pauses on the way, or division in the work of literature, the forward movement is continued right to the end, when the ship reaches the safety of the harbour, or

in other words the author may lay down his pen and rest from the work of composing, or in yet a further sense, the pious reader and listener may one day reach the "distant shore"<sup>163</sup> of eternal life after death.

Further interpretations of this image in the patristic writers and the Carolingian commentators point to even more precise literary connotations. Ernst, who researches this topic most thoroughly<sup>164</sup> cites Origen,<sup>165</sup> who maintains that dealing with the Christian scriptures is like sailing, and that sailing close to the shore signifies remaining with the literal meaning, while venturing into the spiritual meanings is like sailing far out to sea, with all the risk that this involves. The similarity between Latin littera ("letter," pl. "learning" or "literature") and classical Latin litus ("shore") later often spelt littus, is significant here. In spite of the difference in the "i" vowel, which is short in the first case and long in the second, there remains enough orthographical overlap to allow Christian etymologists scope for speculation. This is compounded by the possibility of both single and double "t" spellings for both words in Christian times. It is not likely that Christian writers would have confused the two words, but it is possible that Origen's Greek text, once translated into Latin with this fortuitous wordplay, gave rise to exegetical extensions. Otfrid appears to be aware of this scholarly process of deduction and to exploit its mnemonic potential. He evidently perceives his "journey" as one of the latter, more adventurous type, because he makes reference to "thes stades

feste" (line 6) suggesting that the journey has been an uncertain and difficult one, and to "thero árabeito" (lines 7, 97), the "hardship" which was experienced on the way. The interpretative sections of the Evangelienbuch confirm that there is room in the work for more than just literal meaning, and this aligns the work in the second of Origen's categories.

Jerome, to whom Otfrid refers in line 69, also mentions the Holy Spirit as being the "wind" that moves the sail of the writer's metaphorical vessel,<sup>166</sup> and both writers fully exploit the value of the classical reference, whilst also stressing the Christian commitment of their work. It has been noted that both Alcuin and Walafrid Strabo make use of a ship-coming-to-harbour image to depict the author's coming to the end of a long piece of literary composition, though of course both authors wrote in Latin.<sup>167</sup> The Carolingian authors fuse diverse elements to evoke a particular emphasis upon the literary and the spiritual in close relation to each other. In this way the classical image gains from Christian accretions, and the Christian ideas gain from the resonance and aesthetic quality of the classical image.

The rest of the chapter recapitulates many of the ideas first presented in the introductory letters and chapters. Motivations behind the writing of the Evangelienbuch are aired once again, with a firmer stress upon the idea of minna (lines 8; 21) káritas (line 14) and brúaderscaf (line 22). The issue of the vernacular is briefly mentioned once more "Tház ih es bigúnni in únserez gizungi;" (line 11) and, as before, the

blame for any fault is assumed readily by the author, including specifically any instance of dúmpheiti, úbili, frávili and árgi (lines 30-32). Any credit, however, is to be assumed as God's own doing, and Otfrid asks his friends to offer thanks to God if there is anything of value in his work:  
Si frúma in thesen wérkon: thaz sies góte thankon,  
(V,25,25).

Conclusions with reference to I,17; I,18 and I,19.

It has emerged from the sections of the Evangelienbuch discussed above that there are many different factors to be taken into consideration when analysing Otfrid's approach to the writing of the whole work. Although several motives are expressed to explain the theoretical background to the work, it is clear that these are set in order of priority, with the single aim of promoting the understanding of the gospel message at the top, and all others behind. All of Otfrid's literary decisions, including choice of language, genre, verse form, even vocabulary, derive from this main religious consideration. His persistent spiritualization of the act of composing the work, his literary definitions and his imagery have their basis in the Bible or in commentaries, and his illustrative examples are drawn from these same sources, all of which points to Christian thinking and Christian ideals as the source and end of the Evangelienbuch.

There is one additional reflective section of the Evangelienbuch which, though not overtly concerned with literary production, nevertheless adds weight to Otfrid's

arguments on this subject. The section of the Evangelienbuch which relates and explains the visit and return journey of the Magi (I,17; I,18 and I,19) is regarded as one of the most successful parts of the work as far as literary quality is concerned. Numerous citations in Old High German readers and a detailed analysis by Ernst<sup>168</sup> single out this group of three chapters as a particularly fine example of the author's theological, linguistic and even lyrical skills. Rarely in the rest of the work does Otfrid attain such a high level of eloquence as in his lament on the bitterness of earthly life :

Arabeiti mánego sint uns híar io gárawo,  
ni wollen héim wison wir wénegon wéison.

Wolaga élilenti, háрто bistu héрти,

thu bist háрто filu suár, thaz ságen ih thír in  
álawar!

Mit árabeitin wérbent thie héiminges thárbent;

ih haben iz fúntan in mír, ni fand ih líebes wiht in  
thír;

Ni fand in thír ih ander gúat, suntar rózagaz muat,

séragaz herza joh mánagfalta smérza!

(I,18,23-30).

The details of Otfrid's technique are documented elsewhere<sup>169</sup> but one unexplored facet of this intriguing group of chapters is its relation to the rest of the Evangelienbuch as a whole and in particular to the theoretical sections discussed above. The usual view of these chapters is that they are an anomaly, a startling exception to the general mediocrity of the rest of the work. In fact, however, the story of the Magi, and of their return "ándara stráza" (I,17,77), is built upon the foundation carefully prepared in the preceding chapters and in

the introductory epistles. Its eloquence on a stylistic level may well permit it to stand in isolation as a tribute to the author's talent, but the deeper meaning of the story and its levels of interpretation emerge only in the light of foregoing and following chapters. The image of the journey, for example, in itself an exegetical commonplace, a picture of the process of salvation, of the movement from birth to death and ultimate rest in heaven, for the believer at least, takes on yet deeper meanings when read in connection with the metrical imagery of "fuazi" in I,1 and the ship imagery of literal and spiritual interpretation of V,25. Just as in these passages Otfrid turns these ultimately classical images to a vernacular role and a Christian application, so here, he changes the Latin "patria paradisi" imagery into something much closer to his Frankish-speaking audience. He addresses the reader or listener directly :

Thu ni bíst es, wan ih, wís:    thaz lánt thaz heizit  
páradis;  
(I,18,3)

He goes on, after this use of the Latinate word "páradis" to make use of expressly Germanic terminology, a technique which he elsewhere takes pains to avoid, for fear of unwanted heathen connotations. On this occasion, however, the echoes from the heroic, and probably oral, Germanic tradition are unmistakable :

Thar ist líb ana tód,    lícht ana fínstri,  
éngilichaz kúnni    joh éwinigo wúnni.  
(I,18,9f.)

Quite apart from the coincidence of the appearance of line 9

in the enigmatic Muspilli poem, which suggests a common source, or at least a common pool of formulaic expressions,<sup>170</sup> there are echoes from the realm of the Germanic heroic epic. Many lines contain more than a hint of alliteration : "līb/līoht" (line 9); "éngilichaz/éwinigo" (line 10); "wollen/wison/wir/wénegon/wéison" (line 24); "hárto/hérti!" (line 25). But Otfrid's borrowings from the heroic tradition are firmly kept to the surface of his work : the Germanic word "kúnni", for example, for all its heathen connotations, is linked with the Christian "éngili" concept. The alliterative depictions of line 9 refer to the Christian "páradis". Most interesting of all, however, is the development of the imagery throughout chapter 18. The starting point is the moral drawn from the foregoing story :

Mánot unsih thisu fárt, thaz wir es wesán ánawart,  
wir únsih ouh birúachen inti eigan lánt suachen.  
(I,18,1f.)

Then follows the brief explanation :

Thu ni bíst es, wan ih, wís: thaz lánt thaz heizit  
páradis;  
(I,18,3).

This land called "páradis" is then described and praised. In line 12 Otfrid uses the word "ínheimon" instead of the Latin-based form "páradis" and from then on the vocabulary used to denote the ultimate destination of believers is predominantly Germanic :

- ádalerbi (line 17)
- héim (lines 24, 31, 44)
- héiminges (line 27)
- éigenemo lán-te (line 34)
- héimwisti (line 45).

This repetition of "h<sub>e</sub>im" and related compounds along with the emphasis on the trauma of exile "élilente" (lines 16; 25) creates an atmosphere of longing. This is intensified by means of emotive words depicting mental and physical suffering. The starting point for this line of interpretation was no doubt Hraban's commentary on Matthew :<sup>171</sup>

Revertuntur autem per aliam viam, qui infidelitati miscendi non erant Judaeorum. In eo enim quod admoniti magi faciunt, nobis profecto insinuant, quid faciamus. Regio quippe nostra paradisus est, ad quem Jesu cognito redire per viam qua venimus, prohibemur. A regione etenim nostra superbiendo, inobediendo ... discessimus; ... Per aliam viam ad regionem nostram regredimur, quando qui a Paradisi gaudio per delectamenta discessimus, ad hoc per lamenta revocamur.

In comparison to Hraban's commentary, Otfrid's text makes more impact on the deeper, intuitive level of understanding and experience. In Otfrid's account nostalgia for the past, for a lost homeland, is depicted along with longing for a "return" to the Christian state of rest, i.e. heaven. This is to be understood on a global scale, as a picture of the fate of fallen mankind, but Otfrid insists that it be accorded a personal relevance too : the narrator of the Evangelienbuch substantiates the argument with personal comments (lines 27-30) drawn from the realm of daily experience. The impact of this passage, whether it reflects actual experience or rhetorical posing, is the same : an intensification of the theological argument to an almost unbearable point of individual, personal involvement including both reader and author. A listener, too, thanks to the combined effects of both rhyme and frequent alliterative phrases, could not fail to be drawn into this emotive sphere of argument.

The passage reaches a climax after lines 27-30 and this is the point at which a modern, and many a mediaeval preacher would make his altar-call : there is an exhortation to follow the example of the Magi, incidentally stressing the comradeship (they are called "ginoza") with each other and, by extension, with the reader or listener :

Farames so thie ginoza ouh ándara straza,

then wég ther unsih wénte zi éigenemo lánthe.  
(I,18,33f.).

The metaphor of the pathway, so intricately explained in I,1,41-48<sup>172</sup> is repeated here complete with all elements necessary for interpretation :

Thes selben pádes suazi suachit réine fuazi;

si thérer situ in mánne ther tharána gange:  
(I,18,35f.)

The word "situ" meaning "lifestyle" or "moral conduct" betrays the practical application of the imagery. The words "suazi", "réine" and "fuazi" with mention of the pathway, and the motivating "karitate" (line 38) convey this same concern for the Christian progress of the reader or listener but they also bring into the argument all of the previous literary theorizing. Once again life and literature are linked so that the passage exhorting readers and listeners to a particular course of action (moral, balanced and "sweet" lifestyle) also exemplifies what it teaches about literary production (correct, metrically balanced and "sweet" poetry). It is no coincidence that this, the one of the most-quoted rhetorical show-pieces of the Evangelienbuch, should contain echoes of

the metaphors for literary composition first revealed at the beginning of the work. Above all, the Germanic "home" of the readers and listeners, their place of origin, so eloquently recalled in Otfrid's language and so closely identified with feelings of longing, is made to be an image of heaven, a foretaste of the inheritance prepared for believers. The way home for Frankish Christians is not via the heathen past, neither in historical nor in literary terms, but through a Christian future. And Otfrid shows that this Christian future has familiar as well as foreign elements. This passage, more than any of the theoretical sections on literary production and national identity, succeeds in securing a place for Otfrid's language and people in the Latin and Greek-dominated Christian world.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The 'Evangelienbuch' in its Literary Context.

It is necessary, in the study of any literary text, to examine not only the author's professed intentions, but also the context in which the work was written and the literary background against which it is set. This entails looking, in the case of the Evangelienbuch, at other Christian writers who wrote expressly literary works, or works about literary theory, which are comparable with the Evangelienbuch in one or more of their features. These may be divided, for the sake of convenience, into the following three categories :

- i) the gospels themselves, in the Vulgate version
- ii) Latin works of theory and literature based on Christian thinking

and iii) vernacular works of literature. The period relevant to the Evangelienbuch stretches from the writing of the New Testament until at least the early Middle High German period, if not beyond. In the discussion which follows attention is paid more to the form and scope of the works in question than to the content. This is because so much early Christian, and especially gospel-related, writing is so derivative as far as content is concerned. Often works which are not sources are nonetheless able to act as models and influences in many different ways. Moreover it must be borne in mind that contrast is also a relation, and works which are unlike the Evangelienbuch in some respects can still add to our understanding of Otfrid's work.

Latin Prose Gospel texts. : the four gospels.

Certainly Otfrid's work is derivative, in the way that all overtly Christian work is derivative, as a re-working of the biblical and especially the gospel texts. But exactly which gospel texts, and in which form, Otfrid used is a matter open to debate.

The work of Erdmann in his careful edition of the Evangelienbuch<sup>1</sup> has provided readers in modern times with a reliable indication of which of the four gospel narratives lie behind most of Otfrid's narrative passages. Beyond this, Hummel and others<sup>2</sup> have examined the predominance of some gospels over others in the Evangelienbuch, notably that of John over the three synoptic gospels, and this has led to some discussion of theological bias, and the force of Otfrid's teaching in the work as a whole.

Otfrid's conscious debt to source materials is evident from his frequent mention of the word "evangelio" in both singular and plural forms throughout the Old High German text. But there is no consistent approach to source-citing, so that the reader is frequently exhorted to "read the book(s)" or "read the gospel(s)"<sup>3</sup> without necessarily knowing which text exactly the author is referring to at any one moment.

The role of the narrator in the Evangelienbuch is often that of a mediator between the unspecified biblical source and the reader or listener. Passages are introduced with sometimes more, sometimes less, and sometimes no indication of origin. The simplest cases to follow are those where the context makes

it clear which particular gospel version is being treated at any one time. This happens when the gospel concerned is the only one to deal with a particular event, or the only one to mention a specific detail. An example of this is the beginning of Book II where the heading "In Principio erat Verbum" points unmistakably to the opening lines of the gospel of John. In other cases, where the context is not quite so well known, an informed reader would know, or an eager student would make the effort to find out, which of the four original Vulgate gospels relates the event in question. This would be beyond the capabilities of the absolute beginner or the layman, but in a monastic context it would not be unreasonable to expect such clues to be noticed. This is the case, for example, in the following rendition which gives indication of a particular time of year :

Ther evangélio thar quit, theiz wari in wintiriga zít.  
thisu dát ubar ál thia íh iu hiar nu ságen scal.  
(III,22,3f.)

In this case the gospel which supplies the detail is that of John.<sup>4</sup>

On several occasions Otfrid helps the reader by providing the gospel author's name.<sup>5</sup> Usually, longer extracts following one or the other gospel writer succeed each other, suggesting that a prose version like the Vulgate would be a useful aid to the reading of the work and the learning of the lessons it contains. In II,3, however, which serves a "recapitulatio" function, as its title suggests, Otfrid lists events drawn from separate gospels and gives no warning of changing

sources. The story of Anna and Symeon is recorded in Luc. 2:34ff. and the (in Otfrid's version) immediately following mention of the killing of the infants after Christ's birth is taken from Matt. 2:16ff. Far from pointing out this difference, Otfrid speaks cryptically of "ther evangélio" :

Ther evangélio ouh giwúag, wio man thiu kindilin  
irsluag,  
wio kúrt in was thes líbes fríst, tho siu irstúrbun  
thuruh Kríst.  
(II,3,27f.)

The word "ouh" (line 27) suggests continuity with the preceding piece of narrative, but the gospel source has apparently changed. Even more surprising is the further repetition of the word "ouh" this time linking the current narrative with the foregoing sections of the Evangelienbuch :

Maht lésan ouh hiar fórna, wio er kóson bigonda  
wíslichen wórtan mit then éwarton.  
(II,3,29f.)

The source of this reference appears to be the gospel of Luke again, which is confusing for the reader. Otfrid refers to "ther evangélio" in such a way that one is not sure whether this means one particular gospel, or the whole corpus which goes to make the whole gospel message, or indeed his own "gospel-book" itself.

Otfrid also mentions the four gospels in such a way that one must assume he means students to read all four separate canonical texts :

Thaz duent lútmari thie scríptora fiari,  
thie scríbent evangélion; lis sélbo theih thir redion.  
(III,14,3f.)



gospel material, whole gospels and the concept of "the gospel" meaning the consummate message, because it suits his teaching purpose to have each part of the Evangelienbuch regarded with some of the same reverence and expectation that was accorded the scriptures themselves. The fact is, that the word "evangelio" in the Evangelienbuch does not always mean the four canonical texts of the New Testament. It may mean a more vague generality which can only be hinted at in fragmentary writings, or in an assembly of such pieces. The gospels of Matthew and Luke are referred to as separate pieces :

Lis thir Mátheuses déil, wio ward ein hörngibruader héil;  
in Lúcases deile, wio zéhini wurtun héile.  
(III,14,65f.).

These two passages are not cited in order to point out contradictions in the four New Testament gospels, but rather to show as much as possible of the combined material which is present there. One is exhorted to read both versions and simply add the separate contributions to find the total sum of recorded events. An interesting point in this connection is the way Otfrid later refers to his own version of the gospel narratives as equally just a part of the whole :

Thes síe mih batun hártó selben gótes wortó,  
thaz ih giscrib in unser héil evangéliono deil;  
Tház ih es bigúnni in únseraz gizungi;  
(V,25,9-11).

This echoes Otfrid's phrase in the letter to Liutbert "partem evangeliorum eis theotisce conscriberem" (line 9f.). From these passages quoted here it is evident that all written

gospel texts, whether the individual gospels of Matthew and Luke or Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, or other versions, extracts and stories, are "evangéliono deil," that is, individual parts of the complete corpus of gospel material. They stand together in a relation of mutual support, leading the reader or listener to the complete revelation which comes with the ultimate award of "héil" meaning salvation and acceptance with God.

A similar approach is taken as regards other biblical source materials used in the Evangelienbuch. Otfrid frequently mentions the "buah frono" or the "forasago"<sup>7</sup> which draws attention to both Old and New Testament background materials and gives a vague scriptural underpinning to the Evangelienbuch without specifying any one "source". A large body of material is quoted, referred to, or hinted at, and the result is a mosaic of pieces, including the Evangelienbuch itself, the Latin gospels, the Old Testament Prophets and Psalms, and occasional commentaries<sup>8</sup>, all of which together begins to convey the divine will as presented in the life and work of Christ. Precisely because the Evangelienbuch employs so much second-hand material, and does not dare to stand in isolation, it is able to take its place alongside, and not instead of, more illustrious and revered texts in the Christian didactic tradition.

The Evangelienbuch works most closely together with the Latin Vulgate of Jerome. This was, of course, by the ninth century, the accepted foundation for the Christian faith and had superseded the Vetus Latina texts which had served the

early Church in the West. McKenzie correctly observed that Otfrid's work, on the level of content, is often incomplete if regarded in isolation. Some passages only make sense when the gospel prose narratives are read simultaneously with the Old High German.<sup>9</sup> This observation, which is thoroughly substantiated by McKenzie, is supported by a convincing demonstration of verbal links between Otfrid's headings (and marginalia)<sup>10</sup> and the actual Vulgate text. From this it is clear that the Vulgate, if not always the source for Otfrid's work, is apparently intended to be read in conjunction with the Evangelienbuch, or at the very least kept in the reader's mind as he reads the Old High German.<sup>11</sup>

#### The 'lectionarium'.

Unfortunately, McKenzie goes on to blur the issue by noting links between the Evangelienbuch and the Latin lectionarium which was in daily use in monastic communities as a collection of readings drawn from the Vulgate and arranged in a specific sequence to coincide with the ecclesiastical calendar of feast days and liturgical celebrations. McKenzie concludes, rather vaguely, that :<sup>12</sup>

Otfrid composed a work which may be regarded essentially as a companion to those portions of the Vulgate destined for reading in the divine Office.

What exactly he means by "companion" is not explained. McKenzie elsewhere maintains that the Evangelienbuch is also a commentary to the Latin Vulgate<sup>13</sup> by which he means the consecutive prose texts of the four gospels as translated by

Jerome. It is clear that there is some confusion here. McKenzie fails to explain the status of the Evangelienbuch in relation to the Vulgate itself, and the precise nature of the connection between Otfrid's work and the Latin lectionarium.

In order to clarify this point, it is necessary to take into account the function of all three texts, the Vulgate prose gospels, the lectionarium, and the Evangelienbuch, as far as it is possible to do so. The form of the texts in all three cases holds the key to understanding their function and the everyday routine of monastic life provides a fixed context, and the most likely sphere of application for them.

There is no indication that the Evangelienbuch was intended to fit into the sequence of ecclesiastical celebrations in the way that the lectionarium was. Furthermore, the Church authorities were not in favour of the use of the vernacular in a ceremonial context.<sup>14</sup> Beyond schoolroom use, basic catechetical training and missionary activities, the use of the vernacular was rather discouraged. This alone precludes any consistent use of the Evangelienbuch instead of or alongside the Latin lectionarium. In fact, the whole question regarding the lectionary form and the Evangelienbuch is a misleading one which has too often side-tracked scholars into false conclusions.<sup>15</sup> The most that one can safely assume is that Otfrid was likely to have used a lectionarium in daily life, and may have had recourse to one as a ready collection of individual gospel passages.

The relation between his work and the lectionarium was

one of convenience only, and there is no indication of a lectionary form in some way being imposed upon the Evangelienbuch. The author was capable of thinking out his own structural framework, and then referring to source materials such as the Vulgate gospels, lectionaries and commentaries when he needed confirmation of details or further ideas. It is conceivable that both gospels and lectionaries were used by Otfrid as a check for the accuracy of the Evangelienbuch. Indeed the remarks in the letter to Liutbert concerning the decision to cut down the middle section indicate that Otfrid was sovereign over the order and length of sections included, and that he resorted to his own arrangement of events at least some of the time.<sup>16</sup>

The fact that many of the passages chosen by Otfrid for inclusion in the Evangelienbuch coincide with the passages selected for liturgical use can be easily explained without postulating any direct dependence. In both cases the passages concerned are texts of central importance in the Christian faith, in particular they convey a concise summary of basic Christian doctrine. The lectionary, based on a cycle of the year's key events, and the Evangelienbuch based on a chronological progression through the life and work of Christ, both have claims to universal scope : they both aim to impart the essential content of the gospels without problematic comparisons of differing texts. It is natural that there should be areas of overlap between these two very different sorts of work, but that does not suggest that one derives from or depends on the other.

The value of the Evangelienbuch's approach is that it achieves these aims on a manageable scale and in an informal and easily comprehensible language, with exegesis at difficult points. The lectionary is tied to the context of formal worship, and requires further elucidation in the form of sermons or preparatory teaching. It is possible that Otfrid detected a gap in the education process of his Order<sup>17</sup> and, realising that the basic gospel readings were not always adequately understood by those whose Latin was poor, decided to turn his attention to the teaching of the most basic gospel events and doctrines.

The justification for the piece-meal treatment of the gospel sources may have been not the formal requirements of the set patterns of reading and worship, but rather the practical needs of the teacher and the learner. The attention span of the learner is short, particularly if the learner is a beginner. The short-term strategy of division into chapters of varying lengths tailors the material into manageable "lessons". The long term aim of the work is to provide an over-view of the Christian faith. The resulting text book is a versatile aid for teaching, applicable to the early stages of training for the priesthood, and to the general education of younger monks. It has potential for extension to the education of lay people, but this is not its primary purpose.

Seen in this light, the whole question of Otfrid's individual "sources" takes on a different kind of importance. It is a straightforward, but not especially informative task

to spot Vulgate and patristic sources for each section of the Evangelienbuch. Such groundwork establishes only what Otfrid is likely to have read, and it does not explain his motives and his particular contribution in the choice of material and arrangement of ideas. It is sufficient to note that the Vulgate and possibly also the lectionarium provided the basic narrative material and that certain patristic writers provided the bulk of the exegesis.<sup>18</sup> The question which remains to be answered is the origin of Otfrid's idea to write a gospel harmony. It is still not clear exactly how and why Otfrid fitted together the pieces of narrative and exegesis which together form the Evangelienbuch, and which works, if any, influenced his choice of structure. In this connection it is necessary to look at other works which attempted a similar synthesis of gospel material.

#### Tatian's 'Diatessaron'.

The earlier gospel harmony of Tatian, in various forms, was a very influential work in both Eastern and Western Europe long before the time of Otfrid.<sup>19</sup> Without penetrating too deeply into the very great problems of Tatian scholarship, which are aired at length elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> it is possible to sketch roughly the distribution and influence of this work. The MS which for a long time was supposed to be the source of all other Western Tatian texts is the Codex Fuldensis, F. This MS was apparently copied by Victor, Bishop of Capua from 541-554 and is based on an original Greek, or some think Syrian, source.<sup>21</sup> The date of Tatian's original, now lost, is

supposed to have been around 172 AD.<sup>22</sup> The date of F is fixed at 546 AD.

A ninth century Tatian text is the St. Gall MS which contains both a Latin version G1, and an Old High German version which von Weringha calls Gahd. The introduction of Sievers' edition of this bi-lingual Tatian harmony wrongly supposes that both versions, Latin and Old High German, derive from the Fulda MS.<sup>23</sup> In fact the two Latin versions, F and G1, do not stem from the same tradition at all, and the later St. Gall version represents an older strain of the material than the Fulda text. Moreover, the Old High German version in the St. Gall MS does not tally with the Latin text it accompanies. The Old High German Tatian displays links with still further Tatian texts containing apocryphal and Eastern elements.<sup>24</sup> Still further codices, the Munich Harmony Cod. lat. Mon. 10025 and Cod. lat. Mon. 23977, are independent of F but agree with an early Arabic version of the Tatian harmony in some respects.<sup>25</sup> There is evidence of apocryphal Judaeo-Aramaic material in Tatian's writing, and the Gospel of Thomas has been cited as an important source.<sup>26</sup> Tatian elements have been found in the Heliand<sup>27</sup> and in later mediaeval works such as the Saelden Hort and the Middle English Pepysian Harmony, as well as Dutch gospel harmonies.<sup>28</sup>

All of this is problematic for those who wish to plot the transmission of Tatian material in its precise geographical and historial stages. The task is further complicated by a process of "vulgatisation" which was applied, particularly in

the West, to the pre-Vulgate Latin MSS. The pre-Vulgate wording of Tatian texts was changed to agree with Jerome's canonical text, thus giving the resulting harmonies a superficial resemblance to the later dominant gospel form. These two traditions, Eastern fidelity to earlier, non-Latin Tatian elements, and the Western insistence on resemblance to the wording, if not always the structure of the Vulgate, appear to have both been represented in the selection of Tatian texts circulating in Germanic language-speaking areas in and around the ninth century. The St. Gall and the Fulda MSS display an intertwining of the two strands of Tatian tradition, and the bilingual St. Gall MS alone demonstrates that other Latin MSS, now lost, must have been available then, since the Fulda text does not provide a suitable basis for it.

The relevance of all of this to Otfrid and his Evangelienbuch lies in the ready availability of Tatian texts and their rejection by Otfrid as models or sources. It has long been established that Otfrid did not follow the Tatian order of events and selection of material.<sup>29</sup> No Tatian text, vulgatised or not, was the basis for the structure of the Evangelienbuch. This does not mean, however that Tatian's harmony, and its reputation, had no influence upon Otfrid. On the contrary, given the connections which existed between Otfrid himself and the monasteries of Fulda and St. Gall, there is no doubt that Otfrid must have been acquainted with some or other of the Tatian texts. Furthermore, the writing of a gospel harmony such as the Evangelienbuch is bound to have

invited comparison with the well-known Tatian material in the mind of any informed reader both in the ninth century and beyond.

Otfrid's rejection of Tatian texts as models for the Evangelienbuch is all the more striking since the letter of Victor which precedes the Tatian harmony in the Fulda MS and (though incomplete) the St. Gall MS bears more than a fleeting resemblance to Otfrid's own introductory letter to Liutbert. Victor's letter begins with some discussion of the nature of the text which follows, revealing that Victor was not sure of the origins of the MS, neither its proper title, nor its real author. Victor wonders whether the text might be identical with one mentioned by Eusebius in his letter to Carpia<sup>30</sup> or with one written by Tatian and mentioned by Eusebius<sup>31</sup> in his history of the early Christian Church :<sup>32</sup>

Ex historia quoque eius conperi quod Tatianus vir eruditissimus ~~et~~ orator illius temporis clarus unum ex quattuor compaginaverit evangelium, cui titulum Diapente composuit.

The introduction of Victor's letter discusses the structure of the text in question, and this revolves around the numbers four and five. Parallels with the letter to Liutbert and its discussion of the Evangelienbuch's structure spring to mind. Victor's naming of the work as "Diapente" is linked with the terminology of making "unus ex quattuor" in the rest of the letter. It is more usual to call Tatian's work "Diatessaron" stressing the importance of the number four (presumably the four gospels of the New Testament) than "Diapente" which stresses the number five. A simple transference of the meaning

from "one text made out of a collection of four" into "four plus one, that is five texts altogether" would explain Victor's choice, but then so would the assumption that the Tatian text is "one text made out of a collection of five", in other words that Tatian used five sources, and not just the usual four. Some have supported this line of thinking and have argued that the Aramaic Gospel of the Nazarines, is in fact the "fifth source".<sup>33</sup> An even more intriguing theory is that the "Diapente" title refers to the Greek terminology of music theory. The words "diatessaron" and "diapente" express the intervals of fourth and fifth on the diatonic scale, suggesting that Victor has extrapolated four tone steps, symbolising the four gospels, leading up to the interval of a fifth (the Tatian "harmony").<sup>34</sup>

The rest of Victor's letter is concerned with Eusebius' version of a canon for those who wish to see where the different parts of the harmony come from, and how to establish a scale of reliability, against which each piece of information can be measured. What is particularly interesting, is Victor's explanation of the symbolism of the numbers involved. The number four is the perfect number of the four gospels and the number ten is the logical number for the sum total of the content of all four gospels together, all based upon the monetary system of the denarius. The basic idea is that readers may draw out sections of gospel material much like money-changers give smaller denominations for a larger one :

In quattuor igitur evangelistis evidenti numerorum ratione monstratum est quod non valeat communis propriaque relatio ultra progredi aut intra denariam contrahi quantitate. 35

... quatenus ut optimi trapezitae omnia probemus secundum apostolum et quae sunt bona sectemur. 36

The details are provided in a listing of the overlapping of material which occurs in the gospels, and the theory of a round sum being broken up into various combinations of smaller size elucidates the practice of harmony-writing as seen by early Christian writers. It is possible that Otfrid's four and five contrast owes at least a slight debt to these remarks. Certainly the symbolism of four, five, and also ten, is a feature of the way ninth century readers would have received the Tatian material, since the Fulda MS (and one assumes also the St. Gall MS at one stage) contained detailed explanations in Victor's letter, and a diagram illustrating the point.<sup>37</sup>

#### Conclusion : The 'Evangelienbuch' in Relation to early Latin Prose Gospel Texts.

The inclusion and exclusion of scriptures in the Christian Bible was a perennial topic of discussion in the letters of many of the Church fathers and at the numerous councils of Church leaders. The comments of Eusebius, through Gregory's translation, were passed on to the Middle Ages. Jerome himself included a set of the Eusebian tables with his revised translations of the gospels in 384, and from this time onwards the tables were linked with the gospels.<sup>38</sup> From this it is clear that the Christian exegetes were critical of their sources and anxious to establish criteria for authenticity and

aids to comparative study of the scriptures. The whole idea of "harmonizing" or "selecting" the material contained in the gospels is a key issue in the various debates and struggles connected with heresies. By rearranging the material available, and by elaboration and exclusion of particular doctrines, disagreements could arise and grow. The fact of differences and duplications in the four New Testament gospels was, then, a potential source of disunity in the Church. In this light the concept of a "harmony" with all its connotations of unity and perfection is an attractive, but potentially dangerous proposition.

Out of this situation came a central reference work for the early mediaeval Church, namely Augustine's De consensu Evangelistarum,<sup>39</sup> which seeks to point out and explain the different emphases of the separate gospels in terms of a "unity in diversity" approach. The treatise (significantly arranged in four books, as if to echo the four gospels) ends with an explanation of the major difference in the gospel narratives, that is, the individuality of John's gospel in relation to the three synoptic gospels :<sup>40</sup>

quamvis in illis tribus activae, in Joannis autem Evangelio dona contemplativae virtutis eluceant eis qui haec dignoscere sunt idonei.

This contrast between "active" and "contemplative" recalls the monastic world of withdrawal from everyday life. Otfrid's obvious preference for John over the other three gospel writers may be based on this line of reasoning. The finishing paragraph of Augustine's treatise goes on to link the contemplative sphere of Christian life with the "dulcedine

charitatis",<sup>41</sup> and this is once again a view which is echoed very firmly in the Evangelienbuch.<sup>42</sup>

Support for Augustine's argument is drawn from the imagery of I Cor. 13, where much is made of "seeing in part" now and waiting for the coming of what is perfect at some later stage, at the end of life, or at the end of the world :

Ex parte enim cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus. Cum autem venerit quod perfectum est, evacuabitur quod ex parte est. ... Nunc cognosco ex parte : tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum.

I Cor. 13:9,10,12.

Augustine argues that all four gospel writers are truthful, and that their partial renditions, when added together, comprise the full revelation given by the Holy Spirit to man. This full revelation is, however, as the passages quoted above indicate, in turn only part of the "perfect" revelation which is reserved for those who have been prepared for the next world.

The Evangelienbuch, a selection made from a partial revelation, is thus condemned to incompleteness, as the author readily admits. The reception of the Tatian harmony, with its accompanying tables comparing the New Testament gospels, gives some indication of the sort of fate in store for the new, and innovative Evangelienbuch. At best the Tatian harmony's reception was mixed. At first it was well received in the East, as Ephraim the Syrian and Theodoret of Cyrrhus testify.<sup>43</sup> The latter, in the mid-fifth century, explains in a collection of notable heresies<sup>44</sup> that the Tatian harmony "quod Diatessaron dicitur" was used naively in a liturgical context,

"simplicius tamquam compendario libro".<sup>45</sup> In other words, the economy and convenience of the work made it a tempting alternative to the more cumbersome four gospels. However, upon realising the unorthodoxy of this practice, and the serious consequences of altering the sacred scriptures and their role in the liturgy, Theodoret himself had 200 copies of Tatian's text collected (for destruction) and instead introduced copies of the four canonical gospels. The large number of Tatian texts in use testifies to the popularity of the work in the fifth century in the East, but its fate in this case at least, shows the effect of too rigorous an application in formal worship.

In the West there was no place for the Tatian Diatessaron in the mass, but certainly plenty of interest in the work, with canon tables, as a variation on the familiar gospel narratives, and an exercise in dismantling and reassembling pieces of the whole corpus. The Diatessaron would not have been seen as a replacement for the four separate gospels. But as an educational tool for the gaining of a better understanding of the intricacies of the gospel narratives it has something to offer. It is in this respect that the Evangelienbuch most resembles the Diatessaron. An informed and critical readership of both texts would appreciate the patterns and emphases in each. Monastic readers with experience of listening to, reading, and copying the gospels in a lifetime of study would enjoy the "game" of detecting the author's working behind the finished text, piecing together sections of narrative and following threads from the four

gospels as they twine through the harmonized text. The texture of the work changes with the shift between passages composed from material from two or three gospels, and those from one single gospel, now one and now the other, thus adding to the effect of a musical "harmony" of different voices.

It is clear, then, that Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, resting upon the Diatessaron's reputation, if not on its content, can be read on different levels. It may be treated as a simple "compendium" of information, for straightforward presentation of a factual narrative. This excludes it from any ceremonial role in the celebration of the mass (as indeed its Old High German language also does), but makes the work ideal as a basic textbook. A deeper level of reception lies in an appreciation of the work's complex relation to the gospels, and in an enjoyment of the artistry in its construction. All of this was subject, of course, to the constraint of Christian scholarly, educational and aesthetic practices as allowed and fostered in the Weissenburg monastery and beyond. Before any conclusions about the literary contribution of the Evangelienbuch, in its time and beyond, can be made there must be an understanding of the literary and historical conditions which formed the background and starting point for a gospel harmony in the vernacular and with more literary aspirations than the mere re-telling of the events recorded in the New Testament narratives. There is, by the ninth century, a well-developed tradition of Christian writing. It is here that we must look for the origins of the Evangelienbuch, bearing in

mind, however, that it is not so much "sources" that we will find, as inspiration and encouragement to experiment with a language in its infancy and to attempt full-scale literary composition on a central Christian subject in this medium. The Christian literary tradition can, for our purposes, be divided into Latin and vernacular writings, and though the relation between the two is often close, as indeed the Diatessaron's MS distribution has shown, they are treated now in turn.

Latin Christian Literature and the 'Evangelienbuch' : the beginnings.

The process of adapting classical Greek and Latin literary and rhetorical techniques to Christian purposes<sup>46</sup> had already begun long before Otfrid's time. Christine Mohrmann's work on the Latin of the early Christians<sup>47</sup> pinpoints a number of problem areas encountered by those who first sought to compose specifically Christian works :<sup>48</sup>

All things considered, we can speak of two extremes. In the first centuries the Christian texts either follow the Classical traditions of style, or they disdain any traditional style at all. We see this latter in the earliest Latin translations of the Bible, and we know how many were held back from Christianity by the so-called artlessness of the early Bible translations.

Even in the ancient Greek and Latin discussions of the value and function of rhetoric there had been conflicting opinions. In very simple terms, there were two main strands of theory :<sup>49</sup>

Rhetoric is conceived by Aristotle as the art of giving effectiveness to truth; it is conceived alike by the earlier and the later sophists and by their successors as the art of giving effectiveness to the speaker.

The origins of Greek rhetoric are closely linked with the

institution of Attic democracy, which offered opportunity for the art of persuasion to be developed within the sphere of daily political and judicial affairs. These theories were passed on to the early Middle Ages through the Roman writers, many of whom adopted Greek categories and techniques with only minor alterations. The major difference between the Greek and the Roman writings on rhetoric lies in the function to which this art was assigned. In general, the emphasis shifted from politics towards academic applications. The art of rhetoric was one of the fundamental subjects in the Roman school curriculum and as a result it became increasingly a set of rules to be learnt, and then applied to the construction of set-pieces like panegyrics, paraphrases and letters. A number of the textbooks designed by and for Roman teachers of rhetoric were later to become the mainstay of mediaeval Christian schools, and many of the classical genres and exercises translated well into the new Christian context.

One of the most influential texts in this field was the anonymous treatise Ad Herennium,<sup>50</sup> for a long time thought to be the work of Cicero, and widely used as a handbook. Its scope is limited to a purely pragmatic presentation of very fixed rules for students to memorise and follow in the construction of the usual set-pieces.<sup>51</sup>

The recognised master of rhetoric was, however, Cicero, whose De inventione was an immature work, but his later dialogues De oratore, and Partitiones oratoriae<sup>52</sup> provide comprehensive educational material for both Christian and non-

Christian writers to the time of the Reformation and beyond. Quintilian's Institutionis oratoriae libri XII<sup>53</sup> follows Cicero very closely but stresses even more firmly the link between rhetoric and education.<sup>54</sup> The first centuries of the Christian era saw the paradox of the best Christian scholars learning their literary and oratorical skills in the secular schools, using the works of non-Christian masters as their example.

The Christians who inherited this tradition were faced with the dilemma of the obvious benefits of classical rhetoric on the one hand, and its equally apparent drawbacks. Whilst eager to exploit the persuasive power of rhetorical techniques, they wished to avoid slipping into the sophistic tendency of valuing the brilliance of the orator above the net content of his argument. The Christian faith's absolute claims to a system of revealed truth could not easily be reconciled with the art of deception as practised by skilful but opportunist speakers. The standard was set by the authors of the New Testament who maintained a deliberate distance from Greek thought.<sup>55</sup> St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthian Church attempts to replace ingenious speech-making in the Greek style with a stark proclamation of a new, divine truth :

Quoniam et Judaei signa petunt, et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt : Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum : Judaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, Ipsi autem vocatis Judaeis, atque Graecis, Christum Dei virtutem, et Dei sapientiam : Quia quod stultum est Dei, sapientius est hominibus : et quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus.

I Cor. 1:22-25.

The attitude which St. Paul takes towards the old Greek

tradition is entirely negative :

Non enim misit me Christus baptizare, sed evangelizare :  
non in sapientia verbi, ut non evacuetur crux Christi.  
I Cor. 1:17

This argument suggests that the actions of Christ cannot be enhanced by any human skills of speaking or writing. The crux Christi which he mentions represents not just the object itself, nor even just the event of the crucifixion, but the whole area of Christian theology which teaches the sacrifice of Christ as a means of salvation for mankind. The hitherto much-valued wisdom of the Greeks, which is inseparable from their written and spoken rhetorical skills, is rejected by Paul:

Ubi sapiens? ubi scriba? ubi conquisitor hujus saeculi?  
Nonne stultam fecit Deus sapientiam hujus mundi?  
I Cor. 1:20

The hard-earned wisdom of the world is replaced with the "foolishness of God" in the form of gospel preaching. Attention is drawn away from the medium and towards the message :

Et ego, cum venissem ad vos, fratres, veni non in sublimitate sermonis, aut sapientiae, annuntians vobis testimonium Christi. Non enim judicavi me scire aliquid inter vos, nisi Jesum Christum, et hunc crucifixum.  
I Cor. 2:1f.

In spite of these denials of the relevance of Greek skills, however, St. Paul and indeed almost every learned Christian after him, owed a great deal to the Greek traditions. St. Paul himself could not have avoided Greek influences in his education under Gamaliel<sup>56</sup> and his letters are full of effects and techniques demonstrably derived from the Greek tradition.<sup>57</sup> The structure and form of Paul's argument in the

passages quoted above prove the very opposite of his contention : it is quite clear that a total rejection of classical devices, in a world formed and nourished with these basic ingredients, would have been wholly impractical. The effective communication of any information, Christian or otherwise, depends not only upon the quality of the message, but also upon the medium which is chosen for its delivery. Indeed the history of the sophistic rhetorical system, in showing repeatedly the power of eloquent and persuasive speech and writing, demonstrates the relative unimportance of the subject matter when the delivery and the style are sufficient to carry an audience or a reader. An unimaginative literary style which disdains all forms of eloquence is unlikely to be of much value in the preaching and teaching of the tenets of the Christian faith. There soon began to emerge preaching manuals which attempted to present Greek and more often Latin rhetorical devices in a form which was designed to aid the Christian orator. One of the first to face this problem squarely was Augustine.

Augustine's 'De doctrina christiana' and the 'Evangelienbuch'.

In his treatise De doctrina christiana<sup>58</sup> Augustine argues that there is nothing to hinder Christian authors from using technical aids to enhance the eloquence of their work and thus more effectively communicate their message. Instead of being an end in itself, as it could so easily become in an academic context, the art of persuasion was to be a means towards the

furtherance of the message of the gospels. In support of this argument, Augustine cites examples from the Bible itself, pointing out features which are recommended by rhetoricians and also to be found in the Christian scriptures. Quoting from Cicero, Augustine distinguished three levels of style, and defines the purpose of each as follows :

- parva submisse (plain style) : for teaching
- modica grande (medium style) : for pleasing
- magna granditer (grand style) : for persuading.<sup>59</sup>

The technical terms are from Cicero<sup>60</sup> but the purposes to which each category is assigned are Augustine's own addition. An even more significant addition of Augustine's is the specification of the reactions to be expected in the listener, equally in a three-fold division, running parallel to the three levels of style :<sup>61</sup>

Qui ergo nititur dicendo persuadere quod bonum est, nihil horum trium spernens, ut scilicet doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat : oret atque agat, ut quemadmodum supra diximus, intellegenter, libenter, obedienterque audiatur.

In his attempts to fit this theory to the Christian context, Augustine recommends that Christian authors ought to use the plain style for the largest part of their works. This is in marked contrast to the Greek and Roman preference for the more impressive medium and especially grand styles.<sup>62</sup> The new, Christian adaptation of the Ciceronian style levels, therefore, aims to move listeners ultimately into obedient acceptance of the spoken or written word but this is to be done through two important stages : first, a proper understanding must be guaranteed, without which the next two

stages would be meaningless. This is the groundwork and is to take up most of the speaker's energies. But stage two, the adornment of texts with moderate rhetorical features, is permitted as an encouragement for the reader or listener to persist until he reaches the last stage, which is induced by the sparing use of the full force of persuasive skills. The pragmatic benefits of rhetoric are just as highly prized by Augustine as they were by his classical Greek and Latin-speaking models, but the Christian application of this art is to meet the listener or reader more than half way : it must operate through the listener or reader's understanding, aiming to instruct as well as to please and persuade. This vital distinction is the major difference between Christian and other kinds of oratory. The eternal fate of the hearer is at stake, and consideration of the capacities and limitations of the audience is the first duty of the speaker.<sup>63</sup>

Augustine not only presents a certain theory for Christian writers, but he also follows his own advice as he writes. This is an observation which equally applies to the Evangelienbuch, and both works reveal a great deal about the attitudes which lie behind expressly Christian writing. The reason for the stress upon the plain style is revealed in the prologue to De doctrina christiana, in which Augustine indicates the purpose of his own work :<sup>64</sup>

Sunt praecepta quaedam tractandarum Scripturarum, quae studiosus earum video non incommode posse tradi; ut non solum legendo alios qui divinarum Litterarum operta aperuerunt, sed et aliis ipsi aperiendo proficiant.

The similarity between this statement and Otfrid's

introductory remarks is clear. Both authors are motivated by a desire to teach willing students to read the scriptures, and both actively encourage their readers to consult the works of commentators, and to make sure that they understand what is read. Augustine spells out the next step in the learning process : the gaining of sufficient understanding so that students may in turn teach others effectively, and thus pass on the store of knowledge they have gained. Otfrid does not mention such a second-generation effect in connection with the Evangelienbuch. Perhaps modesty prevented him from looking so far ahead. But by sending a copy of his book to Hartmuat and Werinbert<sup>65</sup> at St. Gall Otfrid may have attempted to ensure that other teachers and students have the opportunity to make use of it. Certainly the desire to influence future scholars is implicit in Otfrid's undertaking the writing of such a long and scholarly work in the first place.

Otfrid's affinity with Augustinian thinking has been frequently noted, and there is now no reasonable doubt that the author of the Evangelienbuch had either read, or absorbed through his teachers, in particular Hrabanus Maurus, Augustine's theories on literary production.<sup>66</sup>

In particular, the pre-eminence of the "plain style" which Augustine prescribes as the essential tool of the Christian teacher, is exactly relevant to the Evangelienbuch. Critics were not slow to point out the thoroughness and the apparent lack of imagination and variety in Otfrid's writing :

Wer wird sich unterfangen, Otfrid vom rein dichterisch-aesthetischen Standpunkt zu bemäkeln und zu kritisieren? Sein Werk ist in dieser Hinsicht größtenteils ungenießbar,

denn gar zu oft wird die Poesie von theologischer Gelehrsamkeit erstickt. 67

Where the Heliand sets store by liveliness of narrative, Otfrid sets out to display his skill and his expansiveness of learning, often seeing no reason to use ten words where fifty will do ... 68

In the light of Augustine's comments, all is explained :

... non curante illo qui docet, quanta eloquentia doceat, sed quanta evidentia. 69

Augustine does not go so far as to recommend that a Christian teacher should write theological works in a language other than Latin, but he does state that the achievement of clarity is paramount :<sup>70</sup>

Quamvis in bonis doctoribus tanta docendi cura sit, vel esse debeat, ut verbum quod nisi obscurum sit vel ambiguum, latinum esse non potest, vulgi autem more sic dicitur ut a doctis, sed potius ut ab indoctis dici solet.

In speaking of a "vulgar language" Augustine is referring to a debased kind of Latin. If in the fifth century this should prove necessary, how much more should it be a vital need in Otfrid's time? Otfrid is far removed both geographically and in time from a society which is Latin-speaking from birth, and it is no wonder that his students experience difficulty with classical Latin. Augustine goes on to recommend that ornaments be removed (and once again Otfrid's concept of "reini"<sup>71</sup> caused by the removal of unnecessary material springs to mind) and that a less perfect form of the Latin language be employed if that inferior medium is more able to communicate the required truth to the audience.<sup>72</sup> This line of thinking, when applied to the context of the Evangelienbuch, suggests that the self-effacing style of the work may be attributed to the

teacher's search for clarity, and not, as some would have it, to the inferior creative talents of the author. To give aesthetic satisfaction is not the highest aim of the Christian author. The three levels of style should, in accordance with classical theory, all be used, but in different proportions. The plain style should predominate, followed by the other two in descending order, reserving the persuasive grand style for rare occasions when the writer wishes to move his readers or listeners to a specific course of action.

Otfrid's decision to write in the vernacular prohibits a direct implementation of these guidelines in the traditional manner. Nevertheless it is possible to trace varying levels of style in the work, and to discern that the bulk of the narrative and exegesis is carried in an unremarkable, didactic fashion. Books II and III especially, which contain most of the teachings and miracles of Christ, rarely show signs of rhetorical elaboration. Passages like Otfrid's lament in the discussion of the return of the Magi<sup>73</sup> are the exception rather than the rule, although their inclusion time and again in Old High German readers tempts the unwary student into the mistaken conclusion that they must be representative of Otfrid's Evangelienbuch.

The fact is that the adaption of classical theories of rhetoric to Christian purposes involves a subtle change of emphasis which gradually becomes apparent over several centuries. In the passages from De doctrina Christiana cited above, the emphasis is upon the outward form of Christian writings. C.S. Lewis correctly identifies a deeper level of

meaning to the subject in connection with another influential work of Augustine's which also deals with the question of style in Christian writings. In this case the style of the Bible itself is the topic of discussion :<sup>74</sup>

... we meet St Augustine's curious statement that the Bible uses humillimum genus loquendi (Confessions, VI,v). If this referred to the style in the narrower sense, if the Psalms and the Prophets seemed to him to use 'the lowest language' it would be almost inexplicable. Almost but not quite; the great, roaring machine of Latin rhetoric can, at times, deafen the human ear to all other literature. But from the context I suppose that St Augustine is referring to something rather different - to that apparent naïvety or simplicity of the literal sense which offended him until he had been taught that it was merely the outer shell, concealing the sacramentorum altitudo...

Even the "lowest" or "plainest" passages of biblical narrative are, for Augustine, potentially laden with deep, spiritual truths. This belief is the basis upon which the whole Christian exegetical tradition, including Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, is built. It is precisely this attitude, this expectation that behind every fact, every action, every word or idea, lies a hidden meaning, which demands that Christian translators and expositors exercise a restrained and simple narrative and didactic style. Skilled formal adornment, however appealing to a listener or reader, may divert attention away from the lesson and towards the accomplishments of the writer. Augustine provides a well-chosen image to illustrate this point :<sup>75</sup>

Prorsus haec est in docendo eloquentia, qua fit dicendo, non ut libeat quod horrebat, aut ut fiat quod pigebat, sed ut appareat quod latebat. Quod tamen si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suos pervenit fructus, qui ea quae discenda sunt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dicantur, scire desiderant. Quod cum adepti

fuerint, ipsa delectabiliter veritate pascuntur : bonorumque ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba. Quid enim prodest clavis aurea, si aperire quod volumus non potest? Aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest? quando nihil quaerimus nisi patere quod clausum est. Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum, etiam ipsa sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt.

The distinction which Augustine makes between the word itself and the truth behind the word (verba and in verbis verum) is vital. The implication behind this reasoning is that there is a body of truth behind the words, which may be rendered in different types of language. Whilst in no way denying the divine inspiration of the Christian scriptures, this notion separates the message of the gospels from the New Testament texts themselves, whether the original Greek or the Latin of Jerome. It opens the way for later scholars to justify the activity of translation, and it positively encourages the re-working of the old stories in different styles and in different genres.

Augustine's imagery in this passage indicates how far removed the Christian view of eloquence is from its classical Greek and Latin counterparts. He dismisses the idea that eloquence is a versatile means of persuasion to be employed specifically to change the minds of a group of people, and substitutes a closed system in which the gospels are the hidden truth and language is the key to the discovery of that truth. In other words language is a tool, a functional object for the use of those who wish to find the hidden truth. This is not to deny the value of eloquence, since gold is intrinsically of greater value than wood, but Augustine

changes the scale of values by placing all of the importance on the function. The humbler object acquires a greater value than the highly-prized object because the humbler object better fulfils the purpose for which it was made.

Such reasoning makes little sense when applied to a literary aesthetic, but within a Christian world view, based as it is upon a system of revelation and interpretation, it is perfectly consistent. The contrast between what is revealed and what is hidden is enormously important to the Evangelienbuch and in fact it is one of the recurring themes of the work, conveyed theoretically in a number of biblical images, and in practice as Otfrid displays his skill as a teacher and interpreter, laying bare the hidden meanings of the Latin scriptures to his German-speaking audience.

It is useful at this point to note the complexity of Augustine's imagery. Though intended as a treatise for teachers, who must surely have a good knowledge of Christian symbolism, De doctrina Christiana is also a very fine literary endeavour. The image of the key, drawn from biblical sources, and much used to describe educational aids in the early Middle Ages and beyond<sup>76</sup> is given a specific application by Augustine, and then linked with the image of seasoning. This somewhat unnatural juxtaposition illustrates another important feature of Christian literary thought-processes. The seasoning image is intended as a counter-balance to the austerity of the first image : while the key symbolises the role of language as a way to revelation, seasoning symbolises

the use of language as a means of sustaining the interest of the learner. Once again the origin of the image is the Bible, though classical references to "Attic salt" and the like may play their part too. In New Testament usage salt symbolises the distinctiveness of believers in relation to unbelievers.<sup>77</sup> But it is also used by Paul with reference to divine "grace" in human speech :

Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut  
sciatis quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere.  
Col. 4:6

Augustine transfers this to a written context, expecting his reader to recognise the biblical sources and appreciate the new nuance of meaning which his use of the image brings. Eloquence is portrayed therefore both as something superfluous (as the gold adornment of a functional object) and also as a vital ingredient in the activity of teaching and learning (like seasoning in food). These images are, on one level at least, oppositional. The reader is forced to reconcile these opposites by a process of selective interpretation. Above all, the whole section must be held in the mind before the full meaning which Augustine wishes to convey is retained. One of the images alone is only a part of the lesson being presented. It is quite clear that this Christian author demands a high level of concentration in his reader, and a heightened receptivity to this symbolic kind of reasoning. Sensitivity to the biblical background, the context and the physical properties of the images under discussion is required, along with an ability to reason on two or more levels simultaneously.

These examples from Augustine's discussion of Christian doctrine and its presentation are typical of the many-layered approach of the Christian exegetes. The prerequisite for all exegetical activities, even the reading of commentaries and the proper understanding of sermons and Bible readings, is a knowledge of and skill in literary techniques. This, however, posed problems for the Christian Church, and Augustine's De doctrina Christiana, far from being a final solution to these problems, merely added fuel to a long-term preoccupation with literary matters. This usually was expressed in the form of a debate about the value of the ancient literary theories and practices as passed down in literary monuments in relation to the newer doctrines of the Christian faith.

#### The "Classical versus Christian" debate.

The learning and literature of the classical Greek and Latin worlds were not entirely supplanted by Christian thinking. In pre-Christian times Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27BC) had drawn up a list of nine subjects namely grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, medicine and architecture.<sup>78</sup> This list was reduced by two in the Middle Ages because the last two were regarded as separate crafts requiring specialised training. This left seven in total comprising the trivium : grammar, logic and rhetoric, for introductory studies, and then the quadrivium, regarded as more suitable for advanced students.

An influential work modelled on older classical works was

the De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii by Martianus Capella (fl.430)<sup>79</sup> which provided an allegorical discussion of the seven so-called liberal arts of the ancient world. This, along with other works, was adopted by Christians as a school textbook and widely used in monasteries in the West. Its presence before 883 in St. Gall, for example, is noted in a catalogue of that date.<sup>80</sup> The text is interesting because it mixes verse and prose in a style reminiscent of the "Satires" of Menippos the Greek (fl. 270BC). There is no doubt that this antique form was chosen to match the classical-style content of the allegory.<sup>81</sup> The De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii is based upon an elaborate personification of Philologia as a female figure, and a parallel depiction of Mercury, the god of eloquence, as her suitor and husband, with ample recourse to classical reference throughout. Both of these tactics, the alternation of verse and prose, and the use of extended personification, are taken up by later Christian writers. Cassiodorus (c. 485-570), apparently leaning upon the example of Martianus Capella, wrote a more expressly Christian encyclopaedia of the seven liberal arts.<sup>82</sup> The major contribution of Cassiodorus was to emphasize that the study of the liberal arts was to be undertaken in order to help Christians understand the scriptures. These works provide a link between the forms and ideas of the ancient world and the Christian West. Their survival was guaranteed by the mediaeval libri manuales, which were, as the name suggests, handbooks for the use of advanced scholars.<sup>83</sup> A great many of these were compiled, and many lost so that it is often difficult to

ascertain exactly which excerpts from which authors are referred to in the cryptic library catalogues which are often the only surviving evidence of these works. But from those which have survived, in spite of intensive usage through many centuries, it is clear that the grammaticists, the literary theorists and the classical philosophers and poets were collected just as avidly as the patristic writers. The greatest advocate of retaining classical learning through the Christian period was, however, Boethius (c. 480-523) who prefaced his important work In librum de interpretatione :<sup>84</sup>

Ego omne Aristotelis opus quodcumque in manus venerit, in Romanum stilum vertens, eorum omnia commenta Latina oratione perscribam, ut si quid ex logicae artis subtilitate, et ex naturalis acumine veritatis ab Aristotele conscriptum est, id omne ordinatum transferam, atque id quodam lumine commentationis illustrem, omnesque Platonis dialogos vertendo, vel etiam commentando in Latinam redigam formam. His peractis non equidem contempserim Aristotelis Platonisque sententias in unam quodammodo revocare concordiam et in his eos non ut plerique dissentire in omnibus, sed in plerisque quae sunt in philosophia maxime consentire demonstrem.

Boethius testifies to a waning of interest and a decreasing competence in Greek language and literary studies which he fears may rob the West of the valuable learning of the ancient world. The formulation in the first sentence quoted above "all of the works of Aristotle that come into my possession" or even "that I can get my hands on" betrays the desperation of a man who sees the downward trend and tries to stop it by his own work of translation and interpretation. He wishes to preserve the essence of the old world in its complexity, for reference, so that the knowledge gained then can be of use to subsequent inheritors of worldly power and learning. There is

perhaps even a hint of sadness at the dilution of the ancient wisdom that excessive christianisation brings about. History after Boethius shows just how near the subsequent generations came to losing altogether the treasures of classical philosophy. Boethius did not achieve his aim, the task was in any case far beyond the capability of one man, but his contribution in this area is noted :<sup>85</sup>

However, when all is said, Boethius remains the pivotal figure in the history of medieval logic. Without his translations and explanatory treatises, the history not only of logic but of philosophical debate in the early middle ages would have been different and the progress towards a recovery of the ancient expertise slower and more painful.

Boethius, the classically educated Christian, personifies the dilemma of the Christian Church in the West in this period. Augustine, who had a Christian mother and a pagan father, coped with the problem of the classical heritage with an allusion to the Old Testament story of the Israelites' flight from Egypt : the chosen people were allowed to take with them gold and silver treasures from their former captors and this symbolises, according to Augustine, the way the Christian Church is permitted to plunder the literary "treasures" of the classical period.<sup>86</sup> This likeness manages to convey the value of the goods, but also the suspect nature of their origin, from a Christian point of view. Had Augustine pursued the image further, with reference to other biblical stories,<sup>87</sup> he would have been able to demonstrate the other, more dangerous side of the issue, namely the incorporation of unsanctified treasures into the people's hearts and minds. Boethius,

equally appreciative of the learning and skill of the ancients, went so far as to argue the value of Philosophy as a consolation to men, and this without recourse to any specifically Christian argumentation or quotation from the Bible.<sup>88</sup> This tactic stands in marked contrast to the more soundly theological works of Boethius, to the extent that later scholars have questioned the common authorship of the two types of work and/or the Christian commitment of Boethius. The debate was finally solved on the grounds of sound MS evidence.<sup>89</sup> The discrepancy just has to be accepted as a personal decision of Boethius himself, brought on, perhaps, by the forced imprisonment in which he spent the last years of his life, and in which he wrote the work.

The Consolatio Philosophiae is not, on the surface at least, a very original creation. It contains large amounts of quotation and allusion to classical authors. The tale revolves around the narrator and his dealings with "Philosophia" who appears as a supernatural female being. Personification as a narrative device is, of course, widespread in the classical period and beyond.<sup>90</sup> Through discussion with this allegorical figure the narrator argues his way from despair to hope in God. The work was eagerly copied, glossed and translated in the early Middle Ages. In the later Middle Ages it came into its own as a classic of the scholastic period. Sassen<sup>91</sup> notes : "Es ist das beliebteste Lesebuch des Mittelalters." Gilson<sup>92</sup> lists as evidence of the work's popularity and influence translations into English by King Alfred the Great, into German by Notker Labeo and French by Jean de Meung, and

also countless annotated versions including those by an anonymous St. Gall author, by Remi of Auxerre and Bovo of Corvey. The latter, however, abbot of the Saxon monastery at Corvey from 900 until 916, warned his monks against the Consolatio Philosophiae, though himself convinced of the value of Boethius' early theological works.<sup>93</sup> By this time the absence of overtly Christian terminology was reason enough to render the work especially suspect for those accustomed to Christian writings. Chadwick is correct in pointing out the presence of non-Christian thinking in the work :<sup>94</sup>

The Consolation is a work written by a Platonist who is also a Christian, but it is not a Christian work.

His conclusion is, however, not quite correct, for within the cumbersome body of theology in the West, there was room enough for many accretions from classical and other sources. Rand describes the work more accurately :<sup>95</sup>

The 'Consolatio' does not, like the 'Opuscula Sacra', deal directly with problems of Christian theology, but it is the work of a Christian theologian who holds fast the distinction between fides and ratio. There are naturally no traces of Christian doctrine in the 'Consolatio' for the reason that Philosophy speaks, and not Faith.

This fine distinction was, however, not apparent enough to many later readers.

The late ninth to early tenth century was not a time of notable openness to classical antiquity. The period between Boethius' lifetime and the age of Charlemagne had brought a tremendous expansion in the territories which belonged, nominally at least, to the Christian fold. The outstanding figure of the sixth century, Gregory the Great (c.540-604),

contributed much to the coherence and order of the Church and of the monasteries. He reformed the liturgy and gave his name to the new singing practices in the Church. But he was also remembered, perhaps unfairly, as an enemy of the classical literary skills. In a letter to Didier,<sup>96</sup> a Christian teacher fond of using secular literary works in the classroom, Gregory deplores the study of classical literature for its own sake. The language of Gregory's letter is strong, and it reflects a general turning away from the classical heritage and towards the growing body of expressly Christian writings that imitated classical styles without the "pagan" subject-matter. The context of Gregory's remarks must be borne in mind, along with the rest of his comments on the subject in other works. Gilson points out the true emphasis of Gregory's thinking :<sup>97</sup>

Gregory did not mean to say that it was immoral to learn grammar; his real thought, as expressed in his Commentary on the first Book of Kings (5,30) was that the liberal arts should only be studied with a view to understanding Scripture, but that a study of them with that end in view was really indispensable.

The successors of Gregory brought new impetus to the "Classical versus Christian" debate, ensuring that the Carolingian age, too, was to come to terms with this dilemma. In spite of all such negative comment, however, the Consolatio Philosphiae left its mark. It is not impossible that even Otfrid took inspiration from this much loved and much criticised classic. Several features of the Evangelienbuch recall the spirit, if not the letter of Boethius' work. Otfrid's restrained reverence for the writings of the "Kriachi Joh Románi" (I,1,13) and the mention of classical writers in

the letter to Liutbert, albeit with the customary expression of disapproval of their non-Christian subject matter,<sup>98</sup> shows that there is no rejection of classical literary models in Otfrid's statements on literary production. The impressive lament on the troubles of earthly life in the three Magi chapters (I,17-19) and the metaphor of the journey could as easily be inspired by Boethius and the classical tradition he quotes as by more expressly Christian works. The single most striking "classical" element in the Evangelienbuch, namely the extended personification of "caritas" in IV,29, which merits more discussion below,<sup>99</sup> bears a striking resemblance to Boethius' allegorical figure of "Philosophia". This point was half-seriously made by Rohrer in the concluding paragraph of his thesis on the relation between the Evangelienbuch and Tatian, albeit alongside the somewhat extravagant mention of Caedmon, the Irish tradition, the Shepherd of Hermas and Goethe's "Ewig-Weibliche".<sup>100</sup> Rohrer goes too far, of course, but he is correct in pointing out a common direction, something which links Otfrid's religious work with a broader, more "classical" tradition.

The point about Boethius' Consolatio being a Christian work in classical guise has been made once more in a recent article (March 1988)<sup>101</sup> but this time with precisely this example of the figure of "Philosophia" and the figure of "caritas" in the Christian tradition. Magee's article, which covers only Boethius and his sources, confirms the argument stated above, and quotes the very Bible passages which concern the seamless robe as a previously unrecognised "parallel" to

Boethius' imagery.<sup>102</sup> The study also usefully explains the historical context of schisms and political disunity behind Boethius' choice of images. It seems that Otfrid, writing also in a period of unrest in the Christian fold, recognised the parallels which Boethius had first used, linking the old art of philosophy and the new concept of Christian unity, with all the echoes of classical literature and Augustinian exegesis, and decided to use them in his own work. This is one of the few sections of the Evangelienbuch where Otfrid departs from the well-trodden paths of exegesis laid down by his customary Carolingian, patristic and biblical sources. But the departure makes sense when one sees it as an echo of Boethius, since this too, is a commonplace though not always approved, Christian source. Like Boethius' character Philosophia, Otfrid's karitas has woven a wondrous garment, which in turn symbolises the unity of the supernatural body that the female figure herself represents : Philosophia's tattered garments represent the schism-torn discipline of classical philosophy while karitas has a robe perfect in its seamless unity - a picture of the Christian Church :<sup>103</sup>

Vestes erant tenuissimis filis subtili artificio  
indissolubii materia perfectae quas, uti post eadem  
prodente cognovi, suis manibus ipsa texuerat ... Eandem  
tamen vestem violentorum quorundam sciderat manus et  
particulas quas quisque potuis abstulernt.

Wánta sia span scóno káritas in fróno,

si thie fáduma alle gáb joh sia sélbo giwáb.

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Biquámi ouh scóno ubar ál, so fadum zi ándremo scal,

sih untar rúartin, zisámene gifúagtin.

(IV, 29, 23f.; 41f.;)

Otfrid's chapter reads like a mirror-image of Boethius' depiction of Philosophia. The physical details are very similar, but the one is the perfection, one might say the fulfilment, of the other. No one who had read the Consolatio could fail to notice this parallel, and the subtle comparison made between pagan philosophy and Christian love. In other words, Otfrid's choice of imagery here sanctifies the old classical discipline of Philosophy by showing it to be a forerunner of the new Christian revelation. In this way an old enemy is made into an ally : Otfrid is able to use classical material, suitably christianised, to argue for Christianity.

An even more revealing link with Boethius is to be found in Otfrid's discussion of poetry and prose composition in I,1,19-30. Quite apart from the suggestion that Otfrid is here referring to the ability of writers of Latin and Greek to alternate prose and poetry at will (in the manner of Boethius in his Consolatio Philosophiae, for example!), there is a striking concurrence of chosen imagery to depict literary and learning activities. Boethius shows his contempt for art, and in particular literary art, which has no serious pretensions and educational value : in the Consolatio Philosophiae I,1-3, the figure of Philosophia banishes the Muses as soon as she enters the room :

... quae dolores ejus non modo nullis remediis foverent,  
verum dulcibus insuper alerent venenis ...

This "poisonous sweetness" is contrasted with the health-bringing seed of reason - all of which is further explained when Philosophia asks the poor narrator if he was the one who

once drank the milk and ate the meat which she provided :<sup>104</sup>

Tunc ille es, ait, qui nostro quondam lacte nutritus,  
nostris educatus alimentis in virilis animi robur  
evaseras?

This is echoed by Otfrid in his expression of contempt for the Germanic literary tradition and his insistence on the simple content of the gospels, and he even uses the same imagery. He too, mentions this basic idea that milk is for early and meat for later consumption, and that both in a figurative sense signify learning. Otfrid exploits this area of imagery and adds both Christian overtones, and a literary parallel :<sup>105</sup>

Ist iz prósun slihti: thaz drénkit thih in ríhti;  
odo métres kléini: theist góuma filu réini.  
(I,1,19f.)

The very many possible links between Boethius' Consolatio Philosophiae and the Evangelienbuch require further research. The minor details, however, are less important than the unmistakable similarity in the overall conception of these two works. Both were written to convey a large and important theme. Perhaps both men see the work of their old age, drawing on the experience of earlier years but completed very late, as the fitting end to a lifetime of learning and teaching within the Christian Church. In a sense, they wish to summarize their experience in a single text, to leave behind an individual contribution to the work of the Church. The subject matter of each is, on the surface, completely different : the one fictional and without doctrine, the other doctrine without fiction. The inner message of each is, however, similar : trust in God despite indications to the contrary. Rand reveals

the true nature of the Consolatio. :<sup>106</sup>

It is a mixture; it is in form a consolatio, but in content a systematic theodicy.

The concern of both Boethius and Otfrid is to encourage the reader of the value of learning, for this is the way to deal with disappointment on earth and to lead the reader to his heavenly reward. The images they share serve this purpose. Boethius presupposes a classically educated reader, hence the frequent quotations from well-known authors, and also demands that his reader have some ability to reason. From this basis he proceeds to lay out an argument from theoretical acceptance to a position of actual faith in the justice and goodness of God. Otfrid, however, assumes a minimum of faith, and hence his learned mention of commentaries and sources, and he proceeds to add details and explanations, so that an elementary faith can be strengthened by reasoned argument. Both books choose the number five, the symbol of earthly imperfection,<sup>107</sup> as the major unit of construction. Most significant of all, both approach their goal by unaccustomed means. Boethius argues with the repertoire of the pagan, but by no means worthless, classical world; Otfrid's way is to use the Frankish vernacular. Both tactics break with the usual Christian literary practices and are bound to meet with misunderstanding and disapproval. Their Christian message is in danger of being eclipsed by a seemingly alien form, particularly when prevailing opinions condemn the latter as a dangerous intrusion.

## The Biblical Epic.

Otfrid mentions a total of six authors in the letter to Liutbert : three pagan (Vergil, Lucan and Ovid) and three Christian :

... nostrae etiam sectae probatissimorum virorum facta laudabant, Juvenci, Aratoris, Prudentii caeterorumque multorum, qui sua lingua dicta et miracula Christi decenter ornabant;

(Ad Liutbertum 16-19)

The first three, as we have seen above, are cited as evidence of the achievements of their particular culture, and as models in literary technique. The second three are much more likely to have been regarded as good examples for the Christian author to follow. Juvencus, alongside his near contemporary Jerome, is one of the founders of Christian literature, as his popularity in the classroom testifies. Between Juvencus (early fourth century) and Arator (mid sixth century) there is a considerable development in literary activities, not least the contribution of Otfrid's third great name Prudentius (early fifth century) - "der bedeutendste, kunstvollste, universalste frühchristliche Dichter."<sup>108</sup> The addition of caeterorumque invites the assumption that other accepted masters such as Avitus, Sedulius and perhaps also later writers of Christian works right up to the time of Otfrid might also merit inclusion.

It is clear, then, that Otfrid sees himself as a continuation of the tradition of Christian writing on biblical themes and in Latin. How exactly he sees that tradition and his role in it is, however, not so self-evident. The mention



creates, for the trained reader, the atmosphere of the epic without there necessarily being much epic content in the work. Superficial resemblances are not always the best indications of a work's relation to other pieces of writing, and it is a matter of great contention, whether or not Juvenecus' gospel harmony is in any sense to be regarded as an "epic" work. Whereas the newer Christian literature certainly gained dignity and resonance from its use of an older form, there was nevertheless a distinct departure from that ancient epic tradition. The strange term "biblical epic", much used in the discussion of Latin Christian writers and also of Otfrid, derives from this pairing of "epic" form with biblical content, which was first tried out, with great success, by Juvenecus.

In modern studies on the subject Kartschoke<sup>111</sup> and others use this terminology. Their discussions, however, labour under constant definitions and re-definitions because their starting point is fundamentally false. A more accurate approach is the older one of Curtius who notes the disparity which exists between classical epic literature on the one hand, and the varied set of writings which together constitute the Christian Bible on the other :<sup>112</sup>

Das Bibelepös ist während seiner ganzen Lebenszeit - von Juvenecus bis Klopstock - eine hybride und innerlich unwahre Gattung gewesen, ein genre faux. Die christliche Heilsgeschichte, wie die Bibel sie darbietet, verträgt keinen Umguß in pseudoantike Form. Nicht nur verliert sie dadurch ihre kraftvolle, einmalige, autoritative Prägung, sondern sie wird durch die der antiken Klassik entlehnte Gattung und durch die dadurch bedingten sprachlich-metrischen Konventionen verfälscht.

Many later studies fail to take adequate account of this

observation, and they perpetuate a tendency to classify early Christian literature with ill-suited terminology. This terminology is applied, for example, in the otherwise excellent study of the figure of Mary in the Evangelienbuch by S. Greiner. The first chapter of this book (pp. 1-75) persists in the view that Otfrid follows almost exclusively in the wake of the Latin epic tradition, and even maintains that the Evangelienbuch itself is to be seen as a Christian epic. Of course not all of the features of the Evangelienbuch can be described in terms of the Christian epic, however one tries to define this strange genre, and this leads Greiner to such qualifying statements as :<sup>113</sup>

Auch Otfrid schließt in seine Geburtsschilderung den Marienpreis mit ein, so daß der epische Verscharakter durch lyrisch-hymnische Einschübe aufgelockert wird.

There are also such mystifying generalizations as :

Eine Übergewichtung der allegorischen Deutung findet sich, wirft man einen Blick auf die spätere Tradition der Bibeldichtung, in Otfrids Liber Evangeliorum nicht. Das erzählende und allegorische Moment stehen in seinem Epos in einem ausgeglichenen Verhältnis. 114

One wonders on what basis such judgement of "balance" between narrative and interpretative sections is made, and suspects that such comments arise from unwarranted expectations based on ill-defined epic standards applied to the Evangelienbuch. Otfrid himself certainly does not expressly claim an epic framework for his work, and his Old High German verse form has as many points of contrast to the classical Latin hexameter as it has similarities.<sup>115</sup> Rupp, who deals with the relation between the Evangelienbuch and the Latin Christian poets,<sup>116</sup>

is partly responsible for the later confusion in terminology. He reaches the conclusion that Otfrid does try to form a kind of hexameter, developed perhaps from the rhymed so-called leonine hexameter, used by Sedulius and others. Rupp admits the difficulties which attend this theory, and explains them thus :<sup>117</sup>

Otfrid weiß wohl, daß das antike Metrum nicht einfach auf Verse in seiner Sprache übertragen werden kann, er weiß, daß er nicht metrisch, sondern nur rhythmisch dichten kann (Ad Liutb. 76f.). Er kennt die Andersartigkeit der fränkischen Sprache und hat so viel Sprachgefühl, daß er nicht sein Fränkisch dem Hexameter, sondern den Hexameter seinem Fränkisch anpaßt.

Rupp goes on to argue that the resulting "Vierheber" line "kein Hexameter im strengen Sinn sein kann." In a separate article, Rupp states his point even more clearly :<sup>118</sup>

Aber die Art von Otfrids Vers und die Tradition, in der der Dichter steht, scheinen die Annahme zu bestätigen, daß Otfrid tatsächlich glaubte, einen dem Hexameter ähnlichen Vers zu dichten. Dazu verhalf ihm die Entwicklung, die der Hexameter seit der Spätantike genommen hatte. In der Zeit des Aufblühens der rhythmischen lateinischen Dichtung setzte Otfrid den metrischen Hexameter in einen rhythmischen Vers um; kurz gesagt - so paradox es klingen mag - : in einen Sechstakter mit acht Hebungen.

The debate, which is still not resolved, hinges upon the extent to which the term "Hexameter" can be stretched, that is to say, whether the break from six metrical units to four rhythmical ones constitutes a new kind of hexameter or a different verse form altogether. If the Evangelienebuch displayed other marked similarities in structure, style and content to the classical epic of Latin antiquity, or even to the so-called "Christian epics," then the hexameter theory might in part be substantiated. It is, however, far from

certain that the Evangelienbuch fits in either of these traditions. The issue is further complicated by the "biblical epic" terminology which is used, confusingly, for a variety of works written in different languages and often in very different structures and styles.

Part of the problem lies in the unfortunate fact that of the genre's two components, "Bible" and "epic", the latter somehow always gains prominence, and this in spite of evidence that the works in question are often far more truly "biblical" than "epic" in nature. The fault is a linguistic one, since any attempt to redress the balance giving priority to the content and theoretical basis of the early Christian works, rather than their outward form, results in a clumsy circumlocution such as "biblical text in epic form". In German the terms "Bibelepos" or the generalising "Bibelepik" are equally confused in their conception, as Kartschoke himself indicates : 119

Der inhaltlichen Ungenauigkeit der Bezeichnung Bibelepik tritt eine entsprechende gattungsmäßige Unsicherheit an die Seite. "Epik" ist hier kein durchweg klassizistisch zu verstehendes ästhetisches Präjudiz, sondern meint schlicht die erzählende Umsetzung biblischer (und apokrypher) Stoffe in nichtliedhafte Versdichtungen größeren Umfangs.

Roberts defines "biblical epics" referring only to Latin works as : 120

... all poems written in the dactylic hexameter which owe their narrative continuity to a biblical sequence of events.

Wehrli, on the other hand, who also favours this terminology, and applies it to the Evangelienbuch, complains that the biblical epic receives insufficient attention as a genre : 121

... man findet Bibelepik allenfalls unter dem Begriff Bibelübersetzung verzeichnet, obwohl damit die lateinischen Epen gar nicht und die nationalsprachlichen unzureichend erfaßt sind. Und doch zieht sich durch die europäische Dichtung vom 4. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert wie ein roter Faden das seltsame, immer neu versuchte Unternehmen, die Bibel zum großen, umfassenden Gedicht zu verwandeln, in Poesie zu übertragen.

Wehrli's mention of Latin and vernacular works in one breath, and his ambitious concept of "sacra poesis" are misleading :<sup>122</sup>

Es geht um den Gedanken einer christlichen Epik, einer höchsten Begegnung von Dichtung und Offenbarung, einer sacra poesis nicht nur dem Thema nach, sondern auch vielleicht nach ihrem Anspruch auf besonderen Rang und besondere Wahrheit.

It is clear that different critics, and even the same critics on different occasions, have widely differing ways of interpreting the cover-all term "biblical epic". In attempting to broaden a classical term to include Christian works they have confused the issue as regards Latin verse works and completely misread the situation as regards the Evangelienbuch. In any case the Evangelienbuch fits none of the definitions quoted above : it is more than just a narrative work and contains many different modes of writing, including even "liedhafte" sections which do not belong in an epic work. Moreover the material is by no means all of biblical origin, even though the main narrative line is provided by the four New Testament gospels. As for Wehrli's "roter Faden" : this is an unhelpful generalisation. Large sections of the Bible are already in poetic form and function perfectly well as poetry even in Jerome's conspicuously non-metrical translation. Moreover, it is only natural that the

Christian sacred texts should provide subjects for all kinds of literature : short and long, verse and prose, lyrical, epic, dramatic and other. The material is accorded "besonderen Rang" long before it is ever subjected to new literary forms. In no case is any re-working accorded a greater respect than the original, with the arguable exception of Milton's Paradise Lost, but this takes us well outside the range of the ninth century. The new literary re-modellings are designed to give pleasure of an edifying sort with the added side-effect in some cases of a use in evangelisation. There is no reason why this impulse should be limited to some pseudo "epic" pretension.

The rejection of the "epic" standards in our analysis of the Evangelienbuch should not, however, lead us into an equally inappropriate enslavement to "lyric" standards. Just how far astray a focus only on lyrical elements in the Evangelienbuch can lead is evident in Singer's astoundingly wrong-headed assessment of Otfrid's rendering of the beginning of the Gospel of John (II,1) :<sup>123</sup>

Ich will als Beispiel nicht eine der die breite Heerstraße wandelnden lateinischen Hymnen geben, sondern einen Hymnus eines Dichters, der noch immer nicht als der erste deutsche Lyriker der Zeit nach und als ein großer religiöser Lyriker überhaupt, anerkannt ist, dessen Anerkennung freilich darunter gelitten hat, daß er seine lyrischen Perlen in eine trockene, schlecht geordnete Übersetzung der Evangelien (mit Übersetzung dazu gehöriger Kommentarstellen) eingelegt hat.

Singer's citation of the text of II,1 in numbered stanzas and in half-lines instead of long-lines is a travesty of the Evangelienbuch, as indeed his assessment is bound to be.

Lyrical elements are detectable in this part and elsewhere in the Evangelienbuch but this does not mean that the work is to be judged according to classical or even early Christian lyric genres, and with negative remarks when the Old High German work displays long sections of non-lyrical text.

The gospels themselves, individually and together, versified or not, are products of a heritage completely distinct from the Graeco-Roman one. The world of the Old Testament is not the world of Homer and Vergil, and the contribution of Judaeo-Christian monotheism undermines the whole epic tradition. The trappings of Christian belief, and above all the heavy-handed moralizing that typifies overtly Christian works in this period, sap the vitality of pre-Christian struggles against or between Gods and demons of indeterminate stature. An over-powerful divine ruler gives new meaning to old concepts like rank and nationhood, prowess in battle and heroic ideals. The action takes on the automatic and predictable features of an exercise in praise of the deity. Of course there are other compensations in Christian narrative verse, but these fall outside the scope of the epic in any real sense of the word.

Kartschoke comes near to a solution to the confusion of terminology when he explains how the Christian tendency to lapse into panegyric sections necessarily affected the whole range of genres that Christian writers adopted from classical antiquity :<sup>124</sup>

Praktische Folge solcher Anschauung ist der grundsätzlich panegyrische Charakter christlicher Dichtung - sei es in

den neuen lyrisch-hymnischen oder den überlieferten episch-didaktischen Formen - und die daraus resultierende Neigung zur Vermischung der traditionellen Gattungen.

This is a much better basis on which to build an analysis of early Christian verse forms. Once one is free to look beyond the "epic" tradition, a number of very different influences can be seen. The close relation between paraphrase and translation in this period, for example, and the popularity of both activities, is significant. Both were methods much used in the schoolroom, and the terminology used in discussion of each is identical.<sup>125</sup> Putting a text into different words, whether in the same language, or in a completely different one, were regarded as very closely related activities. This goes a long way to explaining the proliferation of vernacular re-workings of biblical texts all over Western Europe, not least the Evangelienbuch and the Heliand. The importance of educational methods cannot be over-emphasized, since most early mediaeval authors, and all monastic ones, would have first read and studied, which means more than likely paraphrased and perhaps also translated, Juvenius, Prudentius, Arator and other authors in the schoolroom.<sup>126</sup> There is no doubt that these authors influenced Otfrid, but it must not be assumed that they influenced him to write anything like an "epic".

In many respects Juvenius and his gospel harmony are a special case. The Latin poem is little more than a straightforward versification into hexameters, though a particularly eloquent one. Once he had produced his versified gospel harmony there remained little scope for others to

follow in this new literary direction. Further paraphrases of the same material could not be produced in large numbers, since there is a limit to the number of ways one can say the same things. Only a handful of reworkings of the gospels emerged which were faithful enough to the original to obtain universal approval, and sufficiently distinct from Juvencus to merit a place alongside that master. All subsequent gospel adapters, in Latin at least, were destined to be regarded as imitators of Juvencus. Could this perhaps be another reason why Otfrid chose to write in the vernacular? It was certainly not his main motivation, but it may have discouraged him from attempting a Latin version.

Other attempts were made, however, to bring classical eloquence to the Christian scriptures. Although vast sections of the Bible are unsuitable for any kind of epic treatment because of a lack of action and narrative impetus, there are episodes in the Old Testament, and a few in the New, which are able to sustain a brief subjection to the epic style. Christian authors duly latched on to the more spectacular miracles of God, including the whole creation story, and they portrayed the exploits of various Old Testament figures in sub-heroic terms. The real hero in all of this is, of course, God, but much could be made of faithful service in the face of adversity and temptation.

Prudentius, the second of Otfrid's models adopted a very different set of classical techniques in his writings. His treatment of narrative material tends towards the episodic<sup>127</sup>

thus avoiding any attempt to emulate the grand scale of classical epic. It is clear that his choice of form is designed to appeal to the aesthetic needs of his generation, which was still immersed in the literature of the classical world, but there is also a more confident attachment to the natural rhythms of biblical originals. The influence of the Psalms is discernible, and also some attempt to let the doctrinal message affect, if not determine the structures and styles of his poems. Above all, Prudentius is able to experiment with lyrical and reflective material, and to develop song-like poems which stem from and contribute to the routine of musical activities in the mass and on other ceremonial occasions.

This, alongside the educational practices in the schoolroom, is a second major factor in the consideration of early Christian works of literature. A monastic writer, who spends a large proportion of every day of his life participating in acts of formal worship, cannot help but be influenced by the patterns in the liturgy, the hymns and psalms, the question and answer patterns of spoken and sung texts.

It is significant that Prudentius, of all the Christian writers of Latin verse, is least amenable to classification as an epic poet. And yet his status is not in any way diminished by this fact, as Otfrid's citation of him alongside Juvencus testifies. The achievement of Prudentius, who is rightly excluded from much, though not all<sup>128</sup> of the discussion of "biblical epic" in present times, demonstrates the excellence

and widespread acceptance of Christian non-epic poetry in the Latin language.

The last of Otfrid's three Latin authors, Arator, wrote a long poem, again in hexameters, entitled De actibus apostolorum.<sup>129</sup> The work is divided into two books and furnished, much like the Evangelienbuch, with three introductory epistles in verse. The narrative itself is alternated with passages of exposition in a somewhat unnatural fashion.<sup>130</sup> This strategy allows close paraphrase of the original prose book of Acts, much like Juvencus' treatment of the gospels, and it also leaves room for a certain amount of independent discussion of selected, usually symbolic matters. Even Kartschoke acknowledges the relatively small contribution of "epic" features in the work.<sup>131</sup> Other features, such as etymological, numerological and mystical interpretations are well established as part of the literary endeavour and there is no attempt whatsoever to smooth over the frequent changes from narrative to interpretative mode. The one follows the other creating a continuous and steady contrast, with its own rhythm.

Another of the sixth century writers, Avitus, composed a comparable work, again in hexameters, entitled De spiritalis historiae gestis.<sup>132</sup> The first five books of the Old Testament provide the narrative framework, and a five-fold division of material is made. The biblical order of events from the Creation to the Exodus of the children of Israel is retained but passages of interpretation are inserted at key points.

Obvious typological parallels, for example those between Adam and Christ, the Red Sea and the Christian sacrament of baptism are made in much the same way as Otfrid was later to take occasional opportunities to make reference to Old Testament figures and events which have parallels in the New Testament :<sup>133</sup> Avitus looks forwards, Otfrid backwards, linking the two Testaments. The lively subject matter of the Pentateuch lends itself to literary re-working, and many of the battle scenes and speeches share common elements with the classical epic tradition, even though the culture and world view of the Hebrew people are very different from those of classical antiquity. The Genesis and Exodus material therefore supplies inspiration for many more Latin, and later also vernacular works, with varying degrees of fidelity to the Bible originals.<sup>134</sup>

The construction of Avitus' poem bears some affinity with the Evangelienbuch, but it must be stressed that there are also fundamental differences. There is, in fact, a demonstrable divergence in the development of Christian Old and New Testament re-workings.<sup>135</sup> The surface narrative is made to bear increasingly heavy loads of hidden meaning, which the author, of course, takes care to explain to his readers and listeners. Avitus and other Old Testament re-tellers, aim to narrate and simultaneously to christianize the Jewish scriptures, and they draw from patristic commentaries as they do so. The typology and exposition therefore is dedicated to the demonstration of prophecy and fulfilment, and the unity of two very different Testaments.

In Otfrid's case the situation is not so clearly defined. New Testament re-writers are working with a text that is very well known, and details need not always be expressly stated.<sup>136</sup> On the other hand, interpretation becomes so important that it may be seen as the dominant concern even superseding the narrative function. Otfrid practices a more subtle layering of meaning, with more finely drawn grades and categories than merely Old and New Testament typology.

One remaining Latin poet merits consideration : Sedulius. His Carmen paschale<sup>137</sup> consists, like the Evangelienbuch, of five books and deals with the material of the four gospels. His version, however, is written with a bias towards the miraculous deeds of Christ and his role as Saviour, omitting most of the sermons, parables and debates recorded in the gospels. From the outset, therefore, Sedulius' poem has considerable limitations and cannot claim to be a complete version of the content of the gospels. An important fact also, is the presence of the first book, which is devoted solely to a listing of Old Testament miracles, alongside the four main books, which deal with gospel miracles. This suggests that the unifying structure is not, in fact, the narrative development of events in the gospels, but rather a demonstration of the supernatural powers displayed in both Testaments.<sup>138</sup>

The Latin verse of Sedulius' Carmen Paschale is accompanied by a prose version, also in Latin, for reasons which are disputed.<sup>139</sup> Sedulius may have intended to provide a closer rendition of the Vulgate in order to avoid the charge

of having treated the scriptures too freely in his verse.<sup>140</sup> On the other hand, he may have been so carried away with the pleasure of writing that he repeated the same material in a different form, in order to be allowed to keep writing without any new things to say.<sup>141</sup> Certainly the resulting opus geminatum was not without its uses. It proved popular in the school curriculum well beyond the time of Otfrid. The Anglo-Saxons in particular were fond of this form of composition, and many of the greatest writers of Latin from Northern Europe constructed similar works of their own.<sup>142</sup>

Whatever the reasons behind Sedulius' double treatment of the gospels, his prolixity extends to his verse style. The Latin hexameters of his poem are far removed from the sparse dignity of Juvencus. There is a distinct development in the evolution of Christian writings in Latin from the early beginnings of Jerome and Juvencus to the later efforts of Sedulius and his contemporaries. What began with the formal ordering of the scriptures into verse had developed into increasingly abstruse rhetorical elaboration. The verse and prose constructions of Sedulius together amount to a toying with the text and an over-complication of Jerome's Vulgate. This trend runs parallel to an increasingly mannered style in secular and sub-Christian Latin poetry (for example praise poems for Christian rulers, epitaphs and the like) in the same period.<sup>143</sup> Thus it appears that from the fourth century onwards, when the Christian world extended increasingly far beyond the original Latin-speaking territories, the old esteemed epic hexameter form was first stretched and then

broken to accommodate the Christian re-telling of the Bible stories and the need for accompanying exegesis. The description of moral rather than actual battles, the substitution of absolute faith in the one God for what Roberts calls the "elegiac ambiguity"<sup>144</sup> of the classical epic, the increasing intrusion of a didactic and even dogmatic tone and its consequent interruption of the narrative : all of these factors point to the emergence of a new non-epic literature designed to meet the requirements of the expanding Church. Eloquence in service to evangelism may have been the keyword of Juvencus' gospel poem, but by the time of Sedulius, the proliferation of literary tropes and techniques modelled on the ancients and applied to Christian purposes was more of a hindrance than a help to large groups of Christians for whom Latin was a second language.

Conclusions : The 'Evangelienbuch' in relation to Latin Christian authors.

The naming of Latin authors in the letter to Liutbert reveals much about Otfrid's respect for Latinity in general, but nothing at all about his choice of model in particular. The three pagan authors are cited mainly as masters of style, to be admired for their technique, and the three Christian authors are cited as representatives of all Christian writings in the Latin language : Juvencus as the writer of paraphrase in hexameters; Prudentius as the master of hymn-writing, didactic poetry, allegory and experimental forms, and Arator as the writer of verse commentary on the scriptures.<sup>145</sup>

Otfrid's Evangelienbuch is presented as a continuation in this tradition, but it must be stressed that the tradition is very broad, and if Otfrid mentions six authors it is surely to stress the independence of his work from any one source, or any one genre. Otfrid does not imitate any or all of these authors, but he acknowledges their achievements and selects only what is useful for his purposes from the wide tradition he has come to know in his years as a scholar and a teacher. He departs from the overblown eloquence of late Latin poets to return to an Augustinian simplicity in which the author aims, not just to delight, but to teach and persuade. It is a short step from paraphrase within Latin, to translation from Latin to Old High German, for educational purposes. The next step, that into independent composition in the vernacular, is much more daring. In order to see this achievement in its true light, it is necessary to look at the Carolingian Christian writers who wrote lengthy commentaries in Latin but certainly not always in a staid didactic prose. It is here, and not amidst the so-called "biblical epic" writers, that Otfrid's nearest literary relatives are to be found.

#### The Carolingian Context : Isidore.

Though not directly connected with Charlemagne and the so-called "Carolingian Renaissance" the single most important influence on this age is surely Isidore of Seville (c.560-633). Isidore was in a unique position vis-a-vis the classical world. The monasteries of Spain in the 7th century preserved

links with the North African Christian tradition, and thus with the Greek and Latin past, at a time when other Western and Central European monasteries were occupied with missionary expansion and political consolidation of the Church. While most Hiberno-Scottish monasteries in mainland Europe were primarily writing, copying and disseminating elementary catechetical works, Isidore was able to concentrate upon his monumental Etymologiae<sup>146</sup> - a work whose influence upon Carolingian and later scholars was immense. This somewhat ambitious work, which Haren sees as an attempt to<sup>147</sup>

organise the whole of knowledge through an explanation of the meaning of words

was referred to, translated and used as a source book from the date of its completion onwards.<sup>148</sup>

The predilection for encyclopaedic works of this sort is one of the single most characteristic features of Carolingian writings. The elements from the past, both in pre- and early Christian writings, which were selected and preserved for Otfrid and his contemporaries passed first through the painstaking, orderly minds of such collectors as Isidore, Bede and Hrabanus Maurus. These authors served as a filter, breaking up the old wisdom of classical antiquity and of the early Church fathers, systematising, classifying and re-organising the store of human knowledge as they perceived it, and passing it on in an easy-to-digest form. Isidore's Etymologiae represents the first of a new generation of commentaries - those which catalogue the natural world of words and things in such a way that everything reveals the

will of the Creator. A gospel, so to speak, without the Bible narratives, since the Christian concept of revelation is not restricted to the text of the Bible, but extends to all created things.

These men were not so much thinkers, in the sense that the old philosophers were, and also those earlier Christians like Augustine and Boethius, who were trained in their discipline, but rather they were organisers. Their tireless pursuit of meaning in everything and their lists of allegories explaining one image in terms of another, and drawing parallels with scripture at every opportunity, form the basis for all later Christian writers. The Bible provides the storehouse of stories, pictures and concepts with which to build a Christian literature, but it is Isidore and the Carolingian encyclopaedists who make this material accessible. They show the working behind the creation : revealing connections between words and things, and finding etymological derivations in order to fill at least some of the gaps in human understanding. To modern readers their logic may be suspect, and their beliefs on occasion fanciful, but in their time they provided an invaluable service. Above all they call for their readers to look with curiosity and growing understanding at words and meanings.

### Carolingian Renaissance?

The ninth century begins with the coronation of Charlemagne and is dominated first by his reign as Christian emperor, and then by his legacy, and this applies not only to

the Frankish and allied nations, but also to the whole of Western Europe. Edelstein, in his excellent study of Charlemagne's principal adviser Alcuin, which considers the social and intellectual background behind the literary record of this period, selects two features which encourage historians to use the sometimes less than helpful label "Carolingian Renaissance" in connection with this short period around the turn of the ninth century :<sup>149</sup>

1. die Wertschätzung der "Bildung"
2. ein besonderes Verhältnis zur Antike.

Leaving aside the problematic matter of distortions caused by hindsight, particularly the temptation to draw parallels with that later, more illustrious "Renaissance" period, it is undeniable that these two factors are present in and around the court of Charlemagne, and that they go a long way to contribute to its individuality. Details need not be listed here, since many studies have been devoted to these two major themes of the Carolingian period, and the most important facts have been recorded elsewhere.<sup>150</sup> Both of these features need qualification and explanation in the light of modern scholarship, however, if some commonplace errors are to be avoided, and neither is the achievement of Charlemagne himself or of any other single man.<sup>151</sup> The fact that Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, as we have seen above, displays both of these features too, even though it is a product of a later generation, suggests that these two dimensions of the Carolingian phenomenon may well have been among its most durable - certainly more durable than the political unity that

accounted for much of Charlemagne's renown. In our examination of the background to the writing of the Evangelienbuch it would be unthinkable to exclude the contribution of Charlemagne's court and its activities, particularly in the fields of education, theology and literary production. The germs of Otfrid's views on these matters are surely to be found there, even though his execution of the Evangelienbuch represents to some extent a departure from Carolingian traditions.

The first characteristic feature, that of the respect for education, however that term is to be defined, was certainly Charlemagne's personal conviction. It emerged out of his knowledge of the activities of Boniface and other reforming missionary monks from the British Isles, under the reign of his predecessors. His contribution was the recognition that their skills had much to offer his badly organised and worse educated Frankish realm. This realisation derives more from the statesman's need for competent administrative support in relations with the Roman Church and with his own peoples than from any notion of learning for its own sake. His letters and decrees calling for education in all parts of his territories concentrated first upon priests and clerics who were responsible for the Christianisation and basic instruction of the people in the doctrines of the faith. Hence an early insistence on literacy and mastery of the Church rituals, avoidance of error, and adherence to a norma rectitudinis based on current Roman Church practices.<sup>152</sup> The aims of the

Admonitio Generalis of the year 789, for example, can be summarized under three headings :<sup>153</sup>

1. errata corrigere
2. superflua abscindere
3. recta coartare

The much-quoted Epistola de litteris colendis<sup>154</sup> links correct language usage with correct living, all subsumed under the larger aim of "Deo placere". A large measure of Charlemagne's success was due to his enlightened search for the best minds of his age to help him carry out his ideals. The contribution of Alcuin<sup>155</sup> has been rightly judged as a crucial ingredient, though his sphere of influence was confined mainly to basic educational tasks, particularly the correction of faulty Bible and liturgical texts (faulty, that is, as measured by Roman standards)<sup>156</sup> and the writing and using of his own textbooks for teaching of the literary skills. Alcuin's much-used dialogue on grammar,<sup>157</sup> for example, is clearly designed for teaching of beginners :<sup>158</sup>

It filled out the gaps which a non-Latin speaker was likely to find in <Donatus> by the addition of elementary details and cleared up difficult points by drawing upon Priscian. It combined good scholarship and good pedagogy.

Alcuin brought with him the aims and methods of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and something of Bede's critical position as regards the place of the classical authors in the Christian curriculum.<sup>159</sup> He had inherited from the Irish a respect for the classical authors, but qualified his admiration in view of the potentially corrupting influence of Vergil upon the Christian soul. His ambivalence in this matter is well documented.<sup>160</sup>

At the court of Charlemagne there were visitors of Irish origins who did not share Alcuin's qualms to the same extent, and who were valued for their astronomical and calligraphic skills and for their competence in Latin, an accomplishment not unconnected with their love of literature of all kinds, and not just the useful sort appropriate to the learning of Christian doctrine. There was also an Italian faction at the court of Charlemagne, whose ideas contrasted in a most fruitful way with those of the Irish and Anglo-Saxons. The grammarians Paulus Diaconus and Paulus of Aquileia<sup>161</sup> retained a much more acute appreciation of the pre-Christian "golden age" of Latin and even Greek literature, since they were in a much closer sense the descendants of this tradition. They were less willing to dismiss centuries of literary excellence as unsuitable for all but the illustration of specific points of grammar. They retained links, too, with the Roman school traditions, and fostered the study of Roman authors even in Charlemagne's school. This group of teachers attracted the more advanced students in Charlemagne's school, and fostered the collecting, copying and studying of reliable manuscripts of both Christian and classical authors, providing the mediaeval world with the foundations for philology in any true sense. Even from the West Charlemagne attracted teachers, among them Theodulf of Orleans,<sup>162</sup> the "lebendigste<r>, weltoffenste<r> Geist dieser Zeit".<sup>163</sup>

The coming together of such diverse elements in one geographical location not only considerably boosted Charlemagne's prestige and potential as a ruler and educator

of his people, but it set in motion a number of debates and resulted in several developments, not all of which had been intended or desired. Of course the court teachers, and to a lesser extent the younger learners, regarded themselves as an elite, for that is exactly what they were. Not even the Byzantine world could offer a comparable melting pot of ideas, and guarantee of material, political and religious security. The conditions for intellectual growth were ideally met.

This brings us to the second of Edelstein's two characteristic features, that of a special attitude to antiquity. This means more than just the usual Christian ambivalence to classical literary works which, as we have already seen, was present from the beginnings and waxed and waned in successive periods. There was indeed a pseudo-antique atmosphere around Charlemagne's court, supported by the well-documented, and much-discussed use of pseudonyms drawn at least in part from the classical world. Alcuin himself, in spite of his doubts, was pleased to be called "Flaccus" and the choice of names like "Homer", for example, could not but be a sign of identification with the literary world of the ancients. Charlemagne, as "David", was the poet-king,<sup>164</sup> the anointed one chosen by God to lead his people not just in war but also in wisdom, a role which history shows him filling to the letter, even submitting to the biblical king's weakness for more than the apportioned quota of wives and concubines. Edelstein correctly points out the true nature of this enthusiasm for antiquity : the concept of the "novae Athenae"

which Alcuin actually used of Charlemagne's Aachen<sup>165</sup> stands alongside a concept of a new Rome and a new Jerusalem. New in the sense of renewed, and by implication, better.<sup>166</sup> The Christian motivations of Charlemagne neatly overlap with his political aims, and the favour he enjoyed with the Roman Church authorities confirmed his policies. It was a relation of mutual support and it was greatly assisted by the presence of competent administrators at the court of Charlemagne, as Rome well knew. Thus the innovation of state schools, designed not only to train monks and priests but also to educate political aides, historians, letter-writers and general administrators for the court was seen just as much as a service to the Church as an institution of the state, and this by both parties. When the emperor is Christian and his policy approved by Rome, then there is no necessary dividing line between the spheres of influence of Church and state.

This was the theory, at least, but in practice the school of Charlemagne turned out to be rather different in its makeup and particularly in its growing self-assurance. Little else could be expected from an eclectic gathering of well-educated, and above all articulate scholars. The school found a natural parallel in the Greek "academy". Charlemagne's "überlegenes Bildungszentrum"<sup>167</sup> was not initially designed to be like ancient Greek systems, rather it emerged from humble beginnings, grew in stature and only then began to perceive itself in these terms. The intellectual quality of Athens, the political steadfastness of Rome, the spiritual leadership of Jerusalem, these are pictures of the aspirations of

Charlemagne's court. What we see in the superficial adoption of classical names is quotation rather than imitation - an intellectual game which enjoys the contrast as much as the parallel with antiquity. The letters and occasional poems of court personalities testify to the playful, sometimes satirical nature of the poetasting that was practised in the mini-society formed by the court, borrowing the forms and styles of the ancient world.<sup>168</sup> When we look at Carolingian (and in Otfrid's case post-Carolingian) views of education we must note the superficial resemblances to classical models, but also be aware of the differences in content and direction.

One last observation concludes our consideration of the "classical" element in Charlemagne's time. This is the fact that two features of the court life and letters, though not unrelated to classical models, must not be seen as superficial, pseudo-classical details. They emerge from Germanic beginnings, and take root in the Carolingian schools :

1. the cult of friendship, often based on teacher/pupil relationships
2. the notion of literary production for entertainment and education simultaneously.

Both are to be seen in the Christian context, and the parallel with Platonic traditions, for example, must not be overstressed. Edelstein's analysis of the letters of Alcuin demonstrates beyond doubt the actual validity, as opposed to mere posing, or topos-bound formality of the first phenomenon :<sup>169</sup>

Die Affektivität der Briefe bezeugt, daß eruditio, caritas, humilitas nicht abstrakte und systemgerechte Pflichterfüllung, sondern in der Person inkarnierte Beziehung zum anderen Menschen sind.

Literary works were composed within a "society" of learned people, mostly men and mostly monks and clerics, and these works were presented orally, or circulated in written form so that even when the members of this group were posted in far corners of the empire they could participate in the activities of the group at large. Since most of the authors were educators and pastors as well as servants of the emperor, the teacher/pupil relationship provides a natural framework for many of the pieces. Teachers write to admonish or encourage their pupils, and pupils dedicate their early works to their revered masters. There are also exchanges between teachers, and the inevitable wranglings over doctrine which resulted in one or other of the group losing his position of respect - a fate which most often befell the most original thinkers (Theodulf, for example, Gottschalk, Walafriid and even Hrabanus Maurus all suffered the disapproval of one or other of the reigning monarchs, and this is a testimony to the troubled politics of the period.)

Links of loyalty, conflicts of loyalty, all under the greater service of God and the empire - this is the background against which much Carolingian literary production is set. And a great deal of it is very expressly literary, in a way that purely monastic works could not be. The authors aim to please in their formal arrangement of material - a factor which is perfectly consistent with the semi-secular environment of the

court school. In particular there emerges a fascination for intellectual games : acrostics, riddles, wordplay, etymology and numerology were enjoyed by teachers and pupils alike. Precisely because innovation in matters of content was not cultivated, for religious reasons, there was all the more reason to focus one's inventiveness on the external form of a work. Composers and readers alike must have invested many laborious hours in the picture-poems<sup>170</sup> of the Carolingian age. A degree of attention to details of form was required which is only matched in the extremes of the Baroque or the intricacies of Islamic pattern-poems. Behind this obsession with the very letters of the written language, their form, position, relation to each other, lies a basic assumption which underlies intellectual activity from the late-Latin period onwards : this basic assumption is what Herzog calls a "Totalität der Welterfassung".<sup>171</sup> Just as Isidore uses etymology, in his understanding of that science, to detect divine handiwork in the creation of words and things, so Alcuin, and Hraban after him, construct poems in which every letter can be read in several directions, to give several meanings, all leading to Christian messages. And this principle can be extended to all areas of intellectual activity, whether mathematical calculations such as are presented in the computus<sup>172</sup> genre, or exegesis proper, or any form of literary activity. The classical heritage is quite simply swallowed up by this new universalism : uncomfortable non-Christian elements are spiritualised out of existence by an extreme concentration on the surface meaning, and this

surface meaning is given new depths by compulsory reference to the Bible. Herzog describes this process in relation to classical genres,<sup>173</sup> showing that the Christian Latin poets take a classical form only as a starting point, and use it so long as it allows expression of their message, but they break from tradition precisely in order to provide exegetical support for some image or concept that is newly defined. Christian authors are not bound by existing formal patterns, but they have new limitations in content which in turn influence the form of their works. In the Carolingian period this factor has been neglected, to the extent that critics misunderstand Carolingian literary works as faulty reproductions of classical genres, or even as imperfect attempts to compete with or replace the old literary masters. The possibility that exegetical insertions might in fact themselves be the definers of form, is rarely considered.

Thus it emerges that the two outstanding features of the activities in and around Charlemagne's court and school : the educational and the classical elements, have far-reaching consequences for literary production. Because the positioning of words and ideas has a religious significance for Christian writers, and because this significance takes priority over any consideration of literary tradition as such, their structures reveal distinctly un-classical proportions.<sup>174</sup> Passages of exegesis must not, however, be seen as intrusions, or asides, but rather as a planned and important part of the whole. The key to the understanding of Christian literary writings in this period lies in their didactic purpose : didactic in a

different sense than the historical or dramatic or epic genres of the classical age. The educational purpose of Carolingian Christian works is much more in the forefront, since in almost every case the writers present in their works what they live out in their roles as teachers and advisers. Not one of the Carolingian authors mentioned above was solely, or even primarily an author. This places their literary works in an entirely different light. If classical parallels must be applied, then the place to look is not so much in the sphere of "belles lettres" and its multitude of fixed genres, but rather in the more practical domain of the philosophical dialogues and treatises. Of course the content is different, and dialectic is not a major feature of Carolingian output. The question-and-answer format of Alcuin's dialogues or the verse-by-verse quotation and then commentary of Bible texts, also using the medium of question and answer, these are only in a very simple sense exercises in the art of dialectic. They do not lead the student-reader along an exploratory line of argument (as, say, a Socratic dialogue intends to do) but rather they induce the memorising of stock-responses. In structure they follow the apparent formlessness of the classical philosophical treatise, sometimes with the fiction of speakers acting a role, sometimes with only writer and reader or listener. The expressly educational intention of both types of writing is the same, but whereas the Greeks taught their readers to think, and to build their own arguments, the Carolingians taught their readers to repeat the words of their teacher.

### Hrabanus Maurus and his pupils.

Hrabanus Maurus stands between the first generation of scholars who were present at the Court of Charlemagne from the early days, and the next generation who inherited the educational reforms which the great masters had introduced. He was one of the last to benefit from the teachings of Alcuin and became himself one of the greatest teachers of the Carolingian age. The future of the Carolingian educational programme lay in the tuition of young, in some cases very young, learners who could be moulded from an early age into the role of scholar and teacher. It was common practice in this period for a father to give up one son to the local monastery, often in adherence to a written contract involving the disinheritance of the son in question (to discourage the boy from leaving the monastery later), the exchange of goods or land, and of course the guarantee that the boy would thenceforth pray for his family and, it was hoped, bring them favour with the abbot and with God.<sup>175</sup> The presence of children in monasteries throughout Western Europe from the sixth century onwards had become increasingly common. Some young recruits were dedicated from the beginning to a training for the priesthood, and perhaps also for the religious life of the order, and others were there purely for education in the monastery's school. The age of these children ranged from about 7 to 18 years, which was the age deemed right for admission to the position of acolyte or subdeacon.<sup>176</sup>

Whilst the young Hrabanus Maurus was setting out on his

long scholarly career with a journey to Tours for a period of study under the guidance of Alcuin. Otfrid's monastery Weissenburg in Alsace, was undergoing significant changes :<sup>177</sup>

Das Wissen um diese Daten ist nicht ganz gleichgültig, kann mit ihnen doch als erwiesen gelten, daß Noviziat und frühes Mönchtum Otfrids, der der Generation Gottschalks des Sachsen (805-863) und Walahfrids (808-849) angehört, in eine kritische Phase der Erneuerung und Reorganisation des karolingischen Mönchtums fallen...

As the missionary aspect declined, and the political situation grew more complex, the role of education in the life of the monasteries increased in importance. Haubrichs attributes this insight even to Charlemagne, who could see the trend emerging :<sup>178</sup>

Schon Karl der Grosse hatte die hieraus allmählich entstehende Gefahr erkannt und versucht (z.B. in der "Epistola de litteris colendis") den Klöstern neue, kulturelle und erzieherische Aufgaben zu stellen.

The Weissenburg monastery grew gradually in importance, and cultivated increasingly close links with the leaders of state, whichever one happened to be in power at the time :<sup>179</sup>

... muß das Kloster im Laufe des 8. Jahrhunderts in die Verfügungsgewalt des Königs übergegangen sein. Es teilte damit die Geschichte der Abteien Murbach und Lorsch.... Im Jahre 820 bedurfte schon ein Gütertausch, den das Kloster vornehmen wollte, der ausdrücklichen Zustimmung des Königs, .... Weißenburg war auf dem Wege zur Reichsabtei.

The youth of Hrabanus Maurus and the early childhood of Otfrid were spent in the somewhat idyllic atmosphere of Carolingian renewal. Decline, however followed soon after the death of Charlemagne. Louis the Pious attached himself to the zealous reforms of the ascetic Benedict of Aniane, and wherever this reforming movement took effect, learning in the liberal sense

declined : in some cases even schools were closed, and studies broken off.<sup>180</sup> Charlemagne's political foundations were thoroughly shaken and the monasteries were thrown into the real world of political bargaining. Weissenburg, thanks to the swift manoeuvring of its current Abbot, Grimald, managed just in time to switch allegiance to Louis the German.<sup>181</sup> Hraban, however, was caught up in the reform movement, and his mature years were spent at Fulda in an altogether different intellectual climate than the one that had prevailed over his younger days.

What exactly did Otfrid and the monks of his generation look for when they came to study under Hraban at Fulda? Haubrichs fills in some of the details<sup>182</sup> and we can be sure that Fulda's sizeable library, with its commentaries and collection of biblical and classical Latin texts, would have attracted the first generation of students to have benefitted directly from the educational reforms. Fulda was, in a way, the university of the German-speaking monastic world, offering advanced tuition and reliable textbooks for gifted scholars. Many of Hrabanus Maurus' pupils went on to make their names in the mid to late ninth century : Otfrid, Walafrid Strabo, Gottschalk, Lupus of Ferrieres, Hartmuat and Werinbert of St. Gall, these were the immediate heirs of the Carolingian renewal of education and letters.

In boyhood each would have begun with the usual textbook for beginners in the monastic life : the Psalms. Illmer describes how the text was read and memorized, vocabulary and

grammar being learnt inductively from the text of the Psalms.<sup>183</sup> This practice explains why so many early mediaeval scholars approached the works of the classical Latin past in terms of the language of the Bible and not vice-versa. The Bible provides the initial context from which the very meanings of the words are learnt :<sup>184</sup>

Es ist deutlich, warum in der Spracherziehung das Gedächtnis eine so große Rolle spielte : den Psalter auswendig zu lernen, bedeutete nicht nur, damit den Forderungen der Regel nachzukommen, sondern den Wortschatz, Ausdrucksfähigkeit und Sprachverständnis, die Idiome einer kulturellen Gruppe zu erwerben.

Hraban, as teacher and author, wrote for an audience schooled to understand this specific type of language - a limited range of expression, with the constant echo of scripture in the background. As a writer, his reputation rests on quantity rather than any measure of original literary talent :<sup>185</sup>

(Hraban) ist als Plagiator gescholten worden, er hat in der Tat kaum einen eigenen Gedanken in seinen exegetischen Büchern niedergelegt. Kirchenautorität, deren so strenger wie eigensinniger Anwalt er war, sollte sich auch darstellen in der Autorität der Vätertexte.

His aim, as we have seen above, was to collect information and see that students acquire the basic skills required for the correct receiving of this information. The Carolingian teachers of Hraban's generation had little time or inclination to compose new and original works. This was left to the next generation, in particular to John Scotus Eriugena, who was the first to employ truly philosophical methods to his ecclesiastical writings, and Gottschalk, the only true theologian among them.<sup>186</sup>

A thorough education and an availability of reliable

texts (two features which had been lacking in the preceding century) led to one immediate result : a renewed preoccupation with classical literature, this time by young men who were growing up, not under the benevolent patronage of Charlemagne, but in the much harsher climate of the post-Carolingian era. It must not be assumed, however, that the gradual dissolution of Charlemagne's empire into warring factions caused a sudden decline in the quality or quantity of literary output. In fact the period after Charlemagne saw a continuing expansion in this field, in spite of, perhaps even partly because of, the political uncertainty. When values and cultural achievements come under attack, they often hold all the more appeal to the minority who appreciated them all along. Walafrid, in particular, is remembered as a somewhat wistful lover of poetry, and not just Christian poetry :<sup>188</sup>

Das Dichten ist bei Hraban ohne jede Eigenständigkeit einfach ein Abschnitt auf dem Schlachtfeld des Christlichen gegen die heidnische Welt. Walafrid hat diese Auffassung überwunden. Er ist, wenn man will, gerade dadurch Humanist.

His own poetic efforts are of better literary quality than those of his contemporaries, and one reason for this is surely his appreciation of the skill of writing itself, on all subjects and as a consolation and means of education.<sup>189</sup> All of this, and more, is noted by Stein in his excellent article just quoted, which shows how Walafrid was discouraged by the anti-classical attitudes of the schools affected by Benedict of Aniane's reforms. Louis the Pious and to a lesser extent, Hrabanus Maurus, were adherents of this movement, and so long as their views prevailed, there was no demand for Walafrid's

Vergilian verses. The plaintive tones of homesickness, which are unmistakable in his short pieces,<sup>190</sup> and also the idyllic images of his De cultura hortorum<sup>191</sup> speak of a gentler world than that of Benedict of Aniane's extreme reforms. Stein detects<sup>192</sup> a critique of the reformed monasteries in this longer poem, and a veiled invocation of the classical "academy" of students learning informally and in the open air from gentle masters. In this vein Walafriid dedicates his poem to Grimald, a man who appears again and again as a motivator and a figurehead, attracting the affections of the more liberal-minded younger monks.<sup>193</sup> Grimald introduced moderate reforms to Weissenburg and was, in later years, active in political spheres as well as being nominally abbot of successive monasteries. He often travelled to Rome on affairs of the church and state. Walafriid's dedication section at the end of the poem depicts Grimald as a teacher wandering in an orchard, surrounded by laughing youths who are his pupils. This appears to be a reflection on former times, when Grimald was able to devote at least some of his time to teaching. The material of the poem proper covers a wide area of themes, structured around the basic idea of horticulture. It includes, apart from the horticultural material, theology, general knowledge, mythology, symbolism and of course a certain amount of Christian moralizing. In some respects, Walafriid's poem resembles the passages towards the end of the Evangelienbuch in which Otfrid depicts the heavenly reward of believers,<sup>194</sup> and throughout the work there are noticeable borrowings from

the classical Greek and Latin tradition. The poet's borrowings from Vergil are not slavish, but rather an artistically motivated reaching for a suitably noble means of expression. Walafrid's purpose is as much to teach good style, by example, as to teach readers about gardens. This, too, is a notion borrowed from Vergil.<sup>195</sup>

Walafrid, though talented as a writer, was not a successful poet. He lacked political experience, and was often caught in the middle of political and religious rivals. Neither his poems nor his ideas on educational theory were welcome, although they would not have been out of place in the earlier reign of Charlemagne.

Walafrid was not alone in his search for a different way than the narrow anti-classicism of Benedict of Aniane. Lupus of Ferrières, an altogether different kind of writer, preferred cool, reasoned prose, for his reflections upon the lessons he learnt under Hraban. He wrote, among other things, about the concept of learning,<sup>196</sup> a subject which was much discussed by Alcuin, but Lupus of Ferrières took Alcuin's ideas out of their narrow Christian context and appreciated the timeless aspect of education, its contribution to the history of different nations at different times. This is not to say that he saw learning as an anti-Christian concept, for he was a churchman like the rest. He saw the intrinsic value in education, its value in the classical world as well as in the Church, and sought to promote the by then still basically classical education methods for that reason. Edelstein summarizes Lupus of Ferrières' contribution thus:<sup>197</sup>

Die Transformation der christlichen sapientia zu einer "humanistischen", das heißt, zu einer formalen Bildung, die sich ihre Maßstäbe aus der Vergangenheit zueignet, ist im Keim vollzogen. Wenn man bedenkt, daß Bildung immer zugleich der Zukunftsentwurf einer Gesellschaft ist, kann dieser Transformation nicht genügend Bedeutung beigemessen werden.

Even in this necessarily brief account of Hrabanus Maurus and his pupils, it has become evident that the pupils in many ways outshone their master. Even Hraban's greatest works, including the theoretical De clericorum institutione,<sup>198</sup> bring little that is new. But in all the talk of an emerging "humanism" in this period, by which critics of this period mean little more than a love for the classical tradition and an expansion of education at all levels, it would be unfair to exclude Hraban altogether. The groundwork was his, and Otfrid, Walafrid and the others were right to record their gratitude to their former teacher. In De clericorum institutione Hraban presents each of the liberal arts in turn with an explanation of their function and application in the education of those destined to serve the Church. Bowen summarizes Hraban's argument on the uses of dialectic :<sup>199</sup>

... Hrabanus kept alive an issue that was never wholly absent from Western thought : the role of reason in the discovery of truth. The line of succession from Plato and Aristotle can be traced through Porphyry and Boethius to Hrabanus Maurus.

It is true that Hraban's version of the liberal arts is a small remnant of the classical system, but nevertheless the basics are preserved in prescriptive form, to be adopted by Carolingian and later teachers. More than that, it is Hraban's very refusal to add to or change his revered authorities,

beyond the necessary excerpting and arranging into thematic units, that guarantees a core of truly "liberal" ideas, and this not just at the elementary level of the "trivia" but also in the more advanced realms of the "quadrivia" . Again in the words of Bowen :<sup>200</sup>

<Hraban> discussed all four studies, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, harmonics, in terms of their value in facilitating the appreciation of knowledge in abstract form. And abstract form itself provided an earthly paradigm of the structures of heavenly form.

Once again, this time in the field of education, the Carolingian "universalism" is evident - the old skills cultivated by the classical world are made to serve the new needs of the Christian church. All study is intended to lead to God, and Hraban's blueprint for clerical education can find no better way than that through the works of the classical tradition. Hraban, however, was aware of the inherent dangers of this journey. His personal discipline, his strict adherence to received doctrine, his asceticism and support for the reactionary Benedict of Aniane and Louis the Pious, surely all of this is a conscious counterbalance to the temptations of learning. Hraban combines surprisingly liberal teaching practice with remarkably conservative doctrinal and political views. These two aspects of Hraban's legacy are not contradictory, but rather two sides of the man's personality. Problems were bound to arise when pupils of his, and particularly Walafrid and Otfrid, took in his teachings over an extended period of study but then through circumstance fell out of the man's personal influence. When these two pupils left their master, they had only their memory of him, or his

written works, and of course the benefit of all his teaching. They found themselves in different monasteries and at times under different monarchs. In short, there could be no guarantee that what they had learnt at Fulda and from Hraban's writings would in fact be put to uses that reflect Hraban's original intentions.

In Walafrid's case, an enthusiasm for philology and literature was not matched with an equal devotion to the hardships of the monastic discipline. He even left an historical record<sup>201</sup> of his period of study under Hraban, in the form of class notes on a course of Hraban's. The text, based on the Latin of Isidore's Etymologiae, contains German glosses and appears to testify to Hraban's use, or at least tolerance, of the vernacular in the classroom. From there Walafrid went on to more advanced reading matter. A recent study by Siewert<sup>202</sup> sheds further light on Walafrid's personal studies and of one author in particular : Horace. Siewert presents an exhaustive analysis of all glosses of Horace from the Old High German period and one detail is of special interest to the present argument :<sup>203</sup>

Um das Jahr 830 trägt Walafrid wahrscheinlich in Weissenburg im Zusammenhang einer Textkorrektur eine althochdeutsche Glosse (V,20) ein, die im Überlieferungszusammenhang des Reginensis 1703 als Autograph erhalten ist.

In other words, if Siewert is correct, then this gloss shows Walafrid on a visit to Weissenburg, pursuing his classical interests in a useful improvement of a Horace MS situated there. What Otfrid's connection with this might have been, if

any, is impossible to surmise. At any rate there is evidence of a singular activity in this field (the above-mentioned gloss of Horace is by far the earliest Siewert could trace)<sup>204</sup> in Otfrid's home monastery at a time when he was most probably present, and studying in order to prepare himself for the priesthood.<sup>205</sup> It was soon after 830 that Otfrid most probably undertook his study trip to Fulda.

The inter-connection of different monasteries and the exemplary role of Fulda in the first half of the ninth century fostered the exchange of texts and ideas, and the passing on of knowledge from one area of the German-speaking world to the other. The issue of the vernacular was destined to become more pressing, as soon as the number of German-speaking scholars increased beyond the chosen few attending isolated centres of excellence, for how was the newly gained knowledge to be passed on to the brothers waiting in the monasteries at home, and thence, in the form of sermons and school lessons to the people at large?

#### Christian Vernacular Works and the 'Evangelienbuch'.

Comparisons between the Evangelienbuch and the few other surviving vernacular works of the ninth century have often been made, and it is not possible in the present study to report on all aspects of these comparisons. Although there is a large measure of consensus in studies on, say, Otfrid's relation to the writers of the Old High German Tatian version, or of the Heliand<sup>206</sup> no critic has been able to find any close literary relative to Otfrid's long work. Just as the Latin

Christian literary tradition furnishes starting points and material for re-moulding and inclusion in the work, so the very young vernacular tradition reveals points of contact and contrast. The Heliand, for example, appears on the surface to provide a good potential source, or influence, since it covers roughly the same biblical material and stems from a geographical area with which Otfrid had contact (Fulda), though it is written in the Old Saxon language and alliterative style. Books and articles pointing out how very different the two works are in almost every other respect, are legion. Chapter Five below examines in particular the significance of structural differences in the two works.<sup>207</sup> We have noted above<sup>208</sup> that the Tatian harmony, whether in Latin or in German versions, does not provide a source for the Evangelienbuch either, although it surely must have served as a model in a very general sense, as the best-known non-canonical prose version of gospel material, aiming much like the Evangelienbuch to offer a compact rendering of the content of the four gospels.

The Evangelienbuch, as noted above,<sup>209</sup> inevitably suffers in any comparison with the Heliand. Baesecke's view is typical of the earlier studies which insisted on regarding both works as politically motivated and to be judged by the same literary standards:<sup>210</sup>

Was das Hochdeutsche da leisten konnte, zeigte bald der unbehilfliche Zwitter Otfrids.

The non-epic nature of the Evangelienbuch ought to exclude it from any value judgement in relation to the Heliand

whatsoever. Foerste<sup>211</sup> notes that Otfrid most likely knew the writer of the Heliand, through meetings, or at the very least through mutual contacts, at Fulda, and almost certainly read all or parts of the work. He argues further that the Evangelienbuch contains, in places, mild polemic against the Heliand, particularly where the Heliand deviates most from the Bible sources.<sup>212</sup> A number of further studies on isolated themes in the two works confirm the essential contrast between them.<sup>213</sup>

No other vernacular German (using this term to mean all dialects of the German language and Old Saxon) work compares with the Evangelienbuch in length or scope. The Ludwigslied, which bears some stylistic resemblance to Otfrid's work,<sup>214</sup> is later (881-2) and very different in scope. Equally the Petruslied (900 or later) and the short piece Christus und die Samariterin (late 9th or early 10th century) furnish no reliable information regarding the Evangelienbuch. In fact almost all surviving Old High German texts, with the exception of the glosses, appear to have been created independently of one another, mostly as short exercises by monks more accustomed to Latin works. To find a worthy candidate for comparison with the Evangelienbuch one has to look ahead to a later period, when German monasticism had developed an efficient inter-library loan and copy system, a venture that required educated scribes in all major monasteries, and not just a few privileged scholars in a small number of locations. As the skill of writing spread to increasingly more

individuals, the role of the vernacular gained in importance. Correct copying, the mainstay of the exegetical tradition, presupposed an adequate understanding of the text in question, at least as far as the surface meaning was concerned. Thus in cases of illegibility or doubtful readings, the copyist who understood the text could supply missing letters. To this end, MSS were often supplied with glosses, interlinear translations or even parallel translations and commentaries in Latin or German. In this framework, the vernacular found a secure niche. This is not thanks to Otfrid's efforts, since the Evangelienbuch, despite its preservation in several handsome MSS, sank almost without trace within a century of its conception.<sup>215</sup> But the causes of the emergence of both Otfrid's work and the later pieces of vernacular Christian writing are similar: the needs of the schoolroom and the scriptorium, the difficulties of scholarly Latin, and the natural impulse to teach important doctrine in the language of the learner in order to make sure that the lessons are properly understood.

### Conclusions.

There are many examples throughout the Old High and Middle High German period of manuscripts containing writings in Latin alongside German. In almost every case, however, the Latin takes precedence over the vernacular sections of the work. The Old High German content of the early glosses and inter-linear translations depends entirely upon the Latin, and serves as a simple comprehension aid. Above all, most

vernacular texts have their origins and area of application in the classroom, or in the private cell of monks whose first concern was the reading, interpretation and ultimately the preaching and teaching of biblical texts and doctrines.

One particularly fine later example, the Expositio in cantice canticorum, was composed in the mid-eleventh century by Williram, abbot of the monastery of Ebersberg from 1048 until 1085. Although this work was written almost two hundred years after the completion of the Evangelienbuch, it incorporates many of the features of Otfrid's work. Both are based on Latin Vulgate primary sources, both incorporate passages of commentary based on the writings of the church fathers, and both attempt some measure of literary composition in the vernacular. Williram's version of the "Song of Songs" is arranged in three columns, with the original Vulgate text copied in neat sections in the centre column. This is flanked on the left by a Latin metrical version and on the right by a German parallel text. The Latin section contains both paraphrase and exposition in a scholarly hexameter form while the German is straightforward prose. The latter is a more or less direct rendering of the Latin commentary, but it is mixed with frequent insertions in Latin, as if the author could not quite manage to reproduce every idea in German, and had to turn to Latin for extra assistance every now and then. The resulting three column manuscript scheme contains almost twice as much Latin as German, and only one of the twenty two surviving manuscripts dares to record the German prose text in

isolation from its Latin counterparts. Such a work could only be intended for use as a study text, since even reading the manuscript requires a continual act of comparison between two or three separate renderings. Its popularity seems to have far outweighed that of the Evangelienbuch, since it was frequently copied and widely circulated until late in the Middle Ages.

It is not difficult to understand why Williram's work succeeded while the Evangelienbuch failed, and surely the lack of reference to the Evangelienbuch in the centuries immediately after its conception is evidence of its small impact. The physical presence of the Vulgate text in Williram's work is not only a convenient ready-reference arrangement, it also lends an aura of orthodoxy to the whole compilation. In addition to this, the scholarly Latin metrical version contributes evidence of learning and polish, and an example for students to follow in their own studies, which, as we noted above,<sup>216</sup> usually involved paraphrasing and/or versifying set texts. Once the orthodoxy and serious academic intent of the work have been established in the first two columns, the unadorned vernacular version takes its humble place in the third, as a concession to those who aspire to the benefits of the commentary, but have difficulty with the versified Latin. One can easily imagine the student's joy upon discovering a useful "crib" for his Latin text. Altogether, Williram's tentative introduction of the vernacular into serious academic activity is less blatantly innovative than Otfrid's, and for that reason it was more likely to have received official approval.

There are other factors in Williram's favour. The Old Testament "Song of Songs" is more suited to this kind of intensive bilingual treatment than the unwieldy bulk of the four gospels. It is shorter, and requires no preliminary editing or harmonising. The patristic commentaries, though numerous, are in general agreement over the correct allegorical interpretation and major themes of the book. The doctrinal issues raised by the subject matter are few, and not particularly controversial. All of these reasons, along with the attractive lyrical quality and ample provision of symbolic material in this particular book of the Bible, and of course the author's literary competence, contribute to the work's success.

Otfrid, on the other hand, with a somewhat naive single-mindedness, chose to start with the heart of the Christian message. It was a logical enough choice, but he appears not, at first, fully to have comprehended the difficulties inherent in the undertaking. It proved impossible to include all of the original gospel details, and it would have been inconceivable to provide the Vulgate gospels, even in excerpt form, alongside the German text. But when Otfrid broaches, as he must, difficult or controversial subjects, he is forced to refer readers to commentaries. He simply cannot omit all problem areas, and neither can he gloss over them, because this amounts to a falsification of the Bible message. McKenzie's suggestion that the reader would be expected to supply a Latin copy of the gospels, or at the very least a

lectionary, to read alongside the Vulgate, thus is very plausible. The problem with the Evangelienbuch, however, is the lack of clear definition between paraphrase, commentary and general exhortation. Where Williram neatly divided his effort into three distinct categories, scripture, paraphrase and commentary, Otfrid attempted everything at once. Williram's work was an unusually well-organised combination of familiar elements, but Otfrid's offering was a hybrid which was bound to arouse the suspicion of those entrusted with the leadership of church affairs. The letter to Liutbert correctly identifies the issue of the use of the vernacular as the main point of contention.

Though well aware of this state of affairs, Otfrid himself did not regard the relationship in the Evangelienbuch between his native language and the official Latin of the Church as one of conflict. As a teacher and a scholar, he offers an alternative route, an easier path, to the understanding of the Latin scriptures. The Evangelienbuch leads temporarily away from Latin and then by means of marginal references and continual exhortations, very firmly back into the Latin Bible texts and commentaries. In V,14 Otfrid admits of a certain inadequacy in the Old High German language :

Unodi ist iz hárto sus frénkisgero wórto

thia kléini al zi giságanne joh zi irrékenne;  
(V,14,3f.)

But he goes on to reveal a remedy for this :

Thoh will ih es mit willen   hiar lúzilín gizéllen,  
gizéigon ouh in wára   war thú es lisis méra.  
(V,14,5f.)

Throughout the Evangelienbuch there is the constant presence of a narrator who speaks directly to the reader and listener, recalling not only the preacher in the pulpit<sup>217</sup> but also the teacher in the schoolroom. It is more than likely that the Evangelienbuch was intended for reading, not only with a Vulgate companion text, but in fact with an ever-present teacher. The stories recounted there would then be expounded in class, often with the help of the Evangelienbuch's own mini-commentaries, but also with accompanying readings from the Bible, and commentaries, selected by the teacher. Individual students would not possess a copy of the Evangelienbuch but may well have listened to readings from it, as an introduction, perhaps, to lessons dealing with key gospel events. Readings at mealtimes, in private study, or for the entertainment of the very young (and we must expect students as young as 7 years to be part of monastic life) all of these activities take place within the framework of monastic education. The teacher prescribes material, hears lessons which have been memorised, corrects errors, in short makes sure that the learning process advances according to the requirements of the Order. Both Otfrid and Williram knew that there was a need for tuition in the vernacular, and this idea was more than likely in accordance with normal practice, out of plain necessity. Patzlaff suggests, basing his view on the phrase in the letter to Liutbert (line 93) "ob usum

Diese Bemerkung ist aufschlußreich für Otfrids Zielsetzung : sein Evangelienbuch soll nicht nur zur gelegentlichen Lektüre dienen, sondern regelmäßig gelesen (oder vorgelesen) werden.

Kleiber confirms the narrow scope of Otfrid's writings :<sup>219</sup>

Bei Otfrids exegetischen Werken und bei seinen Schriften überhaupt - mit Ausnahme des Evangelienbuches - ist ferner zu beachten, daß sie als "Fachliteratur" für die praktischen Bedürfnisse der Klosterschule bestimmt waren. Darüber hinaus sollten sie nicht wirken.

It seems likely, however, that even the Evangelienbuch, for all its innovative features, also belongs inside the monastery and even perhaps, primarily inside the Weissenburg schoolroom and in other schoolrooms of monasteries related to Weissenburg by bonds of fellowship. Otfrid wrote the Evangelienbuch out of concern for the beginners and the less-gifted students who were later to spend their adult lives more as preachers, pastors and perhaps also labourers in the fields and workshops belonging to the monastery than as scholars. He makes the "hard" and "narrow" way to correct understanding of some of the most central mysteries of the faith less exclusive. In this way he hopes to improve the understanding of scripture and consequently the quality of faith in the areas directly and indirectly under his influence.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Five Senses in the 'Evangelienbuch'.

The only serious attempt in recent times to provide an exhaustive account of the symbolic and allegorical features of the Evangelienbuch has been the Allegorisches Wörterbuch zu Otfrid by R. Hartmann.<sup>1</sup> This book isolates individual images and, where possible, provides indications of probable Latin sources or vernacular parallels. As a reference work this study is invaluable, but it has certain limitations owing to the strictly alphabetical arrangement of items. This system entails much tedious repetition and does not allow a coherent picture of the relationship between different images to emerge. The present study relies heavily upon Hartmann's collation of examples under specific headings. This debt is acknowledged here but not always mentioned in the footnotes to this chapter. In another equally useful piece of work Hartmann tackles the same subject from a different angle, this time exploring the syntactical features of Otfrid's allegorical and symbolic passages.<sup>2</sup> Once again, her analysis is apt but necessarily fragmented into artificial categories which are alien to the Evangelienbuch itself. What is now needed is an analysis covering the whole of the Evangelienbuch which takes account of the thematic coherence of the work. Groups of connected images need to be examined in relation to each other and to the work as a whole.

It must be borne in mind here as elsewhere that Otfrid's originality lies in the use of material rather than in the

creation of material as such. Otfrid utilises a large body of interpretations taken from the commentators, and he is clearly conscious of the debt. Nor is it possible to develop in the present analysis all possible connotations of each individual image presented by Otfrid. The intention is, however, to examine closely those which Otfrid himself singles out for emphasis. Thus his own preoccupations will become clear, and sufficient material will be provided for a valid overview of the use Otfrid makes of the available biblical imagery, something which will, it is hoped, contribute to the question of what the intentions are behind Otfrid's writing of the Evangelienbuch.

The general lack of research on the imagery of the Evangelienbuch is due to the complexity of the material and the risk of accumulating an unwieldy list of diffuse examples. The problem is one of approach - how to find a framework for analysis which is fixed enough to lend coherence to the material discussed, and yet flexible enough to allow the inter-relations and contrasts in Otfrid's imagery to emerge unhampered. As if anticipating the problem, Otfrid himself provides just such a framework in his letter to Liutbert when he explains the five-fold structure of the Evangelienbuch :

Quicquid visu, olfactu, tactu, gustu, audituque delinquimus, in eorum lectionis memoria pravitatem ipsam purgamus. Visus obscuretur inutilis, inluminatus evangelicis verbis; auditus pravus non sit cordi nostro obnoxius; olfactus et gustus sese a pravitate constringant Christique dulcedine jungant; cordisque praecordia lectiones has theotisce conscriptas semper memoria tangant.

("Ad Liutbertum," 51-57)

There is in this formulation a concentration upon the physical, and an alignment of the Evangelienbuch with the five human senses. It is no coincidence that a very large proportion of the imagery in the Evangelienbuch is dependent upon one or other of these five senses for its effect. The present chapter seeks to demonstrate the sense-related force of Otfrid's imagery and to present an analysis of the Evangelienbuch founded upon this observation. There will follow, therefore, a five-fold discussion of images grouped around a central concept which is in each case one of the five human senses. No attempt is made to balance the material into groupings of equal size or importance. Otfrid makes more of some senses and less of others, though all five have an importance in his writing.

It is inevitable that certain individual chapters of the Evangelienbuch should merit particularly close attention and the argument is concerned, as one might expect, mainly with the more interpretative sections of the work. This means in particular that the "Spiritualiter," "Mystice" and "Moraliter" chapters are most frequently cited. Another important consideration is the fact that the system of mediaeval exegesis encourages the linking of ideas and images over a very wide spectrum.<sup>3</sup> The germs of intricate theories of interpretation which were later to result in mediaeval Scholasticism were already present in Otfrid's time and even in this early period complex cross-references and typologies draw the most diverse elements together for the sake of demonstrating spiritual lessons. Thus it happens that

discussion of one sense group may range widely and draw into its sphere areas which are more or less distantly related to the sense in question. There is very often a unity-in-diversity within Christian writings, as noted above in the discussion of Carolingian commentators, and the Evangelienbuch is a prime example of this, showing how an intelligent compiler is able to take advantage of the potential for quotation, allusion and cross-reference which the Bible offers.

### Taste.

From the earliest times an all-pervading monotheism and a strict adherence to dietary laws were two key factors which marked the Jewish nation off from surrounding nations. The organ of taste and the organ of faith are closely linked in the Old Testament writings, and this was carried on in Christian theology. The first sin in the garden of Eden consisted of eating the forbidden fruit :

Vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum,  
et pulchrum oculis, aspectuque delectabile : et tulit de  
fructu illius, et comedit : deditque viro suo, qui  
comedit.

Gen. 3:6

The part played by the human senses in this event is stressed in the narration (vidit, bonum ... ad vescendum, pulchrum oculis, aspectuque delectabile). The idea of eating is thus linked with sin, and the Old Testament writers, with perfect logic, depict the way back to acceptance with God also in terms of food and eating imagery. Knowledge of the law,

unusually described in terms of "wisdom" is likened to the pleasure of tasting and eating good things :

Comede, fili mi, mel, quia bonum est, et favum  
dulcissimum gutturi tuo : Sic et doctrina sapientiae  
animae tuae : quam cum inveneris, habebis in novissimis  
spem, et spes tua non peribit.

Prov. 24:13f.

Honey and its sweetness are a metaphor for the spiritual benefits<sup>4</sup> of knowing the divine commandments which alone bring wisdom, and this reflects a basic tenet of Jewish and Christian thinking : physical substances and objects often connote spiritual qualities as well. This can be clearly seen in a comparison made between the words in the Bible used to describe i) the giving of manna to the Israelites in the desert and ii) the giving of the commandments to the Jewish nation.<sup>5</sup> The first is primarily a physical event, a miraculous gift of physical nourishment, the second primarily a spiritual event, a giving of rules by which the nation may obtain spiritual wellbeing :

Appellavitque domus Israel nomen ejus Man : quod erat  
quasi semen coriandri album, gustusque ejus quasi similiae  
cum melle.

Exod. 16:31

Lex Domini immaculata, ... testimonium Domini fidele, ...  
Justitiae Domini rectae ... praeceptum Domini lucidum;...  
Timor Domini sanctus, judicia Domini vera, justificata in  
semetipsa. Desiderabilia super aurum et lapidem pretiosum  
multum: Et dulciora super mel et favum.

Ps. 18:8-11

The vocabulary in each case is intentionally similar. Honey connotes costly sweetness, and the sense of taste, whether physical or spiritual, serves as a means of discerning what is "good" and conducive to health. Since God is seen as the provider of all good things<sup>6</sup> there is an obvious link between

truly "good" objects and experiences and the divine Giver. The distinction between physical and spiritual is deliberately blurred. The Psalms, which we noted above were the reading primer of mediaeval learners, make frequent use of language which fuses spiritual and sensory terminology, for example :

Gustate, et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus, beatus vir, qui sperat in eo.

Ps. 33:9

"Gustate", "videte" and "suavis" have a primary physical meaning, but when applied to "Dominus" there is a switch to a spiritual plane, which is then confirmed by the abstract term "beatus" in the second half of the sentence.

The prophetic books also pursue this imagery and the notion of taking in words, written or spoken, especially the words of God, is described not only in terms of hearing, as one might expect, but also in terms of eating good things :

Inventi sunt sermones tui, et comedi eos, et factum est mihi verbum tuum in gaudium et in laetitiam cordis mei: ...

Jer. 15:16

In the book of Isaiah, the prophecy of the coming of the child called "Emmanuel" links the eating of butter and honey with the ability to refuse evil and choose good :

... et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel. Butyrum et mel comedet, ut sciat reprobare malum, et eligere bonum.

Is. 7:14f.

In the New Testament the same imagery is used, but the potential for symbolic reference is increased. The familiar images of tasting and eating come to be applied not just to knowledge of the laws and commandments of the Old Testament, but also to the knowledge of the New Testament word, the

verbum which is proclaimed in and by the person of Christ :

Impossibile est enim eos, qui semel sunt illuminati, gustaverunt etiam donum coeleste, et participes facti sunt Spiritus sancti. Gustaverunt nihilominus bonum Dei verbum, ... Et prolapsi sunt; rursus renovari ad poenitentiam, ...

Heb. 6:4-6

The "donum coeleste" and the "bonum Dei" are both references to Christ, and the salvation which comes with faith in him.

The narratives of the gospels are full of food and drink imagery, most of it directly relating to the figure of Christ or to his teaching. Christ himself makes miracles or parables out of grain, wine, bread, fish, water, figs, salt, mustard seeds, leaven and other basic foodstuffs which were and are part of daily life in the East. He himself is called, for example the "bread of life", the "lamb of God" and "living water".<sup>7</sup> The distinctive ceremony of breaking bread and drinking wine which was instituted by Christ himself, with very heavy symbolic overtones,<sup>8</sup> demonstrates most clearly of all the depth and complexity of Christian food symbolism. The old, Jewish imagery is retained but it gains yet more connotations when linked with the newer doctrines. There are now, more than ever, layers of meaning in events and ceremonies. The concept of sacrifice, present from the book of Genesis in the story of Cain and Abel<sup>9</sup> and in the story of the passover lamb<sup>10</sup> which was partially sacrificed and partly eaten, and is given extended treatment in the book of Leviticus, is also central to Christian belief.<sup>11</sup> In this case an already spiritual concept is, as it were, spiritualised to a yet higher degree, so that the Old Testament offering of an

animal becomes the New Testament offering of Christ.

To return to the previous example, that of manna in the desert, this too is given still further mystical meanings in the New Testament :

Qui habet aurem, audiat quid Spiritus dicat ecclesiis :  
Vincenti dabo manna absconditum, ...

Apoc. 2:17

There is no clear indication in the text as to what exactly "hidden manna" is intended to symbolise. There is evidently a connection with the Old Testament, but also a departure from it.<sup>12</sup> In a further passage in the same book, there is an incident which is obviously related in some way with the experience of Jeremiah quoted above :

Et accepi librum de manu Angeli, et devoravi illum : et erat in ore meo tamquam mel dulce : et cum devorassem eum, amaricatus est venter meus : Et dixit mihi : oportet te iterum prophetare gentibus, et populis, et linguis, et regibus multis.

Apoc. 10:10f.

Eating is still a symbol for the taking in of words, for the prophet here refers to the book which the angel gives him to eat, and the result of this eating is to be prophecy of some sort or another. Whether the message contained in this meal is the law, the gospels, the contents of a vision, or something else, is not clear from the passage alone. Interpretation of this passage is necessary if readers are to make any sense of it at all. The surface meaning is not clear, may even seem nonsensical if taken too literally, but from earliest Christian times onwards there was a willing supply of well-educated commentators who took it upon themselves to interpret the mystical Christian scriptures for general consumption.

Otfrid, in his turn, when narrating the gospel events, was forced from time to time to venture beyond the surface literal meaning into the deeper waters of exegesis.

The Evangelienbuch, leaning on the traditions sketched above, uses a great deal of food and tasting imagery. There are several words used for "food" : gouma, muas, pruanta and zuht.<sup>13</sup> These are used more or less interchangeably, and Otfrid's need for a rhyme every few words or so may be in part responsible for the variety of similar terms. In addition to these four, the word brot, whilst obviously intended to carry its literal meaning at least some of the time, is also used to signify, by extension, the same general meaning "food" as the others.

We have noted above that the celebration of the Eucharist is perhaps the most distinctive and basic example of Christian use of food imagery as a carrier of symbolic, or even sacramental meaning. This would appear, then, to be a logical starting place for an analysis of tasting and eating imagery in the Evangelienbuch.

Bread and wine make their first appearance together in the book of Genesis<sup>14</sup> when the mysterious priest/king figure Melchisedek produced them before Abraham. Otfrid devotes considerable effort to the explaining of meanings connected with these two substances. The bulk of his argument can be found in two chapter groups :

- i) the changing of water into wine II,8/9/10
- ii) the feeding of the five thousand III,6/7.

A third incident, namely the story of the Canaanite woman in III,10/11, clarifies a few points not covered in the main discussion.

The miraculous changing of water into wine is narrated in II,8, following the gospel source of Jo. 2:1-11, and incorporating a few items of exegesis which are probably drawn from Alcuin's commentary on this gospel.<sup>15</sup> Interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the story takes place in the following chapter II,9 Spiritualiter. Otfrid specifically states that he is moving into exposition :

Thoh wíll ih es mit willen    hiar étheswaz irzéllen,  
thaz wír ni werden éinon    thero goumano ádeilon,  
Thes wázares gisméken    joh wír then séns intheken,  
thaz frowon lídi thine    fon themo héilegen wine.  
(II,9,3-6)

In these lines Otfrid combines concrete and abstract language to achieve a close link between the story and the moral he is going to draw from it. He advises that one ought not only to "taste the water" (concrete statement) but one also ought to "uncover the meaning" (abstract statement) of the "holy wine" (concrete and abstract statement : in what sense is wine "holy" and a container of "sense"?). The jars, it turns out, symbolize the hearts of God's followers (line 11f.), and they are héileges giscribes fol (line 13). The water which becomes wine must then symbolize the holy scriptures. There is a danger of confusion here, because it appears that both the water and the wine are intended to parallel the holy scriptures in this table of equivalents. But Otfrid spells

out the water/wine contrast in such a way that the link between the substances and the difference between them are equally clear :

(Lútaran brúnnon so scénkent sie uns mit wúnnon;  
skal iz géistlichaz sîn, so skénkent sie uns then  
gúatan win);  
(II,9,15f.)

In other words, the scriptures give joy like the joy of drinking clear water (Lútaran brúnnon) but also, if they are to have a spiritual effect (skal iz géistlichaz sîn) then they give the superior pleasure that good wine gives. Water and wine, therefore, are not to be seen as opposites, but as two grades, or levels, of the the same basic substance, one of which is more valuable (that is, more spiritual) than the other. Otfrid gives a fuller explanation of this imagery at the end of the chapter :

Thaz giscríp in ríhti irfúlli thu io mit máhti:  
so kúalist thu thih ófto mit brunnen rédihafto;  
Joh húgi filu hártó thero géistlichero wórtó:  
so drenkist dráhta thine mit frónisgemo wine.  
(II,9,91-94)

The key to the allegory which is implicit in this story is the alignment of literal meaning with water and spiritual meaning with wine. The context is clearly defined as the reading and understanding of the scriptures first on a basic level, and then more deeply. According to Otfrid, a mere understanding of the literal meaning is good in itself (as drinking water is intrinsically good) but it is better to aspire after a more rewarding spiritual understanding :

Tharana maht thu irthénken, mit brúnnen thih gidrénken,  
gifréwen ouh thie thine mit géistlichemo wíne.  
(II,9,23f.)

Lest the reader be put off by the allegorical nature of this exhortation, Otfrid cites his own reluctance to try this "spiritual understanding" and, still using taste imagery, he describes his feelings before, and after, he first tried this unusual experience :

Ih zéllu thir in alawár: luzil dránk ih es thar,  
lúzil ih es móhta joh górag es gismákta;  
Ni thúhta mih theih quámi thar sulih wín wari,  
odo io in inheimon zi súazeren goumon.  
(II,9,25-28)

The ideas of tasting something good and understanding scripture are thus intertwined consistently in the explanation of the meaning of the Bible event and in the exhortation to put the lesson into practice. The point is made impossible to overlook by means of constant repetition of the key words :

- gismeckan (lines 5,26,69)
- (gi)drenkan (lines 14,23,25,64,68,88,90,94)
- geistlich (lines 2,16,24,93)
- firneman (lines 7,17,63,75,87).

By way of practical demonstration, Otfrid includes a long excursus in the middle chapter in which he gives an example of the water/wine, or rather literal/spiritual contrast in connection with one well-known Old Testament story. He narrates the outline of the story of Abraham and Isaac,<sup>16</sup> stating that this may be read as a straightforward lesson in human holiness, and an example for believers to follow on a literal level :

Bilido io filu frám thesan héilegon man:

so drínkist thu io mit willen thes lúteren brunnen.  
(II,9,67f.)

The "clear water" (luterer brunnen) of this story is changed, according to Otfrid, into wine with the assumption that the story refers also, in some mystical way, to God the Father and Christ the Son :

Wil thu iz kléinor reken, in wine gisméken:

fon Kríste scalt thu iz zéllen, gisteist thu tház  
(II,9,69f.) irwéllen.

What Otfrid is doing, of course, is demonstrating the Christian exegetical principle which interprets Old Testament characters as figures or "types" of Christ. In this way the events of the Old Testament are seen as fore-shadowings of the events which are related in the New Testament many years later. This comparison between the Abraham/Isaac story and the life of Christ is made in Alcuin's commentary on John's gospel, but Otfrid stresses the willingness of Isaac to submit to his father's wishes. Whereas Alcuin lists several other parallel Old Testament figures; Otfrid is content with the Abraham/Isaac incident.<sup>17</sup>

Whereas Alcuin chooses to make a full-scale history lesson of the subject, listing several examples in chronological sequence, Otfrid ties his one example very firmly into the water/wine imagery which forms the core of his whole exegetical passage. This he does with the help of a fortuitous similarity in Old High German (but not, one must remember, in Latin!) between the words wín ("wine") and wini ("friend") :

gifrēwen ouh thie thine mit géistlichemo wine.  
(II,9,24)

Ni thúhta mih theih quámi thar sulih wín wari,  
(II,9,27)

Druhtin kós imo einan wíni untar wóroltmenigi.  
(II,9,31)

Since Abraham is known in Jewish and Christian writings as the special amicus Dei<sup>18</sup> the word-play is doubly apt. Otfrid displays here not only a sensitivity to the two languages he is dealing with, but also a sound awareness of the possible advantages which linguistic coincidences, whether in Latin or in his own vernacular, might bring to his argument. The wit and literary skill evidenced here must not be underestimated : it is one feature which confounds critics who try to maintain that the Evangelienbuch is unambitious and of poor intellectual and literary quality. Wordplay of this nature is evidence of a considerable ease and confidence in the language. Moreover, the link between the words wín and wíni gives an air of logic to an otherwise weakly constructed argument. It preserves the continuity of ideas through the long Abraham excursus to the end of II,9 where the water/wine contrast returns to the fore.

Otfrid's departure from the exegetical tradition is correctly identified by Xenja von Ertzdorff as one of emphasis :<sup>19</sup>

Während jedoch in den Bibelkommentaren diese Verwandlung erläutert und in verschiedene Richtungen ausgedeutet wird, steht bei Otfrid die Aufnahme, das Trinken von Wasser und Wein, im Mittelpunkt.

In other words :<sup>20</sup>

Otfrid betont und konzentriert seine Aussagen auf das aufnehmende Trinken, das bei Alkuin ebenfalls erwähnt wird, aber keinesfalls eine beherrschende Stellung einnimmt.

The strong emphasis on gismeckan and firneman outlined above appears, then, to be not exactly an innovation of Otfrid's, but at least a deliberate choice of an unusual emphasis. The act of tasting and drinking itself (and not the initial miraculous transformation of water into wine) is given prominence in the Evangelienbuch. Whereas the historical object-lesson of the six jars, with the accompanying imagery of the bridegroom (Christ) and the bride (the Church) is underplayed in the Evangelienbuch, the more personal imagery of tasting and drinking is stressed. In the words of H. Freytag :<sup>21</sup>

Otfrid bringt aber nicht die allegorisch-heilsgeschichtliche Auslegung auf die Kirche, sondern er beschränkt sich auf die schon in der Predigt Bedas angelegte moralisch-tropologische Auslegung auf den einzelnen Gläubigen.

There is a small, but important departure from exegetical tradition here, and it has, significantly, bearing upon the activity of learning. Readers and listeners are exhorted to partake of the literal and spiritual meanings of scripture, through the medium of the Evangelienbuch in the first instance, for this is surely implied in Otfrid's argumentation using Old High German wordplay, and then in their future studies in the monastery.

The commentators are preoccupied with the numerology of the story : the six jars being equated with the six ages of the world is evidence of their scholarly eye for detail and a

pedantic search for one-to-one correspondences. Otfrid echoes their predilections to some extent<sup>22</sup> and he, too, explains the symbolism of the six jars in II,8,27-34; II,9,19f; 95f., and II,10,2-4. The cryptic biblical reference to two-fold and three-fold measurements (Jo. 2:6) is picked up in II,8, 27-34, but only briefly mentioned. Otfrid is more concerned with the substances involved than the numbers, and he relies on the force of the water/wine imagery to make his point. We have evidence from Tacitus to indicate that Germanic tribes, above all others, were partial to the delights of alcoholic drinks,<sup>23</sup> and Otfrid takes it for granted that wine is superior to water. This is the starting point of the whole lesson. A similar transformation, he suggests, can be effected in the lives of those who read or listen to the Evangelienbuch. Otfrid's attention is fixed upon the present, not the past, and this explains his emphasis on the activity of tasting and drinking : the point of the story for him is to be the on-going active participation in Christ's miracle, not just the correct interpretation of the different details as set down by the commentators.

Chapter II,10 is introduced with a heading which would appear to contradict this theory. The question "Cur ex aqua et non ex nihilo vinum fecisset" would seem to promise tedious theological discourse of the sort favoured by examiners and schoolteachers in all ages. But the chapter itself gives an answer which is practical rather than theoretical, and directed towards those who read or listen to the Evangelienbuch. The first six lines of II.10 respond to the

abstract question : Christ chose to give new meaning to the history of the past, and therefore he deliberately used water (scripture meaning) which was already present in the world. Otfrid stresses Christ's continuity with the past (and present) rather than his departure from Old Testament tradition. Otfrid's reasoning is linked with his concern to make the story personally relevant for his audience :

Tho uns ward thiú sálda so frám, ... (line 7)

The remainder of the chapter forges further links between the Old Testament books, the New Testament story, and the time and place in which Otfrid's generation find themselves. The noble guests at the wedding are described, somewhat oddly, as biscofa (line 14), a term which is, of course, anachronistic, since the organised Christian Church was, at the time of events recorded in the New Testament gospels, not yet in existence. These bishops, according to Otfrid, have the task of administering to believers the content of the sacred books :

Sie kiesent uns mit rúachon then wín in then búachon

joh inan iogilícho uns lobont géistlichó;  
(II,10,15f.)

In this way the readers of the Evangelienbuch and the protagonists in the story are brought together, as if the centuries between them were temporarily removed. This indeed lends immediacy to the events and the interpretations depicted by Otfrid, and increases their potential for direct application in the lives of the readers and listeners. Michel and Schwarz suggest that Otfrid may have had in mind Hrabanus

Maurus, Liutbert of Mainz and Salomo (I) of Constance, though they cite no firm evidence in support of this.<sup>24</sup> Since Hrabanus Maurus was probably dead at the time of writing of the Evangelienbuch (and certainly by the time of its completion) it is unlikely that Otfrid commends his readers to the care of this man personally, though of course in an extended sense they may still benefit from his writings. There is, however, a verbal echo within the Evangelienbuch itself which encourages just this assumption, and this is found in the letter to Salomo and the chapter in question :

Lékza ih therera búachi iu sentu in Suábo richi,  
thaz ir irkíaset ubar ál. oba siu frúma wesán scaL:  
(Sal. 5f.)

Sie kíesent uns mit rúachon then wín in then búachon  
joh ínan iogilícho uns lobont géístlichó:  
(II,10,15f.)

The Latin letter to Liutbert, too, contains this "(ir)kiasan" element in Otfid's closing request with regard to the Evangelienbuch itself :

Qui si sanctitatis vestrae placet optutibus, et non deiciendum judicaverit, uti licenter fidelibus vestra auctoritas concedat;  
(Ad Liutbertum, 128-130)

The phrase "non deiciendum judicaverit", like the "(ir)kiasan" verbs used above, connotes negative judgement, rejection and particularly in connection with spiritual or divine standards. The vocabulary of choosing, or electing, or "trying" in both Latin and German is coloured by the force of the biblical Last Judgement, where souls are accepted or rejected on moral and religious grounds. This is the task of



thousand people. Otfrid finds another opportunity to expound the process of understanding scripture spiritually.

The imagery here, of course, revolves around the bread and fish which were miraculously multiplied to feed the crowds of listeners who had gathered to hear Christ's teaching. Once again there is a straightforward narrative chapter (III,6) followed by a Spiritualiter chapter (III,7) explaining the deeper meanings contained in the story. The interpretative chapter begins with a short prayer-like section which focuses upon the task about to be tackled :

Drúhtin min ther gúato, nu ríhti mih gimúato,  
zi thísu mir then húgu dua joh thaz hérza tharzua,  
Tház ih hiar gizéine waz thiu thin góuma meine,  
mit géistlichen rédinon then thinen liobon thégenon.  
(III,7,1-4)

From the start the emphasis is on the meaning of the gouma ("food") which is the focal point of the story. There follows a short scene-setting interpretation of the time and place in which the miracle occurs :

- "fora then óstoron" (line 5) is an indication of time and also a veiled reference to the resurrection of Christ
- "Galiléa" (line 13) which Otfrid interprets to mean "wheel" (theist in frénkisgon rád) is a reference to the changefulness of human life.

This is all derived from standard Carolingian commentaries,<sup>25</sup> and is not pursued in detail. Otfrid intends these remarks as reminders, no doubt, of the usual areas of symbolism covered by the commentators, and expects readers perhaps to follow them up in private study. His own concern in the

Evangelienbuch, however is not so much with these peripheral details, as with the food symbolism :

Thes sarphen wízodes nót bizéinot thisu fínf brot,  
mit thiu er io in nóti thuángta thie líuti.  
(III,7,23f.)

Bede and Alcuin<sup>26</sup> stress the point that the five loaves correspond to the five books of Moses. Otfrid ignores this interpretation, though he surely must have been aware of it, and concentrates instead upon the attributes of the substance in question. The Latin commentators describe the bread in terms of a "hard outer cover" (austeriora ... tegumenta) and an interior which is soft "like marrow" (quasi medullam).<sup>27</sup> Otfrid's version is fuller, and the hard/soft contrast becomes a major image. The hard covering is mentioned repeatedly throughout the chapter :

- hért ist gerstun kórnes hut (line 25)
- sínes léibes krusta (line 26)
- úzana hérter (line 29)
- tho er thia krústun firsléiz (line 31)
- tho er thia ríntun firbrah (line 32)
- in thero búahstabo hérti (line 75)
- úntar themo gikrúste (line 78)

The range of vocabulary and the extent of the repetition is even greater when Otfrid mentions the soft interior :

- thoh findu ih mélo tharinne (line 27)
- joh brósmun súaza in alawár (line 28)
- thes senses léib (line 28)
- thar ist inne manag gúat (line 30)
- thaz man thia frúma thar gisáh (line 32)
- thaz Kristes múas (lines 73, 79)
- in thes giscribes slihti (line 76)
- filu géistlichaz brot (line 77).

From bread and its qualities Otfrid draws out a spiritual lesson. He uses his biblical and worldly knowledge to expand the gospel story and the brief notes of the standard

commentaries. Otfrid hopes that the readers and listeners will follow the argument on the literal level, using their own experience to confirm the accuracy of the image. From there it is a small step to the understanding of the underlying spiritual message. As ever, repetition makes the point clear and memorable.

The image of the fish is a complement to the bread, just as the actual substances make up the miraculous meal which Christ provides. The Latin commentators note that the two fish signify specifically the Psalms and the prophetic books of the Bible which together foretell the coming of Christ and the Church.<sup>28</sup> Otfrid again ignores this aspect of number-symbolism and uses "fórasagon" (line 33) to cover both. When Otfrid does specify the details, he makes three, not two, divisions :

Waz fórasagon zéllent joh uns thie sélmi singent,  
ouh gibót thaz álta, er géistlichó uns iz zálta;  
(III,7,45f.)

The Prophets, the Psalms, and the Law are what Christ illuminates and brings to fulfilment. This is again a slight, but significant deviation from the commentaries.

As in the water/wine episode, Otfrid chooses here to emphasize the active appropriation of spiritual understanding. Not just the two fish are important, but the whole procedure of handing over the bread and fish, their being broken up, and the subsequent feeding of the masses is what Otfrid selects as material for interpretation in this chapter. In other words, a static parallel (fish = Psalms and Prophets) is made into a picture of the active giving and receiving of spiritual

nourishment. This is done using the verb irfisgon with a figurative force :

Oba thu ra rúachis,   thu thar sia díofu suachis.

joh thar irfísgot thínaz múat   harto mánagfaltaz gúat.  
(III,7,35f.)

There is no immediately apparent precedent for this shift to a verbal rather than a nominal image. Hrabanus Maurus<sup>29</sup> mentions that depth implies hiddenness, Otfrid extends the allegory to convey more of an active impression. There may be in Otfrid's mind an echo of Christ's words "Venite post me, et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum"<sup>30</sup> although the context for this expression is the gathering of souls and not the gathering of spiritual knowledge from scripture. Otfrid's creative use of language here summarizes the key lesson of the Bible story : active gathering (irfisgon) of spiritual material for the inner man (thínaz múat) which is a form of nourishment (góuma line 34) bringing benefit (mánagfaltaz gúat) to the receiver.

The rest of the story is explained step by step in allegorical fashion, following the material provided by the Latin commentators. The crumbs picked up by the disciples and put into baskets are pieces of teaching (from the scriptures) which are not immediately consumed (that is, understood) by the common crowd. In other words, there remains much of Christ's teaching that is too difficult for the people, and it has to be gathered together and explained further. The baskets symbolise the containers for this extra teaching, that is, books, which serve to preserve the scraps of wisdom for use at a later date. The humble nature of the baskets indicates the

servant status of those who gather together doctrine in books (and one cannot help but think of Hrabanus Maurus and the Carolingian encyclopaedists who so eagerly devoted themselves to this task) but the valuable nature of the material they accumulate makes the writers worthy of respect nonetheless. This reference :

Kórp theist scáلكlichaz fáz; thoh ni rúachent sie bi tház,  
ni mán sie sus iowánne zi kórbín ginenne;  
Wánta sie sint álle thera Krístes lera fólle,  
thia selba kléinun wizzi thia scrí bent sie uns zi núzzi.  
(III,7,59-62)

could also have some bearing on the humble nature of the Evangelienbuch, which though written in the ordinary language of the local people, nevertheless contains teaching collected for believers to study. Christian teachers and their books, Otfrid seems to imply, are the humble dispensers of divine wisdom, a commodity which is only released when the receivers are suitably prepared. Earthly desires, symbolised in the blades of grass trodden down by the crowd, must be crushed before a person may sit and eat of Christ's spiritual food (III,7,63-72). The moral and intellectual training of young monks took place simultaneously, and this short exposition reminds learners of the interdependence of the different modes of interpretation. The symbolism of this chapter is not allowed to remain on the academic level - allegory and interpretation lead to exhortations in every area of the young scholar's life.

Towards the end of the chapter Otfrid makes direct

exhortations to study and uses the same food vocabulary that has dominated the whole chapter :

Lís thir mit giwúrtil in thero búahstabo hérti,  
grúbilo in girihti in thes giscribes slihti:  
Thar findist thu io thuruh nót filu géistlichaz brót  
úntar themo gikrúste, in thiu thih es wóla luste.  
(III,7,75-78)

The verbs, once again, are active : "grúbilo" and "findist" imply considerable effort. The imperatives "Lís" and "grúbilo" exhort the reader or listener to take part in the miracle just described, on a spiritual level, of course, following the guidelines provided by Otfrid's interpretations. The final couplet of the chapter depicts the reward in store for the person who heeds this advice :

Er wérd unsih gibliden io zen góumon sinen,  
húngere biwérien joh ouh fon tóde nerien!  
(III,7,89f.)

The eternal dimension is brought into the argument, and the reward matches the imagery of the whole chapter. Otfrid especially notes that Christ stills the hunger ("húngere biwérien") of the readers, listeners, and of Otfrid himself ("unsih"). Whereas the commentators stress the power and divinity of Christ made visible in the feeding of the five thousand<sup>31</sup> Otfrid drives home the message that Christ is the giver of physical nourishment and also food for thought, in the form of teaching, both for those present at the sea of Galilee, and for future generations.

One detail in the narrative of chapter III,6 shows

Otfrid's remarkably intensive preoccupation with the physical act of tasting and eating. The disciples ask how they are to buy food for so many people, and Christ replies :

"mit mihilemo scázze, ther liut zi thiu gisízze,  
Thaz íagilichen thánne thoh foller münd werde,  
then münd zi thiu irréken, thes brótes wiht gisméken!"  
(III,6,22-24)

This "brot giségonotaz" (line 35) and the fish, grew in their mouths and hands (lines 35-40) with the result :

joh mánnilih thar sát ward, so sie thes brótes giward:  
(III,6,44)

In the narration of the devil's temptation of Christ (II,4/5/6) Otfrid makes the obvious comparison with the temptation of Adam. The depiction of Adam's fall is extremely detailed, and extremely physical. God warns Adam :

Quád, ob er iz ázi, imo úbilo iz gisázi,  
joh ób er iz firslúnti, fon dóthe ni irwúnti.  
(II,6,7f.)

In isolation this double rendition of the words of God might be no more than just another example of Otfrid's expansive narrative style. But the rest of the chapter shows that Otfrid has a particular point to make. He interprets further, speaking of Adam :

Er was thes áphules fróu joh uns zi léide er nan kóu,  
joh uns zi sére er nan nám; waz wán ther wénego man?  
(II,6,23f.)

Then he speculates how much better it would have been if Adam had not actually swallowed the forbidden fruit :

Zi wéwen wárd uns iz kund, thaz er nan scóub in sinan  
münd;  
want er nan kóu joh firslánt, nu buen ánderaz lánt.

Ward tho ménnisgen wé, thaz er nan úz thoh ni spe,  
iz widorort nirwánta inti únsih so firsáncta.

Inti ér er iz firslúnti, theiz widorort irwúnti,  
joh tház er es firléipti, iz avur thára kleipti

In then bóum thar si iz nám: ni missigiangin wir so  
frám.

(II,6,25-31)

Edrmann's edition (and following revisions) remark that the source for all of this is not known.<sup>32</sup> Murdoch notes that all the commentators depend ultimately on Gregory the Great<sup>33</sup> but the stress on the actual chewing and swallowing is unusual. It appears that Otfrid is preparing the way in this early chapter for the approaching water/wine miracle, and the later feeding of the five thousand. Through Adam's sensual excess, and his partaking of the forbidden fruit, sin entered his physical body and was thus passed on to all mankind ("uns zi léide" line 23).<sup>34</sup> The parallel with Christ's temptation in the desert is intended to show how this process was reversed. Christ is tempted in the same way so as to make good Adam's fault through this same tasting/eating medium. What Otfrid does here is show in a negative image (that of chewing, and swallowing the fruit) what later happens in a positive image (the receiving of the wine, bread and fish). The step-by-step taking in of nourishment parallels the step-by-step learning of Christian teaching. And the physical imagery aims to make this abstract concept clear. Just as sin enters a human being once and for all, and also gradually, with resulting banishment "fon themo páradyse" (line 38), so

salvation enters once and for all (through Christ's atonement) and gradually (through the acceptance of his teaching) with resulting entry into heaven.

The story of the Canaanite woman told in III,10 picks up these ideas and develops many of the images first presented in the two great transformation miracles. In this incident, the food imagery is restricted to a figurative level. This means that the lesson is conceptually more difficult, since there is no "action" upon which to pin interpretations. The short conversation between the Canaanite woman and Christ provides the key feature of the story : Christ, on being pressed by the woman, who is not a Jew, invents an image to describe what her request is like :

"Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus."  
Matt. 15:26

Otfrid translates literally :

"Níst", quad er tho, "fruma tház, thaz man zúkke thaz  
maz  
then kíndon ir then hánton inti wérfez úz then  
húnton."  
(III,10,33f.)

Interestingly, however, Otfrid makes out of the simple "sumere" and "mittere" two livelier verbs "zúkke" and "werfez", adding interest to the description. The woman's reply in the original Latin is brief :

"Etiam Domine : nam et catelli edunt de micis, quae  
cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum."  
Matt. 15:27

Otfrid expands the woman's answer to six lines and makes the food imagery more prominent by including some explanation along with the biblical dialogue :

"Drúhtin", quad si, "al ist iz só, thaz wízzun wir  
 alle man nintnéinent thaz thínu wort giméinent. giwíссо;  
 Giléchont thoh thie wélfá (theist lába in joh ouh hélfa),  
 thero brósmono sih fúllent thie fon then dísgin fallent,  
 Thar héron thie wíse sízzent zi iro múase,  
 gismékent thoh thía méina thera selbun áleiba."  
(III,10,35-40)

Otfrid is here spelling out what is implicit in the gospel text. First of all he makes it clear that the woman understands Christ's words in a spiritual sense (line 35f.). She agrees with his statement, and extends the metaphor from one of parents feeding their children rather than dogs to one of young dogs eating leftover crumbs which fall from the table. Echoes from the feeding of the five thousand are minimal in the biblical original text, but in Otfrid's version they take on greater importance because the words used here are the same, notably the mention of "brósmono" and "áleiba" with the same spiritual connotations as before. The most interesting new element in Otfrid's rendition of the story is the choice of the word "wíse" to designate the people who sit at the table to eat. The Bible gives only "dominorum suorum" (their, that is the dogs', masters) and the word in Latin does bear connotations of teaching. But the word wíse is a distinct classification which points to especially learned Christian teachers, and that means bishops and the higher clergy, particularly those who make important decisions and/or compose important textbooks on difficult matters of doctrine and practice. In other words, it recalls the "bíscofa"

interpretation of the foregoing water/wine miracle. The symbolic level of meaning is therefore once again the taking in of teaching, as the non-biblical parenthesis (theist lába in joh ouh hélfa, line 37) makes perfectly clear.

In the earlier chapters discussed above the bread and wine imagery served to make known what was to be taught and by whom. This story focuses upon the potential receivers of Christ's teaching. There is a distinct hierarchy in operation here : Christ is at the top, as the provider of spiritual food. The "wise men" are next in order of rank, and they are seated round the table, which Hrabanus Maurus interprets to mean "scriptura sacra".<sup>35</sup> This suggests that the teachers of the Church are themselves taught by Christ. The sons mentioned in Christ's first speech are to represent the faithful, the believers who look to their spiritual fathers (clergy, Christ and ultimately God the Father) to provide the nourishment they need. The young dogs, connoting low status, immaturity and lack of fine sensibility, signify the heathen nations, who are not ready, or not yet qualified, to receive Christ's precious gift of teaching and with it, ultimately salvation.

Thus the hierarchy of the teaching and learning process within the Church is gradually unfolded in the chapters discussed above. This leaves Otfrid free, in III,11, which is a Moraliter passage, to concentrate upon a new element in the parallel between eating and drinking on the one hand, and learning from teachers on the other. This new emphasis emerges as the nature of the receiver of Christ's words, and her function in the story. Otfrid notes that the Canaanite woman



the actual words of Christ bring the desired benefits. Otfrid holds up the Canaanite woman as an example to those who read or listen to the Evangelienbuch because they have much in common with her. They, like this woman, must rely on the words of Christ alone, without first seeing the effects of their (prayer) requests. The young dogs, for whom the woman pleads, though inferior in every way to their master (Christ) and their teachers (higher clergy and teaching monks) are allowed, even encouraged, to partake of the same spiritual food. Even the youngest, least learned, or least committed of those who take in the message of the Evangelienbuch may expect, with the right attitudes, to gain spiritual benefit. The stress on the woman's humility and willingness to obey is directed particularly, perhaps, at younger learners, those at the beginning of the long process of monastic education. Much faith and patience would be required before they could expect to see the fruit of their studies.

From the discussion of these three sections of the Evangelienbuch emerges an important link between tasting and eating on the one hand, and understanding the Christian scriptures, broken down into taught units, on the other. Hrabanus Maurus summarizes this fundamental idea with the words :<sup>37</sup>

Comedere enim mystice significat verba divina  
spiritaliter sumere.

This generalisation is explicitly contained in all of the examples cited above, but it also spills over into the rest of the Evangelienbuch. Otfrid frequently inserts a spiritual

interpretation, usually relying on some previous Latin commentator, to remind the reader or listener that whenever tasting or eating is mentioned in the narrative, there is likely to be a potential for spiritual parallels connected with some aspect of learning or teaching. An example of this occurs in Otfrid's rendering of a phrase in the Lord's prayer (Matt. 6:11) along with a short interpolation of his own which extends the literal meaning to cover the spiritual dimension as well :

Thia dágalichun zúhti gib híut uns mit ginúhti,  
joh fóllon ouh, theist méra, thínes selbes lera.  
(II,21,33f.)

The literal request for "daily sustenance" is interpreted as containing under the surface, a request for spiritual nourishment in the form of lera - "teaching". The discovery of a sixteenth century approximate copy of this very part of the Evangelienbuch in a collection of odd pieces which includes the "Vaterunser" in many different languages<sup>38</sup> illustrates an interesting aspect of this whole problem. The very words here under discussion, namely Otfrid's non-biblical interpolation, are omitted in this very late borrowing from Otfrid's work. This suggests that some readers, whether the French copyist himself, or some other collector before him, took offence at the free rendition of the gospel words of Christ, and corrected this "error".

A similar passage occurs in a casual reference to Lazarus, who, having been miraculously raised from the dead, proceeded to eat with Christ immediately afterwards. In the

gospel narrative (Jo. 11) the emphasis is clearly on the miraculous return to life. Otfrid echoes this emphasis but he applies its force to the spiritual plane when he requests that Christ in effect repeat the miracle, by bringing life to Otfrid's inner being :

irquickí in mír, theist méra, thia mína muadun séla,  
(III,1,22)

The little phrase theist méra common to these two quotations announces the deeper, and also more important, sense which the statements contain. This phrase, although it contributes to the rhymescheme on both occasions, must not be seen as a mere "filler", added simply because of formal requirements. It both reinforces the literal meaning of a statement and introduces the spiritual dimension,<sup>39</sup> all within a minimum of space, and bringing no disruption whatever to the flow of the main narrative passage.

Otfrid develops the reference to Lazarus with a mention of sitting at Christ's table :

irquickí in mír, theist méra, thia mína muadun séla,  
Theih hiar in libe irwízze, zi thinemo dísgé ouh sizze,  
so er déta after thiu: ih muazi thingen zi thiu;  
Tház ih io mit rúachon zi góumon si in then búachon,  
tharana hügge ouh fóllon thines selbes willon!  
(III,1,22-26)

This is not an aspect which the Bible draws out of the incident. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that Otfrid selects additional material, especially in linking chapters such as III,1, in order to supplement conventional











is the phrase mit suazlichen gilustin (line 98). Ohly indicates the spiritual dimensions of suazi and its cognates and in particular notes :<sup>43</sup>

In der Fülle der Fälle hat suazi einen Bezug auf Gottes Wort und die Weisen des Redens.

He also underlines the power of this group of words to spiritualize words and deeds :<sup>44</sup>

Otfrieds suazi ist eine Welt und steht mit schwebender Leichtigkeit an seinen Sinnengrund gebunden, keinen sichtbaren Akt spiritueller Anreicherung verratend.

We have seen above<sup>45</sup> the connection between "sweetness" terminology and the words of God in the Old Testament, and shall have occasion to note again below<sup>46</sup> further significance of suazi terminology in the Evanglienbuch. The positive sensory force of these phrases contributes to the hortatory function of the work.

Christ's definition of the spiritual nature of his múas hinges on a connection between eating and fulfilling the will of God :

"Min múas ist", quad er, "fóllo mines fáter willo,  
theih émmizen irfúlle so wáz so er selbo wólle.  
(II,14,101f.)

In the later chapter III,1 which contains the Lazarus likeness, Otfred echoes these words :

Theih híar in libe irwízze, zi thinemo dísgé ouh sizze,  
so er déta after thiu: ih muazi thingen zi thiu:  
Tház ih io mit rúachon zi góumon si in then búachon,  
tharana hügge ouh fóllon thines selbes willon!  
(III,1,23-26)

Though there is an obvious similarity between these two

utterances, there is also a difference : Christ fulfils the will of God the Father and Otfrid aims to fulfil the will of Christ. The gap in the comparison is bridged by the food analogy. Christ fulfils the will of God directly, without recourse to any material aids. Otfrid, and by extension all men, can only fulfil the will of Christ, and thereby indirectly the will of God the Father, through the medium of Christ's teaching, in the scriptures and in the hierarchy of the Church. This is because mankind is imperfect, but redeemable through spiritual input from divine sources. An understanding of this differentiation explains the behaviour of the disciples in this chapter, and the veiled references to teaching through food imagery.

As the narrative continues, Christ mentions an area of symbolism which is very large : the image of the harvest as a way of depicting the saving of souls :<sup>47</sup>

Ir quedet in álawari, thaz mánodo sin noh fiari,  
thaz thanne sí, so man quít, reht árnogizit.  
(II,14,103f.)

Further explanation of this figure of speech (so man quít, notes Otfrid, to draw attention to the special, non-literal meaning of the image) is found in several parts of the Evangelienbuch, and most extensively in the Spiritualiter chapter which ends the first book (I,28). The details of the analogy are spelt out one by one. Threshing the grain is equated with distinguishing between the good and the bad, meaning that some souls are saved and some destined for burning:

Joh in fiure after thiú thar ni brínnen io so spríu.  
(I,28,7)

Those fortunate believers who belong to God are described as "gótes kornon" (I,28,10) and the storehouse ("spíhiri" line 16) is described as "Thaz héilega kórnhus" (line 17). The context for all of this is the Last Judgement, and the process of allocating human souls to heavenly rest or to eternal damnation. Christ is addressed by Otfrid in this short devotional chapter, for Christ is in charge of separating the grain from the worthless chaff :

Mit állen unsen kréftin bíttemes nu drúhtin,  
er únsih uns zi léide fon then gúaten ni giscéide;  
(I,28,1f.)

The "hirta" (line 9) are workers in the harvest, in the sense that Christ in the chapter mentioned above (II,14) uses this image in his conversation with the disciples. Their task is to collect the good grain, gathering it into its final resting place. The workers signify the disciples, of course, and also the bishops, priests and monks of later generations who have a pastoral care over the people at large. Since this chapter takes the form of a prayer, formulated in the first person plural, it would seem that Otfrid intends the audience or readership of the Evangelienbuch to identify to some extent at least with the process described. Some, the least educated, perhaps lay people learning from monks but not themselves intending to enter an order or the priesthood, would be satisfied to see themselves avoiding the fate of the damned. Others, young novices or those learned enough to see parallels

with other parts of the gospels, would appreciate the exhortation to work in the preaching and teaching ministry of the Church. The notion of "gathering in" appears elsewhere in the Evangelienbuch with reference to the salvation of believers, not just in the gospels, but also in the centuries following after New Testament times :

Er bi únsih wolta stérban joh éino thaz biwérban,  
thaz wir nirwúrtin furdir ál thuruh then sínan einan fál;  
Joh únsih thiu sin gúati al gisámanoti,  
wir io írri fuarun, zispréitite warun.  
(III,26,33-36)

The gathering together of scattered believers may be interpreted in terms of their heavenly reward, or indeed also as the ideal of a monastic community consisting of a group of believers assembled in one location, which in its own way also prefigures the heavenly arrangements.

In the light of all of this, Christ's words to the disciples, his young followers and co-workers, assume more exact reference. To return to this chapter (II,14), it is clear that Christ's words are presented by Otfrid in such a way that they encourage both teachers and learners, and this applies as much to those inside monasteries as to those at work in the world outside, for all begin their studies in a monastic schoolroom.

A necessary complement to the harvesting imagery is the notion of sowing, or scattering :

Ih sánta íuih árnnon: ir ni sátut tho thaz kórn,  
(II,14,109)

The origin of this is Christ's parable of the sower<sup>48</sup> which



lost in Otfrid's Evangelienbuch :

So duent thie Júdeon in wár: sie drágent iro búah thar,  
noh in thia fruma níazent noh ándere ni lázent.

Thaz spéntot druhtin híare, thaz ságen ih thir zi wáre;  
nim es háрто gouma: thiz sínt thio selbun góuma.

Thaz spéntot er in múate uns zi allemo ánagate  
joh ouh wórolti ubar ál, er unsih wiht es ni hál.  
(III,7,39-44)

Otfrid here clearly defines what it actually is that Christ so liberally distributes ("spéntot"): the scriptures of the Jews. The Old Testament contains "fruma", another food term meaning literally "fruit" and spiritually "salvation" or "spiritual nourishment" which needs to be administered to the inner man ("in múate"). Christ's teachings are to be tasted, swallowed, digested and made part of the whole being of the receiver. The play on the word "góuma" (line 42) is this time clearly intended to reinforce the message for speakers of Old High German, especially since so many passages in preceding chapters have prepared the way for the reception of its two meanings "food" and "heed, attention".

The detailed comparison of the latter part of II,14 and the rest of the Evangelienbuch has revealed that Otfrid presents here a variety of material in shortened form, which is elsewhere in <sup>the</sup> Evangelienbuch treated at greater length. In order to make this clear at a glance, Fig. 2 on the following page aligns the ideas in II,14 with corresponding sections of commentary in the rest of the Evangelienbuch.

Fig. 2

II,14 Line no./idea	Additional information elsewhere in the <u>Evangelienbuch</u>
96 sitting	III,10,39 guests sit around tables i.e. teachers around scriptures
96 daily food	II,21,33 daily bread means teaching
97 Christ has food	I,11,57f. Christ is food
98 sweetness	Many references, e.g. III,7 passim where "sweet" is a spiritual term
101f. Christ's food is to fulfil the will of God	III,1,23-36 Otfrid's food is to fulfil the will of God
104f. ripe for harvest	I,28,1f. judgement, separating wheat and chaff i.e. mankind
108 barn	I,28,7ff. heaven and hell
109 reaping	II,26,33-36 gathering souls together
109 sowing	II,15,19-22 preaching the gospel message
whole section	III,7,39-44 Christ and his team of workers give out spiritual food which brings men to salvation

Table showing how information which is present in compact form in II,14,95-122 is explained in other parts of the Evangelienbuch.

The Evangelienbuch's use of tasting and eating imagery is, in almost all of the cases demonstrated above, evidence of its educational bias. The work sets out to be a part of the training of those who are destined to be preachers and teachers. Thus the pastoral emphasis in the work is strong, and the notion of passing on spiritual food is a large part of its evangelistic force. For this reason, perhaps, Otfrid makes much of the risen Christ's charge to Peter which forms the closing section of the gospel of John, but not quite the closing section of the Evangelienbuch. Each time Otfrid interpolates a qualifying statement stressing the sharing of responsibility between Christ and Peter and the binding nature of the commission :

Gihalt mir scáf minu (mínu, nales thínu),  
(V,15,9)

Bisih mir lémbir minu (mínu, nales thínu),  
(V,15,21)

Nu fúatiri scáf minu (mínu, nales thínu),  
(V,15,35)

The three-fold repetition of the Bible is intensified with Otfrid's three identical parentheses. It sounds (no doubt intentionally) like a liturgical sequence, which stresses the serious and ceremonial quality of the utterances.<sup>49</sup> The underlying sense of the commandment is stated unequivocally :

"Gihalt mir scáf minu (mínu, nales thínu),

fúatiri siu io zi wáru mit mínes selbes leru."  
(V,15,9f.)

There is no doubt that the teaching ministry of the Church, headed by the spiritual descendant of Peter, the Pope, is what is signified here. Peter's calling makes him responsible

for the distribution of Christian teaching to all believers. The other side of this task is the proper understanding of these teachings in the first place, and Otfrid stresses Christ's concern that Peter has learned the proper meaning of all that has been said using the sheep-feeding imagery :

"Dúa," quad drúhtin "thuruh nót so ih hiar thir óbana  
gibót;  
in hérzen si iz bifárgan, ni láz es wiht ingárgan ..."  
(V,15,19f.)

Peter's understanding is to be no superficial hearing of the words, but a deep and permanent acceptance in herzen. Peter, and by implication the listener or reader who studies the Evangelienbuch, is required to learn as well as teach :

"Firním", quad er "thia rédina thia ih zálta thir hiar  
óbana;  
thaz ih wílle, so thu wéist, laz thir wésan thaz io  
méist."  
(V,15,33f.)

"... Húgi hiar nu hártó thero mínero wortó,  
in hérzen kléibi siu nu sár. wanta ih ságen thir in  
(V,15,37f.) álawar:..."

### Hearing.

The rhythm of sowing and reaping is thus a picture of the cyclical process of the teaching and gathering in of believers. The food and tasting vocabulary makes the process attractive for learners, and the whole complex of images shows pupils and teachers what is expected of them. Another striking feature of the way Otfrid depicts this area of activity is the stress he lays on the sound of the taught material. Teaching and preaching is to be no dull repetition but an energetic and

above all pleasing activity : pleasing both for those who teach and those who learn. This is achieved, as in the sections discussed above, with the use of positive sensory images.

When Otfrid refers to written texts he uses a variety of words including zellen, sagen, scriban<sup>50</sup> and the like, but also, in a figurative sense singan. He does not mean that authors actually sang their works, but that their books are of a different type than simple narrative, or plain recording of fact. The element of singing suggests spiritual content and elevated form, the two being, of course, related. Examples of this are common : (Joseph speaking)

thie búah fon imo singent, wioz fórasagon zéllent  
(I,8,26)

The vocabulary of singing is used particularly of the Psalms and the Prophets, meaning the relevant Old Testament books of the Bible : (Magi speaking)

"... So scríibun uns in lánthe man in worolti alte;  
thaz ír uns ouh gizéllit, wio iz iwo buah singent.  
(I,17,27f.)

On a later occasion, even when a marginal comment notes "Ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam" Otfrid insists on singit :

Thó ward thar irfúllit, thaz fórasago singit ...  
(I,19,19)

The basis for this is, of course, scriptural. Many of the greater Bible events, especially the delivery of divine messages, and this context is important in connection with the Evangelienbuch, are made in a highly formal fashion, if not

exactly sung, then at least in elevated language. If one considers the traditional Jewish delivery of Bible readings and prayers it is not difficult to understand the fusion of speaking and singing in Christian language. The so-called "Annunciation" scene in which Mary hears her fate from the angel is, in apocryphal texts, very often filled with references to music.<sup>51</sup> Otfrid notes one such detail : the angel went into Mary's house and

... fand sia drürenta,

mit sálteru in hénti, then sáng si unz in énti;  
(I,5,9f.)

Greiner quotes Augustine and interprets further :<sup>52</sup>

Im pneumatisch prophetischen "Gesang" (vgl. I,5,19) tritt Maria in die Sphäre Gottes ein, denn indem sie den Psalter singt, "erscheint" ihr im heiligen Wort der Logos.

This takes us rather far from Otfrid's actual account, however, though the potential presence of the Holy Spirit in devout singing cannot be denied.

Vollmann-Profe offers a solution to the problematic unz in énti phrase, which can hardly be intended to mean that the angel waited until Mary had sung all 150 Psalms :<sup>53</sup>

Ich glaube, daß man der genannten Schwierigkeit am ehesten beikommt, wenn man io (Vers 12) auch für 10b gelten läßt : "den (Psalter) pfl egte sie (von Anfang) bis Ende zu singen".

This is a good explanation, and a further consideration might be the teacher Otfrid taking a quick opportunity to recommend the example of Mary, with stress upon reading all of the Psalms, to the monks listening to or reading the Evangelienbuch. One can hardly expect that the monks would all

have been keen weavers. but there is certainly evidence enough of monks accompanying their work with singing of Psalms :<sup>54</sup>

Eine der ersten Bestimmungen, die die Synode von Aachen 816 erließ, besagte, daß die Mönche in der Küche, der Backstube und den anderen klösterlichen Werkstätten eigenhändig die anfallenden Arbeiten zu verrichten hätten. Benedikt v. Aniane schrieb darüber hinaus den in diesen Klosterräumen Arbeitenden vor, ihr Werk mit Psalmengesang zu begleiten.

In the light of this information, it is not at all improbable that Otfrid's description of Mary's behaviour was intended, apart from filling out the gospel narrative, as a literal example for monks to follow.

The angel refers to the Old Testament using the verb singan :

Fórosagon súngun fon thir sáligun  
(I,5,19)

and Mary's response is suffused with the spiritual suazi which characterizes many of Otfrid's references to the senses :

gab si imo ántwurti mit súazera giwurti:  
(I,5,34)

Otfrid also notes that the angel spoke loudly :

Zi iru spráh tho ubarlút ther selbo drúhtines drút  
árunti gáhaz joh hártó filu wáhaz:  
(I,5,41f.)

This loudness belongs to the concept of making the message known : it is part of the ceremonial quality which sets this speech above "normal" everyday usage. Otfrid himself uses this phrase as part of the narrator's repertoire, with the same intention of underlining the divine force of the message, in this case the Evangelienbuch itself. An example of this is to be found in I,24. Otfrid relates an exchange of words between

a crowd and Christ. The words of Christ are given as direct speech :

"Német," quad er, "háрто гоúма there wórto,  
thiu íh iu nu gizéllé, joh íagilih siu irfulle!  
(I,24,3f.)

Towards the end of the chapter, Christ's speech is ended and there is a change from Christ's ir ("you" pl.) to the narrator's Wir :

Wir scúlun thiu wórt ahton, thara háрто ouh zúa drahton  
joh scúlumes siu irfúllen mit míhilemo wíllen.  
(I,24,13f.)

The final couplet of the chapter generalizes yet further, since whoever repents, says the narrator :

Ouh thanne irfúllit ana nóт thaz got hiar óbana gibót:  
ther ist (ih ságen thir ubarlút) sélben druhtines  
(I,24,19f.) drút.

The threefold formulation (you/we/whoever) reinforces the message, and extends its application to an ever-increasing range of people. More significantly still, in this process the precise identity of the speaking voice is blurred. This is a general feature of the Evangelienbuch : if one were to read any verse, or short section of the work, at random, it is likely that the identity of the speaker would not be evident at first hearing (or first glance). This is partly because such phrases as ih sagen thir with an additional qualifier ubarlut or in wara, or similar, are used in the Evangelienbuch indiscriminately, whether in the mouth of Christ, of another New Testament protagonist, or in the mouth of the narrator. A reader or listener beginning in the middle of a section, or

losing concentration and having to find his way back into the story, would thus have difficulty in distinguishing the different voices. This is a problem which interlinear, or divided texts, like most Bible extracts, Williram's Expositio in cantica canticorum and the like, would not have had to quite the same extent, for there the different voices, at least of commentator as against protagonists are kept apart. The result is that a reader of or listener to the Evangelienbuch would either have to pay very close attention or, as is more likely, tend to lump all statements in the same rough category of general exhortation. Since exhortation and narration run together very closely, as in the example cited above, this is not difficult. Otfrid even exploits this inexactitude, on occasion, and inserts non-biblical words into the mouth of Christ.<sup>55</sup> In short, all is exhortation. The whole work purports, in any case, to present the gospel and thus what in fact is narrative or exegetical insertion can be taken as an explicit rendering of what is inherent in the text anyway. This fuses together the statements of Christ and the statements of the narrator, proving that Otfrid's work, in practice, does have a peculiarly Frankish tinge, not just coming from the language itself, but from the shared usage of formulaic phrases which are passed back and forth between the narrator and the main subject of the work, Christ himself. One begins to understand the suspicions of the authorities in Rome, when vernacular biblical texts began to appear in substantial numbers. The closeness to the spoken word, in particular to the somewhat formalised style of the preacher,

which the Evangelienbuch cultivates, in attempting to approximate the New Testament style, also begins, in small ways, to usurp the New Testament's unique authority.<sup>56</sup>

Another feature which the Evangelienbuch shares with the Bible is a link between all kinds of utterances, whether written, spoken or sung, and praise of the creator. Any form of preaching involves directly, or indirectly, praise of God. This is the argument behind Otfrid's plea for Frankish Christian poetry. And Otfrid, in keeping with his remarks on the spenton concept discussed above<sup>57</sup> insists that what is heard (and this includes the Evangelienbuch itself) must be understood and then passed on. This he sees in terms of singing praises, as, for example, when he speaks of the Franks :

Sie sint gótes worto flízig filu háрто,  
tház sie thaz gilérnen, thaz in thia búah zellen;  
Tház sie thes bigínnen, iz úzana gisingen,  
joh síe iz ouh irfüllen mit míhilemo wíllen.-  
(I,1,107-110)

Vollmann-Profe<sup>58</sup> suggests that the phrase "úzana gisingen" could mean "aussingen, verkünden" in a general sense, but more probably means to repeat what has been learnt "auswendig" :<sup>59</sup>

Man wird aber wohl eher an das von den Kapitularien eingeschärfte Auswendiglernen des Vaterunsers und des Glaubensbekenntnisses zu denken haben; auch liturgische Stücke wie das Gloria der Messe darf man dazu rechnen (vgl. den sog. Weißburger Katechismus).

This is no doubt correct, as far as it goes, but Ernst detects a more ambitious intention in Otfrid's words :<sup>60</sup>

Wenn der Weißenburger seine Landsleute preist, weil sie das Wort Gottes auswendig lernen und allzeit danach handeln, so kommt darin einmal mehr das charismatische Sendungsbewußtsein der Franken zum Ausdruck, zum andern wird aber deutlich, daß der Mönch die dreifache Wirkung des "gelernen" (108), "úzana gisingen" (109) und "irfüllen mit mihilemo willen" (110) auch für sein Evangelienbuch erhofft und wegen der zentralen Bedeutung der im Gedächtnis aufbewahrten religiösen scientia durch die Wahl der Muttersprache und des einprägsamen Endreimverses Memorierhilfen geben wollte.

Ernst goes too far with his supposed "charismatische Sendungsbewußtsein der Franken" - this is a result of his over-emphasis on political motivations in the Evangelienbuch at the expense of religious ones.<sup>61</sup> His threefold description of the desired effect of the Evangelienbuch is, however, undoubtedly correct.<sup>62</sup>

The specification that the Franks are to sing out what has been learnt may also be explained in terms of the prospective audience of the work. When one considers that many of the readers and listeners were likely to have been very young, then this emphasis on a musical rendition makes particular sense. For the two major "subjects" in the junior monastic curriculum were a) reading, with the Psalms as a primer and b) music theory and practice, again with the Psalms and a few other basic devotional (and mostly biblical) texts. And this all, of course, in order to prepare the young monks for daily participation in the monastic ceremonial routine. This was one area of monastic life in which the very young were able to contribute in a unique and highly-valued way. Could it not be that Otfrid's frequent mention of singing, and his citation of the Psalms, above all other books in the Bible (apart from the gospels, which provide his immediate narrative

material) reflect, not so much his own interests and experience, as those of his prospective audience. The spoken or sung word achieves its "sweetest" and most spiritual expression in the voices of the very young, once trained, of course, to sing in harmony. Here the image of singing (for it is an image, one that the young would appreciate in all its dimensions) stands for the activity of preaching and teaching in the Frankish language. Both Vollmann-Profe and Ernst remain caught up with the literal meaning of singan. Otfrid is not so much suggesting that his readers and listeners literally sing, in any case it is not likely that Frankish texts would be used in the liturgy or even in informal contexts, but rather he is hoping that they will, eventually, join their voices in the praising of God in all possible ways and in particular application to the needs of the Franks. This is the "harmony" of Christian service, especially within the strict routine, one might almost say "rhythm" of the Benedictine Rule.

When this important point is grasped, it becomes almost irrelevant to ask what exactly the people are expected to sing, and whether or not the Evangelienbuch is to be included. It is clear that the Evangelienbuch, with its teaching in Christian ethics and behaviour is to help in the training of young monks and perhaps the teaching of other interested laymen sent to the monasteries for an education, and thus indirectly to support the Church's work in Frankish-speaking regions, so that the nation as a whole in their collective existence may learn more effectively to praise

their creator. Preaching and joyful acceptance of the gospel message, which results in turn in the further preaching of the word, is what Otfrid expresses in the first chapter of the Evangelienbuch.

Otfrid's version of the shepherds' encounter with the choir of angels in I,12 builds upon these earlier references to receiving/understanding/singing and appends a special "Mystice" section on the subject (I,12,23-34). The message in the story is for the shepherds in the first instance, but also for the readers and listeners who receive it at second hand through the Old High German Evangelienbuch :

Sie kúndtun uns thia frúma frúa joh lérta ouh thar sáng  
zua;  
(I,12,25)

The content of the message is to be received by the inner man, that is to say with understanding, acceptance and moral commitment :

in hérzen hugi thu inne, wáz thaz fers sínge:  
Ni láz thir innan thina brúst arges willen gilúst.  
(I,12,26f.)

Most interesting of all is the point that Otfrid makes out of this story, namely to explain the purpose of singing and encourage this activity, based on the example given by the angels in the story :

Wir sculun úaben thaz sáng, theist scóni gotes ántfang,  
wanta éngila uns zi bílide bráhtun iz fon hímile.  
(I,12,29f.)

This is clearly the voice of the teacher encouraging his charges to persevere in their musical studies. And as if to add a more concrete and for children more easily

comprehensible motivation. Otfrid adds :

Biscof ther sih wáchorot ubar krístinaz thíot,  
ther íst ouh wirdig scónes éngilo gisiunes.  
(I,12,31f.)

Thus listeners and readers are prompted to produce "éngilo gisiunes", that is to say, beautiful songs modelled on the example of the angels in the Bible narrative, and to dedicate them to the "Biscof" who may be Christ, but also any of his representatives in positions of authority in the Church hierarchy who also bear this title.

The sense of hearing is, therefore, in the Evangelienbuch as in the New Testament, both a physical and a spiritual act. The physical hearing of actual words is a necessary stage in the spiritual "hearing" that is to say, understanding and acceptance, of the divine message. There is then a physical and spiritual expression of the received message in the form of confession, preaching, and generally passing on the received information so that the benefit can be shared by others. Otfrid's presentation of these themes is careful and detailed. In IV,11, Christ explains to the assembled disciples the meaning of the foot-washing incident :

Er nám er sin giwáti, tho zálta in sar thio dáti,  
thes selben wérkes guati, tho Júdas es ni hórti.  
(IV,11,41f.)

Judas is present at this point, but he did not "hear" these words which is Otfrid's (not the Bible's) way of saying he did not accept, understand and act positively upon them. This echoes the phrase often used by Christ at the end of parables

and teaching units "Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat"<sup>63</sup> Judas' inability to hear the words of Christ is, needless to say, a negative example to the readers and listeners for whom this little addition is intended.

In Otfrid's narration of Zacharias' encounter with the angel, the sensory elements are highlighted, in keeping with Otfrid's usual enlivening of the bare narrative. In the Bible Zacharias' reaction to the angel's words is briefly stated :

Et dixit Zacharias ad Angelum ...  
Luc. 1:18

Otfrid repeats an earlier mention of the man's fear and surprise, and underlines the divine content of the message with the mention of "árunti sconi" :

Thó sprah ther biscof, harto fóraht er mo thoh,  
ni was imo ánawani thaz árunti sconi:  
(I,4,47f.)

Vollmann-Profe comments :<sup>64</sup>

O<tfrid> nimmt, anders als Lk. 1,18, das Motiv der Furcht noch einmal auf, hier wohl nicht mehr begründet im Tremendum der Engelserscheinung, sondern in der Unfaßbarkeit der Botschaft.

Her interpretation of Otfrid's surprisingly sympathetic treatment of the doubting Zacharias (which stands in contrast to the Heliand's strongly feudal interpretation of this scene) explains an important layer of meaning under the text :<sup>65</sup>

O<tfrid> nun bestreitet die zentrale Bedeutung des Glaubens keineswegs.... aber er ist nachsichtiger gegenüber denen, die vor dieser Forderung versagen. Praktische, seelsorgerische Erfahrung mag ihn zu dieser Haltung ebenso bestimmt haben wie eine gewisse Hochachtung vor der, wenn auch unzulänglichen, menschlichen Vernunft, die sich gegen das Wunder sperrt ... O<tfrid> erkannte vermutlich die Gefahr, die sich aus einer Identifikation von Glaube mit Gefolgschaftstreue ergeben konnte.

This insight clarifies Otfrid's motives in all of his depictions of giving and receiving divine messages. Zacharias is presented as an example to believers, but not as a perfect one ad imitandum. Mary's humble acceptance of the angel's message serves this purpose. Judas' inability (or refusal?) to hear is the corresponding negative example to be avoided. Zacharias, like the Canaanite woman, and the Samaritan woman at the well, is something between the best and worst possible hearer. His hearing of the message is imperfect, because he doubts. His punishment (being temporarily struck dumb) matches his sin (being temporarily unable to believe the angel's message). His regret and later submission, however, show a change of heart. In an important postscript to the main story Otfrid is careful to make clear, even more clear than the Bible itself, that Zacharias' fault is redeemable :

Thera spráha mórrenti, thes wánes was sih fréwenti;  
 gilóubt er filu spáto. bi thiú béitota er so nóto.  
 (I,4,83f.)

This is an interpretation of the Bible text, spelling out that belief at a late stage, though not ideal, is still acceptable. Zacharias was forced ("so nóto") to wait in silence before God's blessing descended upon his wife and himself. The required confirmation of belief, in the form of making known the message to others, as displayed in Otfrid's idealized picture of the faithful Franks in I.1, is present in this chapter in a diminished form. Otfrid explains, again without biblical prompting, that Zacharias could not confirm that the people's prayers had been accepted, and would not perform the

sign of blessing upon them :

Uze stuant ther líut thar, wás sie filu wúntar,

ziu ther éwarto duálti so hártó;

Gibetes ántfangi fon góte ni giságeti,

mit síneru hénti sie ouh wari wíhenti.

(I,4,71-74)

Instead of the expected words of blessing, or some explanation for the delay, Zacharias is forced to rely on physical gestures instead of words. The signs he makes are merely sufficient to disperse the crowd, and precisely not the usual priestly blessing. He is, in short, prevented from carrying out his priestly duties. Quite apart from the information this passage provides about Jewish religious practices, there is here a warning about unbelief, and yet also encouragement for those who, on occasion, are subject to this failing. This chapter contributes, along with the chapters discussed above in relation to hearing and tasting, to the finely differentiated picture of the process of preaching and taking in the gospel message which is presented in the Evangelienbuch as a whole. Different amounts of faith lead to different grades of understanding (or not, as the case may be). And according to the level of understanding, so is the measure of the hearer's ability to proclaim the message further. The Bible characters express in their actions what Otfrid proposes theoretically in his introductory letters and in the first chapter of the work. He explains emotions and reactions which are merely hinted at in the Bible, so that the readers and listeners can more easily identify with the characters in the

narratives and understand the processes there described. The continual first and second person exhortations to listen, take heed and internalize the message, prepare the listeners and readers for a life's work of teaching and preaching what they have learnt. Zacharias, on recovering his speech, then is filled by the Holy Spirit<sup>66</sup> and Otfrid devotes a whole chapter to his "song" ("Canticum Zachariae" I,10). The text remains close to the gospel rendering in Luc. 1:67-79, with few additions from Bede or other commentators. H. Swinburne points out the significance of the similarities (and differences!) between Zacharias' and Mary's response to the angel as recorded in the Bible and by Otfrid, showing that though the biblical speakers answer with superficially similar questions, Otfrid leaves his readers and listeners in no doubt as to the very different motivations behind their words :<sup>67</sup>

By making clear the attitude of mind of the speaker before the question of the gospel text is rendered, Otfrid shows his grasp of each incident as a whole; he makes the explanatory comment into an integral part of the narrative, and thus the difficulty, which he would otherwise have to explain away, is not allowed to arise.

This again shows Otfrid the teacher, in apparent simplicity which hides superior knowledge, forming the text so as to provide his pupils with a maximum of information and a minimum of textual difficulties or ambiguities.

In contrast to the sadness and imperfection which accompany even the most faithful of earthly hearers, there is, at the end of the Evangelienbuch a picture of the absolute ideal : believers gathered round the throne of God in heaven rejoicing in the music of the angels in praise of God. In V,23

the singing imagery is purely directed towards God, with no evangelistic side-products and no exhortations to join with the believers portrayed there. This chapter (the longest in the whole work) contrasts the suffering of earthly life with the joys of heaven.<sup>68</sup> Otfrid's depiction owes much to traditional topoi<sup>69</sup> but it has long been evident that his account emphasizes the pleasant sounds that believers hear :<sup>70</sup>

Doch ergeht sich Otfrid in der Ausmalung sinnlicher Genüsse im Himmel in einer andern Richtung als der Dichter des Heliand. Wie dieser die Herrlichkeit des Himmels durch den Gesichtssinn sich deutlich zu machen sucht, so jener durch das Gehör. Man möchte Otfrid musikalische Begabung zusprechen, was sein Streben nach Reinheit des Reimes und des Rhythmus auch nahelegt.

The speculation about Otfrid's musical ability just quoted is a little inappropriate, given the highly stylized nature of the passage in question, but certainly the predominance of hearing above all the other senses in this chapter is significant. The song of the angels is so overwhelmingly attractive to the ear, that it brings listeners to a rapturous silence :

gistéit thir thar al rédinon mit éwinigen fréwidon!  
(V,23.190)

Otfrid is aware of the paradox of having to describe the indescribable, and tackles this problem with earthly musical terms, but heaped one upon another so as to create a lavish impression. He mentions a number of instruments : organa, lira, fidula, suegala, harpfa rotta, and also string and wind instruments (lines 197-202). The spiritual dimension is conveyed in Otfrid's description of how the listener (both in the projected vision of heaven, and actually present as reader

or listener receiving the text of the Evangelienbuch) takes in this variety of sounds :

Thaz nüzist thu iagilícho thar scono géistlichó,

iz ist so in álawari in hímile gizámi.  
(V,23,203f.)

Like the wine of Christ's wedding miracle, so the music in the heavenly presence of God has spiritual content which can only be received by those suitably prepared.

All of this is all the more effective because it follows a long lament at the beginning of the chapter on the ills that befall human beings during their existence on earth. It is only through this contrast that the extreme joy of heaven can be conveyed. Rather than attempt to depict in full the positive attributes of a heavenly existence, Otfrid takes all the negatives of sensual deprivation, and depicts heaven as a release from these. In this we see the true function of sensory imagery in the Evangelienbuch : the senses must be presented accurately and recognizably so that listeners and readers understand initially on a literal level and yet also on a personal level what the characters experience. From this experience Otfrid leads into spiritual teaching which is based on this sensory experience, but also abstract, to some extent intellectual, and certainly more difficult to understand.

Most important of all, Otfrid never loses touch with the personal element in his teaching. Even in this, the most idealized chapter of all, he addresses the readers and listeners repeatedly with "thu" and "wir", this time not so much to exhort (for the time for that is past) but to reassure

his readers and listeners and to show the reward that awaits individuals who heed the foregoing message of the Evangelienbuch.

The idea of heaven which Otfrid presents here contains familiar elements for a Germanic reader. Ernst notes<sup>71</sup> that some of the musical instruments listed here have classical (and thus in prevailing Christian views, potentially negative, "heathen") connotations but that the choice of Germanic words like "suégala" (line 198) meaning probably "flute", an instrument associated traditionally with the god Pan, avoids too close an identification with the classical tradition. The main force of Otfrid's heavenly orchestra is, however, the sheer variety of different sounds which together contribute to the continuous praise of God. This recalls, surely, his argument on behalf of the Frankish language, and indeed the biblical depictions of heaven state specifically that there are representatives there from every kindred and nation :

Et cantabant canticum novum, dicentes : Dignus es Domine accipere librum, et aperire signacula ejus : quoniam occisus es, et redemisti nos Deo in sanguine tuo ex omni tribu, et lingua, et populo, et natione :  
Apoc. 5:9

The sensory culmination of this scene in Otfrid's chapter is, however, not an auditory one, but, in keeping with tradition, a visual one :

Ubar thíz allaz so ist uns súazista tház.  
wir unsih thés thar frowon, selbon drúhtin scouon,  
Sines sélbes sconi joh állaz sin gizámi  
íamer in then máhtin bi sinen éregrehtin.  
(V, 23, 287-290)

This brings us to the third of our sensory groupings.

Sight.

The narration of Simeon's encounter with the infant Christ in I,15 centres not so much on the auditory aspect as on the visual one. This emphasis is already present in the Bible :<sup>72</sup>

Das Canticum betont sehr stark ästhetische Kategorien (schauen, Augen, Angesicht, Licht, Offenbarung, Doxa). Denn es ist der Augenzeuge, der es spricht.

Otfrid narrates faithfully the gospel story (I,15,1-31) and then breaks off to explain the meaning of it all :

thiu frúma ist hiar iróugit so wémo iz ni gilóubit:  
(I,15,32)

The point is repeated :

Offan duat er tháre thaz wir nu helen híare;  
ist iz úbil odowar: unforhólan ist iz thár.  
(I,15,41f.)

Once again there is no known source for this digression, although the line of thinking is commonplace enough. Erdmann makes a vague suggestion of a possible type of source, and defines the purpose of this section (I,15,32-44) :<sup>73</sup>

32-44 scheinen einer Homilie entnommen zu sein, welche die Worte Simeons 29-31 erläuterte und zur Begründung der wichtigsten Glaubenssätze über die Person Christi benutzte.

In other words this section II,15,32-44 serves a sort of recapitulatio function, re-stating the key doctrines of the foregoing narrative : the miraculous circumstances of Christ's birth ("Drúhtin ist er gúater, joh thíarna ist ouh sin múater," line 33) his heavenly connections ("Férit er ouh

thánne ubar hímila álle," line 35) his purpose ("Er químit mit giwéliti, sar so ist wóroltenti" line 37). It also looks forward, as Simeon does in his warning words to Mary, to the death and resurrection of Christ (line 34). The key point in this excursus is the stress on revelation, and in particular, revelation of what has already been promised in the scriptures or by messengers from God. In Old High German the word "iróugit" (line 32) carries very strong overtones of physical seeing, because of the presence of "oug" in all its forms. The Latin revelare with its basic meaning to "uncover" stresses the object itself. The Old High German directs attention to the person receiving what is made known. Moreover, since there is an overlap in the sounds of "ouga" and "gilouba", and naturally also in related verbs, it is particularly effective to link the two in rhyme. Otfrid exploits this linguistic feature to the full, with the result that seeing in the Evangelienbuch can almost always be taken as a synonym for believing. Seeing is an image of the believing individual, just as before, physical hearing was also a picture of the inner state of the person in relation to God, or Christ, or both.

None of this is Otfrid's invention, of course, and examples of seeing/believing parallels can be found in most Christian authors. What is important is their presentation here, at this point in the Evangelienbuch. After an emphasis on hearing (Zacharias, Mary) comes an emphasis on seeing, and already a link between the physical seeing of Simeon and the

revelation brought by and in Christ to all men. This is continued two chapters later in the narration of the arrival of the Magi. They, too, come to Christ by a promise, and by seeing signs leading to its eventual fulfilment :

Tho quamun óstana in thaz lánt . thie irkantun súnnun fart,  
stérrono girústi; thaz wárun iro lísti.  
(I,17,9f.)

These men are especially skilled in recognizing by sight the signs in the sky :

Thaz io fon mágadburti man gibóran wurti;  
inti ouh zéichan sin scónaz in hímile so scínaz.  
(1,17,17f.)

Seeing, and what is more, an accompanying belief in the deeper doctrines proclaimed in the signs of the stars, are underlined in lines 19-26. These men require to be shown the way to Christ :

joh bátun io zi nóti, man in iz zéigoti.  
(I,17,14)

The origin of the "sign" concept, particularly in connection with the heavenly bodies is no doubt the account of creation :

Dixit autem Deus : Fiant luminaria in firmamento coeli,  
et dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tempora,  
et dies et annos:

Gen. 1:14

Otfrid's frequent, and in some cases innovative, use of verbs meaning "to signify" has been documented by Cubbin.<sup>74</sup> What Otfrid relates in I,17 and I,18, in connection with the Magi, is not just a series of events, but an exegetical principle. It is at this point in the work as a whole that the apparatus of biblical exegesis comes into its own. Two of the foregoing chapters (I,11 and I,12) have short "Mystice" sub-chapters of

8 and 10 lines respectively, and they are brief hints at the techniques which later are employed in earnest. The first of the chapters dealing with the Magi (I,17) also has a short "Mystice" sub-chapter (of 12 lines) but then this is followed by a 46-line full-scale exploration of the metaphor of the way "Manot unsih thisu fárt ..." (I,18,1). This gradual building up to major exegetical concepts reveals much about Otfrid's construction of the Evangelienbuch as a whole, and his use of imagery in the entire work.

McKenzie has demonstrated this point clearly in a short essay which has not received the attention which it deserves.<sup>75</sup> In this article he presents an analysis of three short sections of the Evangelienbuch, namely III,12,1-4; I,4,11-20 and IV,2,1-6 in that order. He demonstrates how Otfrid proceeds from word to word of the Vulgate original in his actual narration of events, commenting as he tells the story. In this we see Otfrid as "the quiet, patient grammaticus" who in explaining the text to his pupils works methodically "progressing from word to word of his original".<sup>76</sup> This is a practice inherited from Jewish exegesis and indeed from classical philosophical dialogues, and all of the patristic writers resort to this tactic in their commentaries. The importance of McKenzie's article is not the simple observation of Otfrid's technique, though this is valid too, but the recognition that the order of presentation in Otfrid's Evangelienbuch is the result of careful reflection, and that exegesis is graded in amount and difficulty so as to

increase its demands on the readers or listeners as the work develops. McKenzie notes, in connection with Otfrid's minor expansion of I,4,11-20 which is the passage mentioned above relating to Zacharias and his punishment as it affected the crowd :<sup>77</sup>

The reason that Otfrid amplifies so much is not, I believe, solely the reason given by Erdmann, i.e. that Hebrew custom may be made clear. Rather it is that Otfrid is instinctively so conscious of the symbolical force of this whole tableau of the Vulgate. He has not yet, in this earliest section of his work, launched into his practice of adding Mystice and he has difficulty in separating the situation from its mystical meaning. <Italics McKenzie's own>.

This is a problem for a teacher writing an introductory work : how to present material at the beginning of the work so as to convey the necessary depth, but not overtax the inexperienced reader or listener. As the work develops and the reader or listener becomes familiar with the material and methods, it becomes possible to tackle more advanced ideas and approaches. We see in the early stages of the Evangelienbuch first of all a focussing on the written and spoken word, and a discussion of the whole idea of writing in the vernacular and about the gospel material - this is the "Cur scriptor" chapter's contribution. In the first few chapters of the narrative proper Otfrid confines himself to straightforward telling of basic facts and events, with simple little expansions of the sort McKenzie notes. The symbolic dimension is hinted at, but not explored. Those who wish and are able may reflect further, but the beginner is not troubled with too much depth. From I,3 to I,11 speaking and hearing are depicted and explained, all in relation to the birth of Christ as foretold in the Psalms

and Prophets and as proclaimed in angelic messages. At the end of I,11, the aspect of revelation is introduced in the image of the infant Christ in the crib (I,11,55ff.)<sup>78</sup> Vollmann-Profe explains the cohesion of this group of chapters I,4 - I,11, linking this with her decision to end the first (and thus far only) instalment of her commentary on the Evangelienbuch after chapter 11 :<sup>79</sup>

"... in den kommentierten Kapiteln fassen wir die älteste Schicht von O<tfrid>s dichterischem Werk (I,4-11). Hier finden sich auf engem Raum gedrängt inhaltliche, stilistische und sprachliche Eigenheiten, die nach Kap. I,11 entweder überhaupt nicht mehr, oder nur noch ganz selten erscheinen .... - die ersten mystice-Verse stehen bezeichnenderweise am Schluß von I,11. Mit Kap. 12 beginnt dann inhaltlich und stilistisch eine neue Phase in O<tfrid>s Werk : gesteigerte Ansprüche an Metrum und Reim verbinden sich mit neuen, höheren theologischen Ambitionen - und größerer Vorlagentreue; von Kap. I,12 an ist das 'Evangelienbuch' "typisch Otfridisch".

One could challenge the assertion that the Evangelienbuch displays "größere Vorlagentreue" after I,11, since this is in certain chapters patently untrue.<sup>80</sup> The last remark is also misleading, since it suggests a break from the approach of the earlier chapters which is not nearly so extreme as Vollmann-Profe imagines. It is true that a "neue Phase" begins with the allegorical section of I,11, but it is a difference in degree, not in kind. Moreover, the food imagery of books II and III, as we noted above, recalls small but important interpretations which are already explained in the first half of the first book. Without these links reaching over whole chapters and books, the later sections of exegesis would lose much of their resonance, and certainly they would remain more narrowly tied to the context of the later, major analyses. As it is,

however, Otfrid bases his food imagery, for example, on previous reflections related to such different matters as literary production and the birth of Christ at the beginning of the work, and the call to preach the gospel at the end of the work. Similarly, the depictions of acts of hearing and seeing are made in such a way as to explain the immediate gospel event which is the subject of the narrative, and also reach out to other sections of the work so as to contribute to the exegesis there. In the case of seeing, first stressed in connection with Simeon's meeting with Christ, the notion of revelation in fulfilment of prophecy is taken up in the Magi chapters and again in II,1 "In principio erat verbum". The intervening chapters I, 12 - I,28 reinforce the lessons of the previous chapters and remain for the most part close to the biblical narratives. The "Moraliter" chapter (I,26) is an exception in which the central ceremony of baptism is very briefly explained. The last chapter of the book (I,28) serves a linking function and does not depend on a gospel source. The importance of the order and proportions of the narrative content in the Evangelienbuch as a whole is further discussed below.<sup>81</sup>

The end of Book I and beginning of Book II cause a major break in the flow of the narrative. In II,1 Otfrid recalls the whole of the first book in a reference to the origins of Christ, before his entry into the world, and his role as revealer, making visible in physical human terms and also in a spiritual sense, the hidden mysteries of God :

So was io wórt wonanti er állen zitin wórolti;

thaz wir nu sehen óffan, thaz was thanne úngiscafan.  
(II,1,5f.)

There is also, for the first time in the Evangelienbuch, a refrain, and this also stresses the divinity of Christ and his co-existence with God from the beginning :

So was er io mit ímo sar, mit imo wóraht er iz thar;

so wás ses io gidátun, sie iz allaz sáman rietun.  
(II,1,15f.,19f.,22f.,27f.,31f.)

Haubrichs<sup>82</sup> and Kleiber<sup>83</sup> study the number-symbolism and the structure of the chapter taking note of the placing of the refrains within the whole. Kleiber notes :<sup>84</sup>

Man könnte sich alle Refrains antiphonisch vorgetragen denken. Dabei ist auch hier Otfrids formaler Reichtum groß. Zweizeilige jeweils identische Melodieabschnitte wären in Kapitel II 1 und V 1 voranzusetzen;

This observation introduces interesting dimensions to the vexed problem of the reception of the Evangelienbuch. Leaving these aside for the moment it is useful to note that if the text was used in the classroom, then this does not in any way preclude a rendition in two or more voices. Indeed one can imagine very easily the teacher reading the text and the pupils repeating the refrain as required, perhaps at the teacher's signal. The value of such a procedure as a method of teaching particularly important items is clear. Once the refrains come to an end, however, after line 32, the chapter recounts the first five verses of the gospel of John with little expansion until the last four lines :

In fínsteremo iz scínit, thie súntigon rínit;  
sint thie mán al firdán, ni múgun iz bifáhan.

Sie bifíang iz alla fárt, thoh síes ni wurtun ánawart,  
so iz blíntan man birínit, then súnna biscínit.  
(II,1,47-50)

The mention of blindness here is an extension, an extra metaphor to depict the sinfulness of mankind and specifically the inability of men to see the radiant light of Christ.<sup>85</sup> The point is simply made, then abandoned. Otfrid launches into narrative again in II,2 : only to break off again in II,3 for a Recapitulatio chapter. One wonders why Otfrid chose this arrangement of material. The Recapitulatio chapter would be more logically positioned at the end of Book I, or as introduction to Book II, especially since it offers a fairly long sweep (68 lines) over the whole of Book I. Otfrid's reasoning here is hard to detect. Erdmann<sup>86</sup> makes plausible suggestions related to the complex order of composition of the separate chapters which were at a late stage assembled together to make a complete work. If one assumes, as Erdmann and subsequent scholars do, that the more "artistic" or ambitious chapters, including those with refrains and those with extensive allegorical interpretations, were composed later, and that the simpler narrative chapters were composed first, before, perhaps, Otfrid had conceived his grand plan to harmonize the four gospels in one work, then it is only to be expected that the fitting together causes a certain amount of trouble, and that one should occasionally be able to see the join. As it is, II,1 and II,2 are flanked by a book division and a Recapitulatio, and the reader or listener who approaches the work from beginning to end is expected to step out of the



Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum. Lumen ad  
revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tuae Israel.  
Luc. 2:31f.

The rhymes "fart" and "anawart" may be a slight reminder of  
the important first line of I, 18 :

Mánot unsih thisu fárt, thaz wír es wesen ánawart,...

They also point forwards to the middle of the Evangelienbuch  
where the contrast between seeing and not seeing is the  
subject of the second longest chapter in the work (III, 20 De  
caeco nato) followed by a "Spiritualiter" chapter (III,22). The  
Heliand, too, devotes a long section (narrative, Fitte 43;  
commentary, Fitte 44) to Christ's healing of the blind, but  
there are major differences between the Old Saxon passages and  
the Evangelienbuch. The Heliand is based on Christ's healing  
of two beggars outside Jericho (Matt. 20:30-34). Otfrid is  
concerned with the man born blind (Jo. 9:1-41). The Heliand  
makes the same parallel with Adam and original sin<sup>87</sup> but  
stresses the aspect of the conversion of the two men to belief  
in Christ. Their joy and thankfulness are intended as  
encouragements for readers and listeners to react to Christ's  
teachings with similar enthusiasm. Otfrid, however, stresses  
the past tense action of Christ :

Gisáh tho druhtin nóti, thio unsero ármuati.  
thio blíntun gibúrti, er uns ginádig wurti.  
(III,21,13f.)

and the precise effect this is to have on "uns", that is to  
say mankind in general and the readers and listeners, along  
with the author in particular :

Tház wir thaz irkántin wara wir gángan scoltin.  
 pédin in giríhti zi sineru éregrehti;  
 Joh wír nan muazin scówon óffenen óugon,  
 indánemo ánnuzze, thaz uns iz wóla sizze:  
 Ofenemo múate, theiz úns irge zi gúate,  
 mit thes hérzen ougon muazin íamer scówon! Amen.  
 (III,21,31-36)

Not only the acceptance of Christ and his message is recommended, but also the expectation that Christ, having opened "our" eyes already ("thaz uns thiu sín guati thiu óugon indáti" line 30) in effect equips "us" for the journey along the Christian path which leads to wellbeing on earth and a heavenly reward after death. This new sight is described in physical terms (óugon; ánnuzi) and then carried over to a figurative sense by application to internal parts of the human body : (muat; herzen). This reflects Carolingian psychology<sup>88</sup> which locates not only emotions, but also to some extent moral and intellectual faculties in the heart, and uses "muat" as a coverall term to denote almost everything that is not a directly physical process. Otfrid's phrase "mit thes hérzen ougon" turns all the previous seeing and blindness imagery on its head.<sup>89</sup> What was depicted in the narrative as a physical healing, can now be re-interpreted with hindsight as an inner renewal, and the reader or listener is exhorted to live out this miracle by using Christ's gift of spiritual seeing on all future occasions. This is once again evidence of the teacher's step by step intensification of the message : events are narrated, Old Testament parallels drawn, and exegetical

conclusions made as to the deeper meanings of the gospel stories. Once this has been implanted in the minds and memories of the learners, the teacher advances to a general application which assumes that the pupil has followed each step and is willing to put the theory into practice. In this we see that Otfrid is not intending to make converts so much as to deepen existing faith and inspire Christian living. Seeing, in the Evangelienbuch, implies possession of the Old and New Testament background against which to place any object or event, and skill in the methods of interpretation which reveal the meaning behind the surface, along with an openness to the message which results in action. Once this training in the "spiritualization" of the senses is complete, then every aspect of daily life confirms the initial premises, and in turn strengthens the faith of the believer. The learner has truly learnt to perceive the world differently. What better way is there to ensure a stable, if not growing, monastic population than to accept learners young, and as they discover the world of the senses, immediately channel their energies into a spiritual rather than physical realm of experience?

Towards the end of the Evangelienbuch, when Christ has been crucified, has risen and then proceeds to heaven, the role of seeing comes again to the fore, and again the physical dimension is matched by a spiritual dimension which Otfrid is careful to point out. The disciples watch Christ physically ascend to heaven :

Kápfetun sie lángeo, was wúntar sie thero thingo,  
 mit hánton oba then óugon, thaz báz sie mohtin scóuon;  
 (V,17,37f.)

Otfrid's depiction of the disciples standing with their hands over their eyes is a vivid emphasis on the initially physical nature of their attempt to see Christ. The short explanatory chapter which follows (V,18 Cumque intuerentur in caelum) is based, not on any one of the four biblical gospels, but on the beginning of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, a point which is significant for the scope of the Evangelienbuch as a whole and is discussed in Chapter Five below. In Otfrid's chapter the two angels, as in the Bible, ask the disciples what they are looking at (implying that their straining to see is of no use to them now) but whereas the Bible only mentions that Christ will return in the same way that he is departing (Act. 1:10f.) Otfrid expands. He inserts into the very speech of the angels (an addition which takes considerable liberties with the New Testament source) an account of what it is that Christ is now going to be doing in heaven :

"... Thar scówot er sin ríchi, thaz hoha hímilrichi;  
 nist wiht in érdu ouh, wizist tház, gisíuni sin  
 firhólanaz."  
 (V,18,11f.)

There is biblical support for this, of course, but not in the gospels, nor even in the book of the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>90</sup> Otfrid selects this detail in order to make an object lesson out of the disciples' looking at the ascending Christ. He matches their earthly looking with Christ's heavenly looking. Furthermore, Otfrid then carries this over to the readers and

listeners, stating that Christ sees "our" deeds, and (somewhat illogically, on a literal level) also our words :

Iz mág uns wesan thráti: er síhit unso dáti,  
húgu in then githánkon, ni múgun wir thaz biwánkon;  
Sint unsu wórt in rihti in síneru gisihti;  
irthénkit wíht io mannes múat: er ím es alles réda  
(V,18,13-16) duat!

A moral is thus drawn from a detail which is not in fact present in the original Bible passage. This addition, more than all the selective rendition of patristic material, shows Otfrid's own particular emphasis, for he had no need (and no biblical encouragement) to mention this at all.

Otfrid's presentation of the senses in the life and works of Christ is anchored in the real world of experience, and though spiritualized, the senses are not in the least rejected or warned against. In the long chapter on the trials of earthly life and the contrasting delights of heaven, Otfrid reflects on the nature of human love for actual physical things and beings :

Thaz duit filu manno: thaz er hiar mínnot gerno,  
mit mínnu thes giflízit, in múat so diofo lázit  
(Thaz wízist thu in giwíssi, thoh imo iz ábwertaz sí,  
ni mág ouh mit then óugon zi géginwert iz scówon):  
Yrwáchet er thoh filu frúa joh habet thaz múat sar  
súftot sinaz hérza, thaz duit thes líobes smerza,  
thoh imo iz ábwertaz sí, thoh hugit er ío war iz sí,  
hábet sinan gíngon ío zi thes liebes thíngon.  
(V,23,35-42)



to the human senses does not reject physical experience, nor recommend renunciation and an ascetic, world-rejecting fanaticism. In this he stands far apart from Benedict of Aniane and his reforms. Otfrid's openness to and qualified approval of the visible world is reflected in his "human", sensitive treatment of biblical characters, even in their weakness, and is expressly stated when he speaks of the earthly life and its trials with clear affection :

Ouh zellen thio árabeiti thie wir hiar thúlten noti  
in írthisgen thíngon, thoh wir iz harto mínnon.  
(V,23,9f.)

### Smell.

The sense of smell is the least obviously "physical" of the senses because of its connection with air, the most unstable and mysterious of the elements. Perhaps for this reason, Otfrid does not give much space to the sense of smell in his otherwise very sense-conscious language. In the Bible, sacrifice is explained as a way of bringing sweet smells to God :

Suscipiesque universa de manibus eorum : et incendes  
super altare in holocaustum, odorem suavissimum in  
conspectu Domini, quia oblatio ejus est.  
Exod. 29:25

In a spiritualized, Christian sense, all offerings, whether of prayer, or service or renunciation of some kind, are thus accepted and "enjoyed" by God. The Holy Spirit, in particular is linked with wind and fire, and fragrances in Christian writings usually are a signal that the Holy Spirit is at

work.<sup>91</sup> Hartmann notes that "stinkan" is used by Otfrid in its negative sense of Lazarus in III,1.19f., and she comments:<sup>92</sup>

Dem physischen Tod korrespondiert der Tod der Seele, der den aufgrund seiner Sündhaftigkeit Verdamnten ereilt; der Geruch der Verwesung ist Ausdruck der Sünde.

This is in line with standard commentaries, as Hartmann goes on to show, but another remark of Otfrid's on this theme is more original. Otfrid, speaking of the sheep and goats distinction which is associated with the divine judgement, mentions the smell of the goats as a way of characterizing sinners :

So sézzit er thie gúate blídlichemo múate  
in zésuemo rínge zi thémo selben thínge;  
Thar sint thie ándere alle in wénegemo fálle,  
thia wínistrun ni biwénkent, thie selb so zígun  
stinkent.  
(V,20,55-58)

Once again Otfrid has no call to introduce the smell of the goats here. What he is doing is linking up separate pieces of patristic teachings. He wishes to stress the physical, one might say, animal part of the nature of man, which of course defines the conduct of the "unspiritual" sinner. His depiction of the resurrection of the dead and the actual separation of the figurative sheep and goats is extremely vivid, and the verbosity of the passage has, to modern ears, an almost comic effect :

Thie sélbe irstantent álle fon thes líchamen fálle,  
fon themo fúlen légere, iro wérk zi irgébanne,  
Uz fon theru ásgu, fon theru fálawisgu,  
so wánne soso iz wérde, fon themo irdisgen hérde;

Mit themo sélben beine. ándere nihéine.

mit fléisge joh mit félle, thoh er ío ni wolle!  
(V,20,25-30)

The "fléisge joh mit félle" phrase is an alliterative pairing which recalls the Germanic literary tradition and indeed it has been noted that this section of the Evangelienbuch uses terminology evoking the current secular as well as religious legal practices.<sup>93</sup> It would be inappropriate to deduce Germanic practices directly from Otfrid's depiction of the judgement which is served in the presence of God in the afterlife, since so many of the details are biblical and apocryphal, and precisely not the same as in the secular Germanic world.

Otfrid's interpolation regarding the smell of the goats is intended, no doubt, as a contrast to the sensory delights of heaven, where the flowers "stínkent" (this time with the positive force of the verb) :

Thar blyent thir ío lília inti rósa.

súazo sie thir stínkent joh élichor nirwélkent.  
(V,23,273f.)

The reference here is spiritualized, in keeping with the rest of the chapter, so that men who experience this "stánk" (line 277) receive it as an expression of divine love, to be taken in not by the physical organ of smell, but by the inner "múat"

Ther stánk ther blásit thar in múat ío thaz éwiniga  
gúat,

súazi filu mánaga in thie gótes thegana,

In thie gótes liobon mit súazin ginúagon,

in thie drúta sine;

(V,23,277-280)

The pairing of the lily and the rose is of classical origin.<sup>94</sup>  
 In Christian texts their perfume denotes spirituality, their colours connote purity (white) and the blood of sacrifice (red). On another level the lily denotes death, and the rose love, and variations on all of these are found in the commentaries. Hartmann<sup>95</sup> lists examples, and the major strands of interpretation, with some useful secondary literature.

In Otfrid's case the late reference in V.23 recalls an early mention relating to the nature of Christ :

Thaz kind wuabs untar mánnon so lília untar thórnon;  
 so blúama thar in crúte so scóno theh zi gúate.  
 (I,16. 24f.)

Such imagery is most often used of Mary, but the Christian interpretations of Cant. 2:2 "Sicut lilium inter spinas" applies it also to the Church. Otfrid undoubtedly draws the parallel with Christ from Cant. 2:1 in which the bridegroom says "Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium".

### Touch.

The sense of touch, of the five human senses, is the most firmly tied to the physical world. Thus Thomas, the doubting disciple, was only convinced of Christ's resurrection after touching the risen Christ (Jo. 21:24-29). Otfrid generalizes this story, leaning on Luc. 24:39f. :

Ni dét er thes tho bíta, hiaz rúaren sina síta;  
 sie hénti ouh sino rúartin, thaz sie ni zwívolotin.  
 (V,11,21f.)

In Hartmann's listing of occurrences of (sih) ruaren with symbolic dimensions<sup>96</sup> all of the references are from the

middle to end of the Evangelienbuch. The story of the healing of the man born blind, though obviously centred on the power of sight in the first instance, also contains a reference to the physical nature of Christ, and his touching of the blind man's eyes is clearly a symbolic act as well as the means of healing. Hartmann explains the theology behind this incident :<sup>97</sup>

Daß Christus seinem Speichel Schmutz beimischt und den Augen, die er damit bestreicht, die mangelnde Sehkraft verleiht, hat seine Analogien in der Erleuchtung der sündigen Welt durch die Herabkunft des Inkarnierten des fleischgewordenen (horo) Logos (speichela) unter die Menschen.

She also detects a specific emphasis in Otfrid's rendering:<sup>98</sup>

Die 'Berührung' des sündigen Menschen mit der Inkarnation meint die Unterweisung durch die Lehre Christi, die Erleuchtung des in der Sündenfinsternis Befindlichen, der nun sich bereitwillig dem Wort Gottes öffnet.

This ties in with the rest of Otfrid's sensory imagery, which also focusses largely upon aspects of learning and teaching.

The physical dimension of Christ's nature is prominent in the Evangelienbuch, and most strikingly of all in the sections towards the end of Book IV in which Otfrid discusses the seamless robe of Christ.<sup>99</sup> The two chapters (IV,28 and IV,29) are not typical of the Evangelienbuch as a whole because they present in one large-scale image many of the smaller themes and images which are presented in the rest of the work. This gives the seamless robe image something of a summarizing quality. The gospel of John quotes from Psalm 21:19 :

Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.

and deals with the incident in sixty words (Jo. 19:23f.). Otfrid takes a much more leisurely sixty-two lines, and constructs from this a major allegory, far more elaborate than any of his other "Mystice" sections. IV,29 is more than a list of symbolic items with equivalent meanings drawn from the commentaries. From the outset Otfrid mixes spiritual and literary terms. The attributes of the robe and the idealized relationship between Christian believers are fused together in the imagery of cloth and weaving. The robe signifies Christ's followers, who are bound together in Christian love. Otfrid states that love - "mínnu" (line 6) or "káritas" (lines 23 and 51) actually wove the seamless robe he describes, and that this power continues to see that the fellowship of believers is held together in unity. The spiritual message is clear, and believers are thus enjoined to practise the Christian virtue of brotherly love.

Reference to literary matters is, however, also present. At the beginning of the predominantly narrative chapter IV,28, Otfrid notes that the soldiers divided the garments of Christ into four parts (lines 1-4). Drawing from Alcuin, Otfrid notes that this means there must have been four soldiers.<sup>100</sup> In isolation this detail means very little, but Otfrid proceeds to labour the point, stating that the soldiers divided the garments evenly ("ébono" line 4) and that the seamless robe was left over (line 5). In other words there are four pieces and one left over, an echo surely, of the imagery in the introductory letters and chapters<sup>101</sup> stressing the foursquare

evenness of the gospels and the fivefold imperfection of the Evangelienbuch, and the five fallible human senses. Here, as before, there is a contrast between the perfection of divine things and the depravity of human nature. The seamless robe, in its indivisible perfection, is a concrete, physical object with abstract, spiritual lessons to teach the readers and listeners. The chapter stresses the "lichamon" and "mennisgi" (line 11f.) of Christ, his physical presence, but at the same time the seamless robe imagery reveals a deeper item of faith, namely the spiritual unity of believers and the way this unity mysteriously forms the "body" of Christ on earth.<sup>102</sup> The pseudo-personal figure of káritas transforms the physical object (the robe) and the human organisation (the Church) into something able and worthy to contain and cover Christ. They touch and are touched by him :

Wólt er sie gisámanon mit fílu kleinen fádomon,  
 er sélbo sie birúachit, bi thiu níst thar wiht  
gidúachit;
(IV,29,7f.)

Joh thár, soso iz zámí, wiht fúlteres ni wári,  
 thaz sih zi thiu gifiarti, thia Kristes líh biruarti;  
(IV,29,39f.)

The vocabulary used to describe the seamless robe recalls the vocabulary of the "Cur scriptor" chapter which referred to the formal literary accomplishments of the Greeks and Romans :

Biquámi ouh scóno ubar ál, so fadum zi ándremo scal,  
 sih untar ín ruartin, zisámáne gifúagtin.  
(IV,29,41f.)

The last half-line in this couplet recalls from I,1 :

- zisámáne gibúntan (line 8)
- gifúagit al in éin (line 16)

The quality of "ebini" features in IV,29 too :

- mit ébine (line 6)
- mit ébinu (line 14)

and this recalls the evenness/unevenness symbolism of four and five as well as the literary and metrical terminology regarding "feet" and syllables. Once again we have a moral dimension fitting in with literary terminology to present a particular area of emphasis in Otfrid's exegesis.

The concept of caritas has been noted above as a central feature of the Evangelienbuch.<sup>103</sup> It is the greatest of the Christian virtues, encapsulating in two commandments all of the laws in both Old and New Testaments.<sup>104</sup> In its most basic sense the word means "Christian love" : a duty enjoined upon all believers. In its highest form it is closely linked with God himself :

Qui non diligit, non novit Deum : quoniam Deus caritas est.

I Jo. 4:8

In monastic circles the word caritas contains also the notion of fraternal unity in the particular sense of the sharing of facilities and food. A ceremonial "love feast" was instituted in New Testament times and carried on later as a celebration of Christian brotherhood. The usual ascetic attitudes were laid aside on these occasions and liberal hospitality prevailed.

Otfrid's long allegorical excursus on the seamless robe thus takes inspiration from traditional ideas, but one aspect is of particular relevance to the nature and function of the

whole Evangelienbuch. This is his depiction of the Church as an organisation. Whereas the obvious term to use for the concept which the seamless robe symbolises would be in Latin ecclesia, Otfrid avoids any mention of the Church as such. This is true, incidentally, of the whole of the Evangelienbuch, which has no direct equivalent of ecclesia and apparently no need to refer to the organisation as such. Groups of believers are all that are needed. Ernst, who places altogether more emphasis on Otfrid's ecclesiology than the text warrants, notes correctly that there is a purpose in Otfrid's choice of collective terms :<sup>105</sup>

... so zielt seine Auslegung nicht auf eine äußerliche ekklesiologische Vorstellung, die etwa in der Kirche primär ein geschlossenes Verbandsgefüge von Ämtern und Einzelinstitutionen, eine hierarchisch fest-organisierte Heilanstalt sähe, vielmehr steht in seiner Kirchenallegorese die ideale und ganz personal zu verstehende Anschauung von der reinen Schar der Heiligen, der 'communio sanctorum' im Vordergrund.

This emphasis is present throughout the Evangelienbuch and can be seen again most clearly in the description of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem (IV,4/5). The donkey signifies the "animal" nature of fallen man. The elements of teaching a group of people to believe and be saved, of openness and faith, of covering and revealing are all present in a compact exegesis. Hartmann summarizes the force of Otfrid's treatment of the scene :<sup>106</sup>

Im Auslegungskontext steht das zuvor historice erwähnte gestum in übertragener Bedeutung. Die Jünger "lösen" die durch den Esel des Einzugs in Jerusalem Joh. 21:2 bezeichnete Menschheit von den Stricken des Unglaubens und "bedecken" sie mit dem Kleid ihrer Lehre, damit Christus im Herzen des Bekehrten angenehm "Platz nehme" (IV,5,27-34). Die Caritas "spinnt", "webt" das Kleid der

Gläubigen und "paßt" es faltenlos dem Leibe Christi, der Ecclesia, an (IV,29,23-42). Die Enthüllungsmetaphorik des spirituellen Sinns spricht vom Öffnen der Spelze und vom Brechen der Brotkruste als einer Verbildlichung der Sinnfindung (III,7,25-32).

Thus the seamless robe chapters pick up the images of the earlier chapters which present "hiddenness"<sup>107</sup> in various forms with physical, spiritual and literary dimensions. There are many more instances of this area of symbolism in the Evangelienbuch, and they are all listed by Hartmann in her Allegorisches Wörterbuch. Christ hidden (in Old Testament prophecy, in the womb, to unbelieving eyes, in the tomb before the resurrection, by the "robe" of believers)<sup>108</sup> is revealed by interpretation of the details of the biblical texts. The Evangelienbuch itself is the means of revelation, along with teaching of Christian doctrine, of course, and believing acceptance of the lessons.

#### Summary of sensory imagery.

General parallels and detailed expositions in the Evangelienbuch of isolated aspects of all kinds of sensory imagery combine to form a complete picture of the teaching process. This body of material is more complex and better differentiated than the short analysis above could demonstrate. Quite apart from the easily classifiable allegories and expositions based on single objects and events, there is a wealth of sensory vocabulary which is intended to support the longer expository passages. The significance of "suazi" has already been mentioned.<sup>108</sup> The verb niazan signifies the ability to enjoy spiritual rewards. This is what

Otfrid wishes his royal patron :

Régula therero búachi uns zeigot hímilrichi;  
thaz nieze Lúdwig io thar thiu éwinigun gótes jaR!  
Níazan múazi thaz sin múat, io thaz éwiniga gúat;  
(Ad Ludowicum, 91-93)

The Evangelienbuch itself is intended to lead all who read or listen towards this same goal :

Mit ín wir muazin níazan, thaz hábest thu uns gihéizan,  
thésa selbun wúnna thia wír hiar scribun fórna!  
(V,24,3f.)

Not only the positive side of sensory experience, namely enjoyment, but also the negative side, deprivation and bodily suffering are, according to Otfrid, ways of leading men back to God. The Christian attitude to spiritual hunger, for example, is summarized in the Beatitudes (Matt. 5). Otfrid's rendition of the appropriate gospel verse goes far beyond the bare biblical statement "quoniam ipsi saturabuntur" (Matt. 5:6). In the absence of more specific details Otfrid inserts his own version of what is implied :

Sie werdent étheswanne mit séti es filu fólle,  
thaz gúates sie ginúagon éigun unz in éwon. -  
(II,16,15f.)

In mentioning specifically that those concerned will be satisfied fully, with good things, and for ever, Otfrid forestalls any possibility of a literal interpretation of Christ's words. He seems especially concerned to convey the extra information that the promised fulfilment will not be in part, nor temporary, nor comprising any bad things. In other words, no worldly satisfaction is implied. This is consistent

with the rest of the Evangelienbuch and is another veiled reference to a need for human beings to be filled with the spiritual nourishment and enjoyment which is Christian teaching.

Vocabulary of hunger and thirst, of emptiness, hollowness, and ultimate satisfaction (hungar, thurst, ital, fol, seti) always carries symbolic meaning in the Evangelienbuch. These terms are among the most significant in the work, and their use reflects the presence of a principle of Christian exegesis inherited from the patristic writers. This is the ability to interpret any single event, or object, or quality in two possible ways, one positive (de bono) and one negative (de malo). The context defines which sense is in force on any one occasion.

Otfrid exploits the multiple meanings of hunger, thirst, emptiness, etc. to teach particular lessons. We have noted above that these concepts have positive connotations in Matt. 5:6 and in II,16. In a similar way the story of the woman at the well in II,14 tells of a spiritual thirst being quenched by the water of Christ's teaching. The water/wine miracle is narrated in the same terms, and Otfrid's depiction of the human heart as being like the jars which are "innana hól" and "héileges giscríbes fol" (II,9,13) again stresses the positive force of hollowness, when what is desired is a spiritual filling with Christian teachings. Similarly, in a later chapter the meaning (though on this occasion not the details) of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins is briefly

stated in terms of the readiness of the human heart for the coming of the bridegroom :

Wio thio fínfi fuarun thie úngiware wáre wárun,  
ni wárun wola wákar; bi thiu missigiángun sie thar,  
Wio wola iz thén gifuar ouh thár thio hiar io warun  
thes hérzen sie hiar wíaltun joh réino gihíaltun.  
wákar,  
(IV,7,65-68)

This short section contains a large amount of exegesis in shortened form. The words ungware, wakar and wíaltun indicate the tropological meaning of the text : the story teaches believers to be continually in a state of readiness for the coming of Christ. The purity of heart signifies an inner cleanliness, and freedom from the tyranny of the unmastered sensual nature of man, such as Otfrid recommends throughout the Evangelienbuch. Readiness to accept Christ : in teaching, in daily life and at his last coming are what Otfrid portrays with these words.

Hunger, thirst and emptiness can also be seen as negative qualities. For example, when the Jewish high priest vacates his chair, Otfrid paraphrases the commentaries<sup>109</sup> to explain that this action is a symbolic one and it depicts the Jewish nation's true position, namely that they are without a spiritual leader :

Uf yrscrikta háрто ther furisto éwarto,  
sinan stúal in alawár so liaz er ítalan thar;  
Bizéinta thaz sin wírdi zi niwíhti scioro wúrdi,  
joh scólti werdán ítal thiu sin éra ubar ál!  
(IV,19,43-46)

Since the Jews then proceed to crucify Christ and show no

signs of accepting or even understanding his teachings and his claims to just this position of leadership, this emptiness is a negative quality.

In choosing to use the vernacular, and by pinning large amounts of exegesis to the imagery connected with the five senses, Otfrid displays a grasp of educational theory far ahead of his time. Instead of rote learning in a foreign language, he insists on a process of revelation, leading gradually through carefully graded lessons to deep understanding of the difficult concepts hinted at in the gospels and explained in the patristic and Carolingian commentaries. He moves, in sound educational fashion, from the known to the unknown. The physical imagery and the familiar local language carry precious hidden theology which, in Otfrid's view, leads to spiritual benefit and eternal life. The unprepossessing form is an encouragement to beginners, especially younger monks who are not yet fluent in Latin, and a useful means of revision and recreation for older monks, priests and guests at the monasteries who for various reasons never managed to master the more advanced skills of literary interpretation from the Latin scriptures.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The narrative structure of the 'Evangelienbuch'.

The structure of the Evangelienbuch has been much studied in connection with number symbolism, parallel patterns and the relation of verses to chapters and chapters to books.<sup>1</sup> Attention is rarely paid, however, to the significance which structural features have for the meaning of the whole work : how the structure helps define the purpose for which the work is intended, and how the content of each section affects the force of the whole. It was noted above that the five-fold division of material is to be seen in relation to the perfection of the Latin gospels and the imperfection of the vernacular. This is a point which is of very great importance for our understanding of the whole work. Another basic point is easily overlooked and has not received the attention it deserves : this is the very different nature of this fifth book, the extra unit which makes all the difference between Otfrid's version and the biblical sources.

### The fifth book of the 'Evangelienbuch'.

On a basic formal level the individuality of Book V is easy to demonstrate. One area of comparison is the relation between narrative and non-narrative material throughout the whole work. In general, narrative and accompanying exegesis alternate without any discernible regularity : the chapters are headed clearly so as to indicate whether what follows is a continuation of the ongoing narrative, or a temporary

excursion into exegesis or some other mode of writing. In Book I, there are sub-chapters headed "Mystice" (I,11; I,12; I,17) which, as we noted above,<sup>2</sup> gradually introduce the principles of exegesis, but in the other books the sections devoted to commentary are separate chapters in their own right. Predominantly narrative chapters dependent for their sequence of events on one or more of the biblical gospels, make up the bulk of the Evangelienbuch. This is not to say that the narrative chapters are exclusively factual accounts of events in the life of Christ. It is inevitable that some exegesis creeps into the telling of the story, and understandable that Otfrid slips little clarifying remarks (or sometimes thought-provoking ones!) into the text to point to deeper meanings or areas of symbolism.<sup>3</sup> But the majority of the chapters in the Evangelienbuch are headed by a quotation or reference to a line of one of the Latin gospels and follow that source allowing the gospel sequence of events to determine the structure and development of ideas in that chapter.

In contrast to these predominantly narrative chapters there are the Spiritualiter, Mystice and Moraliter ones which expound the meaning of parts of the narrative chapter or chapters immediately preceding. Some other chapters have titles which indicate that a particular question arising from the narrative is to be dealt with in detail (II,10 Cur ex aqua et non ex nihilo vinum fecisset; V,1 Cur dominus ignominiam crucis et non aliam pro nobis mortem pertulerit). Further non-narrative sections are the linking chapters which come at the

beginning and end of some books (II,24; II,1; IV,1; V,25) and also Recapitulatio and Oratio chapters (II,3; I,2; V,24). In Book V there are a further five chapters which depart from gospel sources, and in particular from the consecutive narration of Christ's life as presented there, in order to give an impression of the life of believers after death. Although there is much narration in these chapters (V,19 - V,23), they are not narrative in the same sense that the foregoing books of narrative are. They do not retell the historical life of Christ, as given in the gospels, and they do not follow a gospel sequence. Moreover, they have a pronounced lyrical style and ornamental form.

The presence of chorus-like sections, sometimes repeated several times within one chapter, is an indication of a different approach to the source materials than Otfrid's usual more straightforward rendition of the content. The use of choruses is not restricted to Book Five, but Otfrid certainly makes more extensive use of them there. The exact distribution is as follows :

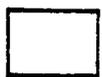
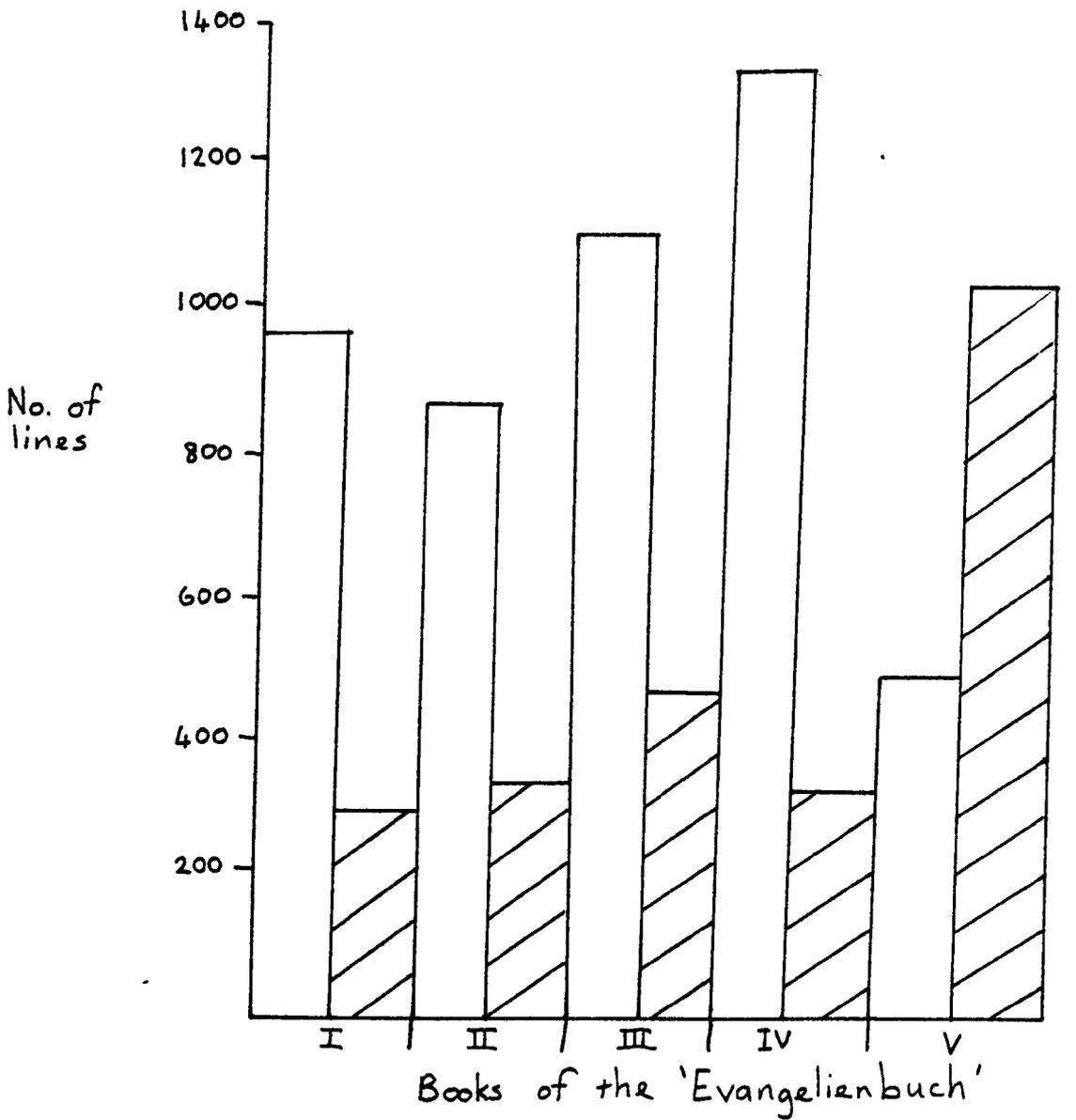
- Book I : no choruses
- Book II : choruses in chapters 1 and 11
- Book III : no choruses
- Book IV : choruses in chapter 30
- Book V : choruses in chapters 1,2,3,8,12,19,20,21,23, and 25.

These choruses are set apart from the main text by indentation and consist of two four-line units positioned either at the end of a chapter as a specially highlighted ending, or in

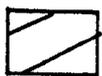
intervals of six or eight lines, or at random in the main text. It is interesting to note, as we did above,<sup>4</sup> that II,1 In principio erat verbum, though clearly dependent upon the opening lines of the gospel of John, also incorporates choruses and re-works the material into an artistic creation, with repetition of key ideas much like the more independent chapters at the end of Book V. The fact that Otfrid may have composed these chapters rather later than most of the rest is irrelevant to the effect they have once they have been slotted into the work as a whole. The beginning of Book II makes the Logos doctrine stand out from the rest of the surrounding text and align itself with the more reflective sections of the work. Similarly, the elevated style which the frequent choruses bring to Book V sets this part of the work apart from the rest.

Book V, then, is clearly different from the other four books. Fig. 3 on the following page shows at a glance that the pattern which has established itself throughout the first four books of the Evangelienbuch is no longer applied in Book V. Individual chapters of the work, according to the headings Otfrid gives them, can be classified either as predominantly "gospel narrative" in character, meaning that they closely follow a Latin gospel narrative, now one and now the other, or they can be called "non-narrative" in character, in the sense that they depart from a past-tense re-telling of the life of Christ and make use of some other structural basis than the given sequence of events in the Bible. Comparison of

Fig. 3



Narrative material dependent upon gospel sources



Non-narrative material, and material with some narrative content, but arranged independently of gospel sources

each book's proportion of the two types of writing shows that the early prominence of straightforward narrative gives way to a much freer treatment of the material available in all parts of the Bible (and not just the gospels).<sup>5</sup>

The figures used in Fig. 3 are simply the number of lines used in each chapter or sub-chapter.<sup>6</sup> This is in order to give some impression of the proportions involved, which citation of mere chapter numbers would not convey, given the variation in chapter lengths. No attempt has been made to break down each chapter into smaller narrative and non-narrative pieces - this would be an impossible task, since it is often debatable how far a particular rendering has to go from the Latin before it is no longer a translation and becomes a commentary. In any case it is not the detail which is under discussion here, but the large-scale framework of the Evangelienbuch and its total effect. In general, it is clear from Fig. 3 that in the first four books the gospel narrative material outweighs exegesis and other modes by at least 2 to 1, and often more, whereas in Book V the ratio is reversed.

The last six chapters of Book V in particular display artistic ambition far beyond the more usual modest approach of the first four books, and more on a par with the acrostic adornments and rhetorical skills of the three Old High German letters appended to the main text. All except one (V,24) of the last six chapters contain choruses. Vollmann-Profe notes:<sup>7</sup>

Kapitel 23 galt und gilt allgemein als eines der gelungensten des gesamten "Evangelienbuches".

What she means, no doubt, is that this independence from the

biblical order of events, though owing much to other traditional patterns<sup>8</sup> corresponds much more to modern ideas of literary composition than the jig-saw assembling of narrative fragments which is characteristic of much of the rest of the Evangelienbuch. Without resorting to value-judgements of this sort it is still possible to note the departure from standard Evangelienbuch procedures in Book V and indeed very necessary to investigate why this change has taken place. It also remains to be explained how the content of Book V relates to its formal individuality, and how this last book affects, or should affect, our perception of the Evangelienbuch as a complete literary creation.

Otfrid maintains in the letter to Liutbert that he has designed his own framework for the retelling of the gospel message in his own language.<sup>9</sup> His five-fold division is presented here as a blueprint covering the major phases in the life and work of Christ chronologically and in the process harmonizing the four accounts in the Bible. This framework differs, however, in several respects from the original order and proportion of the gospels. Each gospel individually and all four together cover the five phases mentioned by Otfrid. The question is : to what extent does Otfrid's ordering of events and sense of proportion reflect the original gospel texts? This is a difficult area to analyse since of course the narratives all intertwine details regardless of absolute chronology. But nevertheless, an attempt must be made to quantify particular emphases, in order to compare the overall proportions of the gospels and those of the Evangelienbuch.

A basic skeleton is discernible behind all four gospels and behind the Evangelienbuch and this is made visible in each case in Figs. 4 - 8 on the following pages. Otfrid's framework divides the available narrative material into five groups of roughly equal size as follows :

Book I : birth, childhood and baptism

Book II : signs and teachings to disciples

Book III : signs and teachings to Jewish nation

Book IV : crucifixion

Book V : resurrection, ascension, afterlife.

The theoretical distinction between Books II and III reflects the rough order of events, namely from teaching to a small circle of believers to more widespread preaching and eventually evangelisation of the whole world. In practice, however, the dividing line between the two phases is not clear, neither in the biblical gospels nor in the Evangelienbuch. Both phases concentrate on the teaching and healing ministry of Christ on earth as opposed to his origins, and destiny, or his crucifixion and therefore, for the purposes of the present analysis, they are treated as belonging together.

Otfrid's five-fold grouping assumes a chronological progression from the birth of Christ to his death, resurrection and afterlife. The four Latin gospels of the Bible follow this progression too, though as can be seen in Figs. 4-7 the weight of the narrative falls upon the teaching and miracle-working ministry of Christ (sections II and III). The proportion of

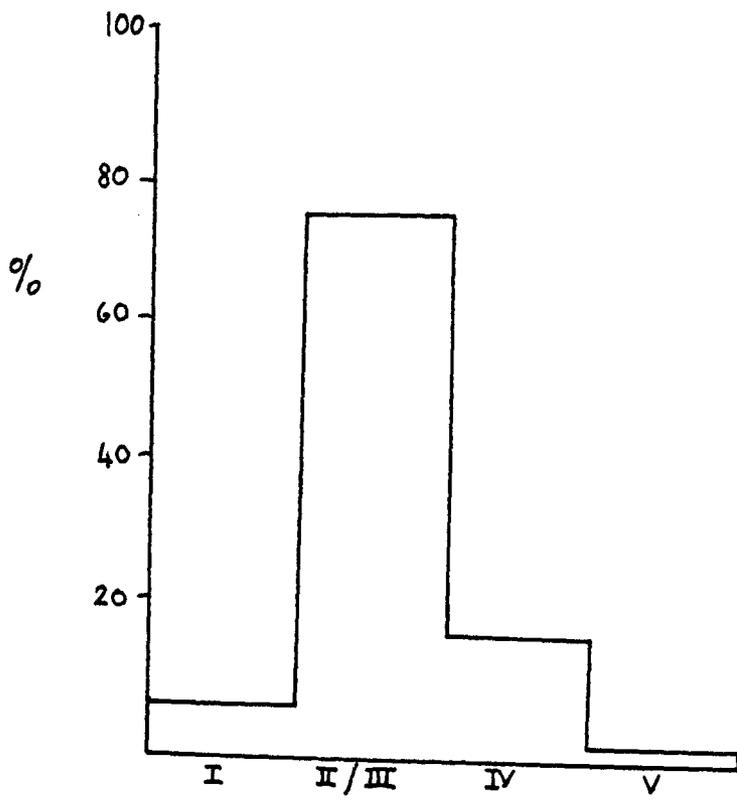


Fig. 4  
(Matt.)

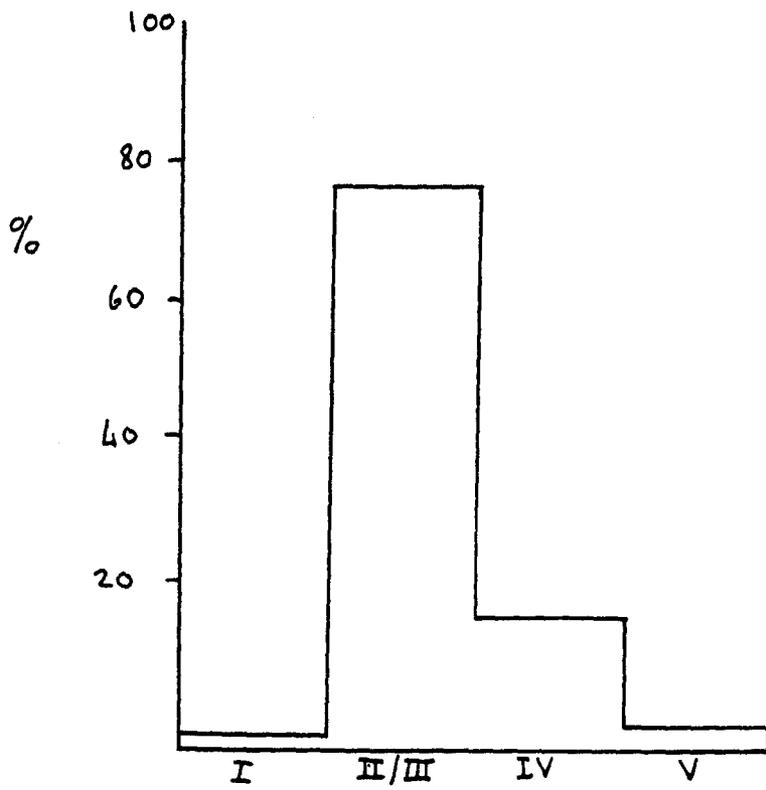


Fig. 5  
(Marc.)

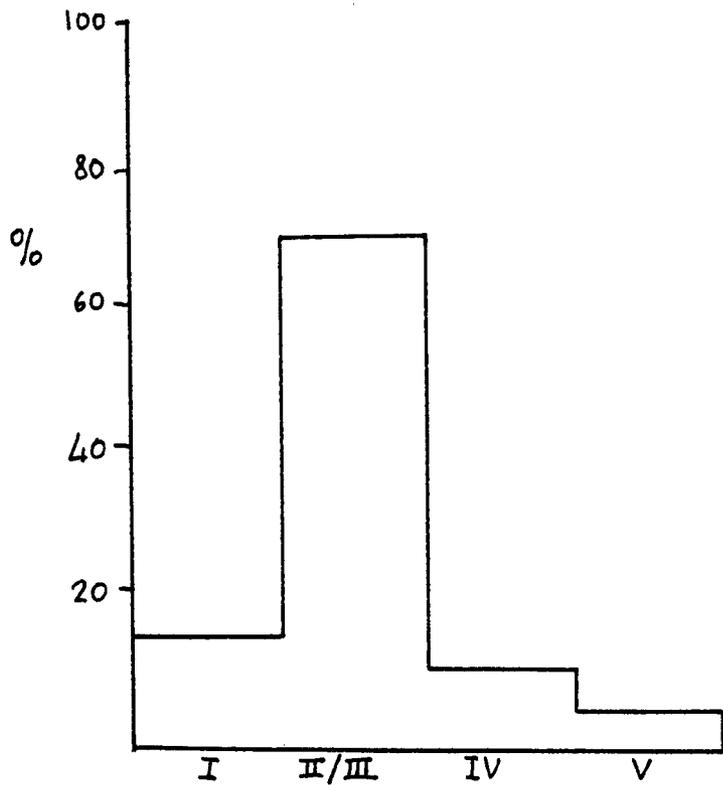


Fig. 6  
(Luc.)

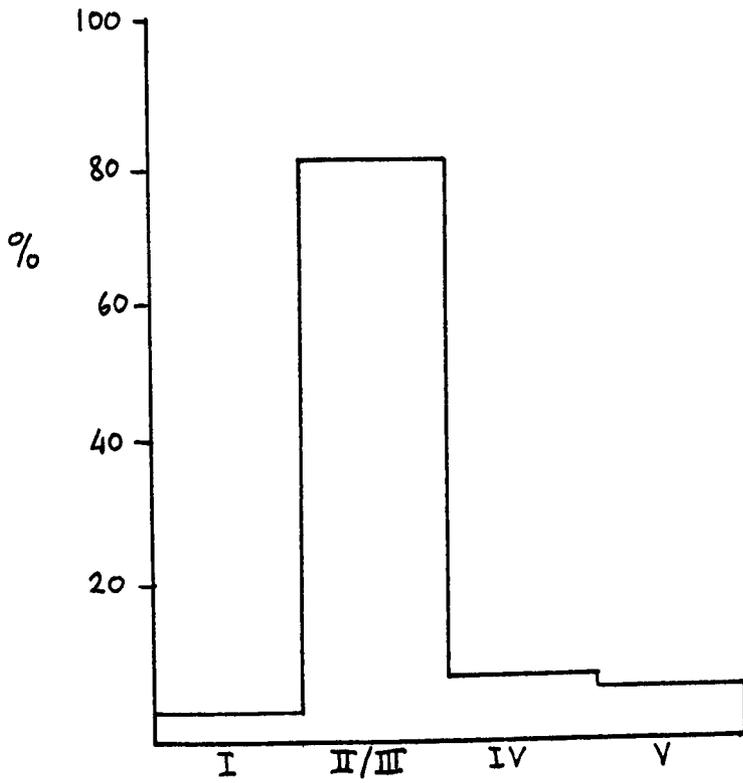


Fig. 7  
(Jo.)

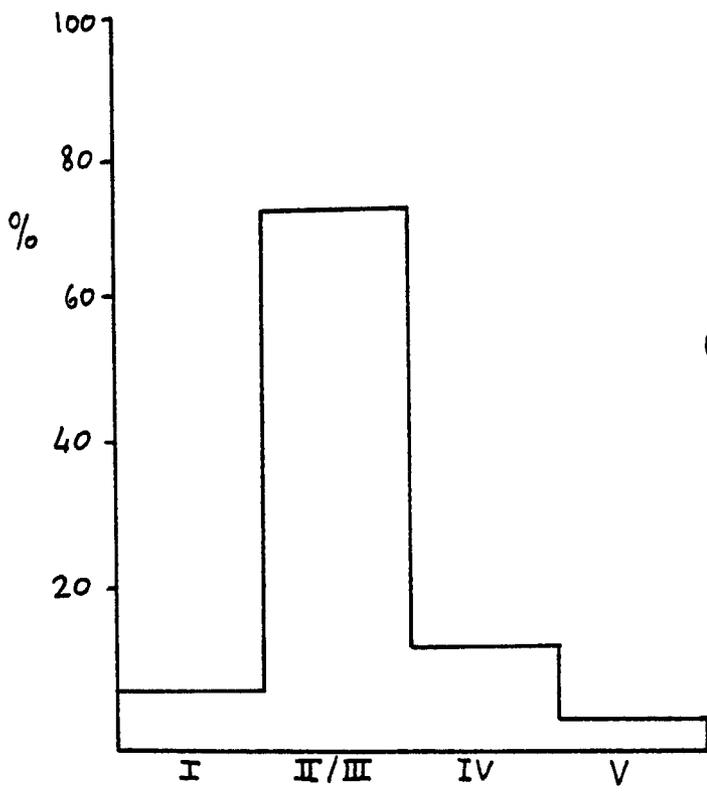


Fig. 8  
(all 4 gospels)

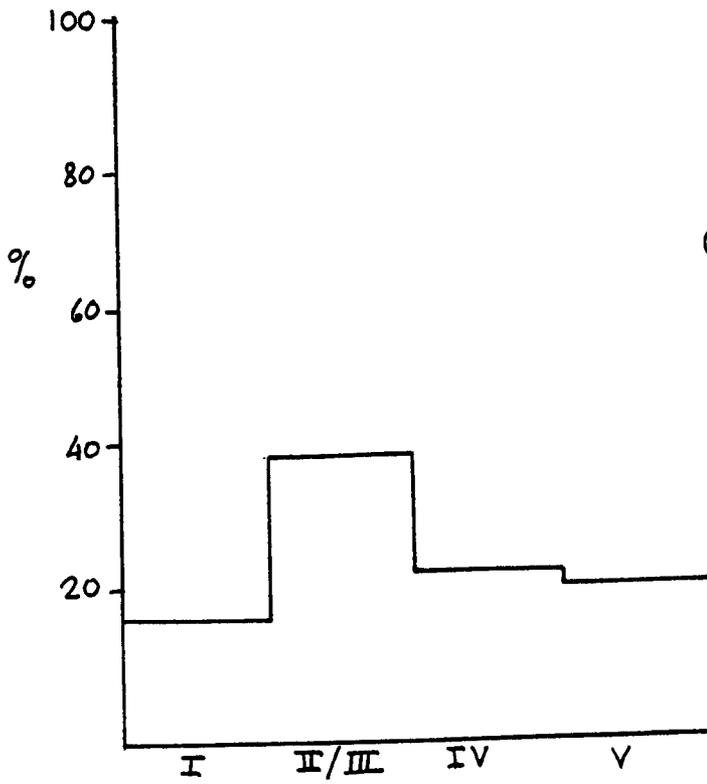


Fig. 9  
(*'Evangelienbuch'*)

text devoted to this period of Christ's life and work outweighs the other three of Otfrid's suggested phases (sections I, IV and V) together, in each New Testament gospel. In the case of John's gospel (Fig. 7) the contrast is extreme : 80% as opposed to 20%; the synoptic gospels devote a little more attention to what Otfrid includes under the birth, death and afterlife phases, but the emphasis is still heavily upon the teaching and healing ministry of Christ on earth. A composite picture of the narrative proportions of all four gospels together (Fig. 8) shows that in the Bible groups II and III together stand in a ratio of approximately 3 : 1 (or 74% to 26%) against the other three of Otfrid's groups.

The figures are, of course, estimates and do not take account of details or of occasional anomalies in the chronological sequence. They are calculated by simply adding together the number of verses (as found in modern Bible editions) which each gospel writer devotes to the five Otfridian phases in turn. No attempt has been made to extract, for example, comments about the afterlife which are made in Christ's teaching phases and insert them at the end of the sequence, say, in the last phase which recounts Christ's resurrection and ascension to a new sphere of influence in heaven. The graphs depict only the rough outline of the narrative progression in the four gospels, and they show very clearly the proportionate weighting of material in each of Otfrid's five phases.

When we compare Otfrid's book divisions (Fig. 9) with any or all of the Latin gospels it is immediately apparent

that a major change has taken place. The birth, crucifixion and afterlife sections (I; IV; and V) if added together, outweigh the sections devoted to Christ's ministry of teaching and healing (II and III). The ratio of these two middle phases to the rest is, in the Evangelienbuch approximately 2 : 3 (or 39% to 61%). This reverses the biblical proportions and represents a very big deviation from what one might have expected in a work which on the surface, appears to "harmonize" the gospel texts of the Bible and calls itself "Liber evangeliorum".<sup>10</sup>

Otfrid's Book V, dealing with the resurrection, ascension and afterlife of Christ, and also the fate of believers and non-believers after death, gains in importance at the expense of the teaching and healing phases. Otfrid incorporates material from other books of the Bible, notably from the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse<sup>11</sup> in his fifth book, and he also reorganises the gospel order of presentation by relegating what is there presented as teaching material before the actual death of Christ to the logically correct position after it. The day of judgement, for example, which is presented by Christ in anticipation of the actual event, is presented by Otfrid as a continuation of the narrative progression. In other words, what appears in the Bible as theory, or prophecy, is rearranged in the Evangelienbuch so as to appear as a continuation in the historical chain of events surrounding Christ's life and work. It is future history, but nonetheless set on a par with the narration of physical events

in the life of Christ. The increased use of choruses and rhetorical elaboration points to the different type of narrative here, but the important point to note is that the placing of it all leaves the reader or listener in no doubt as to the historical order of events and the inevitable progression of human history towards the scenes displayed at the end of Book V.

It need hardly be said that this amounts to a very free treatment of the original sources. It changes the whole force of the gospel material and turns attention much more upon the active work of Christ from the crucifixion onwards. The more exalted tone, the artistic touches, the choruses in Book V draw attention to this book and set it apart from the rest of the Evangelienbuch but the clear parallelisms in the overall construction of the work also draw it in to make it a vital part of the whole work's effect. It is in no way an afterthought or an anomaly. In many ways the preceding books work up to Book V, introducing the person of Christ in his earthly existence as a fore-shadowing of his ultimate destiny : literally to die for all of mankind and then to live for ever as the guarantor of man's acceptance with God in heaven.

By way of comparison, Figs. 10 and 11 on the following page show exactly the same analysis of large-scale narrative structure as was applied to the gospels and the Evangelienbuch only this time the texts are those of the Heliand and the Latin/Old High German Tatian harmony. As before, the texts have been divided into Otfrid's five

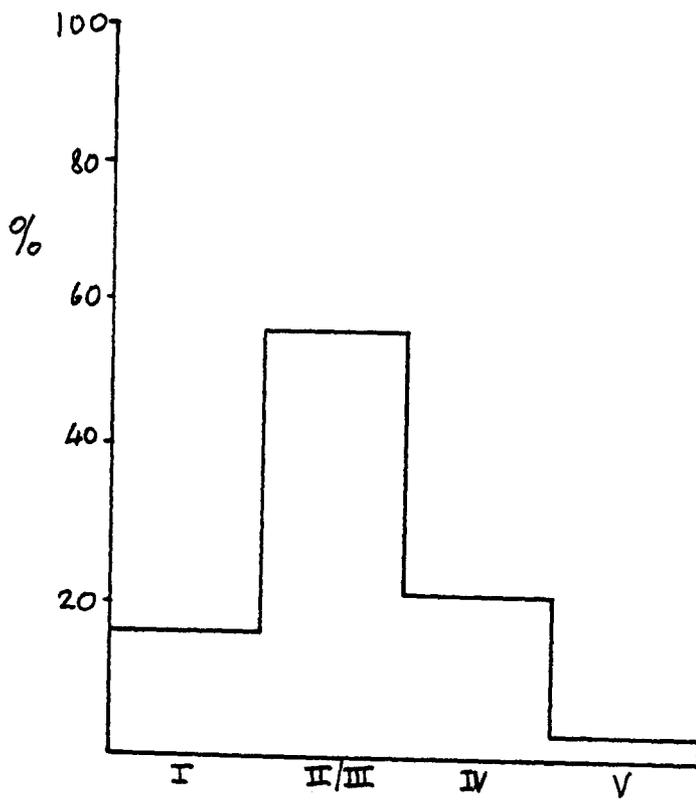


Fig. 10  
(Heliand')

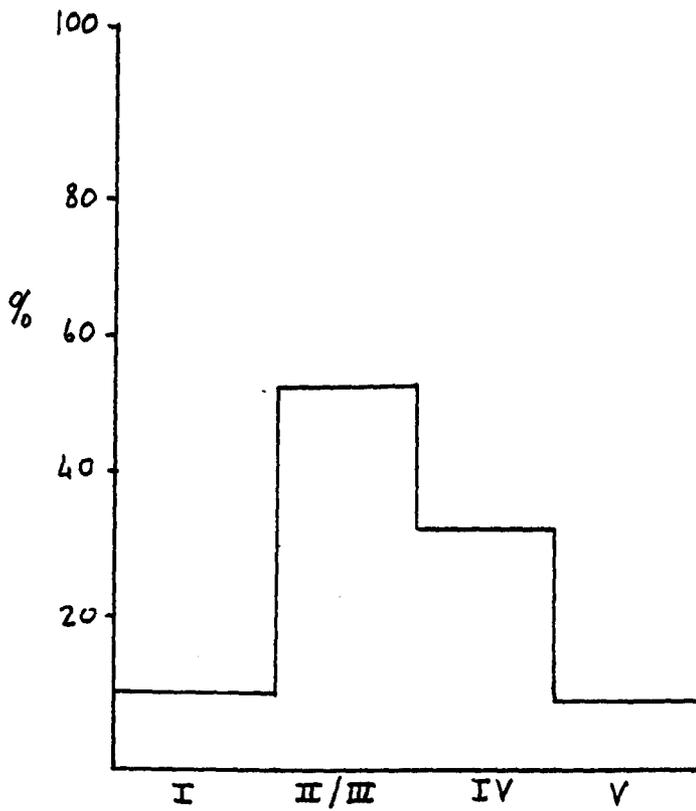


Fig. 11  
(Tatian)

sections (keeping the teaching and healing ministry in sections II and III together) so that the weight and proportion of the narrative can be compared on a large scale.<sup>13</sup> The latter part of the Heliand has not survived, and so the picture there is slightly distorted in the last column. The structure of the Tatian harmony, however, which is the Heliand author's main source, shows that no long end section is to be expected, if the author continues, as is likely, in the way he has kept to the Tatian source right up to the point where the MS breaks off. There is certainly no reason to believe that the Heliand originally had, or was intended to have, such a long "fifth section" as the Evangelienbuch has. Both the Tatian harmony and the Heliand remain faithfully close to the proportions of the biblical gospels.

### Conclusions.

This short final analysis has touched upon a major area of research which needs to be carried out on the Evangelienbuch and the other Latin and vernacular gospel texts. It is not a part of the present study's purpose to pursue this further, since the concern here has been more with the internal proportions of the Evangelienbuch than the comparative study of a whole range of similar works. What Otfrid's emphasis on the death, resurrection, ascension and particularly the heavenly role of Christ contributes to the whole Evangelienbuch is, in keeping with his tactics throughout the work, an added relevance and application for ninth century readers and listeners. Just as the vernacular

makes the content of the gospels accessible, and the especially vivid imagery of the five human senses brings it into the range of experience of the ordinary, physical human being, so the extended picture of Christ's spiritual capacity as judge, saviour and heavenly ruler makes clear the timeless nature of the gospel message. The heavenly Christ, in whose hands the fate of every mortal lies, awaits the reader and listener of the Evangelienbuch, showing that the events narrated and explained in the foregoing books and chapters are more than just stories and lessons. The stress on the positive features of heaven (with contrasting warnings about the fate of the damned)<sup>13</sup> confirms that the expected audience is a Christian one, a group of people who fervently hope to be included in the "elect" when their earthly life is over. The most likely audience, namely young students in the monastic schools, is thus trained from an early age to see all of natural, physical life as a preparation for spiritual benefits gained now, in stages, and then later in full measure as a heavenly reward. The structure, style, imagery and even the language of the Evangelienbuch are carefully designed to help this group of readers and listeners. The people at large would have no use for the Evangelienbuch : it is too scholarly a work for their taste. It is, in effect, a versatile and demanding course of education in the materials and methods of New Testament exegesis. Only teachers and serious learners would be able to appreciate its complex relation to the biblical gospels and its insistence on interpretation of key

events to show above all else aspects of the teaching and learning process. A schoolbook for use in monasteries, it would have aimed to meet the needs of those at work in that sphere. It trains teacher and pupil alike on a programme of graded lessons, leading along a path which includes the basic doctrines of the faith and avoids any large-scale doctrinal controversies.

Any further ambitions, towards the world outside the schoolroom, must have been limited to the hope that the students apply what they have learnt to their later lives. One bonus which the schoolbook has, however, is that it forms minds and through prolonged use gains a special "approved" status. What can be taught in school, especially at lower levels, can be safely administered to the unlearned, for their edification, though it may not meet their usual high standards of entertainment value. It may also be used by more experienced scholars for recreation, revision, or to fill some of the many hours on the monastic "reading aloud" programme, as an accompaniment to meals or manual work. Thus a work which is patently designed to teach the young in preparation for service in the monasteries, may in fact have found applications in the wider sphere of Church influence.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

- <sup>1</sup>Three full MSS. V, P, and F exist and a fourth, D, is in fragments. There is general agreement that all date from the ninth or early tenth centuries, and that P, F, and D are copies of V. A full examination of the MSS is to be found in W. Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg (Berne and Munich : Francke, 1971), pp. 17-98.
- <sup>2</sup>See H. Butzmann, Otfrid von Weissenburg, Evangelienharmonie, facs. edn. (Graz : Akademie Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1972) esp. the Introduction, for details.
- <sup>3</sup>E.G. Graff, Krist (Königsberg : Borntträger, 1831); J. Kelle, Otfrids von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch I, Text und Einleitung (Regensburg : Manz, 1856); P. Piper, Otfrids Evangelienbuch I, Einleitung und Text (Paderborn : Mohr, 1878); O. Erdmann, Otfrids Evangelienbuch (Halle a. Saale : Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1882). For the purposes of this study the text of the Evangelienbuch throughout will be the revised edition of Erdmann, with reference to the 6th edn. by L. Wolff ATB 49 (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1973). For full details, see Section A of the bibliography below.
- <sup>4</sup>The standard bibliography to Otfrid is : J. Belkin and J. Meier, Bibliographie zu Otfrid von Weissenburg und zur altsächsischen Bibeldichtung (Berlin : Erich Schmidt, 1975), pp. 31-35; 47-54. For a continuation of this bibliography see : U. Ernst, review of the Belkin/Meier Bibliographie zu Otfrid in : AION, 20 (1977), 317-25; and C. Soeteman, "Otfrid-Forschung seit 1939," Neophilologus 58 (1974) 248-51. For small and peripheral articles and some of the newer studies see also W. Kleiber, ed., Otfrid von Weissenburg (Darmstadt : WBG, 1978) - hereafter WdF/Otfrid, esp. "Bibliographie", pp. 415-423. See also the highlighted entries in the bibliography below.
- <sup>5</sup>See for example the necessarily tentative assessment of these works in J. S. Groseclose and B. O. Murdoch Die althochdeutschen poetischen Denkmäler (Stuttgart : Metzler, 1976) pp. 41-58.
- <sup>6</sup>Of the earlier studies see esp. A.E. Schönbach, "Otfridstudien," ZfdA, 38 (1894), 209-17; 336-61; 39 (1895), 57-124; 369-423; 40 (1895-6), 102-23. The more influential later studies include H. Rupp, "Otfrid von Weissenburg und die spätantike Bibeldichtung," WW, 7 (1956/7), 334-43; R. Schmidt, "Neue Quellen zu Otfrids Evangelienbuch," ZfdA, 96 (1967), 81-96; U. Ernst, Der Liber Evangeliorum Otfrids von

Weissenburg (Cologne : Böhlau, 1975), esp. pp. 332-451; D. Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung (Munich : Fink, 1975), esp. pp. 285-293; and E. Hellgardt, Die exegetischen Quellen von Otfrids Evangelienbuch (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. F. Saran, "Über Vortragsweise und Zweck des "Evangelienbuches" Otfrids von Weissenburg," Habilitationsschrift, Halle a. Saale, 1896; rpt. in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 31-51. Cf. also A.E. Schönbach, "Hat Otfrid ein Lektionar verfaßt?", ZfdA, 42 (1898), 120f.; Saran thinks the Evangelienbuch is intended to be a lectionary, Schönbach disagrees. These and other suggestions are discussed below on pp. 28-30; 120-123; 208-210.

<sup>8</sup> Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516) mentions Otfrid in several of his historical works, though his sources are in some respects questionable. The most important references to Otfrid occur in his Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, (Basel and Mainz : 1494) and his Chronicon Hirsaugiense written 1495-1503 but published in full much later. The historical works are collected and edited by M. Freher as : Opera Historica (Frankfurt : 1601). For the passages most relevant to Otfrid see WdF/Otfrid, pp. 9-17.

<sup>9</sup> All such articles and dissertations peripheral to the present study are listed in the Belkin/Meier Bibliographie, but since the material in these early works has been substantially covered in the major later studies of the Evangelienbuch, with greater accuracy and modern methods, it is rarely necessary to refer to them.

<sup>10</sup> K.H. Joerdens, quoting Kuettner in Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten vol. IV (Leipzig : Weidmannische Buchhandlung, 1809), rpt. Hildesheim : Olms, 1970; p. 153.

<sup>11</sup> G. Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, vol. I (Munich : Beck, 1918), rpt. 1966, p. 200.

<sup>12</sup> E. Erb, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1160 (Berlin : Volk und Wissen, 1963), 2nd edn. 1965, p. 334.

<sup>13</sup> H. Rupp, "Forschung zur althochdeutschen Literatur 1945-1962," DtVjs, 38 (1964), 1-67, as Sonderheft (Stuttgart : Metzler, 1967). For an overview of criticism between 1935 and 1953 see : W. Betz, "Das gegenwärtige Bild des Althochdeutschen," DU, 5 (1953), Heft 6, 94-108.

- 14 Rupp, "Forschung zur althochdeutschen Literatur," 53f.
- 15 D.A. McKenzie, Otfrid von Weissenburg : Narrator or Commentator? (Stanford & London : Stanford U.P., 1946). But see also the review of McKenzie's work by J.K. Bostock in Med.Aev., 16 (1947), 53-7 which qualifies some of McKenzie's conclusions.
- 16 For example : Joerdens, Lexikon (see n. 10 above) p. 146 "Otfried gehoert zu den aeltesten deutschen Schriftstellern, die sich mit achtungswerthem Patriotismus um unsere Muttersprache verdient zu machen gesucht haben." J. Nadler, Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften vol. I (Regensburg : Habel, 1912), 2nd edn. 1923, p. 46 : "Otfried, der Dichter des fränkischen Messias...". F. Neumann, Geschichte der altdeutschen Literatur 800-1600 (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1966), p. 46 : "In einem 'humanistischen' Patriotismus will er als Franke in fränkischem Deutsch den Wettbewerb mit Griechen und Römern aufnehmen." These formulations are based largely on the evidence of the "Cur scriptor" chapter, and though not entirely wrong, they encourage extreme views of Otfried's political commitment.
- 17 Cf. L.W. Forster, "Isine Steina und Otfrieds Verherrlichung des Frankenlandes," PBB/H, 78 (1956), 316-21. The issue of nationalism is further discussed below on pp. 65-68; 72-81.
- 18 F. Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter," ZfdA, 89 (1958/59), 1-23; also : "Geistige Süße bei Otfried," in Typologia Litterarum : FS für Max Wehrli, S. Sonderegger, A.M. Haas, eds, (Zurich & Freiburg i. Br. : Atlantis, 1969) pp. 95-124. Ohly's relevant papers are to be found collected in his Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung (Darmstadt : WBG, 1977).
- 19 Authors who display clear affinities with Ohly's line of thinking include : U. Ernst, X. von Ertzdorff, F. and W. Freytag, R. Hartmann, F. Pickering, and M. Schmidt. For details see bibliography below.
- 20 "Ordo" als Form (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1969).
- 21 Otfrid von Weissenburg, see n. 1 above. See also the following short studies which doubtless provided inspiration and starting points for Haubrichs, Kleiber and others : H. Swinburne, "Numbers in Otfried's Evanglienbuch," MLR, 52 (1957), 195-202; J. Rathofer, "Zum Bauplan von Otfrieds

Evangelienbuch, ZfdA, 94 (1965), 36-38; H. Rupp, "Otfried von Weissenburg und die Zahlen," Archiv, 201 (1965), 262-65.

<sup>22</sup> Liber Evangeliorum, see n. 6 above.

<sup>23</sup> R. Patzlaff, Otfried von Weissenburg und die mittelalterliche versus-Tradition (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1975). Unfortunately Patzlaff's theory that Otfried uses the word "Vers" to refer to a strophe made up of 4 half-line units is less than convincing. For a rather harsh critique of Patzlaff's study see : C. Minis, "Deutsches und lateinisches Schrifttum im Mittelalter," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, 19 (1984), 225-31. Minis' reservations are justified, but nevertheless Patzlaff's point that the basic structure of the Evangelienbuch is not the half-line, nor the long-line made up of two rhymed halves, but in fact pairs of long-lines, as indeed the evidence of all the MSS suggests, is valid.

<sup>24</sup> Bibeldichtung, see n. 6 above.

<sup>25</sup> R. Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch zu Otfrieds von Weissenburg Evangeliendichtung (Munich : Fink, 1975).

<sup>26</sup> G. Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar zu Otfrieds Evangelienbuch I (Bonn : Habelt, 1976).

<sup>27</sup> Evangelienbuch, Auswahl (Stuttgart : Reclam, 1987).

<sup>28</sup> See n. 6 above.

<sup>29</sup> S. Greiner, Das Marienbild Otfrieds von Weissenburg (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987).

<sup>30</sup> B. Nagel, Das Reimproblem in der deutschen Dichtung. Vom Otfridvers zum freien Vers (Berlin : Erich Schmidt, 1985). See also the deservedly sceptical review by U. Rainer in MLN 103 (1988), no. 3, 672-674.

<sup>31</sup> For a balanced modern assessment of the Evangelienbuch and its influence on its own period and beyond see B.O. Murdoch, Old High German Literature (Boston : Twayne, 1983), pp. 73-86.

<sup>32</sup> Otfried's comments in "Ad Liutbertum." lines 32-37 indicate that the middle section of the Evangelienbuch was composed

last. For a detailed analysis of the order of composition see H. Bork, Chronologische Studien zu Otfrids Evangelienbuch, diss. Berlin, 1927, (New York rpt. : Johnson, 1970).

<sup>33</sup>For example K. Zwierzina, "Otfrids Vorrede an Liutbert," ZfdA, 31 (1887), 292-96; W. Wiget, "Zu den Widmungen Otfrids," PBB 49 (1925), 441-44; F.P. Magoun, "Otfrid's Ad Liutbertum," PMLA, 58 (1943), 869-90, also in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 74-105 in German; A. J. Ansen, "Some Notes on Otfrid's Ad Liutbertum," MLN, 59 (1944), 513f.; O. Springer, "Otfrid von Weissenburg : Barbarismus et Soloecismus," Symposium 1 (1947), 54-81; C. Petzsch, "Otfrids 'cantus lectionis'," Euphorion, 56 (1962), 397-401, also in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 219-28; F. Rädle, "Otfrids Brief an Liutbert," Kritische Bewahrung, FS für W. Schroeder (Berlin : E. Schmidt, 1974), pp. 213-240; W. Freytag, "Otfrids Briefvorrede Ad Liutbertum und die accessus ad auctores," ZfdA, 111 (1982) 168-93; H. Günther, "Probleme beim Verschriften der Muttersprache. Otfrid von Weissenburg und die lingua theotisca," LiLi, 59 (1985), 36-54; the last two listed here are excellent as far as they go, but they do not test out their theoretical conclusions with reference to the whole of the Evangelienbuch. Even the much longer study by W. Engel, "Die dichtungstheoretischen Bezeichnungen im Liber Evangeliorum Otfrids von Weissenburg," diss. Frankfurt a. Main, 1967 devotes only an Exkurs section (pp. 136-152) to the practical application of Otfrid's theoretical statements in the rest of the Evangelienbuch.

<sup>34</sup>A. C. Schwarz, Der Sprachbegriff in Otfrids Evangelienbuch (Bamberg : aku-Fotodruck, 1975). This work, originally a dissertation, represents an extreme approach which Schwarz later modifies to produce some very interesting work on the Evangelienbuch. See bibliography below for details.

<sup>35</sup>A. L. Plumhoff, "Beiträge zu den Quellen Otfrids." ZfdPh, 31 (1899), 464-96 and 32 (1900), 12-35; this is the unfortunate thesis stating that Otfrid's source was the Glossa Ordinaria, then thought to have been the work of Walafrid Strabo. The Glossa Ordinaria is of course from a later period, but Plumhoff was not entirely wrong in postulating connections with Walafrid, and with many of the passages which were Carolingian favourites and also happen to be included in the Glossa Ordinaria. See below pp. 193-201.

<sup>36</sup>Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 163, n. 1.

<sup>37</sup>Narrator or Commentator, p. 75.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- <sup>1</sup>Liber Evangeliorum, p. 22. n. 49.
- <sup>2</sup>See A. Georgi, Das lateinische und deutsche Preisgedicht des Mittelalters (Berlin : Erich Schmidt, 1969), pp. 56-62; G. Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, pp. 1-74; also above Ch. 1, n. 33.
- <sup>3</sup>Cf. Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung, p. 273 : "Diese Dedikationen stehen formal in alter Tradition und wurden in der karolingischen Literatur ganz allgemein wieder mit besonderem Nachdruck gepflegt. Otfrids Formulierungen finden ihre Parallelen sowohl in den tradierten Vorbildern wie im zeitgenössischen Gebrauch, ohne daß die Entscheidung für die eine oder andere Herkunft mit Sicherheit zu treffen wäre."
- <sup>4</sup>Magoun, "Ad Liutbertum," p. 869.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 871.
- <sup>6</sup>J. Rohrer, "Otfried und Tatian, Beiträge zur Frage einer altdeutschen Schrift- und Kirchensprache," diss. Tübingen, 1955, p. IX.
- <sup>7</sup>G. Hummel, "Die Relevanz von Textauswahl und Aufbau für die Theologie im Evangelienbuch Otfrieds von Weissenburg," diss. Tübingen, 1961, p. 30.
- <sup>8</sup>"Briefvorrede," p. 188.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 173.
- <sup>10</sup>See n. 9. above.
- <sup>11</sup>"... sed fraterna petitione coactus" (line 23).
- <sup>12</sup>Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 12, n. 8.
- <sup>13</sup>Freytag, "Briefvorrede," p. 177.

<sup>14</sup>Liber Evangeliorum. p. 13f.. n. 15.

<sup>15</sup>This matter is discussed in Doris Walch. Caritas (Göppingen : Kümmerle, 1973) and below pp. 300-306. See also Greiner, Marienburg, pp. 269-287.

<sup>16</sup>See Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, pp. 131-160. Rohrer's free interpretation of "Ad Liutbertum" 124-128 in which Hraban is mentioned : "venerandae memoriae," leads to the deduction that Hraban refused to give his approval to the writing of the Evangelienbuch. Rohrer argues "Angenommen, Hrabans Gegnerschaft zu Otfrid habe sich nicht nur auf das Werk, sondern auch auf den Menschen Otfrid übertragen ... " ("Otfrid und Tatian, p. VII). This is pure speculation.

<sup>17</sup>Vollmann-Profe comments under the discussion of the phrase "indignus ... exiguus" : "wobei sich Otfrid > allerdings bemüht zeige, das Herkömmliche zu überbieten," Kommentar, p. 30. H. Günther sees in Otfrid's painstaking explanations a consideration of the archbishop's possible lack of understanding in the whole matter, and a care to inform him of the details, without appearing to be in any way superior or better informed (a tricky undertaking which also requires repeated expressions of subservience) : "Insbesondere glaube ich trotz der o.a. Kennzeichnung des Liutbert als ungewöhnlich gebildet nicht, daß Otfrid fürchten muß, Liutbert wisse mehr als er. Vielmehr muß er fürchten, daß Liutbert die lateinischen Grammatiker weniger genau kennt als er und deshalb die Subtilitäten von Otfrids Dichtung und die Regularität ihrer Barbarismen ohne ausführliche Erklärung nicht versteht. Eben deshalb ist Otfrid hier so ausführlich und redundant ..." "Probleme beim Verschriften der Muttersprache," p. 46.

<sup>18</sup>"Ad Liutbertum," p. 872.

<sup>19</sup>PL 82, 73-728. See also Bibliography under "Isidore."

<sup>20</sup>See H. Kolb, "Isidors Etymologien in deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters," Archiv, 205 (1968/69), 431-453. Kolb concludes that in the "Ad Liutbertum" letter, and in other parts of the Evangelienbuch "alle grammatikalischen Begriffe, soweit sie durch eine technische Bedeutung sich als solche zu erkennen geben, sind in Isidors 'Etymologien' abgehandelt und von dorthin erklärbar." (p. 453). See also below pp. 177-179.

<sup>21</sup>See for example Saran, "Vortragsweise und Zweck," WdF/Otfrid, pp. 31-51 and E. Jammers, "Das mittelalterliche

deutsche Epos und die Musik." Heidelberger Jahrbücher. 1 (1957), 31-90, rpt. in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 114-192. See esp. pp. 116-120.

22 "With regard to literature, a fundamental observation must be made here; in the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, they read usually, not as today, principally with the eyes, but with the lips, pronouncing what they saw, and with the ears, listening to the words pronounced, hearing what is called the "voices of the pages." It is a real acoustical reading, legere means at the same time "entendre le latin," which means to "comprehend" it." J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, tr. C. Missrahi, (New York : Fordham U.P., 1961), p. 24.

23 "Bezeichnungen," p. 33.

24 Ibid., p. 11.

25 Magoun, "Ad Liutbertum," p. 875, and Jammers. "Epos und Musik" as n. 21 above.

26 K. Lachmann, "Über Singen und Sagen," Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, 1833, rpt. in Lachmann, Kleinere Schriften zur Deutschen Philologie I (Berlin : Reimer, 1876); rpt. (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1969), pp. 461-479.

27 W. Wackernagel, "Die altdeutschen Dichter des Elsasses. I Otfried von Weissenburg," Elsässische Neujahrsblätter (1847), 210-37; rpt. in Wackernagel, Kleinere Schriften II (Berlin : Hirzel, 1873), pp. 193-212.

28 "Vortragsweise", see Ch. 1, n. 7 above.

29 See Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 187 and Jammers. "Epos und Musik," WdF/Otfrid, p. 120f.

30 "Or, dans l'évolution du latin médiéval, la liturgie a joué un rôle très important, qui, presque toujours, est sous-estimé, voire négligé, par les savants modernes." C. Mohrmann, "Le Dualisme de la Latinité Médiévale," REL, 29 (1952), 330-48, rpt. in Latin Vulgaire. Latin des Chrétiens, Latin Médiéval (Paris : Klincksieck, 1955), pp. 36-54, quotation from p. 47.

31 Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 187.

32 A full study of this is made in : E. Sievers. "Steigton und Fallton im Ahd mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Otfrids Evangelienbuch," in Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte, Wilhelm Braune dargebracht (Dortmund : Ruhfus, 1920), pp. 148-98. See also V. Michels, "Zur deutschen Akzent-Geschichte," in : Germanica. FS. Eduard Sievers zum 75. Geburtstag (Halle a. Saale, Niemeyer, 1925), pp. 39-89, esp. pp. 74-82; and Jammers, "Epos und Musik," WdF/Otfrid, pp. 145-52.

33 "Zu den Bescheidenheitstopoi gehört auch die Versicherung, man wolle dem Leser Überdruß (fastidium, taedium) ersparen. Schon Quintilian (V 14,30) warnt vor fastidium. Mittelalterliche Beispiele finden sich auf Schritt und Tritt. Bisweilen recht deplaciert! Der öde Kompilator Hrabanus Maurus glaubt die Prosaparaphrase seines Kreuzgedichtes dadurch zu empfehlen, daß der 'doppelte Stilcharakter ... den Lesern den Überdruß benehme'. E. R. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter (Berne : Francke, 1948), 7th edn. Munich, 1969, p. 95.

34 Bork, Chronologische Studien, admits that his work is one-sided, and he prefaces his summary of Otfrid's order of composition of the Evangelienbuch with the statement : "Wenn nun nach diesen Erwägungen ein Schluß auf die Chronologie des ganzen Werkes gezogen werden soll, so darf er vorläufig nur in sehr vorsichtiger Form folgendermaßen geäußert werden:..." (p. 132). The divisions which follow in Bork's analysis are vague, and not much more illuminating than Otfrid's own brief description.

35 See pp. 79-81 below. For background see : U. Grossmann, "Studien zur Zahlensymbolik des Frühmittelalters," Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 76 (1954), 19-54; H. Meyer, Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter. Methode und Gebrauch (Munich : Fink, 1975). On the 4 and 5 symbolism applied to the construction of the Evangelienbuch as a whole see : G. Gürich, "Otfrids Evangelienbuch als Kreuzfigur," ZfdA 95 (1966), 267-70, rpt. WdF/Otfrid, pp. 300-305; H. Klingenberg, "Zum Grundriß der ahd. Evangeliendichtung Otfrids," ZfdA 99 (1970), 35-45 and 101 (1972), 229-43, rpt. WdF/Otfrid, pp. 341-362.

36 "To read was to spell out a text which offered few aids to the eye and none to the memory. So, because the average monastic library possessed only one or two copies of even the more popular works, and because the uninstructed would in any case have found the productions of the average scribe tricky to decipher, the common practice was for the master only to have the text which was being read..." R.R. Bolgar, The

Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries (Cambridge : C.U.P., 1963), p. 111.

<sup>37</sup>R.E. McNally, The Bible in the Early Middle Ages (Westminster : Newman, 1959), p. 9.

<sup>38</sup>See Chapter Four below.

<sup>39</sup>Magoun, "Ad Liutbertum." p. 873.

<sup>40</sup>See below pp. 71-81.

<sup>41</sup>Magoun, "Ad Liutbertum." p. 887.

<sup>42</sup>Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 154. A. Schwarz, "Glossen als Texte," PBB/T 99 (1977), 25-36 succeeds in deducing teaching practices in Weissenburg in Otfrid's lifetime by means of a study of the surviving MSS and in particular of the glosses from that monastery. Not only information about the teaching of grammar, but also about the role of the gospels in the classroom is thus gained : "Die paläographische Suche nach Otfrids Hand hat - ausgehend von der Redaktion der Handschrift V der althochdeutschen Evangeliendichtung - nicht nur zum lateinischen und althochdeutschen Glossator, sondern auch zum lateinischen Kommentator etwa gerade der Evangelien geführt. Ein Blick auf die Verteilung der beiden Sprachen zeigt den Lehrer und seine Glossen in einer Vermittlerrolle zwischen der dogmatisch gebundenen Sachlichkeit lateinischen Kommentierens und der eindringlichen Hörerzuwendung des volkssprachlichen Dichtens." (p. 35).

<sup>43</sup>The Carolingians certainly knew some Greek, contrary to the long-held belief that only the Irish mastered this language in the period leading up to John Scotus Eriugena's activities. It is unlikely that they were competent enough to compose consecutive texts in Greek, however, since their knowledge came almost exclusively from glossaries and parallel Greek/Latin works. See R. Le Bourdellès, "Connaissance du grec et méthodes de traduction dans le monde carolingien jusqu' à Scot Erigène," in : Jean Scot Erigène et l'Histoire de la Philosophie (Paris : Centre Nat. Rech. Scient., 1977), pp. 117-123. Otfrid's mention of "aliarum gentium lingua, id est Latinorum vel Graecorum," ("Ad Liutbertum", line 110f.) refers perhaps to literary activity in general, covering the whole field of copying and translating, which rarely allowed the vernacular a dominant role.

- <sup>44</sup>De Boor and Newald, Geschichte I (see bibliography below for details), pp. 1-15.
- <sup>45</sup>See below pp. 71-82.
- <sup>46</sup>Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 35.
- <sup>47</sup>Kommentar, p. 9.
- <sup>48</sup>Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 210f.
- <sup>49</sup>Hraban's "Hymnus de charitate", PL 112, 1666D-1668A, is constructed with an acrostic showing the letters of the alphabet in their correct order. His De laudibus sanctae crucis, PL 107, 133-294 has many very elaborate texts containing pictures and patterns using acrostics, ciphers and hidden messages. Experimentation with the placing of letters within texts seems to have been one of his talents. It is not unlikely that Otfrid and other students of Hraban would have known of this, perhaps even in the classroom.
- <sup>50</sup>Preisgedicht, see n. 2 above.
- <sup>51</sup>Ad Herennium, (Loeb), (London, Heinemann, 1954). Georgi, Preisgedicht, pp. 11-20, summarizes the content of this influential work. The categories which mediaeval writers incorporated in their epistolary and praise poem structures are : "exordium, narratio, divisio, confirmatio, confutatio, conclusio." (p. 12).
- <sup>52</sup>Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutes, PL 101, 945f.
- <sup>53</sup>De institutione divinarum litterarum, PL 70, 1105-1150, sometimes just called the Institutiones.
- <sup>54</sup>Curtius, Europäische Literatur, pp. 84-87; 444-446.
- <sup>55</sup>See Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 35f.
- <sup>56</sup>On the importance of humility formulas as a Christian feature, quite distinct from the classical tradition of similar utterances, see : J. Schwietering, "The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula," PMLA, 69 (1954), 1279-91; R.

Wisniewski, "Demut und Dienst in einigen deutschen Texten des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts," in Mediaevalia Litteraria, FS. für H. de Boor, U. Henning and H. Kolb, eds. (Munich : Beck, 1971), pp. 55-66.

<sup>57</sup> Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 93.

<sup>58</sup> "Origins," p. 1282f.

<sup>59</sup> Europäische Literatur, pp. 93-95, 410-15.

<sup>60</sup> The text was Hrabanus Maurus' De clericorum institutione, PL 107, 293-420. The letter is in PL 107, 295BC.

<sup>61</sup> Kommentar, p. 76.

<sup>62</sup> W. Haubrichs, "Otfrids St. Galler 'Studienfreunde'," ABäG 4 (1973), p. 78f., n. 10.

<sup>63</sup> See for details, H. Wellmer, Persönliches Memento im deutschen Mittelalter (Stuttgart : Hiersemann, 1973), pp. 21-34; Haubrichs, "Studienfreunde," p. 93f., n. 86. See also below, pp. 55-64.

<sup>64</sup> See Bolgar, Classical Heritage, p. 407.

<sup>64</sup> PL 112, 1579-84.

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, de Boor and Newald, Geschichte I, pp. 43-46; J.M. Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall (Cambridge : C.U.P., 1926), pp. 56-61 and passim; also below pp. 55-64.

<sup>67</sup> The same idea is present in the preceding lines Sal. 23-26.

<sup>68</sup> II Par. 1:6-12.

<sup>69</sup> See n. 36 above.

<sup>70</sup> Chronologische Studien, p. 126f., n. 20. See also Patzlaff, Otfrid und versus-Tradition, p. 37.

- <sup>71</sup>Kommentar, p. 73.
- <sup>72</sup>See Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 152.
- <sup>73</sup>"Studienfreunde," p. 51.
- <sup>74</sup>Liber Evangeliorum, p. 30.
- <sup>75</sup>Kommentar, p. 79f.
- <sup>76</sup>See Chapter Four below.
- <sup>77</sup>See Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 29.
- <sup>78</sup>See Haubrichs, "Studienfreunde," passim.
- <sup>79</sup>Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall, pp. 9-11.
- <sup>80</sup>For details see Haubrichs, "Studienfreunde," p. 70.
- <sup>81</sup>See Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, pp. 123-155 for an account of Otfrid's activities in the monastery at Weissenburg.
- <sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 153.
- <sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 153, n. 694.
- <sup>84</sup>See Haubrichs, "Studienfreunde," p. 74; Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall, p. 240f.
- <sup>85</sup>There is a wealth of critical material devoted to this subject. See for example Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 145; Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 35; and also pp. 138-148 below.
- <sup>86</sup>"... in der künstlerisch weniger durchgefeilten Widmung an HARTMUT und WERINBERT", Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 211.

<sup>87</sup>W. Krogmann, "Zur Überlieferung von Otfrids Evangelienbuch," in Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel zum 65. Geburtstag W. Simon, W. Bachofer, W. Dittmann, eds., (Berlin : Erich Schmidt, 1963), pp. 13-21; rpt. in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 239-250: "Es ist ein selbständiges Gebet, das mit der Widmung selbst nichts zu tun hat. Die Herausgeber haben es zu Unrecht an die vorhergehenden Verse angehängt...." (p. 241).

<sup>88</sup>Liber Evangeliorum, p. 354f.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>90</sup>Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 274f. The mediaeval practice of making prayer and friendship contracts is explained, citing this letter of Otfrid's as one of the first German examples in : F. Ohly. "Bemerkungen eines Philologen zur Memoria," in K. Schmid ed., Memoria, der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter (Munich : Fink, 1984), pp. 9-68, esp. p. 16, n. 15.

<sup>91</sup>There may be Irish ideas behind this emphasis, but these were so common in Carolingian writings, that it would be difficult to specify any single source.

<sup>92</sup>There are many such exhortations in the Bible. See, for example : Lev. 19:18; Jo. 15:12,17; Gal. 5:14; and the letters I Pet. and I Jo. passim.

<sup>93</sup>Or in fact seven times, if one includes the scarcely visible mesostich message which Ernst discovered in all three dedicatory verse epistles : see p. 44 and n. 48 above.

<sup>94</sup>See p. 58 above.

<sup>95</sup>See for examples the commentators on this verse : Jerome, Commentaria in epistolam ad Galatas, PL 26, 372A-373B, esp. 372A : "Diligenter attendite quod non dixerit, factum per mulierem: quod Marcion et caeterae haereses volunt, quae putativam Christi carnem simulant ..."; Augustine, Epistolae ad Galatas. Expositionis liber unus, PL 35, 2126-28; Hrabanus Maurus (who quotes Jerome) Expositio in epistolam ad Galatas, PL 112, 245-382.

<sup>96</sup>See Hrabanus Maurus. Expositio in epistolam ad Hebraeos. PL 112, 725B : "... unus est enim Deus a quo omnia; sed ille

aliter, aliter et nos: ille quasi proprius Filius, nos vero quasi adoptivi. Attamen unum habemus Patrem Deum : ille quasi proprius Filius sanctificat, nos sicut adoptivi sanctificamur ... In eo enim quod dixit, Non erubescit fratres eos vocare, demonstrat non naturae esse fraternitatis nostrae, sed misericordiae ejus et humilitatis multae, quia nos fratres elegit sibi,..." This exposition underlines the concept of brotherhood under God the Father, but neatly avoids the heretical assumption that this presupposes some measure of equality in status or nature between Christians and Christ.

<sup>97</sup>This is undoubtedly an intentional omission, since the ATB editions consistently fail to pinpoint most biblical references in the dedicatory epistles whilst listing direct narrative sources and a few patristic parallels for the main text of the Evangelienbuch.

<sup>98</sup>Preisgedicht, p. 56f.

<sup>99</sup>"Otfridstudien IV," ZfdA, 40 (1896), 122. See Georgi, Preisgedicht, p. 57.

<sup>100</sup>Preisgedicht, p. 60, n. 12.

<sup>101</sup>Liber Evangeliorum, p. 154.

<sup>102</sup>The Greek writings of Eusebius, notably his historical work Historia ecclesia, PG 20, 9-910, were transmitted to the Middle Ages in the form of a Latin translation by Jerome Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii Pamphili, PL 27, 34-675. Augustine's De civitate Dei, PL 41, 13-804 was influential in the Carolingian age alongside more secular ideals of state government : see above, p. 66 and Ch. 3, n. 66 below for details.

<sup>103</sup>Liber Evangeliorum, p. 170.

<sup>104</sup>See, for example, Georgi, Preisgedicht, p. 59f; Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, p. 5f.

<sup>105</sup>See Wisniewski, "Demut und Dienst," pp. 63-66.

<sup>106</sup>Vollmann-Profe lists Carolingian and patristic examples of this and points out that the linking of Charlemagne himself with the biblical king David causes all references to

Charlemagne's descendants in connection with the biblical king to refer back to the days of Charlemagne's greatness : Kommentar, pp. 17ff. See also H. Steger, David, rex et propheta (Nürnberg : Carl, 1961); H.H. Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit (Bonn : Röhrscheid, 1968), esp. p. 426f.; and see below pp. 179-190.

107 "Karl der Kahle verdient es, David und Salomon an der Seite gestellt zu werden", Anton, Fürstenspiegel, p. 259. But Anton points out an important distinction, namely that David tends to be cited as an example for warrior monarchs, whilst Solomon "... wird besonders als "rex pacifer" als Muster in seiner Weisheit als großes Vorbild in seiner durch den Tempelbau realisierten Pietas herausgestellt" (p. 276).

108 See Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, pp. 157-161.

109 It is possible that the lady "Judith" mentioned in the letter to Liutbert (line 9) could have been the wife of some noble person, or a member of the royal family, but this is disputed. See p. 22 above.

110 See, for example, Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, pp. 157-161.

111 The role of Theodulf is discussed below pp. 183-188. Georgi's source is Theodulf's poem in MGH Poet.Lat. I, no. 36, p. 527f.

112 Georgi, Preisgedicht, p. 59.

113 Kommentar, p. 6.

114 Wisniewski's discussion of this point starts from the dubious assumption : "Ludwigslied und Otfrids Evangelienbuch wenden sich nicht an Mönche als Publikum." "Demut und Dienst," p. 62. McKenzie's Narrator or Commentator and most modern studies overrule this opinion. in McKenzie's case with overwhelming supporting evidence.

115 Cf. S. Gutenbrunner, "Otfrids regula und ziti," Archiv, 192 (1956), 159-62, rpt. in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 109-13.

116 G. Ehrismann, "Zur althochdeutschen Literatur." PBB/H, 28 (1903), 570-72: both quotations from p. 572.

- 117 The best modern assessment of the "Cur scriptor" chapter is R. Gasser, "Propter lamentabilem vocem hominis," Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philologie und Theologie 17 (1970), 3-83, esp. 49ff. Also useful are R. Wisniewski, "Significatio des Verses. Otfrids Deutung metrisch geformter Sprache," in FS. für Hans Eggers, H. Backes, ed. (Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1972), pp. 694-702 and W. Haug, Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter (Darmstadt : WBG, 1985), esp. pp. 25-45.
- 118 J.K. Bostock, A Handbook on Old High German Literature. 2nd edn. revised by King and McLintock. (Oxford : Clarendon, 1976), p. 4. This quotation is from the introduction to the 2nd edn. and is not to be found anywhere in the original Bostock text (Oxford : Clarendon, 1955). Such a statement is misleading in the extreme and does not reflect modern scholarship regarding the nature and function of the Evangelienbuch. Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, pp. 81-148 tends also towards this extreme view: see for example (p. 87f.) "Das ganze Kapitel <I,1 "Cur scriptor"> zeugt von kluger Berechnung aller eingesetzten Mittel bis hin zu den Versen 113-126, in denen das 'Evangelienbuch' selbst als der endlich eingesetzte Schlußstein im Ruhmestempel <!> der Franken erscheint."
- 119 H. Rupp, "Otfrid und die spätantike Bibeldichtung," p. 144.
- 120 Ibid., p. 144, n. 27 : "Diese Gedanken sind um 1100 wieder im Annolied zu finden, ..."
- 121 See below pp. 177-188 for discussion of this point.
- 122 See, for example, the analysis of J.M. Wallace-Hadrill. The Barbarian West (London : Hutchinson U.L., 1952), 3rd edn. 1967 : "Charlemagne's achievement was one thing, his legacy another ... Behind the veneer of unity and of uniformity lay a society intensely localised, incapable alike of national and imperial aspirations." (p. 140.).
- 123 See Vollmann-Profe. Kommentar, pp. 102-113: 134-6. For further discussion of the poetry/prose issue see below p.153f.
- 124 For details see E. Schröder, "Otfrid beim Abschluß seines Werkes," ZfdA, 55 (1917), 377-80. McKenzie, Narrator or Commentator, p. 12f., however, cites the negative reaction of Pope John VIII to the introduction of a Slavonic liturgy in Moravia.

125 Otfrid could not fail to have been aware of the Celtic and British efforts in this sphere, and perhaps even the example of the Old Saxon Heliand nearer home was an encouragement to him. The question of possible influences and sources for the Evangelienbuch is discussed below in Chapter 3.

126 L. Forster, "Isine steina," p. 321.

127 See Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, pp. 144-6.

128 At Ingolheim there was a frieze in Charlemagne's honour depicting just these characters, the details of which are recorded by Ermoldus Nigellus (MGH Poet.Lat. II, 65) - cf. G. Baesecke, "Die Karlische Renaissance und das deutsche Schrifttum," DtVjs. 23 (1949), 181.

129 For example Jerome, Commentaria in Daniele, PL 25, 536B "Cornu autem grande, ipse est rex primus Alexander, quo tricesimo secundo aetatis suae anno mortuo in Babylone, surrexerunt pro eo quatuor duces ejus, qui sibi imperium dividerunt."

130 The word derives from the Latin dictare and as in the modern usage of the word dichten, it can be used in the sense of literary composition, without any notion of metre implied. See Engel, "Bezeichnungen", p. 52.

131 See W. Seelmann, "Otfrid I,1 v 8," ZfdA. 69 (1932), 237f. Vollmann-Profe usefully comments on line 8 with the observation that "düokal eigun fúntan" and "zisámmane gibúntan" can be read in apposition to one another, implying that the second half of the line adds nothing new to the concept of the first, and that both derive from Latin sayings which make use of similar phrases in conjunction: "... so gewinnt man den Eindruck, daß die Vorstellungen Dunkelheit und Verwickeltheit eine Art feste Verbindung eingehen, gerade auch im Zusammenhang mit Aussagen über Literatur, ohne sich jedoch auf metrische Dichtung zu beschränken." Kommentar, p. 100.

132 For a summary of the different views on this point, see Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, pp. 104-6.

133 See Engel, "Bezeichnungen," p. 78.

134 The letter to Liuthbert also contains a few concrete images, like that of the training of a wild animal conveyed in line

58f., for example. But I,1 is written in an altogether different tone : in the words of H. Günther "In diesem Kapitel begründet Otfrid die Wahl der Landessprache sozusagen populärwissenschaftlich," "Probleme beim Verschriften der Muttersprache," p. 37.

135 Wisniweski, "Significatio des Verses," p. 701. See also, for background to this subject : P. Klopsch, "Prosa und Vers in der mittellateinischen Literatur," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 3 (1966), 9-24; and for more detailed application to this passage : S. Gutenbrunner, "Otfrid über Poesie und Prosa," ZfdA 96 (1967), 69-73.

136 Kommentar, p. 113.

137 Ibid., p. 112f.

138 See E. Henrici, "Otfrid I,1," ZfdA, 24 (1880), 194-200; P. von Polenz, "Otfrids Wortspiel mit Versbegriffen als literarisches Bekenntnis," FS. für L. Wolff (Neumünster : Wachholtz, 1962), pp. 121-34. For a complete study of the metaphor of the way see W. Harms, Homo viator in bivio (Munich : Fink, 1970).

139 W. Burkhard in : B. Boesch, ed., Deutsche Literaturgeschichte (Berne : Francke, 1946), p. 21. This is revised later by Rupp (1961).

140 "Otfrids regula und ziti," WdF/Otfrid, p. 110f. See also P. Hörmann, "Untersuchungen zur Verslehre Otfrids," LwJb. 9 (1939), 1-106.

141 Allegoriae in sacram scripturam, PL 112, 1039. For a discussion of the dating and authorship problems related to this work see P. Glorieux, Pour revaloriser Migne (Lille : Facultés Catholiques, 1952), p. 56. Ernst, however, appears to accept the work as genuinely Hraban's own : Liber Evangeliorum, p. 52, n. 169; p. 108, n. 184, etc. In effect the question is of little importance, since most of the ideas collected together in this work were part of the standard selection available in the ninth century, and probably do reflect Hraban's views in any case.

142 For discussion of other commentators and their views on the use of the vernacular, see below pp. 143-145; 153f.

143. "Bezeichnungen," pp. 52-63. Engel also provides citations from patristic writers who make use of similar terms in Latin.  
144. Ibid., p. 191.

145. The Erdmann ATB edition (p. 14) notes only parallels with the Psalms, but there is no doubt that Otfrid's mention of the touching of the organs of speech connected with the preaching of "thero sinero worto" (line 8) also recalls the passages in the Old Testament cited here. See Haubrichs, "Ordo" als Form, p. 375f.; Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, p. 152f.

146 Cf. for example the opening of the Aneenge (circa 1175) : "DOMINE, labia mea aperiês!/nû gestate mir hêrre got des,/daz ich dîn lop gesprechen mege./habe mine zunge in dîner phlege/und die rede von mînem munde:/... alsô phlege dû mîner zunge/mit dîner wisunge, ..." (lines 1-5; 15f.) : D. Neuschäfer, ed., Das Aneenge (Munich : Fink, 1966), p 97. The beginning of the German Rolandslied, C. Wesle, ed. (Halle a. Saale : Niemeyer, 1955) demonstrates a similar invocation: "Scephare allir dinge,/cheiser allir chuoninge,/wol du oberister ewart,/lere mich selbe diniu wort;/duo sende mir zemunde/din heilege urkunde,/daz ich die luge uirmide,/die warheit scribe...", (lines 1-8). There are many examples of this in lesser-known works of literature both on religious and on secular themes.

147 See Chapter Five below.

148 Vollmann-Profe, with reference to other critics, demonstrates how Otfrid's depiction of the task of writing the Gospel message may in fact be a brief synopsis of the scope and content of each of the five books of the text : Kommentar, pp. 154-161.

149 MGH Poet.Lat. II, no. 21, p. 186. See also G. Baesecke, "Die Karlische Renaissance und das deutsche Schrifttum". DtVjs, 23 (1949), 176, who cites this poem in full (though unfortunately with reference to the first volume of MGH Poet. Lat. instead of the second), but not in connection with Otfrid. Haubrichs cites a part of the poem in "Ordo" als Form p. 157, but presents it, somewhat out of context, in connection with literary writing "im fränkischen Idiom" as "Ausdruck der politischen Gleichberechtigung der Franken." Hraban certainly would not have seen it in these terms.

150 For details see Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar, pp. 152-58.

151 See Curtius, Europäische Literatur, pp. 239-245 for a full

discussion, with examples, of the Muses and Christian literature.

152 This particular instance of parallelism in the structure of the Evangelienbuch is not brought out by Haubrichs in his exhaustive "Ordo" als Form analysis, probably because he pays too much attention to numbers (of lines per chapter, of chapters per book) and too little attention to relations which are made by content alone. But the second chapter and the penultimate chapter of the Evangelienbuch stand in close relation to each other both in terms of position and in actual content.

153 The source of this imagery is ultimately Gen 3:19 : "In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es : quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris".

154 Cf. "Ad Liutbertum." lines 32-36.

155 Cf. also IV,1,36 : "wôrto joh wêrkes mines ûnthankes." Such paired phrases are not unique to the Evangelienbuch. They occur much more frequently in the Old Saxon Heliand, which relies more heavily upon alliterative material from the heroic, and originally non-Christian, Germanic tradition. For further discussion see below pp. 107-111; 201-204.

156 E.g. Hrabanus Maurus Homiliae. PL 110. 347D : "Claudicabamus autem non corporis gressu, sed internae mentis excessu".

157 Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 211.

158 The Rolandslied invocation (see n. 146 above) demonstrates this same Christian preoccupation with fidelity to the "true" account and interpretation of events, whether on a literal (historical) or a spiritual level.

159 This image is explained in D.A. Wells, The Vorau 'Moses' and 'Balaam' (Cambridge : Modern Humanities Research Association, 1970) pp. 13-15. Wells correctly notes that the Old Testament narratives in which people are punished with leprosy for their sins are the ultimate source of this line of exegesis. He points out, too, that the New Testament story of the ten lepers healed by Christ is interpreted in the Glossa Ordinaria along this same line : "Leprosi sunt haeretici, qui quasi varios colores habentes in eodem corpore, varias sectas, nunc falsitatis, nunc veritatis, permiscent in

eadem praedicatione." PL 114, 319A. This text, though dated later than the Evangelienbuch, incorporates material from Carolingian and patristic sources. It echoes the concern for doctrinal purity that Otfrid displays, suggesting that Carolingian commentators were familiar with the theme thus interpreted.

160 These words are difficult to translate and are treated more fully below (pp. 287-293). For the purposes of the present discussion their indication of an inwardness and spirituality is sufficient guide to their meaning, in contrast with the physical healings and relationships depicted in III,1.

161 See Curtius, Europäische Literatur, pp. 138-141. This is not to say, of course, that the Evangelienbuch is to be regarded as an epic poem. The image is used in Christian writings to make a different point.

162 Bibeldichtung, p. 209.

163 Cf. Pseudo-Hrabanus Maurus, Allegoriae. PL 112. 987BC : "Littus, stabilitas immortalitatis, ut in Evangelio 'Discipulis in mari laborantibus, Jesus stabat in littore,' quod illis mortalis vitae fructus tolerantibus ipse jam ad immortalitatis soliditatem pervenerat."

164 Liber Evangeliorum, p. 27. See also Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 359f. for further patristic examples.

165 Origen, In Exodum, homiliae PG 12, 297.

166 Commentaria in Ezechielem prophetam. PL 25, 903D : "Obsequar igitur voluntati tuae, et flante Spiritu sancto, vela suspendam, ignorans ad quae so, littora perventurus, et cum hoc eodem propheta clamitans, A quatuor ventis veni, spiritus, fastidiosoque lectori, immo animo perduelli nostra lecturo, illud in explanatione templi tota libertate denuntio, ut si veritatem desiderat, quaerat eam ab alliis." See also Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 139 for further examples of nautical terminology used of literary activities by a range of authors including Vergil and Horace, Quintilian, Isidore and Carolingian commentators.

167 J. Stosch, "Zu Otfrid," ZfdA, 31 (1887) 216. See also H. Neumann, Die Schiffsallegorese im Ezzolied (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), esp. pp. 1-18.

168<sup>U.</sup> Ernst, "Die Magiergeschichte in Otfrids 'Liber Evangeliorum'," AION, 15 (1972), 81-138.

169<sup>O</sup> On alliterative elements in the Evangelienbuch, for example, see now : E. Stutz, "Spiegelungen volkssprachlicher Verspraxis bei Otfrid," in Althochdeutsch Vol. I, R. Bergmann, H. Tiefenbach, L. Voetz, eds. (Heidelberg : Winter, 1987), pp. 772-794.

170<sup>O</sup> Ernst "Magiergeschichte", p. 117, notes the "aus germanischer Tradition stammenden, wuchtig aufgipfelnden Stabreim" and also the much-used Latin formula "lux sine tenebris et vita sine morte". It is clear that Otfrid blends the two elements in an effective new creation.

171<sup>PL</sup> 107, 761B.

172<sup>See</sup> above p. 85f.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

<sup>1</sup>See Ch. 1, n. 3 above. Also Kelle, Otfrids Evangelienbuch I, pp. 59-69.

<sup>2</sup>See Ch. 2, n. 7 above.

<sup>3</sup>See for example : II,3,3f.; II,24,1f.; III,7,75ff.; IV,6,46; IV,15,59; IV,28,1; IV,34,13f.; and V,6,5f.

<sup>4</sup>Jo. 10:22 "Facta sunt autem Encaenia in Jerosolymis : et hiems erat."

<sup>5</sup>Matthew is mentioned in III,14,65 and V,6,46; Luke in III,13,53 and III,14,66; and John in V,8,19, though the latter is a reference to the person rather than to the text of his gospel.

<sup>6</sup>See E. Karg-Gasterstädt and T. Frings eds., with E. von Steinmeyer, Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch (Berlin : Akademie, 1968ff., esp. vol. III (1976), 445 under "evangelio").

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, I,1,29; IV,6,1f.; IV,34,13f.; and I,23,17f.; V, 19,21. Otfrid mentions the Psalms in IV,28,23f., and with unusual accuracy for him, specifies one Psalm in particular in IV,28,19f.

<sup>8</sup>Otfrid mentions Gregory and Augustine in V,14,25-28. There is also an interesting reference in II,14,9f.: "Ther evangélio thar quit, theiz móhti wesan séxta zit:/theist dages héizesta joh árabeito méista." This is an oblique reference to Alcuin's Commentaria in S. Johannis evangelium, PL 100, 792D-793, even though Otfrid does not, on this occasion, embark on a full explanation of the symbolism of the number six, or the dark/light and hidden/revealed symbolism that Alcuin provides: "Hora sexta venit Dominus ad puteum, id est, medio die, unde jam incipit sol iste visibilis declinare in occasum : quoniam et nobis vocatis a Christo ad invisibilium amorem, homo interior recreatus, ad interiorem lucem quae nunquam occidit, revertatur; secundum apostolicam disciplinam, non quaerens quae videntur, sed quae non videntur."

<sup>9</sup>McKenzie, Narrator or Commentator, p. 72.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 66-71. See also D. McKenzie, "Otfridiana : Some

Queries and Comments re. Marginalia," Philological Quarterly 27 (1948), 281-84.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> McKenzie's conclusion reads like a compromise : "If Otfrid approved of the et reliqua's and even added a few in his own hand - he certainly expected somebody to read the rest of the Latin to which the margins are a cue; and the rest is the Latin of the Bible story either as it occurs in the Vulgate or in the lectionarium!" Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> Hellgardt, Die exegetischen Quellen, pp. 220ff. argues that McKenzie is correct in pointing out Otfrid's dependence upon and reference to Vulgate sources, but calls McKenzie's theory about the link with the lectionarium "seine unglückliche Hypothese." Hellgardt's qualification of McKenzie's study must be kept in mind : "Besonders verunglückt sind auch die weitreichenden Folgerungen, die McKenzie gestützt auf die mißverständene Perikopentese Schönbachs und auf ahnungslose Vorstellungen von Beschaffenheit und Funktion eines Lektionars für die Rolle des Evangelienbuchs in den Auseinandersetzungen der Kurie, karolingischer Theologen und Bischöfe um die Zulässigkeit einer volkssprachigen Liturgie zieht ..." (p. 220).

<sup>15</sup> Schönbach began this line of thinking (see Ch. 1, n. 6 above). A. Masser, along with McKenzie, follows the same line in modern times, but comes to tentative and confusing conclusions like the following : "Insgesamt wird man sagen können, daß Aufbau und Anlage seiner Dichtung sehr stark an der Lesepraxis des Klosters orientiert sind." Bibel und Legendenepik des deutschen Mittelalters (Berlin : Erich Schmidt, 1976), p. 33. The work of H. Swinburne, however, shows beyond doubt that the lectionary form does not provide Otfrid's chosen order of events and is not to be regarded as a source or model for the Evangelienbuch in a formal sense. See H. Swinburne, "The Selection of Narrative Passages in Otfrid's Evangelienbuch," MLR, 53 (1958), 92-97.

<sup>16</sup> "Ad Liutbertum, lines 32-36. See Swinburne, "Selection of Narrative Passages," p. 97 : "We must indeed credit <Otfrid> with what for a ninth-century German writer treating this particular subject was a high degree of independence in the selection of his material." Regarding the meaning of "parva memoria" see H.-G. Richert, "Parva Otfridi memoria," ZfdA, 94 (1965), 21-35 rpt. in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 275-295, and especially

K.D. Goebel, "Zu Otfrids parva memoria," ZfdA, 96 (1967), 260-63. Goebel sees a much more specialised meaning than the usual "memory" and explains it thus: "Der Gegensatz, der diese Aussagen beherrscht, ist nicht: chronologische Reihenfolge und mangelnde Chronologie (durch Gedächtnisschwäche) sondern: eine gewisse Vollständigkeit (und bestehe sie nur in Erwähnungen) und vereinzelte Auswahl." (p. 262).

<sup>17</sup>The Benedictine Order later developed a bias towards study and education. In Otfrid's time, however, an emphasis on basic skills was just beginning to emerge. This point is discussed below pp. 192-201. See also A. Borst, Mönche am Bodensee 610-1525 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1978): "Als Walahfrid in der Reichenauer Klosterschule saß, war ihr Bildungssystem noch nicht alt. Bildung aus Büchern zu beziehen, widersprach der Regel Benedikts von Nursia. Sie schrieb bloß vor, daß die Mönche heilige Lesungen gern anhören sollten, von eigenen Vorlesern. (p. 50).

<sup>18</sup>Bede, Alcuin and Hraban are Otfrid's commonest sources for exegesis. See Hellgardt, Die exegetischen Quellen, passim and B. Boesch, Lehrhafte Literatur. Lehre in der Dichtung und Lehrdichtung im deutschen Mittelalter (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1977), pp. 156ff.

<sup>19</sup>See J. von Weringha, Heliand and Diatessaron (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 1965), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup>For a study of Tatian sources see Weringha (as mentioned in the previous note) and: W. Henss, "Zur Quellenfrage im Heliand und ahd Tatian." NdJb, 77 (1954), 1-6, rpt. in J. Eichhoff and I. Rauch, eds., Der Heliand (Darmstadt: WBG, 1973), (hereafter WdF/Heliand), pp. 191-199.

<sup>21</sup>Weringha, Heliand and Diatessaron, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>23</sup>E. Sievers, ed., Tatian: Lateinisch und altddeutsch, 2nd. edn. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1966), p. XIII (first published 1872).

<sup>24</sup>Weringha, Heliand and Diatessaron, pp. 30-32.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>26</sup>See G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," Vig.Chr., 11 (1957), 189-207, and "Some remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," NTS, 5 (1959), 276-290. More directly relevant to the Germanic Tatian-related texts is Quispel's article: "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium," Vig.Chr., 16 (1962), 121-53. Also interesting is Quispel's more detailed Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 1975), although the methods used are disputed and the results in general unreliable. See B.O. Murdoch's review of this work in SM 3 Serie, 19 (1978), 1094f.

<sup>27</sup>Weringha, Heliand and Diatessaron, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup>See, for example, W. Foerste, "Otfrids literarisches Verhältnis zum Heliand," NdJb, 71/73 (1948/50), 40-67, rpt. in WdF/Heliand, pp. 93-131.

<sup>29</sup>W. Haubrichs, "Ordo" als Form, p. 303, n. 200: "Die selbständige Leistung, die Otfrid vollführt, indem er auf eine Anlehnung seiner Dichtung an die Bekannte und in Fulda ins Ahd. übersetzte Evangelienharmonie des Tatian (wie etwa der 'Heliand') verzichtet und eine eigene Ordnung des Stoffs bietet, ist von der Forschung bisher noch nicht voll gewürdigt worden."

<sup>30</sup>PG 22, 1275C.

<sup>31</sup>See Ch. 2, n. 102 above.

<sup>32</sup>Sievers, ed., Tatian, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>Weringha, Heliand and Diatessaron, p. 27f.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 28, n. 160.

<sup>35</sup>Sievers, ed., Tatian, p. 4, lines 22-24.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., line 36f.

<sup>37</sup>Weringha, Diatessaron and Heliand, p. 28, n. 160, surmises that the arranging of tables of gospel contributions in four "arches" between five "pillars" in the "F" MS is a pictorial representation of the four and five symbolism of the foregoing

letter. Such illustrations are widespread throughout the Middle Ages.

<sup>38</sup>J. McClure, "The Biblical Epic and its audience in Late Antiquity," in Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar (Liverpool : Francis Cairns, 1981), p. 314.

<sup>39</sup>PL 34, 1041-1230.

<sup>40</sup>PL 34, 1228.

<sup>41</sup>PL 34, 1229-30

<sup>42</sup>See pp. 300 to 306 below.

<sup>43</sup>For details see McClure, "Biblical Epic", p. 319, n. 60.

<sup>44</sup>Theodoret Haereticum fabulam compendium, PG 83, 335-556.

<sup>45</sup>PG 83, 371f.

<sup>46</sup>For background and details see : C. S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic Literature (New York : Macmillan, 1928); H. Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," Classical Philology, 28 (1933), 73-96; L. Arbusow, Colores Rhetorici (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1942), 2nd edn., 1963; Curtius, Europäische Literatur, esp. pp. 46-88; W. Eisenhut, Einführung in die antike Rhetorik und ihre Geschichte (Darmstadt : WBG, 1974); M. Camargo, "Rhetoric," in The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages, ed. D.L. Wagner (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 96-124.

<sup>47</sup>Mohrmann's lectures and articles on this subject are collected in her Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens, 3 vols. (Rome : Ediz. di storia e letteratura, 1961).

<sup>48</sup>Études : I, p. 354.

<sup>49</sup>Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup>(Loeb), (London : Heinemann, 1954).

- <sup>51</sup> See Eisenhut, Einführung, pp. 61-66.
- <sup>52</sup> (Loeb), De inventione (London : Heinemann, 1949), rpt. 1976; De oratore; De partitione oratoria, (vols 3 and 4), 1959/60.
- <sup>53</sup> (Loeb), (London : Heinemann, 1921), rpt. 1953.
- <sup>54</sup> Eisenhut, Einführung, p. 67.
- <sup>55</sup> Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung, p. 23.
- <sup>56</sup> Act. 22:3. See also M. Pohlenz, Paulus und die Stoa (Darmstadt : WBG, 1964); H. D. Betz, Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition (Tübingen : Mohr, 1972) passim.
- <sup>57</sup> "It is quite probable that Paul acquired the rudiments of Greek learning in Gamaliel's school ... The knowledge of Greek literature and thought that his letters attest was part of the common stock of educated people in the Hellenistic world of that day; it bespeaks no formal instruction received from Greek teachers." F. F. Bruce, Paul, Apostle of the Free Spirit (Exeter : Paternoster, 1977), p. 126f.
- <sup>58</sup> PL 34, 15-122.
- <sup>59</sup> PL 34, 104-5.
- <sup>60</sup> De partitione oratoria 29.101 : Loeb vol. 4 (see n. 52 above), p. 386.
- <sup>61</sup> PL 34, 104.
- <sup>62</sup> See also Lactantius, De falsa sapientia philosophorum, PL 6, 347-448 passim for a critique of eloquence and the liberal arts when pursued for their own sakes. This work was standard in the Middle Ages. Jerome Epistolae, recommends a style that is pedestrian and quotidian, PL 22, 459.
- <sup>63</sup> This is not to say, however, that Christian rhetoric was never used for ulterior purposes linked with the social and political ambitions of the Church. Cf. H.-I. Marrou,

"Christliche Beredsamkeit," in : Zum Augustin-Gespräch der Gegenwart (Darmstadt : WBG, 1962), C. Andresen, ed. (hereafter WdF/Augustin-Gespräch), p. 69, n. 55 : "Man müßte noch anmerken, daß, wenn der hl. Augustin zu Cicero zurückfindet, er andere Gründe hat als letzterer. Beide stimmen darin überein, gegen die sog. "epideiktische" Beredsamkeit zu kämpfen. Der eine denkt aber an die Würde des republikanischen Forums, der andere an die übernatürliche Würde der Wahrheit, die sich in der Kirche bekundet."

<sup>64</sup>PL 34, 15.

<sup>65</sup>See pp. 55-64 above.

<sup>66</sup>Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 13 states that Augustine, along with Jerome, "nachhaltigen Einfluß auf die poetologische Theorie des Weißenburgers ausgeübt hat," and his long study of the Evangelienbuch draws attention again and again to passages from the writings of Augustine which appear to have provided the foundation for many of Otfrid's remarks and interpretative insertions. This is borne out in greater detail and over a larger thematic area by W. Kraus in Gottesbürgerschaft und Teufelsbürgerschaft (Cologne : Kleinkamp, 1973). G. Glauche, Schullektüre im Mittelalter (Munich : Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1970), p. 16, n. 14 notes that Augustine's De doctrina christiana is the main source for parts of Hrabanus Maurus' De clericorum institutione, and this is a possible indirect connection between the Evangelienbuch and De doctrina christiana. For a detailed comparison of these two works on the particular theme of coping with difficult scripture texts (De doctrina christiana 2,14,21 and De clericorum institutione 3,9) see B. Blumenkranz, "Raban Maur et Saint Augustin, compilation ou adaptation?" Revue du Moyen Age Latin 7 (1951), 97-110.

<sup>67</sup>W. Pfeiffer-Belli, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (Freiburg : Herder, 1954), p. 37.

<sup>68</sup>R. Taylor, "German Literature in the Middle Ages" in : Germany, A Companion to German Studies, M. Pasley, ed. (London : Methuen, 1972), 2nd edn. 1982.

<sup>69</sup>PL 34, 99.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>See p. 80 above.

72 "Quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant loquimur? Qui ergo docet, vitabit omnia verba quae non docent : et si pro eis alia integra, quae intelligantur, potest dicere, id magis eliget : si autem non potest, sive quia non sunt, sive quia in praesentia non occurrunt, utetur etiam verbis minis integris, dum tamen res ipsa doceatur atque discatur integre." PL 34, 99-100.

73 See pp. 106-112 above.

74 "The Literary impact of the Authorized Version," in : Literary Essays, W. Hooper, ed. (Cambridge : C.U.P., 1969), p. 127f.

75 PL 34, 100-101.

76 E.g. Luc. 11:52 "Vae vobis legisperitis, quia tulistis clavem scientiae, ipsi non introistis, et eos, qui introibant prohibuistis."

77 Matt. 5:13; Marc. 9:49.

78 See M. Haren, Medieval Thought (London : MacMillan, 1985), p. 67.

79 Martianus Capella, De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, ed. A. Dick (Leipzig : Teubner, 1925), rev. edn. J. Préaux (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1978).

80 See L.M. De Rijk, "On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St. Gall from c.850 - c.1000," Vivarium, 1 (1963), 42.

81 See H. Chadwick, Boethius, The Consolation of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy (Oxford : Clarendon, 1981), p. 223f.

82 See Ch. 2, n. 53 above.

83 This subject was treated, albeit with few and vague references to actual MSS. in E.M. Sanford, "The use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales," Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

55 (1924), 190-248. She appends a list of known examples of this genre (many of which she had not seen), at least 52 of which are supposedly from the ninth century, a few earlier ones and many later ones. It is certain that most mediaeval authors knew their classics from such collections of extracts, usually linked by theme, rather than from extensive ownership of full works. Quotation of a wide range of classical authors is, therefore, not necessarily evidence of great learning on the part of individual mediaeval authors. Their knowledge was often marred by enormous gaps and misunderstandings.

<sup>84</sup>PL 64, 433. See also F. Sassen, "Boethius : Lehrmeister des Mittelalters," tr. M.R.C. Fuhrmann-Plemp van Duiveland in Boethius, M. Fuhrmann & J. Gruber, eds. (hereafter WdF/Boethius) (Darmstadt : WBG, 1984), pp. 82-124, esp. p. 87.

<sup>85</sup>Haren, Medieval Thought, p. 62.

<sup>86</sup>De doctrina christiana, PL 34, 63f., suggests that the Christians use the "liberales disciplinas" of the pagans "ad usum justum praedicandi Evangelii." The Bible story at the root of this imagery is recounted in Exod. 3.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Ch. 2, n. 141 above which locates a similar interpretation, this time based on Jos. 6:19. See also Basil of Caesarea (329-379), Sermo de legendis libris gentilium, PG 31, 563-590. This work, by the successor of Eusebius, aims to retain classical poetry as a useful part of education for Greek-speaking Christians. Section II of the 10-section sermon recommends cultivation of the soul through acquaintance with all the poets, historians, orators, and other useful men (implied : of the pagan past) as a way of preparation for the secret mysteries of the gospels. His scriptural basis is the reference to Moses' wisdom which was gained during his stay in Egypt : "... et erat potens in verbis, et in operibus suis." (Act. 7:22), and also the figure of Daniel who was master of many arts and very wise, (Dan. 1:5).

<sup>88</sup>De consolatione Philosophiae, PL 63, 547-870 and CCL 94. There are many editions of this work, and reference is made to chapter and line number (or, in the case of prose sections, approximate line number). Quotations from the edn. of E. Gothein, Trost der Philosophie, (Berlin : Die Runde, 1932).

<sup>89</sup>Chadwick, Boethius, pp. 247ff.

<sup>90</sup>Chadwick, Boethius, p. 250, cites Aristotle and Augustine as well as Martianus Capella in this connection.

- 91 "Boethius," WdF/Boethius, p. 109.
- 92 E. Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 106. Glauche, Schullektüre, finds evidence of the Consolatio's presence in libraries (St. Gall, Reichenau) in the first half of the ninth century, but assumes it was read by mature scholars because of the level of difficulty and the lack of commentaries. He doubts that the work was used as a school textbook before the latter third of the century (p. 44) but certainly by the time of the death of Remigius of Auxerre (c. 908) the work was widely available and extensively commented upon, suggesting that by this time it was indeed used in schools. There is certainly reason to suppose that Otfrid had access to the work before the writing of the Evangelienbuch, and perhaps also, by the late 60's, would have recommended its use in schools.
- 93 Chadwick, Boethius, p. 247.
- 94 Ibid., p. 249.
- 95 E.K. Rand "On the Composition of Boethius' Consolatio Philosophiae," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 15 (1904), 1-28; also in WdF/Boethius, pp. 250-277 (quote from p. 276).
- 96 Epistola 54, PL 77, 1171-1172.
- 97 Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy, p. 109.
- 98 "...quod gentilium vates, ut Virgilius, Lucanus, Ovidus caeterique quam plurimi suorum facta decorarent lingua nativa, ..." ("Ad Liutbertum," lines 13-15). The naming of non-Christian authors alongside Christian ones in order to show the depravity of the former and the excellence of the latter is so widespread as to be a "topos" in its own right. Cf. G. Baesecke, "Die Karlische Renaissance und das deutsche Schrifttum," DtVjs, 23 (1949), 156f.
- 99 See L. Archibald, "The Seamless Robe and Related Imagery in Otfrid von Weissenburg's Evangelienbuch," in mit regulu bithuungan, J. Flood, ed., (Göppingen: Kümmerle, due to appear in 1988). See also below pp. 306-310.

- 100 "Otfried und Tatian," p. 171. The principal source for Otfried's seamless robe exegesis is, of course, Augustine's Enarrationes in psalmos, in particular the section beginning : (CCL 38, p. 127) "Quae est ista tunica, nisi caritas, quam nemo potest dividere? Quae est ista tunica, nisi unitas? In ipsam sors mittitur, nemo illam dividit. Sacramenta sibi haeretici dividere potuerunt, caritatem non diviserunt ..."
- 101 J. Magee, "Note on Boethius, Consolatio I.1.5; 3.7: A new Biblical Parallel," Vig.Chr. 42 (1988) 79-82.
- 102 "Occasionally, in even the most active fields of research, the obvious can be overlooked. This, I believe, is the case concerning the sources usually cited for Boethius' description, in the Consolatio Philosophiae of the tearing of Philosophy's gown." Ibid., p. 79. Magee goes on to cite Ps. 21:19; Matt. 27:35 and Jo. 19:23.
- 103 I,1 (prose) lines 11-13; 18-20 : pp. 6-8 of the Gothein edn.
- 104 I,2 (prose) lines 2-4; p. 10 of the Gothein edn.
- 105 See pp. 214-258 below for full discussion of this imagery.
- 106 Rand, "Composition of Consolatio Philosophiae," p. 256.
- 107 See p. 33f. above.
- 108 Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 59.
- 109 The earliest appreciation which sets the tone for subsequent critics is that of Jerome in De viris illustribus 84, PL 23, 691B : "quattuor Evangelia hexametris versibus paene ad verbum transferens ...". For comments see M. Roberts, Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity (Liverpool : Francis Cairns, 1985), pp. 74-76.
- 110 Evangelicae historiae, PL 19, 53-346 and CSEL 24.
- 111 Bibeldichtung, see Ch 1, n. 6 above; Altdeutsche Bibeldichtung (Stuttgart : Metzler, 1975); "Bibelepik" in V. Mertens & U. Müller, eds, Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters (Stuttgart : Kröner, 1984), pp. 20 - 39; also R. Herzog, Bibelepik I (Munich : Fink, 1975). The latter, in a long but

very necessary introduction, deals with the problem of genre (pp. XV-LXXVIII).

112 Europäische Literatur, p. 457.

113 Marienbild, p. 61f.

114 Ibid., p. 71.

115 Greiner summarizes both sides of the debate over whether Otfrid's verse form is modelled on the epic hexameter or not, claiming that "sich die Hexametertheorie heute auch weitgehend durchgesetzt hat" (Marienbild, p. 10, n. 1), even though she allows that a number of dissenting voices are still heard. This is an important area of investigation which, in the 1980's has not been satisfactorily settled.

116 "Otfrid und die Bibeldichtung" WdF/Endreim, pp. 124-140.

117 Ibid., p. 138.

118 H. Rupp, "Deutsche und lateinische Dichtung im 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert," GRM, 39 (1958), p. 27.

119 Kartschoke, "Bibelepik," p. 22f.

120 Biblical Epic, p. 4, n. 2.

121 M. Wehrli, "Sacra Poesis : Bibelepik als europäische Tradition," (1963) in : Formen mittelalterlicher Erzählung. Aufsätze (Zürich : Atlantis, 1969), pp. 51-71, quotation from p. 51. See bibliography below for full details.

122 Ibid., p. 51f.

123 S. Singer, "Karolingische Renaissance I," GRM, 13 (1925), 200.

124 Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung, p. 79. For a modern contribution to the vexed question of the classical literary forms and the Christian use (and abuse) of them, see : R. Herzog, "Probleme der heidnisch-christlichen Gattungskontinuität am Beispiel des

Paulinus von Nola," in: Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'Antiquité tardive en Occident (Vandoevres-Geneva : Hardt, 1976), pp. 373-423.

125 Roberts, Biblical Epic, p. 83f.

126 For a full list of curriculum authors see Curtius, Europäische Literatur, pp. 58ff.

127 Liber Cathemerinon, PL 59, 775-914 and CCL 126; Psychomachia PL 60, 11-90. The former is a collection of hymn-like pieces. Kartschoke (Bibeldichtung, p. 115) lists a number of what he calls "epischer Bibelreminiszenzen" from Old and New Testaments in the Liber Cathemerinon, but the work is in no way an epic. For a good comparative study of these and other works see F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the beginning to the close of the Middle Ages (Oxford : Clarendon, 1927), 2nd edn. rpt. 1966.

128 Greiner, Marienburg, pp. 38-49, argues somewhat unfairly from Prudentius' Psychomachia "als Beispiel für das allegorische Epos" (p. 38) and mentions, but does not fully appreciate, the breadth and variety of Prudentius' literary works over a number of different genres. To classify Prudentius as an epic writer is to underestimate his importance.

129 CSEL 72. The edition in PL 68, 82-246 is not reliable.

130 This procedure is a conscious stratagem, outlined by Arator himself in one of his introductory epistles (to Pope Vigilius) : "versibus ergo canam quos Lucas rettulit Actus,/historiamque sequens carmina ver loquer./alternis reserabo modis quod littera pandit/et res si qua mihi mystica corde datur." (lines 19-22). Quoted by Roberts, Biblical Epic, p. 91.

131 "Arator räumt dem eigentlichen epischen Bericht nur geringen Raum ein, es überwiegt die mystisch-allegorische Deutung." Bibeldichtung, p. 53.

132 Avitus, De Mosaicae historiae gestis, PL 59, 323-370 and MGH AA, 6,2.

133 Otfried's most extended Old Testament parallel is the Pauline Adam/Christ typology which is the basis of II,4; II,5

and II,6. In the dedicatory epistles, that is to say outside the main gospel narrative of the Evangelienbuch, there are frequent references to Old Testament figures.

134 See B.O. Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall (Amsterdam : Rodopi, 1974), esp. pp. 73-84. See also below pp. 205-210.

135 Roberts deals with the features of the New and Old Testament works in turn, bringing out the major differences. Biblical Epic, pp. 162-181 (New) and 181-218 (Old).

136 McKenzie, Narrator or Commentator. passim.

137 Carmen paschale (= verse) and Opus paschale (= prose), PL 19, 533-754 and CSEL 10.

138 Cf. Rupp, "Otfrid und die Bibeldichtung," WdF/Endreim. p. 127f.

139 Roberts, Biblical Epic, p. 111f.

140 Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung, p. 44f.

141 "Im Gegensatz zu der schlichten, klaren, durch virgilische Anklänge gehobenen Dichtersprache des Juvencus, zu der volltönenden christlichen Klassik des Prudentius treffen wir bei Sedulius zum ersten Male auf schwülstige Rhetorik in christlichem Gewande." Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 454f.

142 See P. Godman, "The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum from Aldhelm to Alcuin," Med.Aev., 50 (1981), 215-29.

143 Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 159 : "Die Kunstsprache wird nun seit dem 5. Jahrhundert immer künstlicher und ist schließlich nur noch für Gelehrte verständlich."

144 Roberts, Biblical Epic, passim describes these developments, with frequent examples.

145 Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung, p. 22f.

- 146 Etymologiarum sive originum, PL 82, 73-728; see also bibliography below.
- 147 Haren, Medieval Thought, p. 69.
- 148 For details see : G. Nordmeyer, "On the OHG Isidor and its significance for early German Prose writings," PMLA, 73 (1958), 23-35; K. Matzel, Untersuchungen zur Verfasserschaft, Sprache und Herkunft der althochdeutschen Übersetzungen der Isidor-Sippe (Bonn : Röhrscheid, 1970).
- 149 W. Edelstein, eruditio und sapientia (Freiburg i. Br. : Rombach, 1965), p. 19.
- 150 E. Patzelt, Die karolingische Renaissance (Vienna : Österreichischer Schulbücher-Verlag, 1924), rpt. (Graz : Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965); S. Singer, "Karolingische Renaissance I und II," GRM, 13 (1925), 187-201, 243-258; M. L. W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe AD 500 to 900, (London : Methuen, 1957); K. Langosch, Profile des lateinischen Mittelalters (Darmstadt : WBG, 1965), esp. pp. 83-136.
- 151 A tendency to overrate the personal importance of Charlemagne mars the otherwise excellent account by J. Fleckenstein, Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen (Bischoffshausen : Josef - Dr., 1953). The significance of Merovingian ideas in forming Charlemagne's policies is correctly noted by Singer and Patzelt (See n. 150 above).
- 152 This phrase, according to Fleckenstein, is the key to the aims of Charlemagne's reforming policies. See Bildungsreform, esp. pp. 48-69.
- 153 MGH Capit. I, no. 22, p. 53f. See also Fleckenstein, Bildungsreform, p. 52.
- 154 MGH Capit. I, no. 29, p. 79. For discussion of this letter, the problems arising out of attempts to date it, and its effect in the Carolingian world, see I. Schröbler, "Fulda und die althochdeutsche Literatur," LwJb N.S. 1 (1960), 1-26, esp. p. 9f.
- 155 E.M. Sanford, "Alcuin and the classics," Classical Journal, 20 (1925), 526-33; E. S. Duckett, Alcuin, Friend of

Charlemagne. His world and his work (New York : Macmillan, 1951); L. Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1959), rpt. and amended (New York : Johnson, 1968).

156 Fleckenstein, Bildungsreform, p. 82.

157 Grammatica, PL 101, 849-902.

158 R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage, p. 111.

159 Bede, De schematis et tropis, PL 90, 175B : "Sed ut cognoscas (dilectissime fili), cognoscant item omnes, qui haec legere voluerint, quod sancta Scriptura caeteris omnibus scripturis non solum auctoritate, quia divina est, vel utilitate, quia ad vitam ducit aeternam, sed et antiquitate, et ipsa praeeminet positione dicendi, ideo placuit mihi, collectis de ipsa exemplis, ostendere quia nihil hujusmodi schematum, sive tropum valent praetendere ullus saeculis eloquentiae magistri, quod non illa praecesserit."

160 See E.M. Sanford, "Alcuin and the Classics," p. 32f.

161 The former (c. 720 - c. 799) was employed as a grammar teacher, the latter also wrote a number of literary works, including a rhythmical poem on the raising of Lazarus which is discussed by Kartschoke, Bibeldichtung, p. 261-66, and suggested (p. 236) as a possible source of inspiration for the Evangelienbuch.

162 For a brief account of the various poets who met at the court of Charlemagne, see : D. Schaller, "Poetic Rivalries at the Court of Charlemagne," in R. R. Bolgar, ed., Classical Influences on European Culture AD 500-1500 (Cambridge : C.U.P., 1971), pp. 151-7.

163 D. Schaller, "Vortrags- und Zirkulardichtung am Hof Karls des Großen," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, 6 (1969), 14.

164 G. Nordmeyer, "The OHG Isidor," 35 : "It is, in my opinion, of crucial significance that Charles' nickname among his academici at Aachen was David, and not Augustus or Octavius. His historical awareness was most likely on the figural (E. Auerbach) model, as an exemplar, according to the everlasting, changing-unchanging divine plan, which enabled

him to see himself not only as one of the Caesars but as a reborn David, the Anointed of the Lord, as well."

165 MGH Epp. IV, no. 170, p. 279.

166 Edelstein, eruditio und sapientia, pp. 111ff.

167 Fleckenstein, Bildungsreform, p. 22.

168 Schaller illustrates the qualities inherent in some versified letters written by Einhart, Charlemagne's biographer, and Theodulf of Orleans : "... wie nirgends sonst treten hier Einzelheiten über Menschen und Verhältnisse am Hof Karls ans Licht, wird dieser Kreis für uns zu einem gewissen Leben erweckt, entdeckt uns sein Allzumenschliches in kräftigen Äußerungen von Humor, Spottlust und Gehässigkeit...", "Vortrags- und Zirkulardichtung," 15.

169 Edelstein, eruditio und sapientia, p. 112f.

170 For examples, explanations, and very good photographs, see B. Reudenbach, "Das Verhältnis von Text und Bild in De laudibus sanctae crucis des Hrabanus Maurus," in Geistliche Denkformen in der Literatur des Mittelalters, Eds., K. Grubmüller, R. Schmidt-Wiegand, K. Speckenbach (Munich : Fink, 1984), pp. 282-320. For more general information on carolingian attitudes towards literary composition see : U. Fischer, "Karolingische Denkart, Allegorese und 'Aufklärung' dargestellt an den Schriften Amalars von Metz und Agobards von Lyon," diss. Göttingen, 1955; B. Taeger, Zahlensymbolik bei Hraban, bei Hincmar, - und im 'Heliand'? (Munich : Beck, 1970); E. Hellgardt, Zum Problem symbolbestimmter formalästhetischer Zahlenkomposition in mittelalterlicher Literatur (Munich : Beck, 1973).

171 R. Herzog, "Heidnisch-christliche Gattungskontinuität," p. 398 : "Wer die exegetische Poesie der Spätantike studiert und die vordergründige Monstrosität ihrer Formen überwindet, wird feststellen, dass in einem jeden ihrer Produkte eine potentielle Tötotalität der Welterfassung herrscht."

172 The computus, necessary for the calculation of Easter and other Christian festivals, was a genre much practised by the Anglo-Saxon and Irish writers, though as contact between the West and the Arab world dwindled, so the ability of Western scholars to understand the arithmetical processes involved also diminished. See M. Rissel, Rezeption antiker und

patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus (Berne/  
Frankfurt a. Main : Lang, 1976), esp. pp. 24-29.

173 R. Herzog, "Heidnisch-christliche Gattungskontinuität,"  
esp. pp. 386-89.

174 H. Homeyer, "Der Dichter zwischen zwei Welten.  
Beobachtungen zur Theorie und Praxis des Dichtens im frühen  
Mittelalter," Antike und Abendland 16 (1970), 141-152, esp.  
the following : "Gerade das, was besonders charakteristisch  
für die frühmittelalterliche Dichtung ist, steht in direktem  
Gegensatz zu unserer Konzeption vom freien künstlerischen  
Schaffen und erschwert es, das Echte vom nur Gekonnten zu  
scheiden : erstens sind die Werke in einer sog. Kunstsprache  
verfaßt, die zwar im großen ganzen dem klassischen Latein  
folgt, sich aber in den grammatischen und prosodischen  
Abweichungen nicht immer an Regeln hält. Zweitens folgen die  
Dichter bestimmten, meist klassischen, aber auch christlichen  
Stilvorbildern und machen häufig Gebrauch von direkten  
Entlehnungen und leicht variierten Reminiszenzen und von  
Selbstwiederholungen." (p. 145). See also above, p. 187.

175 For details of this practice, with reference to  
contemporary documents from the 6th century onwards, see D.  
Illmer, "Totum namque in sola experientia usuque consistit.  
Eine Studie zur monastischen Erziehung und Sprache," in F.  
Prinz, ed., Mönchtum und Gesellschaft im Frühmittelalter  
(Darmstadt : WBG, 1976), pp. 430-455, (henceforth  
WdF/Mönchtum). More particularly relevant to developments in  
the Frankish regions is : P. Riché, "Les moines bénédictins  
maîtres d'école (VIIIe - XIe siècles)," in Benedictine Culture  
750 - 1050, W. Lourdeaux and D. Verhelst, eds., (Leuven :  
Leuven University Press, 1983), pp. 96-113.

176 Ibid., p. 441.

177 Haubrichs, "Studienfreunde," p. 52.

178 Ibid., p. 53.

179 J. Semmler, "Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Abtei  
Weissenburg. Regulae mixta, pirminische und anianische Reform,"  
Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte 24 (1957), Heft 1, 1-  
17; A. Schäfer, "Die Abtei Weissenburg und das karolingische  
Königtum," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 114  
(1966), 1-53.

180 See P. Schmitz, Geschichte des Benediktinerordens Vol. I. tr. from French (Maredsous, 1942) to German P. L. Räber. (Zurich : Benziger, 1947), p. 102 : "So verraten manche seiner <= Benedict of Aniane's > Verordnungen eine gewisse geistige Enge; schon diese Tatsache allein könnte uns das Mißlingen seiner Reform erklären ... Und wie soll man über jenen Kanon denken, der mitten im 9. Jahrhundert (!) den Klöstern verbietet, eine äußere Klösterschule zu errichten ...". For useful information on monastic history and culture in this eventful period see J. Semmler, "Studien zum Supplex Libellus und zur anianischen Reform," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 69 (1958), 268-98 and "Reichsidee und kirchliche Gesetzgebung," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 71 (1960), 37-65; M. Borgolte, "Eine Weißenburger Übereinkunft von 776/77 zum Gedenken der verstorbenen Brüder," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 123 (1975), 1-16.

181 Wellmer, Persönliches Memento (See Ch.2, n. 63 above), passim. It has been suggested (and disputed!) more than once that Grimald (or even Walafrid) might have been the original author of the Latin or indeed the lost Old High German Waltharius epic. The debate is too extensive to cover here. See for summarizing modern views : R. Schieffer, "Zu neuen Thesen über den 'Waltharius'," Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 36 (1980), 193-201; D. Schaller, "Ist der 'Waltharius' frühkarolingisch?" Mittelaltersches Jahrbuch 18 (1983), 63-83. The role of Grimald in the early 9th century, both in literary production, as patron more than writer, and in politics, requires still further research.

182 Haubrichs, "Studienfreunde." passim. and "Eine prosopographische Skizze zu Otfrid von Weissenburg," in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 397-413.

183 Illmer, "Totum namque in sola experientia usuque consistit," p. 454. See also, B. Bischoff, "Elementarunterricht und Probationes Pennae in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters," in : Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien : Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte, Vol. I (Stuttgart : Hiersemann, 1966), pp. 74-87, : "Das eigentliche Lesebuch des frühen Mittelalters, an dem die Kenntnis der Schrift zuerst erprobt und weiter befestigt wurde, war der Psalter. Dies Buch hatte anscheinend bereits in der christlichen Antike begonnen, die heidnischen Gnomon und Dichterverse aus dem Elementarunterricht zu verdrängen..." (p. 75).

184 Illmer, "Totum namque in sola experientia usuque consistit," p. 455.

- 185 H. Butzmann, "Der Ezechielkommentar des Hrabanus Maurus und seine älteste Handschrift," Bibliothek und Wissenschaft 1 (1964), 1-22, quotation from p. 2.
- 186 P. K. Stein, "Poésie antique et Poésie néoantique sous les Règnes de Charlemagne, Louis le Pieux et Louis le Germanique : L'exemple de Walahfrid Strabo (1)," in : La Représentation de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age, D. Buschinger and A. Crepin eds., (Vienna : Halosar, 1982), pp. 7-27, esp. p. 12.
- 187 P. Godman, "Louis 'the Pious' and his poets," Frühmittelalterliche Studien 19 (1985), 240-289.
- 188 O. Herding, "Zum Problem des karolingischen Humanismus mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Walahfrid Strabo," St. Gen. 1 (1948), 389-397, quotation from p. 396. The term "humanist" is surprisingly often used in connection with this period, and even with Otfrid, cf. F. Maurer, "Zur Frage nach der Entstehung unserer Schriftsprache," GRM 33 (1951/52), 108-115, : "Sehen wir etwa von Einzelfällen wie dem Hildebrandslied ab, so ist z.B. der größte Teil des althochdeutschen Schrifttums bewußt für praktische Zwecke bestimmt. Otfrid allein vertritt eine Idee, die man humanistisch nennen könnte." (p. 110).
- 189 Stein, "Poésie antique," p. 13 : "Sa perfection technique a dépassé celle de tous les poètes de son temps. Il faut y ajouter la faculté d'écrire sur tout sujet, de mettre tout en une forme attirante, orientée vers l'antiquité.... Walahfrid attribue au poète de véritables traits humanistes, ... Cela lui procure une position hors du commun parmi les poètes "hâbleurs" de l'époque de Charlemagne."
- 190 Herding (see n. 184 above) pursues this theme in Walafrid's work, explaining how dependent Walafrid and others like him were upon the places where they learnt as youths, regarding their teachers with great affection. Some (like Otfrid perhaps in his Magi sections) found comfort in the "patria paradisi" concept and affected not to look for worldly wellbeing.
- 191 De cultura hortorum : the best modern edn. is that of H-D. Stoffler, Der Hortulus des Walahfrid Strabo. Aus dem Kräutergarten des Klosters Reichenau (Sigmaringen : Thorbecke, 1978); text and translation into German pp. 74-101; introduction to Walafrid's life and works pp. 56-73.
- 192 "Poésie antique," esp. pp. 15-22.

- 193 On Grimald's efforts to first move Walafrid from Reichenau as a young man, and then have the older Walafrid reconciled with Louis the German later in order to return there as abbot, see Godman, "Louis 'the Pious' and his poets," 288f.
- 194 See below, pp. 272ff.
- 195 This connection is explained in B. Effe, "Zur Rezeption von Vergils Lehrdichtung in der karolingischen Renaissance und im französischen Klassizismus : Walafrid Strabo und René Rabin," Antike und Abendland 21 (1975), 140-163, esp. 140-151.
- 196 Edelstein, eruditio und sapientia, p. 171ff.
- 197 Ibid., p. 178.
- 198 For an excellent collection of modern studies on Hrabanus Maurus and his major works see R. Kottje and H. Zimmermann eds., Hrabanus Maurus, Lehrer, Abt und Bischof (Wiesbaden : Steiner, 1982). On Hraban's influence as a teacher : P.O. Hägele, Hrabanus Maurus als Lehrer und Seelsorger - Nach dem Zeugnis seiner Briefe (Fulda : Parzeller, 1972); R. Kottje, "Hrabanus Maurus - Praeceptor Germaniae?" Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 31 (1975), 534-545. W. Schröder, Grenzen und Möglichkeiten einer althochdeutschen Literaturgeschichte (Berlin : Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1959), correctly notes Hraban's contribution to the period's emphasis on pedagogical matters : (p. 20) "Das althochdeutsche Schrifttum ist daher ... Werkzeug der geistlichen und weltlichen Obrigkeit zur Verchristlichung der Deutschen, zuerst in Karls des Großen und dann in Hrabans Händen. Literaturgeschichte ist hier als Bildungsgeschichte verstanden."
- 199 J. Bowen, A History of Western Education Vol II Civilisation of Europe Sixth to Sixteenth Century (New York : St. Martins Press, 1972) rpt. (London : Methuen, 1975), p. 20.
- 200 Ibid.
- 201 See G. Baesecke, "Hrabans Isidorglossierung, Walafrid Strabus und das althochdeutsche Schrifttum," ZfdA 58 (1921), 241-279.

202<sup>K.</sup> Siewert, Die althochdeutsche Horazglossierung (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), esp. pp. 269-303; 410-421.

203<sup>Ibid.</sup>, p. 421.

204<sup>Ibid.</sup>, p. 410-13.

205<sup>Haubrachs</sup>, "Studienfreunde," pp. 49-59 calculates that Otfrid was born around 800, became subdiaconus around 821, and diaconus around 825, so that he could not have become a fully ordained priest before 830. His trip to Fulda most probably fell after 832/833. Günther, "Probleme beim Verschriften" sees in Otfrid's work at Weissenburg evidence of more than just possession of elementary literary skills : "Die führende Hand Otfrids an einem großen Weißenburger Bibelwerk und an diversen Glossaren insbesondere zu antiken Quellen (Prudentius, Priscian) erweist Otfrid als mehr : als einen der führenden Sprach- und Textwissenschaftler seiner Zeit..." (p. 41).

206<sup>The</sup> second half of the Belkin/Meier Bibliographie provides details of the major studies.

207<sup>See</sup> p. 319f. below.

208<sup>See</sup> pp. 124-129 above.

209<sup>See</sup> pp. 201-204 above.

210<sup>G. Baesecke</sup>, "Fulda und die altsächsischen Bibeleyen," NdMitt. 4 (1948), 5-43, rpt. in WdF/Heliand, pp. 54-131.

211<sup>W. Foerste</sup>, see n. 28 above.

212<sup>Ibid.</sup>, p. 128. Krogmann, however, was not completely convinced by Foerste's argumentation : "Otfrid und der Heliand," NdJb 82 (1959), 39-55. Certainly Krogmann is correct to point out the likelihood of a number of commonplaces from the two authors' shared education under Hrabanus Maurus. The nature of the gospel material, which was for ever being commented upon and reworked, precludes any hard and fast conclusions on the matter.

213 See, for example, H. Göhler, "Das Christusbild in Otfrids Evangelienbuch und im Heliand," diss., Münster 1931, also in ZfdPh 59 (1935), 1-52; F. P. Pickering, "Christlicher Erzählstoff bei Otfrid und im Heliand," ZfdA 85 (1954-55), 262-91. G. L. Wiens, Die frühchristlichen Gottesbezeichnungen im Germanisch-Altdeutschen (Berlin : Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1935), summarizes the differences between the Evangelienbuch and the Heliand thus (p. 73) "Der Heliand ist eine Verherrlichung Christi, des neuen Gottes. Otfrids Evangelienbuch ist ganz auf Ideen gerichtet. Es preist die Kardinaltugenden, wie sie seiner Zeitauffassung und dem Mönchsideal im besonderen entsprechen."

214 Cf. Groseclose & Murdoch, Die althochdeutschen poetischen Denkmäler, p. 73 : "beide Dichtungen sind zudem nur bedingt miteinander vergleichbar. Stilistisch kann die Möglichkeit eines engeren Zusammenhangs zwischen unserem Lied und Otfrids Widmung "Ad Hludowicum" vielleicht nicht ausgeschieden werden."

215 D. Green, "Zur primären Rezeption von Otfrids Evangelienbuch," in Althochdeutsch I, Bergmann, Tiefenbach, Voetz, eds., (1987) notes (764) "daß mit dem Vortrag <Otfrids> Dichtung im Refektorium etwa ein Menschenalter später als Otfrid zu rechnen ist," and that in Freising in the diocese of Salzburg, but the later fate of the MSS is largely unknown until they turn up again in the 16th century and arouse the interest of scholars then.

216 See p. 169 above.

217 For analysis of this aspect of the Evangelienbuch see A. Hass, "Das Stereotype in den altdeutschen Predigten. Anhang : Das Predigtmäßige in Otfrids Evangelienbuch," diss. Greifswald, 1903, esp. pp. 89-107.

218 Patzlaff, Otfrid und die mittelalterliche versus-Tradition, p. 53.

219 Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, p. 158.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. 1, n. 25 above.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hartmann, "Die Sprachliche Form der Allegorese in Otfrieds von Weissenburg Evangliensbuch," in Verbum et Signum, FS für F. Ohly (Munich : Fink, 1975), pp. 103-141.

<sup>3</sup> For general background see : H. Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum 4 (1929), 282-290; B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1952; 2nd edn. Notre Dame, Ind. : University of Notre Dame Press, 1970); U. Krewitt, Metapher und tropische Rede in der Auffassung des Mittelalters (Ratingen, Kastellaun, Wuppertal : Henn, 1971) pp. 99-148 (patristic writers), pp. 149-177 (from Isidore to Hrabanus Maurus); H.-J. Spitz, Die Metaphorik des geistigen Schriftsinns (Munich : Fink, 1972); C. Meier, "Das Problem der Qualitätentallegorese," Frühmittelalterliche Studien 8 (1974), 385-435; H. Brinkmann, Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1980); H. Freytag, Die Theorie der allegorischen Schriftdeutung und die Allegorie in deutschen Texten (Munich : Francke, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> This image is fully analysed by F. Ohly, with reference to Otfred and other mediaeval writers. See esp. "Geistige Süße," WdF/Otfred, p. 309ff. See also K. Lange, "Geistliche Speise," ZfdA 95 (1966), 81-122.

<sup>5</sup> For an account of the exegetical tradition behind the manna image see D.A. Wells, The Vorau 'Moses' and 'Balaam', pp. 55-63. References to "bitter" and "sweet" taste in biblical works, including Otfred's, can usually be traced back to Jewish and Christian interpretations of the Old Testament events related to the Israelites' wandering in the desert, with suitable parallels, of course, between earthly suffering and the "promised land" of heaven.

<sup>6</sup> "... gratiam, et gloriam dabit Dominus. Non privabit bonis eos, qui ambulant in innocentia:..." Ps. 83:12f.: "Benedic anima mea Domino : et noli oblivisci omnes retributiones ejus: ... Qui replet in bonis desiderium tuum: ..." Ps. 102:2,5.

<sup>7</sup> Jo. 6:48; Jo. 6:51; Jo. 1:25; and I Cor. 5:7 respectively.

<sup>8</sup>"Et accepto pane gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit eis. dicens : Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur : hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens : Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur." Luc. 22:19f. (also Matt. 26:26; Marc. 14:22).

<sup>9</sup>Gen. 4:1-16.

<sup>10</sup>Exod. 12:1-51. For an account of the patristic background see again D.A. Wells, The Vorau 'Moses' and 'Balaam', pp. 31-40.

<sup>11</sup>Lev. passim, esp. chapters 1-7.

<sup>12</sup>This is all basic typology, whereby the Old Testament is interpreted as the forerunner of the New Testament. Sources for these parallels are many and they may be regarded as exegetical commonplaces.

<sup>13</sup>See Hartmann's Allegorisches Wörterbuch under these headings for lists of references to their occurrence in the Evangelienbuch.

<sup>14</sup>"At vero Melchisedech rex Salem. proferens panem et vinum, erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi." Gen. 14:18.

<sup>15</sup>For a competent analysis see X. von Ertzdorff, "Die Hochzeit zu Kana. Zur Bibelauslegung Otfrids von Weissenburg," PBB/T 86 (1964), 62-82 also in WdF/Otfrid, pp. 251-274. Also useful : H. Freytag, "Liturgisches in Otfrids Deutung der Hochzeit zu Kana," ZfdA 109 (1980), 33-49 and H. Hellgardt, Die exegetischen Quellen, esp. Ch. 5 "Quellenkritische Untersuchung von Otfrids Darstellung und Deutung der Hochzeit zu Kana," (pp. 142-208). An original approach, with interesting results, is taken in P. Michel and A. Schwarz, unz in obanentig (Bonn : Bouvier, 1978). For an account of the patristic background see A. Smitmans, Das Weinwunder von Kana (Tübingen : Mohr, 1966).

<sup>16</sup>Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, pp. 90-101, examines this detail at length, somewhat at the expense of the much more important water/wine imagery. U. Schwab, "Die 'Cornua Crucis' und 'thes Kruces Horn,'" ZfdA 109 (1980), 1-33 usefully links the Abraham/Isaac reference in this chapter with the later crucifixion chapters IV.26 and V.1 postulating a possible

reference also to Ps. 91 : 1 "Et exaltabitur sicut unicornus cornu meum : et senectus mea in misericordia uberi."

<sup>17</sup>Alcuin, Commentaria in S. Johannis. PL 100, 768-770. Alcuin's list includes Noah, David, Saul and Nebuchadnezzar as well as Abraham and Isaac. See Hellgardt, Die exegetischen Quellen, p. 207.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. II Para. 20:7 : "Nonne tu Deus noster ... dedisti eam semini Abraham amici tui in sempiternum?". Also Ja. 2:23 : "Credidit Abraham Deo. et reputatum est illi ad justitiam. et amicus Dei appellatus est."

<sup>19</sup>"Die Hochzeit zu Kana." p. 269.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 270. Interesting, however, is Otfrid's avoidance of the image of inebriation, in spite of its inclusion in most of the Latin commentaries. H. Magennis notes that the English vernacular wine miracles also avoid this area of symbolism, presumably for fear of encouraging too literal an interpretation. See H. Magennis, "The Exegesis of Inebriation : Treading Carefully in Old English," ELN 23 (1986), 3-6; and "Water-wine Miracles in Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives," ELN 23 (1986), 7-9. The Heliand, on the other hand, makes much of the enjoyment had by all at the wedding of Cana, and totally ignores the commentaries on literal and spiritual meanings of scripture. See H. Magennis, "The Treatment of Feasting in the Heliand," Neophilologus 69 (1985), 126-133. Otfrid stresses the taking in of the wine, but the pleasurable aspect is purely spiritual; inebriation, whether with a positive or negative force, plays no part in his exegesis.

<sup>21</sup>"Liturgisches in Otfrieds Deutung." p. 37.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. H. Swinburne, "Numbers in Otfrid," and W. Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, esp. pp. 163-319.

<sup>23</sup>"Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quendam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et vinum mercantur ... adversus sitim non eadem temperantia, si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quem armis vincentur." Tacitus (c. AD55 - c. 120), Germania, quoted from the Loeb Classical Library edn. (London : Heinemann, 1914), W. Peterson, ed., p. 296. The Benedictine Order had always apportioned a daily ration of wine from the time of the original founder in Italy to the time of Otfrid and beyond. Even the ascetic Benedict of Aniane continued this practice in Germanic monasteries, though without some of the

generous extensions of the original Benedictine practices which had crept into Italian houses. If there was a lack of wine, Benedict of Aniane stipulated that a larger quantity of good beer be offered instead. See Semmler, "Studien zum Supplex Libellus," p. 278f.

<sup>24</sup> Michel and Schwarz. unz in obanentig, p. 129 : "Hier bringt OTFRID möglicherweise die Bischöfe Hraban und Liutbert von Mainz und Salomo von Konstanz ins Spiel, mit anderen Worten : Er stellt ihre Funktion als kirchliche Verwalter der geistigen Auslegung heraus und damit auch seines eigenen Unternehmens." A. Taylor notes, too, that dignitas, used by Otfrid of Liutbert, denotes episcopal status : "Dignitas in Otfrid. Ad Liutbertum," MLN 64 (1949), 144.

<sup>25</sup> For example, Alcuin, Commentaria in S. Johannis evangelium, PL 100, 819C. Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 164 lists further examples.

<sup>26</sup> Alcuin, Bede and others stress this point. Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 69f. lists examples and also notes : "Otfried verzichtet darauf, innerhalb der Auslegung die Fünzfahl des Bedeuteten auszusprechen." One reason for Otfrid's omission might be his concern in other parts of the Evangelienbuch to point out the symbolism of the number five in relation to the five human senses. Perhaps he did not wish to confuse or complicate this very important image with reference here to a different area of interpretation.

<sup>27</sup> Pseudo-Bede, Expositio in Evangelium S. Joannis, PL 92,706.

<sup>28</sup> Alcuin, Commentaria in S. Johannis evangelium, PL 100, 821C "Duo autem pisces quos addidit, psalmistarum non inconvenienter et prophetarum scripta significant."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Hrabanus Maurus, De Universo, PL 373C : "Profundum aliquando significat secretum sapientiae." By this he means, of course, the wisdom of the scriptures and goes on to make this clear, but the generalising introductory remark, and the normal use of "sapientia" in connection with classical authors may add an interesting dimension to Otfrid's exhortation to delve into deeper levels when studying.

<sup>30</sup> Matt. 4:19. Cf. also Marc. 1:17.

<sup>31</sup> For example see the summarizing remark immediately following the exegesis of this miracle in Pseudo-Bede, Expositio in

Evangelium S. Joannis, PL 92, 707 "Recte quidem dicebant Dominum prophetam magnum. magnae salutis praecorum jam mundo futurum ... Quia hic est vere Mediator Dei et hominum." Because Otfrid includes material from other incidents (there are various crowd-feeding miracles in the New Testament) he is able to include this observation (III.6,49-52) but also note the numbers involved in similar miracles, drawing out the food symbolism they have in common (III.6,53-56). For Otfrid the food symbolism and its reference to scriptural studies appear to be more important than the reflection on Christ himself, and this is certainly a departure from the biblical emphasis and a deliberate selection from the commentaries.

<sup>32</sup> Erdmann, Otfrids Evanglienduch, p. 65.

<sup>33</sup> Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall, p. 42. For the source mentioned see Gregory (the Great), XL Homiliarum in evangelii, PL 76, 1135B. For an account of the patristic interpretations of this Bible passage, see : K.-P. Köppen, Die Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der alten Kirche (Tübingen : Mohr, 1961).

<sup>34</sup> The syntax of this section is involved. The verb "firléipti" (line 30) means "left alone" and there is potential for confusion thanks to Otfrid's use of neuter pronouns without a clear antecedent ("aphul" is the nearest and likeliest candidate, but it is masculine: "obaz" from the foregoing lines would suit, but it is very far from the lines quoted. Erdmann's edition (Otfrids Evanglienduch, 1882) offers the following translation : "und doch - wenn es, ehe er es verschluckt hatte, zurückgekommen wäre, und wenn er, was er davon übrig gelassen hatte, wider an den Baum (woher Eva es genommen hatte) befestigt hätte : dann würden wir nicht so sehr in's Verderben gekommen sein." (p. 392).

<sup>35</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, Commentariorum in Matthaem libri octo, PL 107, 980D "Mensa quippe est Scriptura sancta, quae nobis panem vitae ministrat."

<sup>36</sup> Pseudo-Bede, Expositio in evangelium S. Joannis, PL 92, 76B "Mira sub persona mulieris Ecclesia fides praedicatur, patientia et humilitas." Otfrid omits the last virtue, and mentions instead muat, agaleize and flize (III.11.29f.). Once again these are admirable qualities in a learner, and this is the aspect of the story Otfrid wishes to make clear.

<sup>37</sup> De universo, PL 111, 589D.

<sup>38</sup>E. Ulbricht and G. Wolfrum. "Ein ahd. Vaterunser aus dem Jahre 1591," PBB/H 92 (1970), 325-29.

<sup>39</sup>R. Hartmann. "Sprachliche Form." p. 120 : "Die Kopula theist mera akzentuiert den hervorragenden Sinn-gehalt des Bedeuteten." See also Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 506 under zuht for a discussion of the interpretation of this part of the vater unser from Augustine to Remigius of Auxerre.

<sup>40</sup>J. K. Bostock discusses this chapter in his review of McKenzie's Narrator or Commentator in Med.Aev. 16 (1947), esp. 55-57.

<sup>41</sup>See Ch. 3, n. 8 above.

<sup>42</sup>The Erdmann et al. ATB edn. of the Evangelienbuch suggests Gregory (the Great) as a possible ultimate source of this exegesis. The ideas, like most of Otfrid's commentary, belong in any case to the store of commonplace interpretations used by Carolingian scholars. For further discussion of this chapter of the Evangelienbuch see : S. Gutenbrunner, "Zu Otfrid I,11," Archiv 196 (1959-60), 316f; U. Ernst, "Poesie als Kerygma. Christi Geburt im 'Evangelienbuch' Otfrids von Weissenburg," PBB/T 95 (1973), 126-161.

<sup>43</sup>"Geistige Süße bei Otfrid," WdF/Otfrid, p. 323.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>45</sup>See p. 214 above.

<sup>46</sup>See pp. 306ff. below.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. K. Guntermann, "Ahd. arunti. mhd. ernde." ZfdPh 42 (1910), 397-406.

<sup>48</sup>Matt. 13:18-30; Marc. 4:2-20; Luc. 8:4-15.

<sup>49</sup>For a discussion of Otfrid's Evangelienbuch and its possible relation to the liturgy and especially the liturgical sequence, see D. Hensing, Zur Gestaltung der WIENER GENESIS (Amsterdam : Rodopi, 1972), esp. pp. 169-189.

<sup>50</sup> On this theme see : Lachmann. "Über Singen und Sagen"; E. Schröder, "writan und scriban." ZfdA 61 (1924), 57f.; H. Vogt "Sagen und sprechen. Ein verbales Wortfeld des Althochdeutschen dargestellt am Beispiel Otfrids." diss. Hamburg, 1955.

<sup>51</sup> For extensive studies on this scene, showing Otfrid's use of different sources, including apocryphal and sermon material, the details of which extend far beyond the argument here, see : F. P. Pickering, "Christlicher Erzählstoff"; M. E. Gössmann, Die Verkündigung an Maria im dogmatischen Verständnis des Mittelalters (Munich : Hueber, 1957), esp. pp. 94-97; W. Haubrichs, "Otfrieds Verkündigungsszene," ZfdA 97 (1968), 176-89; M. Schmidt, "Otfrid I,5.56. Giduat er imo frémidi thaz hoha hímilrichi. Zu Otfrids Verkündigungsszene," PBB/T 94 (1972), 26-51; D. E. Lesage, "Aspects of the divine power in Otfrid's Evangelienbuch." ABäG 6 (1974), 5-48, esp. p. 42f.

<sup>52</sup> Greiner, Das Marienbild, p. 109. The Augustine reference quoted there is Confessionum libri tredecim PL 32, 799f.

<sup>53</sup> Kommentar, p. 200.

<sup>54</sup> Semmler, "Studien zum Supplex Libellus," p. 284.

<sup>55</sup> The example of the "daily bread/daily teaching" insertion discussed on p. 242f. above demonstrates this, also the extension of the Canaanite woman's speech in III.10.42 (pp. 237ff. above).

<sup>56</sup> See, on this subject, "S. Sonderegger, "Reflexe gesprochener Sprache in der althochdeutschen Literatur," Frühmittelalterliche Studien 5 (1971), 176-92. The elements he identifies in the written record of Old High German are "bäuerlich," "rechtlich" and "klösterlich" all of which naturally brings secular and also specifically monastic connotations to Otfrid's rendition of the gospels. See also two useful new studies on Otfrid's language : H. A. Kissel, Untersuchungen zu Möglichkeiten, Umfang und Typologie verbaler Synonymik bei Otfrid (Berne : Lang, 1975); A. Greule, Valenz, Satz und Text (Munich : Fink, 1982).

<sup>57</sup> See above pp. 254 ff.

<sup>58</sup> Kommentar, p. 147f.

- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 148.
- <sup>60</sup> Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum. p. 446.
- <sup>61</sup> See above, pp. 65ff.
- <sup>62</sup> The source of this linking of preaching with subsequent acceptance and verbal confirmation on the part of believers is ultimately biblical. The proof of understanding is, apparently, in speaking out and in obedience. See, for example Deut. 30:14 "Sed juxta te est sermo valde, in ore tuo, et in corde tuo, ut facias illum." Rom. 10:8-11 "Sed quid dicit Scriptura? Prope est verbum in ore tuo, et in corde tuo: hoc est verbum fidei, quod praedicamus. Quia si confitearis in ore tuo Dominum Jesum, et in corde tuo credideris quod Deus illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris. Corde enim creditur ad justitiam : ore autem confessio fit ad salutem."
- <sup>63</sup> Matt. 11:15; 13:9; etc.
- <sup>64</sup> Kommentar. p. 185.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 188.
- <sup>66</sup> E. Egert, The Holy Spirit in German Literature until the end of the twelfth century (The Hague : Mouton, 1973), p. 52 compares the OHG Tatian, the Heliand and the Evangelienbuch (pp. 48-54) showing how Otfrid emphasizes the role of the Holy Spirit in this chapter, using both "wihī", the only incidence of this word as a noun in OHG to translate Spiritus, and the more familiar word "geist".
- <sup>67</sup> H. Swinburne, "An Illustration of Otfrid's Narrative Skill," MLR 61 (1966), 435.
- <sup>68</sup> See E. Karg-Gasterstädt, "Althochdeutsch hīuuilōn 'jubeln'", Otfrid V, 23, 22." PBB/H 79 (1957), Sonderband, 88-93.
- <sup>69</sup> Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum. pp. 303-331 gives a full account of the tradition and possible sources behind Otfrid's depiction of heaven.

- <sup>70</sup>E. Peters, Quellen und Charakter der Paradiesvorstellungen in der deutschen Dichtung vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert (Breslau, 1915; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1977), p. 59f.
- <sup>71</sup>Liber Evangeliorum, p. 318f.
- <sup>72</sup>K. Berger, "Das Canticum Simeonis (Lk. 2:29-32)," Novum Testamentum 27/1 (9185), 38.
- <sup>73</sup>Erdmann, Otfrids Evangelienbuch (1882 edn.). p. 367.
- <sup>74</sup>See G. Cubbin, "Signify in Otfrid," MLR 70 (1975), 97-109; "zeihhan and derivatives in Old High German," PBB/H 98 (1976), 324-345.
- <sup>75</sup>McKenzie, "Otfridiana," MLQ 6 (1945), 345-348. Neither Ernst (Liber Evangeliorum) nor Kleiber (Otfrid von Weissenburg) in these major studies make any mention of McKenzie's work, not even his Narrator or Commentator.
- <sup>76</sup>McKenzie, "Otfridiana" (1945), p. 345.
- <sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 347.
- <sup>78</sup>See above p. 249.
- <sup>79</sup>Vollmann-Profe, Kommentar. "Vorwort" (last page : no page numbering in this section).
- <sup>80</sup>See below pp. 301-305 on IV.29, for example.
- <sup>81</sup>See Chapter Five below.
- <sup>82</sup>Haubrichs, "Ordo" als Form. pp. 191-220.
- <sup>83</sup>Kleiber, Otfrid von Weissenburg, pp. 225-234.
- <sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>85</sup> Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 268f. devotes very little space to this addition of Otfrid's, since he is more concerned with the theology of the refrain section. Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, pp. 56-59 lists examples of the commentators equating blindness with sin. None of the critics seek to relate this image as it occurs here with other parts of the Evangelienbuch. Hartmann's dictionary format brings together this section with III.20 and the letter to Liutbert, but postulates no relation between them.

<sup>86</sup> Erdmann, (1882 edn.) pp. LXI-LXIII.

<sup>87</sup> See Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, pp. 56-59.

<sup>88</sup> See for background on this theme : G. Ehrismann, "Psychologische Begriffsbezeichnung in Otfrids Evangelienbuch," in Beiträge zur germanischen Sprachwissenschaft, FS für Otto Behagel (Heidelberg : Winter, 1924), pp. 324-38; F. W. Wodtke, "Studien zum Wortschatz der Innerlichkeit im Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen," Habil. Schrift, Kiel, 1953; X. von Ertzdorff, "Das 'Herz' in der lateinisch-theologischen und frühen volkssprachigen religiösen Literatur," PBB/H 84 (1962), 249-301.

<sup>89</sup> See B.O. Murdoch, The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic (Göppingen, Kümmerle, 1972), esp. Ch. 5 "The First effects of the Fall", pp. 96-105, for background and discussion of this theme in the commentaries and in vernacular literature.

<sup>90</sup> Erdmann (1882 edn.) cites Ps. 32:13; Ps. 102:19; Job 28:24.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Act. 1:2f.

<sup>92</sup> Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 415.

<sup>93</sup> See H. Kolb, "Himmlisches und irdisches Gericht in karolingischer Theologie und althochdeutscher Dichtung," Frühmittelalterliche Studien 5 (1971), 284-303, esp. 299-303.

<sup>94</sup> See Stoffler, ed., Der Hortulus des Walahfrid Strabo, pp. 32-35; 46.

<sup>95</sup> Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 284.

- <sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 348-50.
- <sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 348f.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 349.
- <sup>99</sup> For further analysis of this subject see my article "The Seamless Robe and Related Imagery," which contains some of the argumentation from the present study.
- <sup>100</sup> Alcuin, Commentaria in S. Johannis evangelium, PL 100, 982: "... unde apparet, quatuor fuisse milites."
- <sup>101</sup> See pp. 33ff. above.
- <sup>102</sup> There is plenty of biblical support for this imagery. See for example I Cor. 12:12-31; Eph. 3:6.
- <sup>103</sup> See pp. 33f. above. See also for background : P. Wahmann, Gnade. Der ahd Wortschatz im Bereich der Gnade, Gunst und Liebe (Berlin : Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1937); H.-G. Kusch, "Minna im Althochdeutschen," PBB/H 72 (1950), 265-97.
- <sup>104</sup> The ten commandments are traditionally divided into those directed towards God (Deut. 5:6-16) and those directed towards one's neighbour (Deut. 5:16-21).
- <sup>105</sup> Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, p. 16.
- <sup>106</sup> Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 18.
- <sup>107</sup> See H. Brinkmann, "Verhüllung ('Integumentum') als literarische Darstellungsform im Mittelalter," in A. Zimmermann, ed., Der Begriff der Representatio im Mittelalter (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1971), pp 314-339.
- <sup>108</sup> See pp. 295-297 above.
- <sup>109</sup> For a discussion of this passage, and the commentators Otfrid appears to have followed, see Hartmann, Allegorisches Wörterbuch, p. 236.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

<sup>1</sup>See Ch. 1. n. 21 and 22 for details of studies on this subject.

<sup>2</sup>For an example of this see above p. 242f. where there is discussion of Otfrid's rendition of the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 279f. above.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 286ff. above.

<sup>5</sup>This is in contrast to Vollmann-Profe's statement quoted above (p. 281) suggesting that the Evangelienbuch becomes more faithful to the gospel sources after I,11.

<sup>6</sup>All of the graphs in this chapter aim to give only a rough indication of large-scale structural principles. Fig. 3 shows the total no. of lines in each book of the Evangelienbuch devoted to a) narrative of material drawn from the gospels and remaining close to the Bible structures and b) other material which is gathered together and re-arranged according to some principle other than the narrative development of one or other of the biblical gospels. This illustrates the fundamental difference between Book V and the other four books in the work. Figs. 4-7 show each biblical gospel in turn, with the rough percentage of material (measured by modern verses) devoted to each of Otfrid's chosen phases in the life and work of Christ. The figures are as follows :

Fig. 4 (Matt.) - total no. of verses = 1163

I	- 82 verses	7%
II & III	- 864 verses	74%
IV	- 197 verses	17%
V	- 20 verses	2%

Fig. 5 (Marc.) - total no. of verses = 653

I	- 13 verses	2%
II & III	- 501 verses	77%
IV	- 119 verses	18%
V	- 20 verses	3%

Fig. 6 (Luc.) - total no. of verses = 1151

I	- 170 verses	15%
II & III	- 801 verses	70%
IV	- 127 verses	11%
V	- 53 verses	4%

Fig. 7 (Jo.) - total no. of verses = 877		
I	- 34 verses	4%
II & III	- 705 verses	80%
IV	- 82 verses	9%
V	- 56 verses	7%

The combined picture of all four gospels together is achieved by simply adding the above figures (and drawing a graph based on percentages) :

Fig. 8 (4 gospels) - total no. of verses 3844		
I	- 299 verses	8%
II & III	- 2871 verses	74%
IV	- 525 verses	14%
V	- 149 verses	4%

The corresponding figures for the Evangelienbuch (excluding the dedicatory letters, of course) are :

Fig. 9 ( <u>Evangelienbuch</u> ) - total no. of lines 7104		
I	- 1240 lines	17%
II & III	- 2820 lines	40%
IV	- 1572 lines	22%
V	- 1472 lines	21%

<sup>7</sup>Vollman-Profe, Evangelienbuch. Auswahl, p. 243.

<sup>8</sup>See Ernst, Liber Evangeliorum, pp. 303-331.

<sup>9</sup>"Ad Liutbertum," lines 29-57.

<sup>10</sup>This is the term used in the pages of chapter headings which are included with the main text. See for example the ATB edn. p. 10 : "INCIPIT LIBER EVANGELIORUM (PRIMUS) DOMINI GRATIA THEOTISCE CONSCRIPTUS".

<sup>11</sup>See above p. 289f.

<sup>12</sup>V,19; V,20 and V,21 are presented as a warning to believers and not a threat. The constant presence of Christ and his saving power counteracts the severity of the picture Otfrid paints. See, for example, the last two lines of V,21 : "Biscírmí, druhtin, thánana thie thine liebun thégana,/ouh únsih muadon álle fon súlichemo fálle!" (V,21,25f.).

<sup>13</sup>Figs. 10 and 11 are constructed just as the ones described above (note 6) and the figures are as follows :

Fig. 10 (Heliand) - total no. of lines 5895

I	- 1019 lines	18%
II & III	- 3428 lines	53%
IV	- 1316 lines	25%
V	- 215 lines	4%

Fig. 11 (Tatian) - total no. of verses (in Sievers' OHG text)  
= 1586

I	- 139 verses	9%
II & III	- 833 verses	52%
IV	- 484 verses	31%
V	- 130 verses	8%

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