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Origin Stories

Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in
komparatistischer Perspektive
The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative
Perspective

Herausgegeben von Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz,
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Introduction

NORBERT KÖSSINGER, ELKE KROTZ, STEPHAN MÜLLER
AND PAVLÍNA RYCHTEROVÁ

From the fifth to the sixteenth centuries, what we know today as the ‘vernacular languages’ developed across Europe. The process of the integration of the *linguae vernaculae vel barbaricae* into the domain of literacy and learning, which in the Judeo-Christian sphere was the preserve of the three liturgical (“sacred”) languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin) and, to some extent, of Old Church Slavonic, can be shown to have varied in many different ways. Depending on social contexts, linguistic relationships, as well as cultural frames and influences, this process may require completely different ways of description. In exemplary case studies, the present volume explores the issue of the beginnings of vernacular literacy in the Middle Ages from a comparative perspective. A conference on this subject was held at the University of Vienna (Institute for German Language and Literature) and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Institute for Medieval Research – IMAFO) from February 5th to 8th 2013. The aim of this conference was to encourage a broader debate on the history of the beginnings of vernacular literacy in a European context.

The point of departure of the conference was the perspective of the history of vernacular written transmission, which is currently highly valued in the philological and historical disciplines. It was the objective of the conference to analyse discernable patterns and norms as well as the contents of the practice of “Verschriftung” and “Verschriftlichung”. At the same time, a focus was put on the histories of the individual national philologies and historiographies which were established in the wake of the research progress on written tradition, and which formulated the first narratives from the point of view of historical and literary studies. Herein, we saw the opportunity to work together on central issues of cultural studies at the intersection of historical sciences, philology, linguistics, media history, and literary sciences. This way, we wanted to question and discuss the common and traditional narratives of the respective “Origin Stories of written tradition” regarding vernacular languages, first of all in a casuistic and exemplary approach.

Beside the European vernaculars, Latin and Greek as well as non-Indo-Germanic languages (i.e. Tibetan and early Chinese) served as a comparative horizon. Unfortunately, the contribution on early Chinese is not included in this volume, on Tibetan see Kellner’s contribution. Furthermore, it was not possible to take into account all European vernaculars: the contributions on Armenian, Hungarian and Dutch presented at the conference are not part of the present publication. At least, we were able to gain additional contributions on Greek (Cupane) and on Old Norse (Nedoma).

Looking back on the contributions, a central observation seems to be the impression of heterogeneity as a connecting element: Languages and their literatures are not easily comparable due to their very different frames of reference and

conditions. The results pertaining to a certain area of study cannot be transferred to others without further considerations. Even in their approaches, the individual contributions differ in part substantially from each other. Some analyses start with a comprehensive list of the earliest preserved manuscripts (Böhmer, Moran, Nedoma, Schaefer, Santoro); others, owing to different material quantities, choose more general approaches such as literary history (Birkhan, Cupane), book history (Mortensen), critique of ideology (Zagar) or history of science (Laakso). Still others connect the question of written tradition from the outset with a wider methodological perspective (Haubrichs, Selig). This situation is owed to the quite unequal heuristic premises – rooting in the sciences' histories – where answers on the matter of Origin Stories are concerned in general (first of all the basic answer of current research to the seemingly simple question: What are the first transmitted and surviving texts in the respective language?). It depends furthermore on the radically different tendencies which result from the “traditional” and ideologically shaped approaches of national philologies with their own “master narratives”. Current research is still struggling with those narratives, which often obstruct the path to finding answers even to elementary questions (e.g. on a solid primary data base).¹ Thus, the contributions mirror the current historical research on the topic, where heuristics and national philological ideologemes are intertwined closely. This gave rise to very different origin stories, which encounter each other in this volume.²

Accordingly, every contribution stands for itself, although aware of the fact that the task of a comparative analysis and description of the history of written tradition as a European phenomenon is only at its beginnings. Giving an impulse to such a project is what we consider to be the most important result of the present papers.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude: To Soňa Černá and Jakub Sichálek for their helping hands during the Vienna Symposium. To Carolina Cupane and Robert Nedoma for their contributions to this volume, which were not part of the conference but which close essential topical gaps. To Sophie Zimmermann (Vienna) for her great care in preparing the articles for print, as well as to Clara Reimitz (Vienna), Pia Schüler (Constance), and Elisabeth Sünder (Constance) for further help. To the various libraries for the permission to print the numerous manuscript illustrations. Last, but not least, to the editors of the ‘MittelalterStudien’ for accepting this volume in their series.

1 Cf. farsightedly GEARY, Patrick J.: *Language and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Brandeis University Press, Waltham, Massachusetts 2013 (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures).

2 On the problems of comparative history very plausibly KOCKA, Jürgen/HAUPT, Heinz-Gerhard: *Comparison and Beyond. Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative History*, in: *Comparative and Transnational History. Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Jürgen Kocka, New York – Oxford, Berghahn Books 2009, p. 1–32.

Einleitung

Vom 5. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert etablieren sich in allen europäischen Regionen die heute so genannten ‚Volkssprachen‘. Dieser Prozess des Eintritts der *linguae vernaculae vel barbaricae* in die Sphäre von Schriftlichkeit und Gelehrsamkeit, die im jüdisch-christlichen Bereich der Trias der ‚heiligen‘ Sprachen (Hebräisch, Griechisch, Latein) und zum Teil auch dem Altkirchenslawischen vorbehalten war, ist jedoch weder einheitlich noch monokausal. Er erfordert deshalb je nach sozialen Kontexten, sprachlichen Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen sowie kulturellen Rahmenbedingungen und Einflussfaktoren eine völlig unterschiedliche Weise der Beschreibung. Dies will der vorliegende Band exemplarisch leisten: Es geht darum, der Frage nach den Anfängen volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter in einer komparatistischen Perspektive nachzugehen. Dazu fand vom 5. bis 8. Februar 2013 am Institut für Germanistik der Universität Wien sowie am Institut für Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eine Tagung statt, deren Ziel es war, eine möglichst breite Diskussion über die Geschichte der Anfänge volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit im europäischen Kontext anzuregen.

Ausgangspunkt sollte die Geschichte der Überlieferung in den einzelnen Volkssprachen sein, deren Bedeutung in den philologischen und historischen Fachdisziplinen gegenwärtig ein hoher Wert beigemessen wird. Diese Überlieferung galt es nach möglichen Mustern und Regeln, nach Praktiken und Inhalten von Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung zu befragen. Gleichzeitig interessierte die Geschichte der einzelnen nationalen Philologien und Historiographien, die sich im Zuge der Erforschung dieser Überlieferung formierten und die ersten historischen und literaturhistorischen Narrative formulierten. Darin sahen wir die Chance, gemeinsam an einer zentralen kulturwissenschaftlichen Fragestellung im Schnittpunkt von Geschichtswissenschaft, Philologie, Sprachwissenschaft, Mediengeschichte und Literaturwissenschaft zu arbeiten. So sollten die gängigen Narrative der jeweiligen ‚Anfangsgeschichten der Überlieferung‘ von Volkssprachen hinterfragt und diskutiert werden – all dies zunächst kasuistisch und exemplarisch. Neben den europäischen Volkssprachen dienten auch das Lateinische und Griechische sowie – mit dem Tibetischen und Frühchinesischen – nichtindogermanische Sprachen als Vergleichshorizont, wobei der Beitrag für das Frühchinesische leider in diesem Band fehlen muss, zum Tibetischen vergleiche man den Beitrag von Kellner.

Auch war es nicht möglich alle europäischen Volkssprachen zu berücksichtigen; für das Armenische, Ungarische und das Niederländische konnten die Vorträge nicht als Beitrag in diesen Band eingehen. Immerhin aber gelang es, zusätzliche Beiträge zum Griechischen (Cupane) und zum Altnordischen (Nedoma) zu gewinnen.

Als ein wichtiger Befund im Blick auf die nun vorliegenden Beiträge bleibt als verbindendes Element der Eindruck von Heterogenität. Sprachen und ihre Literaturen lassen sich nicht einfach in ihren jeweils sehr unterschiedlichen Bezugsrahmen und Bedingungen miteinander vergleichen. Die Ergebnisse, zu denen man für einen Bereich gelangt, lassen sich nicht ohne Weiteres auf andere übertragen.

So unterscheiden sich schon die Herangehensweisen der einzelnen Beiträge teilweise erheblich voneinander. Einige Beiträge gehen konkret von einer Auflistung der frühesten erhaltenen Textzeugen aus (Böhmer, Moran, Nedoma, Schaefer, Santoro), andere wählen aufgrund der anders gelagerten Überlieferungsquantitäten einen eher allgemeinen literaturgeschichtlichen (Birkhan), einen buchgeschichtlichen (Mortensen), einen ideologiekritischen (Zagar) oder einen wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Zugriff (Laakso). Wieder andere verbinden den Überlieferungsansatz methodisch von vornherein mit einer weiter gefassten methodischen Perspektive (Haubrichs, Selig). Dieser Befund liegt an recht ungleichen heuristischen, zum Teil wissenschaftsgeschichtlich bedingten Voraussetzungen, was eine Antwort auf die Frage nach Anfangsgeschichten überhaupt angeht (also ganz pragmatisch am aktuellen Stand der Erforschung der Frage: Was sind eigentlich die ersten erhaltenen Texte in der jeweiligen Sprache?), aber eben auch an radikal unterschiedlichen Tendenzen, die sich aus den ‚traditionellen‘ nationalphilologischen, ideologisch geprägten Zugriffen mit ihren je eigenen Narrativen ergeben, an denen sich die Forschung abarbeitet und die vielfach große Hürden selbst in der Beantwortung basaler Fragen (z. B. nach einer verlässlichen Datengrundlage) darstellen.³ Die Beiträge sind damit Ausdruck einer Forschungslage, in der Heuristik und nationalphilologische Ideologeme eng ineinandergreifen, und die ganz unterschiedliche Anfangsgeschichten entstehen ließ, die sich in diesem Band begegnen.⁴

So steht jeder Beitrag am Ende für sich, dies aber in dem Bewusstsein, dass die Aufgabe einer komparatistischen Untersuchung von Überlieferungsgeschichte als einem europäischen Phänomen erst am Anfang steht. Dazu einen Impuls zu geben, sehen wir als wichtigstes Ergebnis des Projekts.

Schließlich wollen wir uns für vielfältige Hilfen bei der Tagung und deren Publikation bedanken: für die Betreuung der Tagung in Wien bei Soňa Černá und Jakub Sichálek; für zwei Aufsätze, die nicht Teil der Wiener Tagung sein konnten, aber essentielle thematische Lücken schließen, bei Carolina Cupane und Robert Nedoma; für Hilfe bei der Drucklegung an erster Stelle bei Sophie Zimmermann (Wien) für ihre große Sorgfalt bei der redaktionellen Einrichtung der Beiträge; für weitere redaktionelle Hilfen bei Clara Reimitz (Wien), Pia Schüler (Konstanz) und Elisabeth Sünder (Konstanz); bei den verschiedenen Bibliotheken für die Freigabe der zahlreichen Abbildungen; für die Aufnahme des Bandes in die „Mittelalter-Studien“ bei den Reihenherausgebern.

3 Vgl. dazu zuletzt mit weitem Blick GEARY, Patrick J.: *Language and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Brandeis University Press, Waltham, Massachusetts 2013 (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures).

4 Zu den Problemen der vergleichenden Geschichtsschreibung siehe einleuchtend KOCKA, Jürgen/HAUPT, Heinz-Gerhard: *Comparison and Beyond. Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative History*, in: *Comparative and Transnational History. Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Jürgen Kocka, New York – Oxford, Berghahn Books 2009, S. 1–32.

Pragmatic and Cultural Conditions of Vernacular Literacy in Carolingian Times

Probably at Mayence, at the end of the 8th century, an author using the typical German-Anglo-Saxon minuscule wrote a collection of texts concerning the early Carolingian church reform and the conversion of the *gentes*, of the tribes of Northern Germany. It seems that some texts of the collection are connected to the interests of the metropolitan seat of Mayence, especially with Archbishop Lull (754–786), who was of Anglo-Saxon origin.¹ In this manuscript we find a famous list of bishops and abbots who were collectively pooled, under the chairmanship of the *praeses* of the Gallo-Frankish church, Chrodegang of Metz, and of Lull, in the *confraternitas* of Attigny.² This list is followed by a catalogue of the *nomina episcoporum qui missi sunt a Romana urbe ad praedicandum in Gallia*, that means a list of all the bishops of early Christian times, which Rome had sent out to Gallia to preach and convert – comparable to the Anglo-Saxons Willibrord Clemens and Winifrid Bonifatius, teacher and predecessor of Lull, sent out by Rome to the Bavarians and Saxons. As ecclesiastical leader of Mayence, the *metropolis Germaniae*, archbishop Lull was one of the most influential clergymen of his times and responsible for the conversion of the inhabitants of the recently conquered Saxonia. Furthermore, the manuscript includes the widely discussed *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, a “list of superstitions and pagan customs”, suited to the conditions of the newly converted Germanic tribes.³ Immediately prior to the *Indiculus* and immediately after the list with the names of the missionaries of

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- 1 Manuscript: Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat. pal. lat. 577, fol. 2–7, a libellus, composed of older texts, written shortly before 800 – almost certainly at Mayence – and integrated into a manuscript of the collection of canonical law by Dionysius Exiguus. Cf. BISCHOFF, Bernhard: Paläographische Fragen deutscher Denkmäler der Karolingerzeit, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 5 (1971), p. 101–134, here p. 109–111; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Die Angelsachsen und die germanischen Stämme des Kontinents im frühen Mittelalter: Sprachliche und literarische Beziehungen, in: Irland und die Christenheit. Bibelstudien und Mission, ed. by Proinséas Ní Chatháin/Michael Richter, Stuttgart 1987, p. 387–412, here p. 39–399; STAITI, Chiara: ‘Indiculus’ und ‘Gelöbnis’. Altsächsisches im Kontext der Überlieferung. Nebst einer Edition einiger Texte des Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 577, in: Volkssprachig-lateinische Mischtexte und Textenssembles in der althochdeutschen, altsächsischen und altenglischen Überlieferung, ed. by Rolf Bergmann, Heidelberg 2003, p. 331–384.
 - 2 See SCHMID, Karl/OEXLE, Otto Gerhard: Voraussetzungen und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny, in: Francia 2 (1974), p. 71–122; SCHMID, Karl: Wege zur Erschließung des Verbrüderungsbuches, in: Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, ed. by Johannes Autenrieth/Dieter Geuenich/Karl Schmid (MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia N.S. I), Hannover 1979, p. LX–CI, here p. LXIII–LXV.
 - 3 See HOMANN, Holger: Der *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* und verwandte Denkmäler, unpubl. Diss. University of Göttingen 1965; HELLGARDT, Ernst: “*Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*”, in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur, ed. Rolf Bergmann, Berlin/Boston 2013, p. 192–195.

Gallia, we find an astonishing Old Saxon dialogue – slightly influenced by Old English orthography:⁴

“*Forsachistu diabolae?*” “Do you renounce to the devil?” asks the priest. And the converted, the person to be baptized, answers:

“*Ec forsachu diabolae*” “I renounce to the devil.”

“*End allum diobolgelde?*” asks the priest again: “And do you renounce to all offerings to the devil?”

Answer of the converted:

“*End ec forsachu allum diobolgeldae*” “And I renounce to all offerings to the devil.”

“*End allum dioboles wercum?*” “And to all works of the devil?”

The converted asks:

“*End ec forsachu allum dioboles wercum and wordum,*

Thunaer ende Vvoden ende Saxnote

ende allum them unboldum, the ira genotas sint”

The proselyte answers, but this time he does not simply repeat the words of the priest, defined by the *Ordo Baptismalis*, but in addition, he names figures familiar to him, the gods of his old belief, the gods of his *gens*, now to recant: “And I renounce to the works and the words of the devil, (and) to Donar, Wodan and Saxnot, and to all demons, evil spirits, which are their companions.”

The converted renounces to the devil not only in an extended, quasi-juridical alliteration-formula (“works and words”), and not only calls the old gods by their very names, but, in a casuistic manner, as a precautionary measure and just to be on the safe side, he renounces all other demons or pagan gods eventually at play. The converted has no way out. Those concretisations and expansions of the formula are to be seen in the context of the attempts by the responsible persons and initiators of the baptismal rite to overcome the rituality of the act and to gain truth, *veracitas*, or sincerity, in a quasi-legal sense – efforts, which at the same time are fundamental for the genesis of vernacular literacy.

In the text of the ‘Old Saxon Baptism Vow’ (“Altsächsisches Taufgelöbniß”) follows a ritual confession of the new belief, orientated at the divine Trinity and therefore arranged in three parts:

The proselyte confesses to believe

- 1) *in got alamehtigan* (“almighty”) *fadaer*;
- 2) *in Crist, godes suno*;
- 3) *in halogan gast* (“in the Holy Ghost”).

This sounds very familiar to us, but this impression is, especially in the third part of the *confessio*, only the effect of cultural training and social habit, and a result

4 VON STEINMEYER, Elias (ed.): Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler, Berlin 1916, Nr. III, p. 20–22; MÜLLER, Stephan (tr., ed. and comm.): Althochdeutsche Literatur. Eine kommentierte Anthologie. Stuttgart 2007, p. 98–101, p. 317–319. Cf. HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Die Missionierung der Wörter. Vorbonifatianische und nachbonifatianische Strukturen der theodischen Kirchensprachen, in: Bonifatius – Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter, ed. by Franz J. Felten/Jörg Janut/Lutz E. von Padberg, Mainz 2007, p. 121–142, here p. 121–123.

of the victory of one among several competing church-languages. In this case the Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon speaking author of the Baptism Vow is using one of the most successful new coinages in English ecclesiastical language: *Holy Ghost*, Old English *halog gāst* as translation of *Spiritus Sanctus*, not easy to understand.⁵

With that we approach another important pragmatic condition for the rise of vernacular language in formal contexts: comprehensibility and clarity. Whether the converted Saxon, with regard to content, did understand the priest, is more than doubtful. As an older, in origin perhaps Frankish translation of *spiritus sanctus*, also used in the south of Germany, the term *wih atum* existed, that means verbatim “consecrated breath”. The translation, as a word-for-word-translation, was not without problems. But almost certainly the new coinage had, before long, become a *terminus technicus*. We may compare it to the fact that we today do normally not think about it that German *Eisenbahn*, French *chemin de fer*, or Italian *ferrovia* originally described the materiality of the *railway*. For the newly converted Saxon, however, bound to a different linguistic and cultural tradition, also the idiomatic evocation of a “consecrated breath” would have been somehow strange, although imaginations of magic breath, of magic blowing could have been familiar to him.

Hālog gāst “Holy Ghost” was an Anglo-Saxon coinage, showing perfectly the procedure of formal religious accommodation, typical for the interior Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons. In the theory of mission, the term ‘accommodation’ describes a technique of religious acculturation, belonging again to the basic conditions of vernacular literacy in the sphere of religion. In the actual case this meant taking a traditional concept out of the native culture and – semantically – reprogramming it. Old English *gāst* (Old Saxon *gēst*) was – just like Old High German *geist*, or Modern English *ghost*, Modern German *Geist* – denoted a “suprasensual or other-world-being” or a “snook”, a *fantasma*. So the Old English *hālog-gāst*, that the priest offered to the Old Saxon to believe in it, was, strictly spoken, a *fantasma*, full of “Heil”, of *salus*, of salvation and good luck or – in other words – a “powerful and helpful ghost”. For the new Saxon Christian this concept was not too far away from the *un-holdun*, the demons and spirits of the ‘Baptism Vow’. More likely, in his native culture those other-world-beings may have been *holdun*, “good ghosts”.

The *numinosum*, the *sacrum*, perhaps even the magical and miraculous power of the new divine persons the Saxon newly converted had to believe in – an almighty Father, an equivalent Son named Christ and a Ghost – must also have appeared to him embedded in the ceremony he attended. The baptism ritual of the Early Middle Ages certainly could be interpreted as a ceremonial, permanent and symbolic struggle against the devil.

5 See BETZ, Werner: Die frühdeutschen *spiritus*-Übersetzungen und die Anfänge des Wortes “Geist”, in: Schöpfergeist und Neuschöpfung (Liturgie und Mönchtum, Laacher Hefte 20), Maria Laach 1957, p. 48–55; EGGERS, Hans: Deutsche Sprachgeschichte, vol. I, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1963, p. 168, p. 216; FUSS, Martin: Die religiöse Lexik des Althochdeutschen und Altsächsischen, Frankfurt a. M. 2000, p. 107f., p. 112–114; HAUBRICHS Die Missionierung, p. 122–124.

The example of the Saxon baptism ritual makes clear the difficulties the *ecclesia triumphans* had in translating the well-developed Latin terminology of Church and theology into the *linguae theodiscae*, into the vernacular – not to forget the question, why a vernacular Christian terminology had to be transferred in writing, and could not be left in the sphere of orality.

Why then, was a written vernacular formula needed? Since Merovingian and Early Carolingian times a well-established Christian terminology, with its own cultural design, existed. Transferring social terms into the religious sphere, the *dominus Christus* was understood, with a Germanic word, as *druhtin* “lord of the *comitatus*, lord of his followers”; God’s grace was interpreted as Germanic *anst* or *huldi*, both in the sense of “social favour”, both coming out of the princely or royal sphere; the *Maiestas Domini*, the magnificence and splendour of the Lord, was communicated with the archaic Germanic compound *êra-g(i)rehti*, combining *êra* “honour” and *gi-rehti* “justice”.⁶

Why then written vows and formulas?

All the vernacular Baptism Vows of Carolingian times go back to the two most important centres of missionary activities in Saxonia, the cities of Cologne and Mayence,⁷ which were both commissioned to integrate the new territory into their ecclesiastical provinces. In this context, also the so-called “Frankish Baptism Vow”, is to be seen, which is transmitted to us in two manuscripts, one time in a “small manual for priests, dedicated to the understanding and the practice of mass- and baptism-rituals” (B. Bischoff), written between 810 and 830 at the monastery of Fulda.⁸

Answers to our questions are given by contemporaneous tracts and ecclesiastical decrees. To name just three examples:⁹ Circa 812, the famous Carolingian reformer and bishop Theodulf of Orléans marked the renunciation to the old beliefs and the *confessio* of the new one as a *pactio duplex*, a double contract between the believers, the *fideles* and God.¹⁰ Some years later, Hrabanus Maurus, the influential abbot of Fulda, went to such extent to interpret, in analogy to secular law, the act of will of the *conversus*, of the baptized as *commendatio*, as entry into a new vassality status and as a change of sovereign. In the juridical interpretation we can find the reason why just renouncement and profession of faith had to be made in the language of the people and had to be perpetuated in a written form. A contract was only valid, if it was completely understood by the contracting parties. Therefore the “Statuta Pseudo-Bonifatianae”, forged possibly at Mayence in the course of

6 EGGERS *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte*, p. 111–134; GREEN, Dennis: *Language and History in the Early Germanic World*, Cambridge 1998, p. 285, p. 361–364; HAUBRICHS *Die Missionierung*, p. 127–142.

7 See HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: *Die Anfänge. Versuche volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, in: *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. by Joachim Heinzle, I, 1, Tübingen ²1995, p. 232–235.

8 BISCHOFF *Paläographische Fragen*, p. 111; MASSER, Achim: “Fränkisches Taufgelöbnis”, in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 86–88.

9 Cf. HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 239f.

10 *Statuta Theodulfi episcopi*, ed. by Peter Brommer (MGH *Capitula episcoporum* I), Hannover 1984, p. 73–184.

the early Carolingian reforms and written at Cambrai 819/829, admonished the bishops to instruct the priests of their dioceses exactly about practice and meaning of the baptism ritual.¹¹ The *Statutae* proclaim: “Every priest has to ask the formulas of *abrenuntiatio* and *professio fidei* in public from the persons to be baptized, who have to perform it in their native language with the intention that everybody understands to whom they renounce and what they profess.”

With the end of the conversion of the Pagan *gentes* east of the Rhine and with the decrease of adult christening in favour of infant baptism, the importance of the Baptism formulas became increasingly reduced. So, in the course of the 9th century, the formulas disappear from tradition. In the ceremony of infant baptism the godparents became guarantors of the contract the child concluded with God.

Therefore the legal character of the ritual was preserved, and also in this case, had consequences for vernacular literacy. In order to implement their guarantee, the godparents had to dispose of the minima of Christian doctrine. Charlemagne and his Anglo-Saxon counsellors like Alcuin, but also the later reformers emphasize again and again that the *illiterati*, the majority of the people, not having the knowledge of Latin, should at least learn the two main texts of Christian faith by heart, the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, to acquire knowledge sufficient for the spiritual welfare of their godchildren and of their own. In the presence of Bishop Gerbald of Liège (787–809), Charlemagne himself interrupted a baptismal ceremony, when he suspected that the godparents did know neither the *Credo* nor the *Pateroster*. The bishop was not amused. Not being able to master the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer could lead to exclusion from the Holy Communion. Insufficient instruction of children, godchildren, servants and serfs became a severe point in the catalogues of sins, established by confession formulas.¹²

The instruction of laymen and laywomen assumes and requires the existence of relevant knowledge among the priests. The *Admonitio Generalis* (“Common admonition”), promulgated in 789 and perhaps the most important programmatic constitution of Charlemagne, had paved the right way in order to strengthen the supervisory duties of the bishops:¹³ Together with the priests the bishops had to “read carefully” the catholic Creed and had to ensure that the doctrine “would be preached and explained to all people”. Furthermore the bishops should make it clear to the priests, “that they had to understand the Lord’s Prayer by themselves and that they had the duty to proclaim it to the people in such a way, that the

11 Statuta Bonifatii, ed. by Rudolf Pokorný (MGH Capitula episcoporum III), Hannover 1995, c. 27, p. 364: *Nullus sit presbiter, qui in ipsa lingua, qua nati sunt, baptizandos abrenuntiationes vel confessiones aperte interrogare non studeat, ut intellegant, quae abrenuntiant vel quae confitentur ...* Cf. c. 37, p. 366 (obligation to preach in the vernacular).

12 HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Glauben verstehen, Erinnerung bewahren – Anfänge ‘deutscher’ Literatur unter Karl dem Großen, in: Karl der Große. Wissenschaft und Kunst als Herausforderung, ed. by Johannes Fried (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abh. der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 2017, Nr. 3); im Druck.

13 *Admonitio Generalis*, ed. by Alfred Boretius (MGH Capitularia Regum Francorum I), Hannover 1883, no. 22, p. 52–62.

laymen could understand it". These important constitutions soon entered the pastoral instructions of bishops and the so-called *Capitula episcoporum*, p.e. 802 the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* ('Examination rules for clergymen'),¹⁴ or Bishop Heito of Basle's *Capitula ecclesiastica* from 820.¹⁵ The constitutions of the Mayence synode in 813 offer penance, punishments and flogging to those who were not willing to learn.¹⁶ But nearly all those writs allow learning of the texts in the mother tongue.

This double venture directed at both priests and laymen had consequences. The Creed and the Lord's Prayer went to school. School versions of the Christian main texts did not fail to appear. A great deal of the early medieval copies of the Apostolic *Confessio fidei*, of the *Credo* and the *Paternoster* are, together with explanatory commentaries, from a school context. Especially the vernacular theodisc translation all and sundry seem to be made for school, for the formation and examination of priests or seem to be drafted as formal documents for pastoral care.

The Codex Sangallensis 911 was written at the end of the 8th century, in an unknown centre of South-West-Germany, containing the famous Latin-Old High German *Abrogans*-Glossary,¹⁷ an extract of the *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* ("Book of ecclesiastical doctrine") and after that an interlinear translation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.¹⁸ The so-called 'Freising Paternoster',¹⁹ extant in double tradition and including a vernacular explanation, stems from a pastoral context each time; one time, about 800 (Clm. 6330), written down in an Alemannic centre on the Upper Rhine, following Latin sermons, *Dicta* of the church fathers and an *Instructio ad competentes* ("Instruction to the catechists"). The vernacular text is followed by the Latin Creed and by formulas for hearing confession and granting absolution. In the second case (Clm. 4510), a manuscript, written in the ninth century, most likely at Regensburg, the same Latin Creed follows our explanation of the Lord's Prayer, framed by Alkuin's tract "on the Holy Trinity" and another tract "on Christian belief" (*De fide*). Both manuscripts can be classified as pastoral handbooks. The latter was in possession of a priest named Wichelm during the last decades of the 9th century, and this priest served as *capellanus* for a count named Reginpert. The little book then stood in the court library and *capella* of the same

14 *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, ed. by Alfred Boretius (MGH Capitularia Regum Francorum I), Hannover 1883, no. 38, p. 109–111. See also no. 36, p. 105f. (*Capitula a sacerdotibus proposita*) and no. 116, c. 1, p. 234f. (*Interrogationes examinationis*).

15 Haito von Basel, ed. by Peter Brommer (MGH Capitula episcoporum I), Hannover 1984, p. 203–219.

16 *Concilium Moguntinense*, ed. by Albert Werminghoff (MGH Concilia aevi Karolini I, 1), Hannover/Leipzig 1906, no. 36, p. 258–273, here c. 45, p. 271f.

17 BISCHOFF, Bernhard/DUFT, Johannes/SONDEREGGER, Stefan (eds.): *Das älteste deutsche Buch. Die 'Abrogans'-Handschrift der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen. Im Facsimile hrsg. u. beschrieben*, 2 vols., St. Gallen 1977; SPLETT, Jochen: "Abrogans deutsch", in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 3–8.

18 BISCHOFF/DUFT/SONDEREGGER *Das älteste deutsche Buch*, fol. 318–321; II, p. 306–308; SONDEREGGER, Stefan/GLASER, Elvira: "St. Galler Paternoster und Credo", in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 100–103.

19 VON STEINMEYER *Sprachdenkmäler*, Nr. VIII, p. 43–48; MASSER, Achim: "Freisinger Paternoster", in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 91f.

Bavarian noble family for which the famous Ingolstadt Codex of the ‘Lex Baiuvariorum’, of the Bavarian law, was written. It is notable that actually the vernacular *Paternoster* was written down “by a hand, not much trained in handwriting”.²⁰

Another spectacular example: the part of the Codex Wissenburgensis 91 which was most likely produced in the early 9th century at Worms on the Rhine,²¹ perhaps for Bishop *Bernhari* (also abbot of Wissemburg), is in some respects a bishop’s handbook, and integrates an *Examinatio presbyteri de baptismo et missa sancta*. In it we find a Rhine Franconian translation together with a line-for-line commentary, then a glossary of the *criminalia peccata*, the main sins, after that translations of the *Credo Apostolicum* and of the *Athanasianum* and finally a translation of the angels’ Christmas hymn, *Gloria in excelsis deo*, the priest had to sing at mass and *in officio*. In all probability, the so-called ‘Weißenburg Catechism’ was a collection of vernacular and Latin texts, dedicated to the examination of priests.

Only in the Bavarian *Exhortatio ad plebem christianam* (“Admonition to the Christian people”), extant in double tradition and created in the early 9th century, we find a direct address to the “dear children of the parish”.²² This model *sermo*, designed as a strict confrontation of Latin and Old High German on the page, takes up again all arguments of the contemporaneous pastoral instructions and offers explanations of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer: “How a man may call himself a Christian, who does not know by heart the few words of the Creed, leading him to the salvation of his soul, to spiritual welfare, and does not know the words of the Paternoster, given for prayer by the Lord himself, how may a person be called Christian, who has not the will to learn those words or to preserve them in memory?” The *Exhortatio* emphasizes particularly the function of the godparents as legal guarantors of the vow addressed to God – and accentuates the Frankish king and Roman emperor as the authority behind the *unsares herrin capot* and behind the command.

The given analysis of the pragmatic setting of the Christian main texts around baptism, *renuntatio*, *professio*, Creed and Lord’s Prayer stands exemplary for the whole pastoral literature, resulting from the Carolingian verve for and intention of *intelligere*, the vivid attempts “to understand”. The person binding him- or herself to the divine Lord has to know what he/she really does: he/she has to discern truth from error.

20 BISCHOFF Paläographische Fragen, p. 114, p. 123; BISCHOFF, Bernhard: Katalog festländischer Handschriften des 9. Jahrhunderts, Teil II, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 239.

21 BISCHOFF Paläographische Fragen, p. 117; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble des Cod. Weiss. 91 (“Weißenburger Katechismus”) und das Bistum Worms im frühen neunten Jahrhundert, in: Volkssprachig-lateinische Mischtexte und Textensembles in der althochdeutschen, altsächsischen und altenglischen Überlieferung, ed. by Rolf Bergmann, Heidelberg 2003, p. 131–173; MASSER, Achim: “Weißenburger Katechismus”, in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur (2013), p. 506–508.

22 MÜLLER Althochdeutsche Literatur, p. 96f., p. 315–317; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 240f.; MASSER, Achim: “Exhortatio ad plebem christianam”, in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur (2013), p. 83–85.

This is also valid for the priests' duty of preaching in understandable language and for the control of the conscience by confession, both resulting from the quasi-legal status of the faith and from the *cura animarum* God has given as duty to the Christian rulers of the world. From the 9th century onwards, *ordines confessionis* ("rules for confessing") enter the extant *Poenitentiale*, the "books of penitence". The vernacular Carolingian confession formulas may – as it seems – go back to two early text-productions. The first of them we have still to set in the times of Charlemagne; the second, in all probability, was created in the early 9th century at Mayence. After the necessity of preaching to the laymen was propagated as early as 769 by Charlemagne's reform circle, we meet the first model sermons integrated in a group of translations, called 'Isidor-Group' (after the tract *De fide catholica* of Isidor of Sevilla, included in the collection), most probably produced in Lorraine, near the Royal Court, some years before 800.²³ That the elegant language, the flowing style and especially the elaborated, sophisticated orthography of the model-translations at the monastery of Mondsee soon failed miserably in the face of the challenges of Bavarian dialects, is a different matter.

All those genres of vernacular pastoral texts, we dealt with, prove the vivid Carolingian efforts toward *intelligere*, to make understood the Christian faith, towards elaborate comprehensibility. This is the nucleus of the Carolingian Reforms, as far as they concern vernacular literacy, resulting finally from the legal contract, the *pactio* between the believers and the Lord.

It seems to me (but perhaps I'm wrong), that, in Old English Literature, not a lot of early pastoral texts exist, despite the words of Bede: He, "writing in Northumbria in the late 7th and early 8th centuries, condoned the use of English translations of the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer where required by the ignorant, and was himself apparently working at his death on translations into English, especially on a translation of the opening chapters of St. John's Gospel for the use in church."²⁴ *Ex negativo* and when comparing with the continent, we may learn again, based on political and religious reasons, how important the reform acts of Charlemagne and his circle have been, paving the way for vernacular literacy in the Frankish Empire.

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23 MATZEL, Klaus: Untersuchungen zur Verfasserschaft, Sprache und Herkunft der althochdeutschen Übersetzungen der Isidor-Sippe (Rheinisches Archiv 75), Bonn 1970; KROTZ, Elke: Auf den Spuren des althochdeutschen Isidor. Studien zur Pariser Handschrift, den Monseer Fragmenten und zum Codex Junius 25. Mit einer Neuedition des Glossars Jc, Heidelberg 2002; KROTZ, Elke: "Isidor von Sevilla 'De fide catholica', Althochdeutsche Übersetzung und 'Mon(d)seer Fragmente'", in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur (2013), p. 204–213.

24 IRVINE, Susan: English literature in the ninth century, in: The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature, ed. by Clare A. Lees, Cambridge 2013, p. 209–231, here p. 213; cf. JONES, Christopher A.: Performing Christianity: liturgical and devotional writing, in: The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature, ed. by Clare A. Lees, Cambridge 2013, p. 427–450, here p. 444–447.

Now just a few words on the texts in *lingua theodisca*, produced not only at the monasteries, but also for the use of the monasteries, particularly for the monastic schools. It was literature of translation, absolutely necessary in the regions speaking non-Latin, non-Romance idioms. The process of appropriation of Latin by translation begins, certainly under Anglo-Saxon influence, in the course of the 8th century with vernacular glosses in school literature, in the bible, in monastic and spiritual texts. Old High German glosses are to be found in more than a thousand manuscripts.²⁵ Purpose of the glosses was again *intelligere*, this time the understanding of the Latin and Christian heritage. But it should be noticed, that the demanding works of translation start to appear only in the times of the Carolingian reformers, at the end of the 8th century, beginning with the just mentioned, stylistically skilled translations of the Isidor-Group, including *inter alia* a translation of Matthew's Gospel. Scholars have, with a certain right, connected the polished, systematic orthography of those translations with Charlemagne's attempt, reported by his biographer Einhard, to develop a theodisc grammar: *Inchoavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis*.²⁶ In any case, it cannot be pure coincidence that circa in 830, at the monastery of Fulda, during the abbotship of Alkuin's pupil Hrabanus Maurus (a leading reformer of the second generation), a splendid translation of 'Tatian's Gospel Harmony' was produced, confronting line for line the Latin and the Old High German bible texts.²⁷ This work was certainly dedicated to the learning of Latin and to a better understanding of God's holy message, all of which took place in a "Großkloster", a monastery of town dimensions, a monastic city, a centre of learning and spirituality, a production-centre of knowledge and books, especially bible commentaries.²⁸

From Alemannic centres of the early 9th century, particularly from Reichenau at the Lake of Constance and nearby Saint-Gall, we possess the results of attempts to make the monastic *officium* understood and teachable. Those attempts followed some regulations of the 816 Aachen Council, where it was stipulated that the monks had to learn the psalms, the monastic hymns and Benedict's rule by heart. In the sense of *intelligere ... per discussiones verborum*, the Alemannic *Statuta Murbacensia*, most probably going back to the reformer Heito, bishop of Basle

25 Cf. BERGMANN, Rolf/STRICKER, Stefanie: Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie. Ein Handbuch, 2 vols., Berlin/New York 2009.

26 Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni, in: Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, Teil I, ed. by Reinhold Rau (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 5), Darmstadt 1966, c. 29, p. 200f. Cf. MATZEL, Klaus: Das Problem der "karolingischen Hofsprache", in: Mediaevalia litteraria. FS Helmut de Boor, ed. by Ursula Hennig/Herbert Kolb, München 1971, p. 15–31; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Zum Stand der Isidorforschung, in: Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie 94 (1975), p. 1–15, here p. 11–13.

27 MASSER, Achim (ed.): Die lateinisch-althochdeutsche Tatianbilingue Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen Cod. 56 (Studien zum Althochdeutschen 25), Göttingen 1994. Cf. MASSER, Achim: "Tatian", in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur (2013), p. 459–466 (problematic speculations about the secondary text-tradition beside the St. Gall main manuscript and about an alleged ordering of this manuscript by the Swiss monastery).

28 BECHT-JÖRDENS, Gereon/HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Fulda, in: Schreiborte des deutschen Mittelalters. Skriptorien – Werke – Mäzene, ed. by Martin Schubert, Berlin/Boston 2013, p. 175–215.

and abbot of Reichenau,²⁹ add that *dictatores periti* (“experienced writers”) should translate these texts, especially the law of the monks, the *Regula Benedicti*, for the novices, the young monks. We may connect the contemporaneous interlinear Alemannic translations of the Psalms, of Benedict’s Rule and of the Benedictine Hymns with the regulations of Aachen and Murbach.³⁰

Even when, in the first line, we have to interpret those inner-monastic translations as didactic ventures, we also have to record that the more demanding projects were – more or less – connected with the ecclesiastical reforms of Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious.

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Let us now have a look at a cultural sphere which was deeply marked by the laical upper classes and the nobility, *proceres* and *primati*, so to speak by the oral culture of the laymen. This sphere is the realm of the law. Since the 6th century, the new so-called “Barbarian” *gentes*, grown to lords on the ground of the Roman Empire, established codifications of their laws, the so-called *Leges Barbarorum*, in German “Volksrechte”.³¹ For many, but not all parts, the *Leges* are formed and influenced by translations and adaptations of Roman law: in the year 517 the *Liber Constitutionum*, the law of the Burgundians, codified by King Gundobad († 516), was passed by King Sigismund.³² The oldest layer of the *Lex Salica*, the law of the Franks also reaches back into the 6th century. In 643 King Rothari gave out the *Edictus* named after him, the oldest law of the Langobards. The *Lex Alamannorum* and the *Lex Baiuvariorum* followed in the 8th century. During the reign of Charlemagne the old laws were revised and other *gentes* received codified laws. Einhard,

29 Actuum praeliminarium Synodi I. Aquisgranensis commentationes sive Statuta Murbacensia (816), ed. by Josef Semmler (Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, t. I), Siegburg 1963, p. 437–450. Cf. SEMMLER, Josef: Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung und zur Verfasserschaft der Statuta Murbacensia, in: Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz 8 (1958/60), p. 273–288.

30 HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Das monastische Studienprogramm der ‘Statuta Murbacensia’ und die altalemannischen Interlinearversionen, in: Sprache – Literatur – Kultur. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte im deutschen Süden und Westen. FS Wolfgang Kleiber, ed. by Albrecht Greule/Uwe Ruberg, Stuttgart 1989, p. 237–261.

31 Cf. BUCHNER, Rudolf: Die Rechtsquellen, in: Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger (Beiheft), ed. by Wilhelm Wattenbach/Wilhelm Levison, Weimar 1953; SCHOTT, Claus: “Leges”, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 5 (1991), col. 1802f.

32 Cf. KAISER, Reinhold: Die Burgunder, Stuttgart 2004, p. 126–133; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Akkulturation und Distanz. Germanische und romanische Personennamen im regnum der Burgunden, in: Völker, Reiche und Namen im frühen Mittelalter, ed. by Matthias Becher/Stefanie Dick, München 2010, p. 191–222, here p. 195–198; id.: Burgundische und intergentile Rechtswörter des ‘Liber constitutionum’ (a. 517) im Kontext der Burgundenforschung, in: Sprachwissenschaft 40 (2015), p. 127–146.

the biographer of Charles, reports in the chapter in which he mentioned the theodisc grammar:³³

“After he had accepted the title of an Emperor, and seeing how many defects the laws of his people had ..., Charles planned to fill in missing parts, to balance deviations, and to improve errors and useless things. But he made only small progress; he only elaborated some amendments to the extant laws, but could not achieve the work. Meanwhile he gave the order to describe and to write down the oral and traditional laws of all peoples under his rule”.

In the *Leges Barbarorum* we can find most specific vernacular juridical terms or formulas, where the special legal *consuetudines* of the tribes (*gentes*) are received, particularly in matters of family, marriage and bodily harms. They are rather frequent in the laws of the Langobards; the *Lex Salica* of the Franks has glosses marked with (*in*) *mallobergo*, which means “at court”. Both refer to an extant and elaborated oral jargon of experts familiar with the law. So for the complex ritual concerning the release of *servi*, the Langobardic law offers the alliterative formula *per gaida et gisil*, what is verbatim to be understood as “through arrowhead (*gaida*) and arrow-shaft (*gisil*)”.³⁴ The ritual was carried out on the crossroad by shooting arrows in all four directions of the compass. In the laws of the *Alamanni* a widow, claiming the morning gift (*morghin-gaba*) of her husband against his relatives, had to dig a lawn-piece of the ground she claimed, then had to put some branches of the trees growing on the ground into the lawn, and finally had to give the pledge to her advocate or to the *campio* fighting for her. The Alemanni called the lawn-piece *zurf*, which corresponds to English *turf* (and to the originally Low German *Torf*).³⁵

Normally on the continent the language of law codification was Latin. During the Carolingian revisions of laws, vernacular terms disappeared even from the cleaned versions. The spoken language and the written form, once and for all, fell apart. Problems of communication and translation became urgent. Charlemagne’s government saw the problems and several times ordered translations. At the general council of Aachen, the “Reichsversammlung” (Imperial Assembly) of 802 Charles

33 Einhardi Vita Karoli, p. 200f.: *Post susceptum imperiale nomen, cum adverteret multa legibus populi sui deesse, ... cogitavit quae deerant addere et discrepantia unire, prava quoque ac perperam prolata corrigere, sed de his nihil aliud ab eo factum est, nisi quod pauca capitula, et ea imperfecta, legibus addidit. Omnium tamen nationum, quae sub eius dominatu erant, iura quae scripta non erant describere ac litteris mandari fecit.*

34 Cf. FRANCOVICH ONESTI, Nicoletta: Vestigia longobarde in Italia (568–774). Lessico e antroponomia, Roma 1999, p. 88, p. 93 (bibl.); HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Amalgamierung und Identität. Langobardische Personennamen in Mythos und Herrschaft, in: Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität, ed. by Walter Pohl/Peter Erhart, Wien 2005, p. 67–99, here p. 83–85 (bibl.); VÖLLONO, Maria: Sprache und Tradition im Herzogtum Benevent: Identität und Identitätssuche der süditalienischen Langobarden, in: Studien zu Literatur, Sprache und Geschichte in Europa. FS Wolfgang Haubrichs, ed. by Albrecht Greule/Hans-Walter Herrmann/Klaus Ridder/Andreas Schorr, St. Ingbert 2008, p. 555–561, here p. 560.

35 KLUGE, Friedrich/SEEBOLD, Elmar: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Berlin/Boston²⁵2011, p. 921; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Quod Alamanni dicunt. Volkssprachliche Wörter in der ‘Lex Alamannorum’, in: Recht und Kultur im frühmittelalterlichen Alemannien. Rechtsgeschichte, Archäologie und Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts, ed. by Sebastian Brather (forthcoming).

united “dukes, counts and the remaining Christian people together with experts of law and commanded to read aloud all laws, current in his Empire, and to translate to every man his own law”.³⁶ Particularly a stylistically high-grade translation of the ‘Lex Salica’, written at Mayence in the second quarter of the 9th century, during the term of the influential archbishop Otgar (826–847), active in the service of the Emperor, may be a fruit of those efforts.³⁷ Judging by linguistic criteria the translation could even be older.

Furthermore, later on Carolingian politics demonstrated that vernacular languages, firmly connected with the comprehensibility of treaties and negotiations for the consenting parts, was an important factor of legal validity. The ‘Strassburg Oathes’ in *lingua theodisca* and *lingua romana* between Charles the Bald and Louis the German and their armies (842), certainly carefully prepared by the chancellors of the rulers, worked in this way.³⁸ The ritual of a double vernacularity was repeated in 860 at Coblenz, on the occasion of the treaties, sworn in public, between the aforementioned kings and their nephew Lothaire the Second, the king of the *Francia Media*.³⁹

We have to underline, that things in Old-England went quite a different way. In Kent, King Aethelbert systematically used the Old English language, at the beginning of the 7th century (before 616), for his law-codification and established a tradition of vernacular literacy in the legal sector, later on also expanding on wills

36 *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz (MGH SS I), Hannover 1826, p. 39: ... *ipse imperator ... congregavit duces, comites et reliquo christiano populo cum legislatoribus, et fecit omnes leges in regno suo legi, et tradi unicuique homini legem suam ...* Cf. HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 155. For the ‘*Annales Laureshamenses*’ see POKORNY, Rudolf: *Die Annales Laureshamenses in einer neu aufgefundenen Teilüberlieferung*, in: *Deutsches Archiv* 69 (2013), p. 1–43.

37 See SONDEREGGER, Stefan/KLAES, Falko: “‘Lex Salica’, Bruchstück einer althochdeutschen Übersetzung”, in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 236–238; HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 154f.

38 See HELLGARDT, Ernst: *Zur Mehrsprachigkeit im Karolingerreich. Bemerkungen aus Anlaß von Rosamond McKittericks Buch ‘The Carolingians and the Written Word’*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (PBB) 118 (1996), p. 1–48, here p. 20–24; GÄRTNER, Kurt/HOLTUS, Günter: *Die erste deutsch-französische ‘Parallelurkunde’. Zur Überlieferung und Sprache der Straßburger Eide*, in: *Beiträge zum Sprachkontakt und zu den Urkundensprachen zwischen Maas und Rhein*, ed. by Kurt Gärtner/Günter Holtus, Trier 1995, p. 97–127; BERGMANN, Rolf: “*Straßburger Eide*”, in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 439–441.

39 *Capitularia regum Franciae orientalis*, ed. by Alfred Boretius/Victor Krause (MGH *Capitularia regum Francorum* II), Hannover 1897, no. 242, p. 157f.: *Adnuntiatio domni Hludowici regis apud Confluentes lingua Theodisca ... Haec eadem domnus Karolus Romana lingua adnuntiavit et ex maxima parte lingua Theodisca recapitulavit. Post haec domnus Hludowicus ad domnum Karolum fratrem suum lingua Romana dixit ... Et domnus Karolus excelsiori voce lingua Romana dixit ... Et domnus Hlotharius lingua Theodisca in supra adnuntiatibus capitulis se consentire dixit et se observaturum illa promisit. Et tunc domnus Karolus iterum lingua Romana de pace commonuit, et ut cum Dei gratia sani et salvi irent et ut eos sanos reviderent, oravit et adnuntiationibus finem imposuit.* It is remarkable that Charles the Bald and Louis the German spoke two vernacular languages, the younger nephew only the *lingua Theodisca*. Cf. also no. 270, p. 299 *additamentum* (Cod. Vat. reg. Christ. 291): *Capitula lingua Theodisca facta repetuntur*. See SCHNEIDER, Reinhard: *Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im Bereich der Kapitularien*, in: *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. by Peter Classen, Sigmaringen 1977, p. 257–280, here p. 270f.; HELLGARDT *Zur Mehrsprachigkeit*, p. 22–24.

of laymen.⁴⁰ Two possible motivations can be hypothesized for Aethelbert's commission of his laws in the vernacular: the first being to reproduce as accurately as possible the orally transmitted version of legal stipulations in a language accessible to his people; and the second, to separate himself and his people linguistically and thus politically from the dominance of Francia (where laws were composed in Latin) – and he did so, although he was married to a Frankish royal princess.

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How can we imagine (after the law) the second important legacy of aristocratic culture of the Early Middle Ages, heroic saga and poetry in their setting and anchoring in Carolingian society? Perhaps we could take the situations which are presented several times by the Old English 'Beowulf' as models:⁴¹

“ ... And we to the feast-tide had sat us adown;
Song was and glee there; the elder of Scyldings,
Asking of many things, told of things o'erpast;
Whiles hath the battle-deer there the harp's joy,
The wood of mirth greeted; whiles the lay said he
Soothfast and sorrowful; ... ”

[v. 2104–2109; translation: W. MORRIS / A.J. WYATT, 1895].⁴²

Or another time:

“ ... So sung was the lay,
The song of the gleeman; then again arose game,

40 BROOKS, Nicholas P.: “Aethelberht, König von Kent”, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (1980), col. 187; OLIVER, Lisi: Legal documentation and the practice of English law, in: *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Clare A. Lees, Cambridge 2013, p. 499–529.

41 See FRY, Donald K.: “Beowulf”, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (1980), col. 1925–1928; CHASE, Colin (ed.): *The Dating of 'Beowulf'*, Toronto 1981; Niles, John D.: *Beowulf. The Poem and its Tradition*, Cambridge-Mass. 1983; ROBINSON, Fred: *Beowulf*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden/Michael Lapidge, Cambridge 1989, p. 142–159; ORCHARD, Andy: *A Critical Companion to Beowulf*, Cambridge 2003; OVERING, Gillian R.: *Beowulf: a poem in our time*, in: *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Clare A. Lees, Cambridge 2013, p. 309–331.

42 MORRIS, William/WYATT, Alfred John (tr.): *The Tale of Beowulf sometime king of the folk of the Weder Geats*, in: *The Collected Works of William Morris with Introductions by his Daughter May Morris*, vol. X: *Three Northern Love Stories. The Tale of Beowulf*, London/New York/Bombay/Cuttack 1911 (first 1895), p. 173–284. I chose this very archaic and 'romantic' translation for making the reader able to feel the distance between the times of the old and our time. The original text after: *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. by Friedrich Klaeber, Boston 2008, p. 71: ... / *ond we to symble geseten haefdon. / thaer waes gidd ond gleo; gomela Scilding, / felafricgende feorran rehte; / hwilum hildedeor hearpan wynne, / gome(n)wudu grette, hwilum gyd awraec / soð ond sarlic, ...*

The bench-voice wax'd brighter, gave forth the birlers
 Wine of the wonder-vats ..."
 [v. 1159–1162]⁴³

Thus the author of the Old English 'Beowulf' described the integration of heroic songs into the courtly feast.

Certainly, that's fiction. However fiction not so far from the facts and reality of the Early Middle Ages. Circa 790 p. e., Liudger, bishop of Münster in Westfalia, met the blind singer Bernlef on the estate of a Frisian noble dame, who by neighbours and fellows was highly appreciated, because "he ... knew very well to perform, playing himself on a string instrument (*psallendo promere*), the deeds of the old heroes and the battles of the kings".⁴⁴

We cannot doubt the existence of professional singers, so-called *scops*, in the Early Middle Ages, and we cannot doubt the song practice of noble amateurs, testified by several discoveries of musical instruments, particularly lyres and harps, as burial objects in aristocratic graves.⁴⁵ Plenty of secondary mentionings in textual documents written in Britain and on the continent give evidence that a wide horizon of heroic sagas spanned early Europe. In order to give just a few examples: Beowulf reflects the revenge saga and incest legend of *Sigimund*, his sister *Signy* and their son or nephew *Fitila* (the bavarian *Sintarfizzilo*), more expanded in the Old Norse 'Völsunga Saga'.⁴⁶ The Old English 'Waldere'-fragment cites a whole team of East Germanic heroes as *Theodric* (in German: *Dietrich*) and the miraculous smith *Weland/Wieland* with his son *Widja/Widigowo*;⁴⁷ *Waldere* is

43 Ibid., p. 41: ... *Leoð waes asungen, / gleomannes gyd. Gamen eft astab, / beorhtode bencsweg, byrelas sealdon / win of wuonderfatum*. ... Cf. HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 61–63.

44 Alfrid of Münster: *Vita Liudgeri episcopi*, in: *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri*, ed. by Wilhelm Diekamp, Münster 1881, c. 25f., p. 30–32: ... *antiquorum actus regumque certamina bene noverat psallendo promere*. Cf. HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 63f.

45 WERNER, Joachim: *Leier und Harfe im germanischen Frühmittelalter*, in: *Aus Verfassungsgeschichte und Landesgeschichte*. FS Theodor Mayer, ed. by Joachim Werner, Lindau/Konstanz 1954, p. 9–15; RESTLE, Konstantin: "Musikinstrumente", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6 (1992), col. 955–969, here col. 960; WANZECK, Christine/BETZ, Marianne: "Harfe und Leier", in: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 14 (1999), p. 1–9; THEUNE-GROSSKOPF, Barbara: *Krieger auf der Leier*, in: *Archäologie in Deutschland* 3 (2004), p. 8–13; id.: *Die vollständig erhaltene Leier des 6. Jahrhunderts aus Grab 58 von Trossingen, Ldkt. Tuttlingen, Baden-Württemberg*, in: *Germania* 84 (2006), p. 96–142.

46 UECKER, Heiko: *Germanische Heldensage*, Stuttgart 1972, p. 22–25; MAROLD, Edith: *Ragnarsdrápa und Ragnarsage*, in: *Germanic Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations*, ed. by Bela Brogyanyi/Thomas Krömmelbein, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1986, p. 427–457; VOLZ, Ruprecht: "Völsunga saga", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8 (1997), col. 1843–1844; HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 82f.; id.: *Sigi-Namen und Nibelungensage*, in: *Blütezeit*. FS L. Peter Johnson, ed. by Marc Chinca/Joachim Heinze, Tübingen 2000, p. 175–206; id.: *Heroische Zeiten? Wanderungen von Heldenamen und Heldensagen zwischen den germanischen Gentes des frühen Mittelalters*, in: *Namenwelten. Orts- und Personennamen in historischer Sicht*, FS Thorsten Andersson, ed. by Astrid van Nahl/Lennart Elmevik/Stefan Brink, Berlin/New York 2004, p. 513–534, here p. 517f.

47 *Waldere*, ed. by Frederick Norman, London 21949; SCHWAB, Ute: *Waldere. Testo e commento*, Messina 1967; id.: *Nochmals zum angelsächsischen 'Waldere' neben dem 'Waltharius'*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (PBB)* 101 (1979), p. 229–252, p. 347–368;

connected again with the Latin poem of ‘Waltharius’, where king *Guntharius* of Worms and his vassal *Hagano* appear.⁴⁸ *Weland* and his brother, the miraculous marksman *Egil* are present on the 8th century Anglo-Saxon rune chest of Auzon (Frank’s Casket).⁴⁹ The Old French name *Waland* or *Galand* requires for France the reception of the Germanic hero *Weland* in the 8th or 9th century.⁵⁰ Of Alboin, first king of the Langobards in sixth century Italy, the historian Paulus Diaconus reports circa 790 that “he is until today celebrated in the songs of Bavarians, Saxons and peoples of the same (theodisc) language”.⁵¹ Paulus is also the first to point firmly to the fall of the Burgundians, the unhistorical killing of the Nibelungian king *Gunthari* by *Attila*, the ruler of the Huns, himself.⁵² *Ermanarik*, king of the Goths, appears with family and followers in the Old English “gleeman”-lay ‘Widsith’⁵³ and

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- UECKER, Germanische Heldensage, p. 88–93; ZETTERSTEN, Arne: Waldere, Manchester 1979; WIELAND, Gernot: “Waldere”, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 8 (1997), col. 1957; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 84f.; id. Heroische Zeiten?, p. 521f.; BECK, Heinrich: “Walther und Hildegund”, in: Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 35 (2007), p. 612–614; LIENERT, Elisabeth (ed.): Dietrich-Testimonien des 6. bis 16. Jahrhunderts (Texte und Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Heldenepik 4), Tübingen 2008, p. 48, no. 41.
- 48 Waltharius, ed. by Karl Strecker (MGH Poetae VI, 1), Weimar 1951, p. 1–85. Cf. HAUG, Walter/VOLLMANN, Benedikt K.: Frühe deutsche Literatur und lateinische Literatur in Deutschland 800–1150, Bibliothek des Mittelalters 1, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, p. 163–259, p. 1169–1222; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 104f., p. 133–135, p. 385; BERTINI, Ferruccio: “Waltharius”, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 8 (1997), col. 2002; KLOPSCH, Paul: “Waltharius”, in: Verfasserlexikon, vol. 10 (1997), col. 627–638; VOLLMANN, Benedikt K.: “Waltharius”, in: Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 33 (2006), p. 160–164.
- 49 MAURUS, Peter: Die Wielandsage in der Literatur, Erlangen 1902; UECKER Germanische Heldensage, p. 80–88; BECKER, Alfred: Zu den Bildern und Inschriften des Runenkästchens von Auzon, Regensburg 1973; HAUCK, Karl: Wielands Hort, Stockholm 1977; NEDOMA, Robert: Die bildlichen und schriftlichen Denkmäler der Wielandsage, Göttingen 1988; id.: The Legend of Wayland in Deor, in: Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik 38 (1990), p. 129–145; BECK, Heinrich: Die Volundarkvida in neuerer Forschung, in: Über Brücken. FS Ulrich Groenke, ed. by Knut Brynhildsvoll, Hamburg 1989, p. 81–97; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 101–103; id. Heroische Zeiten?, p. 516f.; MAROLD, Edith: Egill und Qlrún, in: Skandinavistik 26 (1996), p. 1–19; SIMEK, Rudolf: “Wieland”, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 9 (1998), col. 80–81; PESCH, Alexandra/NEDOMA, Robert/INSLEY, John: “Wieland”, in: Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 33 (2006), p. 604–622.
- 50 See BECKMANN, Gustav Adolf: Wieland der Schmied in neuer Perspektive. Romanistische Fakten und germanistische Folgerungen, Frankfurt a. M. 2004.
- 51 Paulus Diaconus: Historia Langobardorum (MGH SS rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 48), Hannover 1878, I, c. 27, p. 81; Paulus Diaconus: Geschichte der Langobarden. Historia Langobardorum, ed. and tr. by Wolfgang F. Schwarz, Darmstadt 2009, p. 152f., p. 359. Cf. UECKER Germanische Heldensage, p. 129–131; GSCHWANTLER, Otto: Die Heldensage von Alboin und Rosimund, in: Festgabe für Otto Höfler, ed. by Helmut Birkhan (Philologica Germanica 3), Wien 1976, p. 214–254; id.: Formen langobardischer mündlicher Überlieferung, in: Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik 11 (1979), p. 58–85; WAGNER, Norbert: Alboin bei Thurisind, in: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum 111 (1982), p. 243–255; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 96f., p. 105; id. Heroische Zeiten?, p. 518f.; for a sceptical view of the ‘heroic saga’ in Paulus Diaconus, not shared by me, see: VOLLMANN, Benedikt K.: Paulus Diaconus und das Heldenlied, in: Impulse und Resonanzen. FS Walter Haug, ed. by Gisela Vollmann-Profe et al., Tübingen 2007, p. 45–56.
- 52 Paulus Diaconus: Historia Romana (MGH SS rer. Germanicarum in usum scholarum 49), Berlin 1879, XIV, c. 5, p. 112. Cf. HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 92.
- 53 Widsith, ed. by Raymond Wilson Chambers, Cambridge 1912; Widsith, ed. by Kemp Malone, Copenhagen 1962. Cf. ROBINSON, Fred C.: Old English, in: Early Germanic Literature and Culture,

in ‘Deors Complaint’,⁵⁴ where he is described as a man of “woolfish mind” and as a wicked ruler, always acting in breach of good faith [“breaking his oathes”]. It puts the unfaithful king’s persecution and killing of his relatives into a characteristic light, when in 893, in a remarkable letter, the West Frankish Archchancellor *Fulco*, archbishop of Reims, warns the East Frankish king *Arnulf*: “Books in *theodisca lingua* tell us of a king named *Hermenricus*, who, incited by the godless advice of his counsellor [Sibico], condemned to death his whole family (*progenies*)”.⁵⁵ The intention of the archbishop was to deter king Arnulf from persecuting the young West Frankish king Charles, his concurrent and nephew defeated in battle. The whole plot, the whole storyline of the *Ermanarík-Saga*, handed down by text centuries later,⁵⁶ is present here, and – more important – the *Saga* apparently belongs to the common aristocratic education standard of a king, who had grown up in Bavaria and Carinthia, and of a bishop of Reims, born on the Rhine.

In total all these secondary citations of heroes may convince us, that in Carolingian times, heroic saga was on its way to the formation of one or better two “heroic ages”, on the one hand a Scandinavian one, also present with the Gauts and Danes of ‘Beowulf’ (and of the ‘Finn’-fragment) in Britain, and on the other hand a continental one centred around Theodrík, Ermanarík and Attila the Hun, extending again to Britain and Scandinavia.⁵⁷

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- ed. by Brian Murdoch/Malcolm Read, Rochester-NY/Woodbridge 2004, p. 205–233, here p. 217–219; LIENERT Dietrich-Testimonien, p. 46f., no. 38; BREMMER, Rolf H.: Across borders: Anglo-Saxon England and the Germanic world, in: The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature, ed. by Clare A. Lees, Cambridge 2013, p. 185–208, here p. 199–201; NEIDORE, Leonard: The Dating of ‘Widsith’ and the Study of Germanic Antiquity, in: *Neophilologus* 97 (2013), p. 165–183.
- 54 Deor, ed. by Kemp Malone, London 1933. Cf. ROBINSON Old English, p. 218; LIENERT Dietrich-Testimonien, p. 55f., no. 52; BREMMER Across borders, p. 201–203.
- 55 Flodoard von Reims: Die Geschichte der Reimser Kirche, ed. by Martina Stratmann (MGH SS 36), Hannover 1998, p. 338. Cf. UECKER Germanische Heldensage, p. 72; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Ein Held für viele Zwecke. Dietrich von Bern und sein Widerpart in den Heldensagenzeugnissen des frühen Mittelalters, in: *Theodisca. Beiträge zur althochdeutschen und altniederdeutschen Sprache und Literatur in der Kultur des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. by Wolfgang Haubrichs/Ernst Hellgardt et al., Berlin/New York 2000, p. 330–363, here p. 340f.; LIENERT Dietrich-Testimonien, p. 59f., no. 61.
- 56 UECKER Germanische Heldensage, p. 63–74; GSCHWANTLER, Otto: Die Heldensagen-Passagen in den Quedlinburger Annalen und in der Würzburger Chronik, in: *Linguistica et Philologica. Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder*, ed. by Otto Gschwanter et al., Wien 1984, p. 135–181; id.: Zeugnisse zur Dietrichsage in der Historiographie von 1100 bis gegen 1350, in: *Heldensage und Heldenichtung im Germanischen*, ed. by Heinrich Beck, Berlin/New York 1988, p. 35–80; WOLFRAM, Herwig/BECK, Heinrich: “Ermanarich”, in: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 7 (1989), p. 510–515; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Heldensage und Heldengeschichte. Das Konzept der Vorzeit in den Quedlinburger Annalen, in: FS Herbert Kolb, ed. by Klaus Matzel/Hans-Gert Roloff, Bern 1989, p. 87–129; id. Die Anfänge, p. 85–89; id. Heroische Zeiten?, p. 519f.; HEINZLE, Joachim: Einführung in die mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik, Berlin/New York 1999; LIENERT, Elisabeth: Die ‘historische’ Dietrichepik. Untersuchungen zu ‘Dietrichs Flucht’, ‘Rabenschlacht’ und ‘Alpharts Tod’, Berlin/New York 2010.
- 57 For the concept of different ‘heroic ages’ see HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang, “Heroische Zeiten”? Wanderungen von Heldenamen und Heldensagen zwischen den germanischen gentes des frühen Mittelalters, in: *Circolazione di uomini, di idee e di testi nel Medioevo germanico. XXV Convegno dell’Associazione Italiana di Filologia Germanica*, Cassino – San Vincenzo al Volturno – Montecassino 27–29 maggio 1998, ed. by Franco De Vivo, Cassino 2002, p. 77–99 (map on p. 99). Cf. for the upswing of

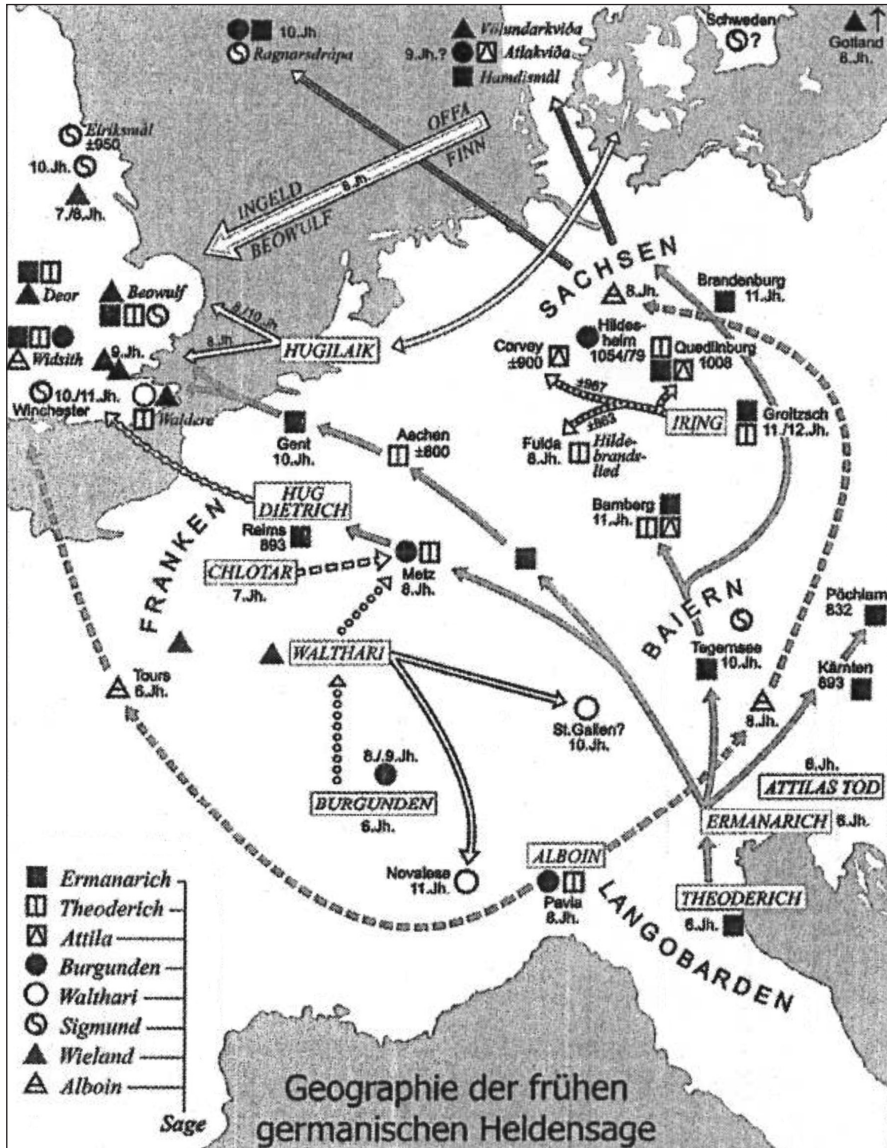


Fig. 1: Map of early Germanic heroic Legends.

Of all heroic legends on the Carolingian continent, only one song survived as a fragment, a poem, belonging as an offspring to the story of *Theoderik/Dietrich*.

heroic legends in Carolingian times FRANK, Roberta: Germanic legend in Old English literature, in: The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature, ed. by Malcolm Godden/Michael Lapidge, Cambridge 1986, p. 88–106.

That is the so-called ‘Lay of Hildebrand’ (‘Hildebrandslied’), written down in the thirties of the 9th century at Fulda,⁵⁸ dealing with the tragic duel of the father *Hildebrand*, a follower of Theoderik, and his son *Hadubrand*, a vassal of Theoderik’s enemy Odoakar, who is not able or willing to recognize his father. Looking at the language the present text must be a copy of an older text created in the years around 800. Furthermore the Latin epos ‘Waltharius’, regarding the linguistic form of the Germanic names, leads to a source of the early 9th century.⁵⁹ And not to forget: Fulco of Reims quoted the Ermanarík-Saga from *libris teutonicis*, from books in German language. It’s again Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, who testifies a large-scale attempt to write down heroic poetry, while using a formula we have already come across with Liudger’s Frisian singer *Bernlef*. We find the passage in chapter 29, the “imperial” chapter of the *Vita Caroli*:⁶⁰ ... *barbara et antiquissima carmina quibus veterum regum acta et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandavit* (“He ordered to write down the vernacular, time-honoured songs, telling of the deeds and wars of the kings living in the early times, for to preserve their memory”). It becomes clear that not the heroic in itself prevailed in contemporaneous perspective, but the *memoria* of the old kings, with whom the Carolingians were connected by descent and genealogy and by the bonds of rule and power the Frankish Empire exercised over the older Germanic reigns on the soil of Italy, Gallia and Germania. But it becomes also clear by the final failure that even the efforts of a great king for the literarisation of heroic saga, for the establishing of literary *lieux de mémoire* eventually reached their limits.

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Perhaps this failure was not least caused by the clerical reformers and their followers, who refused to assist the revolutionary acts of Charles. They, from a Christian point of view, saw dangers: Alkuin lashed out against the performance of a revenge-song dealing with the Danish hero *In-geld* (verbatim “the revenger”) in an English monastery: *Quid Hinieldus* (< *Ingeldus*) *cum Christo*?⁶¹ And in harmony with the aforementioned *Admonitiones Synodales*, the priest and *magister* Otfrid of Wissembourg, fights against the *sonus rerum inutilium*, “the performance of useless

58 HAUG/VOLLMANN Frühe deutsche Literatur, p. 9–15, p. 1025–1038; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 147–160; LIENERT Dietrich-Testimonien, p. 53f., no. 50; DÜWEL, Klaus/RUGE, Nikolaus: “Hildebrandslied”, in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur (2013), p. 171–183.

59 WAGNER, Norbert: Zu den Personennamen im ‘Waltharius’. Zwischen Textkritik und Namenkunde, in: Gedächtnisbuch für Elfriede Stutz, Heidelberg 1992, p. 109–125.

60 Cf. fn. 33; HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: *Veterum regum actus et bella*. Zur sogenannten Heldenliedersammlung Karls des Großen, in: Aspekte der Germanistik. FS Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, ed. by Walter Tauber, Göttingen 1989, p. 17–46.

61 See CHERNISS, Michael D.: *Ingeld and Christ*. Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Poetry, Den Haag/Paris 1972, p. 8; FRANK Germanic legend, p. 91f.; BULLOUGH, Donald A.: What has Ingeld to do with Lindisfarne, in: Anglo-Saxon England 12 (1993), p. 93–125; HAUBRICHS Heroische Zeiten?, p. 515.

stories” in the sixties of the 9th century, and contra the *cantus obscoenus* of the laymen, offending the ears of pious men and women.⁶²

Thus, it repeatedly came to remarkable attempts of vernacular literarisation of holy doctrines and stories in contact areas between clergy and laymen during the 9th century. The existence and relevance of these contact areas depends on how common the abilities to write and to read were among laymen in Carolingian times. In Italy, but hardly north of the Alps, we have quite a lot of original charters with personal signatures of laymen, rightly characterized as *semi-litterati*.⁶³ In the ‘Saargau’, east of Metz in Lorraine, in the first half of the 8th century, but not later on, lay-notaries existed.⁶⁴ In contrast, Saint-Gall charters show the increase of rural priest-writers for the German South-West.⁶⁵ At the end of the 9th century, but not earlier, we are informed – p. e. again at Saint-Gall – that the sons of the monastery’s vassals should be educated in the *schola laicorum*: however we know nothing about the success of this regulation.⁶⁶ During the last decades, it was Rosamund McKitterick who established the thesis of an expanded literacy of Carolingian laymen and laywomen.⁶⁷ Indeed we know of pious laymen such as Count Rorico of Maine

62 Otfriids Evangelienbuch, ed. by Oskar Erdmann/Ludwig Wolff (ATB 49), Tübingen 1962, Ad Liutbertum, p. 4f.

63 See PETRUCCI, Armando: Scrittura e libro nell’Italia altomedievale, part II, in: Studi Medievali, ser. III, 14 (1973), p. 961–1002, here p. 1002; id.: The Lombard problem, in: Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy. Studies in the History of Written Culture, ed. by Armando Petrucci, New Haven/London 1995, p. 43–58; PETRUCCI, Armando/ROMEO, Carlo: Scrittura e alfabetismo nella Salerno del IX secolo, in: Scrittura e Civiltà 7 (1983), p. 51–112; SUPINO MARTINI, Paola: Alfabetismo e sottoscrizioni testimoniali al documento privato dell’Italia centrale (sec. VIII), in: Escribir y leer en Occident, ed. by Armando Petrucci/Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, València 1995, p. 47–61 (with “Conclusioni” di A. Petrucci, p. 241–249); id.: Cultura grafica della Langobardia maior, in: Visigoti e Longobardi, ed. by Javier Arce/Paolo Delogu, Firenze 2001, p. 371–389; EVERETT, Nicholas: Scribes and charters in Lombard Italy, in: Studi Medievali, ser. III, 41 (2000), p. 39–83; id.: Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774, Cambridge 2003. For the misguided considerations of Nicholas Everett concerning the language of the Langobards, see HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Sprache und Schriftlichkeit im langobardischen Italien. Das Zeugnis von Namen, Wörtern und Entlehnungen. Ein Kommentar zu Nicholas Everett, Literacy in Lombard Italy, in: Filologia Germanica – Germanic Philology 2 (2010), p. 133–201.

64 GLÖCKNER, Karl: Die Anfänge des Klosters Weißenburg, in: Elsaß-Lothringisches Jahrbuch 19 (1940), p. 57–107; id.: Aux bords des Vosges septentrionales à l’époque franque (VIII^e–IX^e siècles), in: Revue d’Alsace 93 (1954), p. 21–35.

65 For pastors as writers of St. Gall charters see GOETZ, Hans-Werner/HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Romanische Namen in Willmandingen? Sprach- und geschichtswissenschaftliche Anmerkungen zu zwei Mancipien-Listen in St. Galler Urkunden, in: Wissenschaften im Kontakt. Kooperationsfelder der Deutschen Sprachwissenschaft, ed. by Sandra Reimann/Katja Kessel, Tübingen 2007, p. 207–237.

66 Cf. HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 49, p. 169, p. 259.

67 MCKITTERICK, Rosamond: The Carolingians and the Written Word, Cambridge 1989, p. 211–270; id. (ed.): The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe, Cambridge 1990. Cf. NELSON, Janet L.: Literacy in Carolingian government, in: The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe, ed. by McKitterick, Cambridge 1990, p. 258–296; SCHÄFER, Ursula (ed.): Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter, Tübingen 1993; BROWN, George Hardin: The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England, in: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 77 (1995), p. 109–142. Critical observations in: CHRISTOPHERSEN, Paul: The spoken word in international contacts in Carolingian Europe, in: NOWELE: North-Western European language evolution 20 (1992), p. 53–64; RICHTER, Michael: ‘Quisquis scit scribere, nullum potat abere labore’. Zur Laienschriftlichkeit im 8. Jahrhundert, in: Karl

(† 841), of whom in recognition is said:⁶⁸ “This venerable count, everyday after the matutinal hymns, practised holy contemplations in his chapel, according to aristocratic custom beautifully established at his estate”. Here and somewhere else we can recognize the imitation of clerical and monastic devotion-styles. We also know some high aristocrats as owners of libraries containing among other works religious ones.⁶⁹ But these dukes, earls and counts possessed clergymen and *capellani* in their household, who ran the spiritual services and could read out religious works to their seigneurs.

Things are looking better for laywomen, particularly in the higher nobility. The best, but perhaps exceptional example is given by Dhuoda, the wife of the margrave Bernhard of Septimania and Barcelona, an important player at the Carolingian court: In the years of 840 to 843 she wrote, if she really wrote it herself, a didactic manual, full of Christian mind and education, for her sons.⁷⁰ Further women of noble rank are known, to whom spiritual tracts and books have been dedicated.⁷¹ The *matrona veneranda* Judith, who pushed Otfred of Weißenburg/Wissembourg to write a vernacular Gospel harmony, could also have been a *litterata*.⁷² But even in this case we cannot be sure, whether or not in the end her chaplain or a priest had to read out the book to her.

Most of the testimonies for a certain literacy of the lay-nobility are to be found in the West, on the soil of the Gallo-Romania; they thin out in the regions of the Rhineland and dry up on the right hand border of the Rhine. But there have been other contact areas between the church and the laity. The first area I will merely touch on: It is formed by the cult of saints. Monks and clergymen, keeping the

Martell in seiner Zeit, Beihefte der Francia 37, ed. by Jörg Jarnut/Ulrich Nonn/Matthias Richter, Sigmaringen 1994, p. 393–404; HELLGARDT Zur Mehrsprachigkeit, p. 1–48.

68 Odo von Glanfeuil: *Miracula S. Mauri*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger (MGH SS XV, 1), Hannover 1887, p. 461–472, here c. 3, p. 467: ... *isdem venerabilis comes in oratoriolo compendiose ibidem constructo, ut nobilioribus mos est, post matutinos residens hymnos divinis intenderet theoriis, psalmis ac precibus per contemplationem insistendo, ...* Cf. HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 45, p. 258. For Carolingian *comites* and lay-women as recipients and users of books see also DECKER, Anton: Die Hildebold'sche Manuskriptensammlung des Kölner Domes, in: FS der 43. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner dargeboten von den Höheren Lehranstalten Kölns, Bonn 1895, p. 216–251; LEHMANN, Paul: Erzbischof Hildebold und die Dombibliothek von Köln, in: Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 25 (1908), p. 153–158.

69 RICHÉ, Pierre: Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laics carolingiens, in: *Le Moyen Age* 69 (1963), p. 87–104; id.: *Die Welt der Karolinger*, Stuttgart 1981, p. 90f., p. 251–253; MCKITTERICK *The Carolingians*, p. 245–250.

70 Dhuoda: *Liber manualis*, in: Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, ed. by Pierre Riché (*Sources chrétiennes* 225), Paris 1975. Cf. WOLLASCH, Joachim: Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Wirklichkeit, in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 39 (1957), p. 150–188; DRONKE, Peter: *Woman Writers of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1984, p. 36–54.

71 MCKITTERICK *The Carolingians*, p. 223–227; HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 50f., p. 257–260; GREEN, Dennis: *Women Readers in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2007. Cf. YITZHAK, Hen: Gender and patronage of culture in Merovingian Gaul, in: *Gender in the Early Medieval World*, ed. by Leslie Brubaker/Julia M. H. Smith, Cambridge 2004, p. 217–233.

72 Otfreds *Evangelienbuch*, ed. by Erdmann/Wolff, Ad Liutbertum, p. 4. Cf. HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 51, 264 and 310.

holy relics of saints and administrating the places of worship, came together with the people here, expecting salvation and healing from the saints. Since the middle of the 9th century we find small poetic appeals to great saints such as Mary, John, Peter and naturally Christ himself and later on, both in Romance and Theodisc regions, vernacular saint-hymns of different types.⁷³

We may discern an appealing, intercessional type from a narrative, memorative type: For the latter we can mention the Augsburg Romance Passion-Song,⁷⁴ and the “Chanson de Sainte Eulalie”,⁷⁵ written down in northern France circa 882 (together with the Old High German “Ludwigslied”, praising the victory over a Viking army, won by a West Frankish king).⁷⁶ At Meaux (east of Paris), people sung and danced a song in honour of the local saint Faro in the 9th century;⁷⁷ circa 960 a professional leader, a *praedux* accompanies a group of pilgrims to the saint

73 See HAUBRICHS, Wolfgang: Georgslied und Georgslegende im frühen Mittelalter. Text und Rekonstruktion, Königstein/Ts. 1979, p. 167–202; id.: Heiligenfest und Heiligenlied im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Genese mündlicher und literarischer Formen in einer Kontaktzone laikaler und klerikaler Literatur, in: Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Paderborner Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes, ed. by Detlef Altenburg/Jörg Jarnut/Hans-Hugo Steinhoff, Sigmaringen 1991, p. 133–143; HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 323–342.

74 BERSCHIN, Helmut/BERSCHIN, Walter/SCHMIDT, Rolf: Augsburgs Passionslied, in: Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts, ed. by Walter Berschin/Reinhard Düchting, Heidelberg 1981, p. 251–279; KUEN, Heinrich: Das Futurum im Augsburgs Passionslied, in: Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 95 (1979), p. 283–289.

75 AVALLE, D'Arco Silvio: Alle origini della letteratura francese. I Giuramenti di Strasburgo e la Sequenza di Santa Eulalia, Torino 1960; BARNETT, Francis J.: Some notes to the ‘Sequense of Saint Eulalia’, in: Studies in Medieval French presented to Alfred Ewert, Oxford 1961, p. 1–25; BULST, Walter: Buona pulcella fut Eulalia, in: FS Bernhard Bischoff, ed. by Johanne Authenrieth/Franz Brunhölzl, Stuttgart 1971, p. 207–217; GNÄDINGER, Louise: “Eulalialied”, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 4 (1987), col. 93f.; DION, Marie-Pierre (ed.): La Cantilène de sainte Eulalie. Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes 1989, Lille 1990; BALIBAR, Renée: Eulalie et Ludwig. Le manuscrit 150 de la bibliothèque de Valenciennes. Colinguisme et prémisses littéraires de l'Europe, Valenciennes 2004; BERGER, Roger/BRASSEUR, Annette (ed. and tr.): Les séquences de sainte Eulalie. Edition, traduction et commentaire, étude linguistique, Genève 2004.

76 HAUG/VOLLMANN Frühe deutsche Literatur, p. 146–149, p. 1135–1140. Cf. HAUBRICHS Die Anfänge, p. 137–145; id.: Volkssprache und volkssprachige Literaturen im lotharingischen Zwischenreich (9.–11. Jh.), in: Lotharingia. Eine europäische Kernlandschaft um das Jahr 1000, Saarbrücken 1995, p. 181–244, here p. 227–237 and plate 41–47 (reproductions of the folia containing ‘Eulalia’ and the ‘Ludwigslied’); HELLGARDT Zur Mehrsprachigkeit, p. 24–27; HERWEG, Matthias: Ludwigslied, De Heinrico, Annelied: die deutschen Zeitdichtungen des frühen Mittelalters im Spiegel ihrer wissenschaftlichen Rezeption und Erforschung, Wiesbaden 2002, p. 19–180; id.: “Ludwigslied”, in: Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur (2013), p. 241–252.

77 Hildegard von Meaux: Vita Faronis, ed. by Bruno Krusch (MGH SS rer. Merovingicarum V), Hannover/Leipzig 1910, c. 78, p. 193: *carmen publicum iuxta rusticitatem per omnium paene volitabat ora ita canentium, feminaeque choros inde plaudendo componebant*. Cf. HEISIG, Karl: Über das Farolied, in: Romanische Forschungen 60 (1947/48), p. 459–489; CHALLEY, Jacques: Autour de la Chanson de Geste, in: Acta Musicologica 27 (1955), p. 1–12, here p. 6; AVALLE, D'Arco Silvio: Protostoria delle lingue romanze, Torino 1965, p. 319–361; id.: Latina ‘circa romancum’ e ‘rustica romana lingua’. Testi del VII, VIII e IX secolo, Padova 1970, p. 23–25; SABATINI, Francesco: La cantilena di San Farone, in: Studi in onore di I. Siciliano, Firenze 1966, p. 286–307; HAUBRICHS Georgslied, p. 195; id. Die Anfänge, p. 127f.

Firmin near Verdun and praises the deeds and miracles of the holy man in songs.⁷⁸ At Freising in Bavaria, in the first third of the 10th century, an intercessional hymn, addressed to Saint Peter, was written in Old High German on the last sheet of a manuscript.⁷⁹ Immediately before 884 the *magister* Ratpert of Saint Gall composed a narrative vernacular hymn about the saint of his monastery.⁸⁰ Around 900 an unknown author composed, we don't know exactly where, the complex, highbrow Old High German *Georgslied*, a lay commemoration and praise of the deeds and miracles of the count and martyr George, here called *G(e)orio*.⁸¹ All these vernacular hymns created new para-liturgical bonds between the *loca sacra* and the laymen, embedded in the more and more flourishing cult of saints.

More demanding projects show us another specifically late Carolingian area of contact: the repeated attempt to transfer biblical and spiritual knowledge in poetic form to the laymen. These projects are unimaginable without the model of the Late Antique Latin Bible poems of Arator, Avitus, Iuvenus and Sedulius, meanwhile being subject matter in the Carolingian schools.⁸² In extent and size the vernacular bible epics also emulate these models. Finally the two most important works, to be dealt with here now, are the most extensive poems of the Carolingian epoch (Latin poems included), leading by a large margin with 5983 alliterative verses and 7104 rhymed lines.

78 The *processio* is organized by the *vir economus Theutbertus de Salnisio* (Saulnois) and by his priest *Harvynus multum populi sibi commissi collectum gregem* and goes to Verdun. See 'Translatio S. Firmini', ed. by O. Holder-Egger (MGH SS XV, 2), Hannover 1888, p. 808: ... *oratione terminata, desideratum iter resumunt, colligentes secum praeduceum virum bene strenuum nomine Walefridum, qui eos per iter dulci modulatione laetificabat beati Firmini virtutibus, acsi verba sententiaeque eius currerent per dulcia laborum flumina; cui erat gratissima generis sui iuvenula itinere sociata, virginitate, ut aiebant, adornata. Haec namque paribus modulationis suae cantibus sub modulo reciprocae vocis parva Kyrie eleison dabat responsa, quod nobis consono auditu piissima saepe numero effluserunt lamenta. Cum tali ergo iocundissima societate ventum est ad portum transeuntium Mosellam ...* Cf. HAUBRICHS *Georgslied*, p. 179f.; id. *Heiligenfest*, p. 141.

79 HAUG/VOLLMANN *Frühe deutsche Literatur*, p. 130–131, p. 1117–1120. Cf. HAUBRICHS *Heiligenfest*, p. 135f.; id. *Die Anfänge*, p. 330; LOMNITZER, Helmut/HARTMANN, Heiko: "Petruslied", in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 361–364.

80 Ekkehard IV.: *Übersetzung von Ratperths Galluslied*, ed. by Karl Strecker (MGH Poetae V, 2), Leipzig 1939, p. 534–540 (furnished with *neumae*). Cf. OSTERWALDER, Peter: *Das althochdeutsche Galluslied Ratperths und seine lateinischen Übersetzungen durch Ekkehard IV. Einordnung und kritische Edition*, Berlin/New York 1982; HAUBRICHS *Die Anfänge*, p. 332–335; id. *Heiligenfest*, p. 136f.

81 HAUBRICHS *Georgslied*, p. 63–111, p. 370–378; HAUG/VOLLMANN *Frühe deutsche Literatur*, p. 132–137, p. 1120–1128. Cf. HAUBRICHS *Georgslied*, p. 341–369; id. *Die Anfänge*, p. 335–342; id. *Heiligenfest*, p. 137f.; id. *Georgslied*, in: *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur* (2013), p. 132–137; id.: *Laien, Klerus, Mönche, König als Anreger und Rezipienten des volkssprachigen Evangelienbuchs Otfrids von Weifenburg* (a. 863/71), in: *Konstanz und Wandel. Religiöse Lebensformen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Gordon Blennemann/Christine Kleinjung/Thomas Kohl, Affalterbach 2016, p. 71–112, here p. 101–103; KOCH, Elke: *Erzählen vom Tod. Überlegungen zur Finalität in mittelalterlichen Georgsdichtungen*, in: *Kein Zufall. Konzeptionen von Kontingenz in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. by Cornelia Herberichs/Susanne Reichlin, Göttingen 2010, p. 110–130, here p. 115–123.

82 See KARTSCHOKE, Dieter: *Bibeldichtung. Studien zur Geschichte der epischen Bibelparaphrase von Iuvenus bis Otfrid von Weifenburg*, München 1975.