

Pacifying the Saxons – *An Interpretative Reading of the Hêliand*

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Charlemagne impose le baptême aux Saxons ¹

MASTER VED INSTITUTT FOR LINGVISTIKK OG NORDISKE STUDIER, UNIVERSITETET I OSLO,

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¹ de Neuville, Alphonse: "Charlemagne impose le baptême aux Saxons. Gravure sur bois" in Guizot, François: *L'histoire de France racontée à mes petits-enfants*, vol. 1, Paris, 1877

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Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

To my family - Eirik, Ravn Balder, Pusifer and Pelzebub

Summary

This essay aims to be an interpretive reading of the *Héliand* as a reconciliatory work, where I try to gain greater insight into what strategies were used by the recently converted Saxons in coping with the forced conversions and integration into the Carolingian Empire, their mentality and way of thinking. How can we access the *Héliand* as a resource, to learn more about the Christianisation and inculturation processes in mid-9th century Saxony?

My original point of departure was to look at which aspects of the *Héliand* could be remnants of Saxon thought and culture, about which we know very little. This has proven to be based on the common false assumption, that the *Héliand* is a “Germanised” version of the gospel and that it can be used as a source of information about Saxon culture and religion prior to Charlemagne’s conquest at all.² I have therefore moved away from this supposition, and instead studied the picture the poet draws of Christianity, later Christianisation strategies and Frankish integration politics. In order to understand the interaction between Saxons and Franks in the mid-9th century, I want to take a closer look at the vocabulary used, and more specifically at the names used for God and the words used to describe Him in the *Héliand*-epic.

² See below

Preface

I first came into contact with the *Hêliand* when I still went to school. I was immediately fascinated with the work, its concept and how it might be used to give insight into how the Saxons were Christianised. I decided then and there that I would write my Master's thesis on the subject. The *Hêliand* is strangely unknown even among medievalists, especially outside of Germany. Most though not all works concentrate on the language itself, the origin in time and space, the identity of the author and so forth, few deal with the actual content. As I will argue in this thesis, the *Hêliand* should be considered one of our earliest, most contemporary, best preserved and therefore most important written sources of early medieval thought and religious mentality in what is now northern Germany. With this thesis I wish to further the studying of the history of ideas, beliefs and mentalities in general and of the *Hêliand* in particular.

Despite new works on the subject, the study of Early Medieval Germanic society and thought for some reason is still overshadowed and quite resiliently so even among scholars by the prejudices, romanticisms and misconceptions of the 19th century and those of the Nazis. The subject itself seems to be tainted in the public mind. Considering the importance of the *Hêliand* as a source, I wish to contribute to renewing interest in the subject matter and removing the brown stain. Even though this will have only a small part in my study, I should point out that the poem portrays the Jews in the evangelical story at times, though far from all the time, as vicious enemies of Christ. This is however not done in order to create anti-Semitism among the Saxons or demonize Jews³. The cultural contact between Saxons and early medieval Jews was likely inexistent or so negligibly small, that it cannot be assumed to be a motive for their portrayal in the *Hêliand*. Instead, it is used as a metaphor, between Jews and Saxons, where the poet tries to reconcile the Saxons with their new Christian faith, by negative example. I will get back to this later. Still I want to emphasise that I do not share this negative view of the Jewish people in any way. These passages should be seen in their historical context and be treated as a mind-set of the past, not be misguidedly used as a basis for extremist ideologies or ideologically motivated studies.

³ Friedrich, Martin: "Christ between Jews and Heathens: The Germanic Mission and the portrayal of Christ in the Old Saxon *Hêliand*" in ed. Pakis, Valentine A.: *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand*, Morgantown 2010, p. 272

I wish to thank my mentor and supervisor Jón Viðar Sigurðsson for his never-ending patience, support, encouragement and counsel. Without him, writing this thesis would not have been possible from the start. I owe him so much and so many carwashes now, as well as my good friend Zana Langman Rieck for her helpful suggestions and proof reading of my text. I wish to thank Rosamond McKitterick and Geoffrey Koziol for the kind words, affirmation and encouraging recommendations they offered. I also want to thank my husband Eirik for his support and love, for giving me the time and space I needed to work and for bringing Ravn up north with him in those last weeks before print. Last but not least, I want to thank both our families for their substantial role in supporting us while we finished our studies.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Problem

Many functions have been suggested for the use of the Hêliand. Some scholars believe it to have been used for reading to lay brothers⁴, others to teach the warrior-nobility.⁵ Some suggest it was sung to mesmerise the heathens⁶, and others again that it was directed towards a monastic audience.⁷ Most of them agree that it has likely functioned in the context of missionary work. What I observe as striking is that most of these functions do not actually exclude one another; therefore arguing for one single function seems misplaced. A poem of this size and so many exemplars has surely been used for more than one thing and I must wonder about the single-mindedness many seem to superimpose on medieval people and mind-sets. There is simply no reason to believe that medieval people were less complex than us. They were just as able to follow different lines of thought and reasoning, and just as capable of innovation and reinterpretation. The goal of this study is to add another function rather than diminishing others. I believe one very important function of the Hêliand has often been under-communicated; the reconciliation of the Saxons with their new Frankish overlords and their new Christian faith. My analysis of the Hêliand will show that the epic was likely part of a politically motivated programmatic approach to reach peace.

This essay aims therefore to be an interpretive reading of the Hêliand as a reconciliatory work, where I try to gain greater insight into what strategies were used by the recently converted Saxons in coping with the forced conversions and integration into the Carolingian Empire, their mentality and way of thinking. How can we access the Hêliand as a resource, to learn more about the Christianisation and inculturation processes in mid-9th century Saxony?

My original point of departure was to look at which aspects of the Hêliand could be remnants of Saxon thought and culture, about which we know very little. This has proven to be based on the common false assumption, that the Hêliand is a “Germanised” version of the Gospel

⁴Haferland, Harald: «War der Dichter des 'Heliand' illiterat?» in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, Bd. 131, Leipzig, 2002, p.20, Green, Dennis H.: „Three aspects of the Old Saxon biblical epic“ in *The Continental Saxons from the Migration Period to the Tenth Century*, p. 255

⁵ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p.97-98, 115

⁶Haferland, Harald: «War der Dichter des 'Heliand' illiterat?» in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, Bd. 131, Leipzig, 2002, p. 26

⁷Gantert, Klaus: *Akkommodation und eingeschriebener Kommentar: Untersuchungen zur Übertragungsstrategie des Helianddichters*, Tübing 1998, p. 267

and that it can be used as a source of information about Saxon culture and religion prior to Charlemagne's conquest at all.⁸ I have therefore moved away from this supposition, and instead studied the picture the poet draws of Christianity, later Christianisation strategies and Frankish integration politics. In order to understand the interaction between Saxons and Franks in the mid-9th century, I want to take a closer look at the vocabulary used, and more specifically at the names used for God and the words used to describe Him in the Heliand-epic. In what way does the source represent the Christian God and what can we deduce from it? What kind of verbal and didactic strategies are used and why?

While working my way through the epic, gathering my statistical data, I noticed the diplomatic and reconciliatory tone in the wording of the Heliand. Murphy sees this too, but rejects the idea, stating that:

"[a]ny attempt to see the Heliand as an effort to overcome the alienation of the Saxons and to reconcile them to the faith originally forced upon them is precluded by the exclusion of any effort to examine the real social situation of the day".⁹

His categorical denial of the historical account in support of a reconciliatory reading of the Heliand is thoroughly refuted by Mierke, remarking appropriately that:

"[D]as Herrschaftskonzept der Karolinger, die Etablierung eines christlichen Wissenssystem und die Umsetzung einer einheitsstiftenden Religion [sind untrennbar miteinander verwoben und bilden zusammen untrennbar den Hintergrund des Heliand]".¹⁰

While Murphy's interpretation and translation is based on his personal visualisation of the text, following largely Vilmar's rather national romantic "Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand als Einkleidung der evangelischen Geschichte"¹¹, into an imagined "Saxon culture", which goes back to the problematic concept of a "Germanic culture and religion", I have come to a similar conclusion as Mierke, though both our goals and methods differ considerably.

Murphy himself acknowledges, that the concept of "Germanisation" in general and Vilmar's "pan-Germanic" interpretation in particular are difficult, and warrant a careful approach, but

⁸ See below

⁹ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p. 6

¹⁰ "The concept of Carolingian rule, the establishment of a Christian system of knowledge and the implementation of a unifying religion are intimately entangled with and inseparable from the background of the Heliand." Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008, p. 335

¹¹ Vilmar, August Friedrich Christian: *Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand als Einkleidung der evangelischen Geschichte*, Marburg 1845

he pays too little attention to the thorough arguments and studies that reject this concept at its core. A short discussion of the problem of “Germanisation” will be provided further down.

1.2 Method

As I have mentioned earlier, great interest has been shown for the questions of where, when and by whom the *Hêliand* might have been written. This is not the focus of my study, as I’m more interested in what and how. To gain a more clear idea of the way the poet thought about his own faith, God, and his audience, I have analysed the poem by quantitative as well as qualitative criteria, and made a list of all the different names God is called and which attributes are used to describe Him in the *Hêliand*.¹²

Tveito points to a resource for word frequency in the *Hêliand*¹³, but there are many reasons why I did not use this resource in my own research. For starters, when one doesn’t know which terms to look for, it is more or less useless. It also neither translates the terms nor discusses them in any way. The formats given are: sorted alphabetically with different declinations and conjugations listed separately, by frequency and as bigrams, but without any user-controlled sorting functions, which make them rather bulky and quite uncomfortable to work with. Safe to say other statistical studies on the *Hêliand* of the kind I have done do not seem to exist. There are other studies on the names for God i.e. in the Bible¹⁴ and in Old English Poetry¹⁵, but these are neither academic studies, nor do they provide much of the information I have given in mine. My study of the *Hêliand* started therefore with my own gathering process of finding all the names for God used in the poem, and has enabled me to find and demonstrate nuances that others did not. Which names stand out and why? In what context does he use which name? What does this tell us about the author’s religious beliefs, his own approach towards Christianity and his approach to Christianisation? What other observations did I make during the gathering process?

Three terms seemed especially suited to test my hypothesis of the *Hêliand* as an attempt to reconcile and Christianise the Saxons: *frīðubarn* – the peace child, *drohtin* – lord, and *hêliand* – saviour, the first and third seemingly standing in opposition to the second. I have studied each of these three terms according to the way they are used in the source text and

¹² See the appendix

¹³ <http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~bkessler/OS-Heliand/alphWords>, accessed on November 8th 2013

¹⁴ Dr. Ralph F. Wilson: Names and Titles of God: A Bible Study, see:

http://www.jesuswalk.com/books/pu_names-god_list.htm, accessed on November 8th 2013

¹⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Names_of_God_in_Old_English_poetry, accessed on November 8th 2013

investigated whether the text might have been part of a reconciliatory program to finally reach peace between Saxons and Franks. Friðubarn and closely related terms were chosen as a logical point of departure, because they directly link Christ with friðu, the Old Saxon word for peace and protection. The title of drohtin was chosen as a contrast, because it is likely that it has a military origin, though according to Green had already become a fully Christian term when the Hêliand was composed, and it is in this tension between secular military and Christian use of the word that I wish to see if, and if so in what way, it might illuminate the issue at hand. The last term I have examined is hêliand, because I wanted to see whether the inherent duality of healing and saving was applied to the Christian God's relations with the Saxons facing the Franks and Christianity. When I say God, I mean the Christian God in all of his forms. But the terms in question are mostly used for Christ, his son: friðubarn and hêliand exclusively so, while drohtin is applied both to God the father and Christ the son. I will come back to how these names contribute to any supposed reconciliatory message in the epic in the respective chapters. In the following I will put the Christianisation of the Saxons and the writing of the Hêliand into their historic context, and suggest why Murphy errs in his above mentioned statement.

1.3 Historic background

While the Frankish aggression started with Karl Martell, it was Charlemagne who fought the Saxons most fiercely and apart from one last insurrection on the part of the Saxons - the politically motivated Stellinga-uprisings - ended the long-lasting hostilities between Franks and Saxons.

Charlemagne entered Saxony in 772. It was he, Charlemagne, who was responsible for the destruction of the Irminsul, a Saxon sanctuary, and wanted to end the Saxon dominion over the area between the Rhine and Weser rivers, in order to gain complete control over the blooming trade along the Rhine.¹⁶ The Christianisation and incorporation of Saxony into the Frankish Kingdom and later Empire was a difficult, long-lasting and complex undertaking. Mayr-Harting gives an interesting account of the background for Charlemagne's imperial coronation as being necessary to take rulership over the Saxons. Though I'm uncertain as to the likelihood of his scenario, it is certainly interesting to read and he does make quite a few good points as to why this would have been so important to Charlemagne. He argues, among

¹⁶ Mayr- Harting, Henry: "Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800" in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 444, Oxford 1996, p. 1115

other things, that the title was used to further connect the Frankish kingdom and the papacy out of a necessity for both¹⁷, but also that, contrary to the Franks and Langobards and due to the Saxons unwillingness and lack of a fundament for a kingship, he “could not” take the style of Saxon king.¹⁸ The official Christianisation of the Saxons began more or less with the issuance of the “Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae”¹⁹ and the following forced baptisms, one of the first being that of Saxon duke and resistance leader Widukind in 785. After his baptism and oath of fealty to Charlemagne Widukind disappears, possibly sentenced to a monastic life as were other political opponents of Charlemagne. Alcuin, Charlemagne’s spiritual advisor, criticises the forced conversions and the lack of formal education of the Saxons in Christian dogma in a letter to Charlemagne, written in AD 796. Alcuin argues that preaching must precede baptism, because prior to the acceptance of the teachings of the Catholic faith, the cleansing of the soul through baptism would not help.

*“[...], ut ordinate fiat praedicationis officium et baptismi sacramentum, ne nihil prosit sacri ablutio baptismi in corpore si in anima ratione utenti y catholicae fidei agnitio non praecesserit.”*²⁰

In 797 Charlemagne draws up a new, more lenient Capitulatio, removing the death penalty for pagan practice and giving the Saxons a number of privileges²¹. Many noble Saxon families embraced Christianity in order to be assimilated into the Frankish upper classes and to gain the favour of the king. Christianity to the nobility was a symbol of a higher, more civilized culture and many noble families founded proprietary monasteries with their own patron saints. The monasteries to which the peasants paid tithes were full of sons of nobles who sought to imitate the Franks. Not so the Saxon people in general, though far more sporadically Saxon tribes continued to wage war on Charlemagne for another 15-20 years, then again in 842-845 as part of a political struggle among Charlemagne’s heirs.

When the Hêliand was written around 830, the Saxons had intermittently fought against the Franks for almost two generations, and even after their submission in 799/800 rose again up against their Frankish rulers, before ultimately admitting defeat and becoming part of the

¹⁷ Mayr- Harting, Henry: “Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800” in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 444, Oxford 1996, p. 1123

¹⁸ Mayr- Harting, Henry: “Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800” in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 444, Oxford 1996, p. 1124-1125

¹⁹ For a full overview see: <http://www.arminiusforschung.de/Beitraege/capitulatio-saxoniae.PDF>

²⁰ ed. Dümmler, Ernst: “Alcuin’s letter to Charlemagne, from 796” in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae, IV, Epistolae Karolini aevi II, I. Alcuini sive Albini epistolae*, No. 110, Berlin 1895, p. 158

²¹ Fletcher, Richard: *The Conversion of Europe. Kindle Edition*, Kindle Location 4128 (2012-11-22)

Christian world. Apart from Charlemagne still being king and not quite yet emperor when he finally won over the Saxons in 799, Henry Mayr-Harting has a lot of good points that indicate this to be a rather negligible fact. The fundament for his imperial crowning in Rome was set where and when he celebrated his victory over the Saxons he had fought for 30 years and while many other Northern European or “Germanic” tribes have adapted Christianity from the top, as an ideology and justification of the ruling families, as an interaction between crown and church, the Saxons as a people deliberately rejected both.²²

This means that the Saxons had quite a unique position amongst the non-Christian tribes of their time, both when it comes to the institution of kingship and the Christianisation of Europe. Therefore I strongly disagree with Ruth Mazo Karras when she states that “Saxony provides an illustration of the pattern of conversion undergone by most of the Germanic tribes, not an anomalous example.”²³ She simply omits that special position the Saxons held. Not only were they one of the last non-Christian mainland tribes, they also rejected kingship both as a political and a social model, its concept as the divine will of the Christian God and thereby its role in the Christianisation of Europe. The Saxon case differs from other Germanic tribes in that forced mass baptism took the place of gradual conversion by missionaries on an extremely large scale.

This might have favoured the persistence of pagan beliefs among baptized Christians as Karras states, and without much doctrinal guidance of the newly converted, it would be easy to assume that the Saxons were prone for relapses into paganism.²⁴ As argued convincingly by Rembold, this fear of the Saxons’ “relapse” is documented in a number of texts of the 9th century from Saxony, such as the *Vita Liutbergae*, the *Translatio sancti Liborii* and the *Translatio sancti Alexandri*. However, even these rare ecclesiastic sources that mention paganism or traditional beliefs among the Saxons at all, seem to tell a different story, one which the vast majority of Saxons had accepted Christianity, but were in need of doctrinal guidance. They never even suggest that any Saxons actually did go back to their former traditions and beliefs, only that they were in danger of doing so. Rembold demonstrates how the authors of these hagiographies used this “threat of paganism” as a narrative tool, with the

²² Mayr-Harting, Henry: “Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800” in *The English Historical Review* Vol. 111 No. 444, Nov. 1996, Oxford, p. 1123

²³ Karras, Ruth Mazo: “Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony” in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, Washington 1986, p. 571-572

²⁴ Karras, Ruth Mazo: “Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony” in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, Washington 1986, p. 571-572

intent to demonstrate a relic's power or a saint's devotion.²⁵ While the supposed non-Christian practises described in Charlemagne's "Capitulatio" and Boniface's "Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum" differ widely and are used mainly "to reinforce normative Christian beliefs and behaviours [through negative illustration]"²⁶. While Karras argues that

"[e]ven those Saxons who abandoned overtly pagan practices understood Christianity in the same way as they had understood the pagan religion that preceded it, not as a religion of salvation with emphasis on doctrine, but as a means of obtaining powerful aid in this world."
27

The Hêliand indicates that by the early to mid-9th century, this was strictly speaking no longer the case. Since Charlemagne's main strategy had been to back his missionary efforts with a strong military presence instead of focusing on the teaching of the newly converted in Christian doctrines, Murphy characterizes this as "the Roman conversion model" where the "Romanization of the Faithful instead of Germanisation of the faith"²⁸ was the goal; baptism was what was asked of non-Christians as a sign of submission to the Christian God and the Emperor.²⁹

1.4 Presentation of the Hêliand

The "Hêliand", first so called by Johann Andreas Schmeller when he published the first academic edition of the text in 1830, tells the story of Jesus' life and work, and retells it for a Saxon audience in a poetic manner, quite likely even as a song indicated by neumes - an old form of musical notation - in the manuscripts. 5983 alliterative verses have survived in two almost complete manuscripts, and four fragments. The manuscripts are: manuscript M - Codex germanicus monacensis 25³⁰ - which can be found in the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and manuscript C - Codex Cottonianus Caligula A VIII - in the British Library in London. The smaller fragments are: Fragment S - Codex germanicus monacensis 8840 - which has been used as a book cover, and can be found in the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek in Munich as well, fragment P, which stems from a book printed in 1598 in Rostock and is at the

²⁵ Rembolt, Ingrid: "Chapter 2. The Christian message and the Saxon laity", unpublished manuscript, made available to me by the author via email on November 7th 2013, p. 12

²⁶ Rembolt, Ingrid: "Chapter 2. The Christian message and the Saxon laity", unpublished manuscript, made available to me by the author via email on November 7th 2013, p. 10

²⁷ Karras, Ruth Mazo: "Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony" in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, Washington 1986, pp. 553-572, p. 571-572

²⁸ Murphy, G. Ronald: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford, 1989, p. 15

²⁹ Sullivan, Richard E.: "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan" in *Speculum*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Cambridge 1953, p. 712

³⁰ <http://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00026305&pimage=00001&v=100&nav=&l=en>

Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, fragment V - Codex Palatinus latinus 1447 - which is in the Vatican Library in Rome, and fragment L - Codex Leipzig Thomas 4073 - which was discovered in Leipzig in 2006 and had also been used as a book cover. The standard editions of the Hêliand in Old Saxon are Karl Simrock's from 1856, Eduard Sievers' from 1877 and Otto Behagel's from 1882, the most popular English translation is that of Ronald G. Murphy from 1992, but it is problematic and should not be used as a standard translation. I will get back to that shortly. Therefore all translations in this essay are my own unless otherwise noted.

The Hêliand is a so called Evangelic harmony, an attempt to combine all four gospels into one coherent story and was made to let the newly converted Saxons understand the meaning of the Gospel. Because large parts of the Christian mass were held in Latin, the Hêliand was written in their own language, which we call Old Saxon or Old Low German. The most prominent original influence is a Latin version of Tatian's "Diatessaron"³¹. There is an on-going debate about where the Hêliand originated or who might have been its author, the most likely candidates being the monasteries at Corvey, Werden and Fulda. The identity of the poet is even less certain with no candidates probable enough to even be mentioned. Many scholars believe the epic poem was written within living memory of the Saxons' conversion by Charlemagne around 830 on the account of "Ludowicus piissimus augustus" interpreted as either Louis the Pious³² or Louis the German³³, son and grandson of Charlemagne respectively. This is however academically disputed. The so-called "praefatio et versus" that is the basis of these claims is believed by most scholars to be authentic, even though the oldest surviving document is not handwritten, but printed in the second edition of Mathias Flacius Illyricus "Catalogus testium veritatis qui ante nostram aetatem reclamarunt papae" in 1562³⁴, it is this praefatio that is the basis of virtually all studies considering the "Heimatfrage", the question of origin.

The Hêliand with its many extant copies, was in my opinion written for all kinds of uses. It was equally appropriate for recital among Saxon nobility, clerics and lay people. Maybe it

³¹ Quispel, Gilles: "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium" in *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol.16, No.3/4, Leiden 1962, p. 121

³² Hummer, Hans J.: 'The identity of Ludowicus piissimus augustus in the Praefatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica conscriptum', *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte* 31:1 (2004), pp. 1-14

³³ Haubrichs, Wolfgang: «Die Praefatio des Heliand. Ein Zeugnis der Religions- und Bildungspolitik Ludwig des deutschen», in Eichhoff, J. og I. Rauch (eds.): *Der Heliand*, Darmstadt 1973: 400-435

³⁴ Andersson, Theodore M.: "The Caedmon Fiction in the Heliand Preface" in *PMLA*, Vol. 89, No. 2, New York 1974, p. 278

was even sung in halls, in market places, or in monasteries. None of these are in conflict with the purpose of pacifying and reconciling the Saxons with the Franks and all other Christian peoples - thereby enforcing a political agenda by way of religious doctrinal teachings – translation imperii et studii, one of its main messages being one of peace, as I will demonstrate in the course of this thesis.

1.5 Historiography

On the subject of the “Germanisation of Christianity” vs. the “Christianisation of Germanic peoples” many have tried their hands. Johannes Rathofer has dedicated considerable parts of his monograph of the Hêliand to trying to answer the question of whether the Hêliand is a “Germanised gospel”. He answers it with launching his idea of “accommodation”.³⁵ The question is also at the base of Albrecht Hagenlocher’s “Schicksal im Hêliand” although he criticises the inherent dichotomy and gives an elaborate historiographical account of its roots.³⁶ Olav Tveito also discusses the issue, but fails, when he tries to skew the existing evidence and knowledge in the direction he wishes, while at the same time confirming the veracity of the opposing research. This lack of coherency is exactly as confusing as it sounds. He tries to bring forth “evidence” of supposed “Germanic” features in his argumentation, while contradicting it, not even at once but much later and completely separately, in his conclusions.³⁷ Mihai Grigore’s “Christus der Krieger. Überlegungen zu einem Inkulturationsphänomen anhand der altsächsischen „Heliand“-Übersetzung”³⁸, is unfortunately so riddled with misconceptions, misinterpretations and disregard for sound, scholarly work, to a large degree because of an uncritical use of Murphy, that it barely qualifies as an academical work at all. Valentine A. Pakis’ “Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand”³⁹ shows a wide array of current studies on the Hêliand as a subject, though I often find myself disagreeing with its contributors. Hopefully my study will contribute to gaining a better understanding of, and the dismissal of these terms in conjunction with, the Hêliand.

³⁵ Rathofer, Johannes: *Der Hêliand – Theologischer Sinn als Tektonische Form*, Köln 1962

³⁶ Hagenlocher, Albrecht: *Schicksal im Hêliand*, Köln 1975

³⁷ Tveito, Olav: “Kristendommens germanisering?” in Steinsland, Gro ed.: *Transformasjoner i vikingtid og norrøn middelalder*, Oslo 2006, pp.131-152 and “Frelerskikkelsen i Heliand” in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* Nr. 3, Årgang 106, Oslo 2005, pp. 185-208

³⁸ Grigore, Mihai: “Christus der Krieger. Überlegungen zu einem Inkulturationsphänomen anhand der altsächsischen „Heliand“ in *Studii Teologice*, Seria a III-a, Anul VII, Nr. 1, Bucuresti 2011

³⁹ Pakis, Valentine A.: *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand*, Morgantown 2010

Murphy's translation is accessible⁴⁰ and, apart from his questionable translational choices, close to the original text. Murphy argues well enough for his choices, but I do not agree with his categorical "Germanisation" of the text⁴¹, his objective seems to be an imitation of the vocabulary of saga literature, especially on words such as, but not limited to "girûni", "hêliand" and "drohtin". The readers need to be aware of this and make up their own mind as to when they are appropriate and when not. In my opinion they mostly are not, often because, upon closer inspection, the original meaning was distorted to make the words fit, while the straight translation would not support such an artificially "Saxonized" interpretation. Thanks to the transparency of his choices and even though it is a prose translation, it still proved better than many other translations, such as Clemens Burchhardt's new German translation⁴², which unfortunately is a rather inaccurate translation strongly coloured by the editor's personal preferences as a man of the church. I have used Burchhardt's edition nonetheless, because it puts Simrock's edition of the Hêliand and their translation side by side, making it very handy to work with if one is aware of the challenges in the German translation. During the production of this thesis I have gained a growing understanding for the Old Saxon language, and when a proper translation was needed, such as in my original study, I have used Heinrich Tiefenbach's "Altsächsisches Wörterbuch"⁴³ for help in cases where I was uncertain. Tiefenbach provides both the German and English translations, of virtually the complete known Old Saxon vocabulary and has proven indispensable.

There are many grammatical, syntactical and metric studies based on the Old Saxon language found in the Hêliand. These are largely irrelevant to my study, because my approach is rooted in semantics, cultural and ecclesiastic history, as well as the history of mentality and ideas. Still there are some grammatical studies that should not go unmentioned, such as Irmengard Rauch's "The Old Saxon Language"⁴⁴ and James E. Cathey's "Heliand: Text and Commentary".⁴⁵ Both provide helpful notes on the reading of the Old Saxon language, but the latter relies too heavily on Murphy's translation.

⁴⁰ Maybe even a little too likeable, as it seems to continuously mislead scholars.

⁴¹ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel*, Oxford 1992, p. xv

⁴² Burchhardt, Clemens (ed.): *Heliand – Die Verdener altsächsische Evangelien-Dichtung übertragen ins 21. Jahrhundert*, Verden, 2007

⁴³ Heinrich Tiefenbach, "Hêli-Hêliand" in *Altsächsisches Handwörterbuch – A Concise Old Saxon Dictionary*, Berlin 2010

⁴⁴ Rauch, Irmengard: *The Old Saxon Language: Grammar, Epic narrative, Linguistic Interference*, Berkeley 1992

⁴⁵ Cathey, James E.: *Hêliand: Text and Commentary*, Morgantown 2002

The study of the Charlemagne's relationship with the Saxons has also had a significant role in my study, especially in conjunction with his conversion strategies and modern peace and conflict studies. A comprehensive study of the Saxons' general history both prior, during and after Charlemagne is provided by Matthias Springer's "Die Sachsen"⁴⁶. I have found Gesine Mierke's dissertation "Memoria als Kulturtransfer"⁴⁷ of how collective memories work as a cultural transfer mechanism and how they are expressed in the *Heliand*. Luckily I am a native-speaker of German, because, unfortunately, her study must be said to be written in rather difficult academic German, which will make it much less accessible to non-native speakers of German than mine.

1.6 On the question of "Germanisation"

The concept of Germanisation presupposes the idea of different "Germanic tribes" supposedly belonging to a somewhat uniformly expressed "Germanic culture" that was thought to be mirrored in the politics, religion and language of these "Germanic tribes", their cultural sphere ranging from what is today Spain, Northern Italy, to Scandinavia and the Atlantic settlements of the Vikings from the beginnings of the Migration period in the 5th century to the 11th century Middle Ages. In "The Germanisation of early medieval Christianity" James C. Russell tries to develop a model of religious change for what happens when a folk-religion offering this-worldly socialisation comes into contact with a universal religion offering other-worldly salvation.⁴⁸ However I disagree with him on several of his premises, such as the supposed uniformity of Germanic culture and novelty of this-worldly elements in early Christianity which he attributes to the Germanic tribes' folk-religions, the supposed glorification of war, the proprietary church system, the cult of saints and relics and not least the permanency of these features.

One main reason for this error is an often too static understanding of the term culture itself, a construction of "a culture" with specific and distinguishable features. This concept in regard to "German" is mainly a construction of 19th century German national romantics who tried to contribute to the emerging nation-building processes in Germany. It has been thoroughly rejected by nearly all scholars, however it is being persistently reanimated time and again by

⁴⁶ Springer Matthias: *Die Sachsen*, Stuttgart 2004

⁴⁷ Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008

⁴⁸ Russell, James C.: *The Germanization of early medieval Christianity*, Oxford 1994

scholars and lay people alike,⁴⁹ who wish to know more about different societies in the early middle ages, and for some reason or another believe to be able to find distinctly “Germanic” features in their sources.

Much of the criticism against the concept of Germanisation does not go against the possibility of reflections upon older times; much of it goes against the lack of contemporary comparative material, and thus the speculative nature of its assumptions. It also superimposes an artificial dichotomy between Christianity and paganism as two diametrically opposed and fixed concepts. James Palmer argues quite convincingly that “pagan” is in fact a Christian construct.⁵⁰ So too is “Christian”, as Brown writes, a similar construction imposing unity, where there is in fact diversity⁵¹, while Ingrid Rembold points out that

*“[d]ebates over what correct Christianity constituted are as old as Christianity itself. Such debates consisted not merely of defining what true Christianity was, but also what it was not: hence the oppositional categories of ‘heretics’ and ‘pagans’.”*⁵²

In regard to the Hêliand, many scholars have tried to reconcile the basic idea of a “Germanised” Gospel with different approaches to cultural adaptation⁵³. However as Mierke impressively demonstrates, these cultural transfers stick much deeper, and can be traced to Antique and Carolingian ideas in the text, rather than any imagined Saxon folkloristic ideas. Still, many scholars continue to ignore these basic and essential counterarguments, misled by the poet’s assumedly archaic language and the wish to find traces of Saxon culture, which we know so little about. The term itself is not unproblematic as the Saxons were more of a confederation of tribes than one people previous to their submission by the Franks, and we don’t know at all how they differentiate themselves from one another. Though the goal of these scholars is admirable, their premises are flawed.

⁴⁹ The most recent “culprits” are perhaps Russell and Murphy.

⁵⁰ Palmer, James Trevor: “Defining paganism in the Carolingian world” in Crick, Julia (ed.): *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 15, Nr. 4, Oxford 2007, p. 404

⁵¹ Brown, Peter: *The Rise of Western Christendom – Triumph and Diversity A.D. 200-1000*, 2.ed., Oxford 2003, pp. 13ff.

⁵² Rembold, Ingrid: “Chapter 2. The Christian message and the Saxon laity”, unpublished manuscript, made available to me by the author via email on November 7th 2013, p. 4

⁵³ See further below 5.4-5.5

2 Friðubarn – the Peace child

In this chapter I will examine how the term friðubarn might have contributed to the reconciliation of Saxons and Franks. When looking at what terminology in the *Hêliand* might shed light on a supposed reconciliatory or pacifying message friðubarn – the Peace Child and its semantic neighbours are a logic point of departure. First and foremost because they specifically attribute Christ the property of being one that brings peace and protection. It is a promise to the Saxon community, that had been at war for so long, that had seen large parts of its population be killed and forcefully moved, and now needed peace and security above all else, and secondly because the “Germanic” tribes are stereotypically characterised as war-hungry warrior-tribes, which gladly die fighting. However everyday life seems to have been for the most part just as peaceful as in other societies.

In order to see if there in fact is such a message or if friðubarn is used in other ways, I will look at the following questions. How do we imagine a child’s social status in that kind of society? Which status has peace and which status has one that brings peace? In order to study these issues I will part this chapter in two. In the first part I will look at the different times when friðubarn and its closest semantic neighbours are being used and in what way. In the second, I will discuss my findings and put them into a peace-making context, supplementing Mierke’s approach to the *Hêliand* as an expression for Carolingian *Translatio imperii et studii*, with modern peace and conflict studies by Nigel Biggar, Erwin Staub and Benjamin Miller. Their theories have been very helpful, both in reading the source text and in gaining an understanding of the time and historic circumstances themselves. I will examine how modern peace and conflict studies can help us understand the context in which the poem was written, and maybe shed some light on the Saxons as a so-called warrior society as well as mechanisms active in achieving a new equilibrium.

2.1 How Christ is portrayed as the Peace Child?

2.1.1 Friðubarn and Friðugumono bezt – introducing Christ as a bringer of peace and protection

Example verse 450:

That gêr furðor skrêd unththat that friðubarn godes fiartig habda dago endi nahto.

The time went further by until God’s Peace Child was forty days and nights.

Die Zeit schritt weiter vor bis dass das Friedekind Gottes vierzig Tage und Nächte zählte.

This introduction of Christ is naturally found mostly in the beginning of the poem, with the exception of the last instance. Christ is introduced early on as *friðubarn* or Peace Child to the audience and this is repeated when he is introduced to different persons and/or groups within the tale. This does not mean that it is the first name used, but that it is present early on, as one of Christ's characteristics and becomes a standard phrase in introducing Christ. This is important to my interpretation of the poem, because it tells the audience about one of the basic functions of Christ, the implications of which can not have been lost on them. *Friðubarn* is used in this way in the verses 450, 619, 667, 983, 1128, 1156 and 4024.

In verse 450, the infant Christ is being introduced as the bringer of peace for the first time, both to the audience and the Jewish community in the tale, in that His parents bring Him to the temple in Jerusalem “*sô uuas iro uuîsa than*”⁵⁴ – such were their ways. In verse 619 “*friðugumono bezt*” is one of the terms used when Herodes hears about the coming of Christ. Here the name appears in a slightly varied version as an adult form, probably to show that he is a threat to Herodes despite his young age and peaceful manner or even because of it. Shortly after in verse 667 when the three wise men from the East see Christ for the first time, he is called *friðubarn*. In Verse 983 I was in doubt at first if it should be counted in this list, but as Jesus is being baptized, he is born again and reintroduced as god's son and the bringer of peace. In verse 1128 John the Baptist introduces Him to the people present at the scene. In Verse 1156 he introduces Himself to some people near the lake. Verse 4024 is an exception as it is the only time the term is used with a clear double meaning. Here *friðubarn* is used when Christ arrives at the scene and introduced to the people there, but it is also in his function as a protector and healer, as He is about to raise Lazarus from the dead, which brings us to the next area of application where *friðu/ friðubarn* is the protector.

2.1.2 Friðubarn – the protector of the weak and persecuted, bringer of life

Example verse 1011:

Thit is selbo Krist, godes êgan barn, gumono bezto, friðu uuið fiundun.

This is Christ Himself, God's own Child, the best of men, protection against the enemy.

Das ist der Krist selbst, Gottes eigenes Kind, der beste der Männer, Schutz wider die Feinde.

This demonstrative use of examples of “Christ the protector” follows the description of Christ *friðubarn* throughout the poem from his baptism to his death. In verses 1011, 2099, 3022, 3883, 4024 and 5776 Christ keeps the peace and protects the weak and persecuted, heals the sick and raises the dead. He is the great protector, playing on the double meaning of *friðu* as

⁵⁴ Verse 453

peace/protection, who could protect you against any and all enemies, may they be Franks, afflictions of the body or mind, or even the devil. It is also used in the context of his own resurrection, the greatest demonstration of protection thinkable.

In the first instance, verse 1011, Christ is the protector against enemies, because as soon as one became part of Christendom, one was under his protection. As part of the Christian people, the Franks i.e. were no longer one's enemies. In verse 2099 Christ heals a sick child from its paralysis. Also in the next instance in verse 3022 he heals a child, this time from a possession or mental illness. In verse 3883 he protects the adulteress against a mob that wishes to stone her to death. In 4024 he is explicitly introduced as a healer and bringer of protection before raising Lazarus from the dead. The last time friðubarn is used in this context is in verse 5776 when Jesus resurrects before going to heaven. In a way this can be read as symbolizing that anything is possible, that eternal peace is the ultimate reward and it is available to all who follow his example as shown in the next context category where the focus shifts markedly from helping one's allies in times of need to promoting diplomacy and non-violence.

2.1.3 Friðubarn – Christ as a man of peace and peaceful solutions

Example verse 760:

Thar that friðubarn [godes] uuonoda an uuilleon, antthat uurd fornam Erodes thana cuning,
There the Peace child of God lived willingly until fate took away Herod the king,
Dort wohnte das Friedekind williglich bis das Schicksal fortnahm den König Herodes

This application of friðubarn found in verses 760, 1077, 3836, 3899, 3943, 4494, 5349 and 5932 is when Christ is portrayed as calm, or choses a non-violent way to react to any sort of challenge, be it a challenge of his authority or divinity, his truthfulness or his life. Even when violence, aggression and resistance seem like the most natural way to react, when He could use his godly powers to punish those who defy or wish to harm Him, He never does and also teaches his disciples not to act violently.

Assuming that the Saxons were indeed a people of warriors, where prowess in battle was what determined one's worth as a friend and ally, this must indeed have been a difficult principle to grasp unless the Saxons had already embraced the general idea of Christianity and only needed guidance in how to become better Christians and encouragement to make use of these principles in their everyday lives. Of course there are several problems with assuming such a point of departure, since we have extremely sparse sources of knowledge of the Saxons' own

religion and/ or worldview prior to their conversion. The Saxons' long-lasting war against Charlemagne, Widukind's oath of fealty to Charlemagne which he breaks again and again, and Charlemagne's harsh "Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae" however might be seen as indications to what the Saxons thought of as acceptable and appropriate reactions to the Franks' and the church's transgressions prior to their final submission. At the time the *Héliand* was written however, this process of peace making and strengthening Saxon Christianity must have been well on its way.

So how is this brought forward by the poet? How does he demonstrate this new model of behaviour to the Saxons? In verse 760 Christ chooses the path of peace by going into exile rather than fighting Herodes directly. Even though he is a child at this point, he is also the almighty son of God, but he does not use his power in that way. In verse 1077 he endures and resists the devil's attempts to tempt him by calmly answering and turning him away with just his words. He does the same in verse 3836 where a mob of Jews is trying to lure Him to go against the emperor, a parallel to the Saxons own situation that I will get back to at a later point in this essay. The next instance in verse 3899 he has defended the adulteress against yet another mob and now the mob starts to turn on Him. In verse 3943 it gets even worse and they actually wish to kill him. He defends himself with words and walks away. Even when he realizes that he will die, as becomes clear in verse 4494, his reaction is not anger but spending time with his disciples and showing them affection and love. Likewise in verse 5349 in his "negotiations" with Pilate he answers only verbally and not very aggressively. Lastly he defends himself with words against a follower in verse 5932 and does not wish to be touched, since he has not yet risen towards his heavenly father. This last verse is very interesting as it doesn't state why the two exclude one another. Unfortunately examining this issue and possible underlying concepts would go beyond the scope of this study and has to remain an open question.

2.1.4 Friðubarn – ideal and teacher

Example verse 2382:

[...] ac geng imu thô the gôdo endi is iungaron mid imu, friðubarn, themu flôde nâhor an ên skip innan, endi it scalen hêt lande rumor, that ina thea liudi sô filu, thioda ni thrungi.

[...] and so the good One moved closer and his followers with him the Peace child, to the water and into a ship, and he told them to push it away from the land, so that all these many people wouldn't throng him.

[...]und der Gute ging hin und mit ihm seine Jünger, das Friedekind, näher an das Wasser heran und stieg in ein Schiff, und er hieß es stossen vom Lande, damit all die vielen Leute, das Volk nicht drängte.

The last way the term is used is to portray Christ in a teaching situation without any of the other categories being implied. In my understanding, it underlines His capacity as a teacher itself and what He is teaching: peace among the people and peoples. In a way this shows the audience Christ as an example to follow. It puts their own teacher in Christ's footsteps, the goal in my opinion being to strengthen their commitment to Christ's and the church's teachings, and thereby creating an environment where peace was finally seen as a real possibility.

In the first instance in verse 2382 Christ almost flees from a crowd of listeners and onto a ship, according to the story because they became so eager to learn that he needed to create a distance. It appears a little too late in the Parable of the Sower in order to call it an "introduction" and there is no actual threat from which to seek refuge in order to place this instance in the third category. It does however put an emphasis on him preaching to a large and composite group of people. In verse 4525 the teaching aspect is even more strongly emphasised, when Christ sits down with his disciples at the last supper and gives them a long lecture, telling them of things to come.

The underlying factor that combines all of these functions is the idea of a "Rex Iustus et pacificus" – a just and peace-making king. Charlemagne adapted the idea of one Empire peopled by *one* Christian people⁵⁵, with himself in the position of the "rex iustus et pacificus", where everyone lives in peace with one another under the supreme rulership of one emperor and one God, where God provides for his followers well-being in this life as well as the next, as long as they stay loyal. This idea of a Christian people is introduced very early on in the *Héliand* where the poet compares the Franks with the Romans and the Saxons with the Jews.⁵⁶ The latter in particular is repeated throughout the epic, encouraging the Saxons to be the "new" Jewish people, but to repent the Jews' previous transgressions against emperor and Christianity and thus succeed where the poet implies that the Jews had failed. By promoting this unifying picture of Christianity, the Saxons were to understand that the Franks no longer were their enemies, if only they would forgive them, as the Lord's Prayer demands.

I therefore believe that the poet explicitly depicts Christ in situations that reflect back upon the poet's own audiences. To a large degree the people Christ preaches to have already heard

⁵⁵ Schutz, Herbert: *The Carolingians in Central Europe, Their History, Arts, and Architecture*, Leiden 2004, p. 201

⁵⁶ in verses 53-70

about Him, and have received baptism, but they still need instructions on how to become better Christians, on how to live peacefully with one another, and how to both obtain God's help, and make the "right" choices in situations of conflict. All of these point therefore to a politically motivated and religiously enforced message of pacification and reconciliation.

2.2 The child in a warrior society

As childhood must be considered a social concept rather than an absolute and measurable entity, it differs greatly in time and place⁵⁷. The paucity of material on Saxon children in the early 9th century poses a problem when working with the term *friðubarn* because we have no idea a priori what children and childhood meant to the Saxons, but it also helps in approaching the problem without prejudice. In my study of the concept of childhood I have followed Hughes, Kamp⁵⁸ and Roßbach⁵⁹ in that the child Christ is portrayed as innocent and a bringer of peace, and it is my understanding that it is an essentially idealised religious-anthropological view on children and childhood that we see in the representation of the child Jesus Christ in the *Hêliand*. Instead I have looked at how the poet portrays Christ when using *friðu/ friðubarn* and what might have been his intentions in doing so.

As I have shown in my analysis above and will discuss in the following, the poet uses *friðu/ friðubarn* in four distinctly different ways. This still doesn't tell us about the Saxons' own ideas towards children, but it tells us how the poet wanted to portray Christ, the Peace Child or Man of Peace. A) Seven times *friðubarn* (6)/ *friðugumono*(1) is used as an introduction for Christ as a bringer of peace. B) Eight times Christ as *friðubarn* defends himself with words or reacts to his enemies in a non-violent way. C) In six instances Christ is portrayed using *friðubarn* (5) or *friðu* (1) as a protector of the weak, sick and persecuted. This is also used in the context of Lazarus' and his own resurrection. D) In two instances using *friðubarn* appears to portray Christ as a role model and a teacher of peace and peacefulness rather than any of the other categories. This last function is present in most of the other instances too, but there it is not their predominant role as I read it.

⁵⁷ Kamp, Kathryn A.: "Where Have All the Children Gone?: The Archaeology of Childhood" in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), New York, p. 3 and 4

⁵⁸ Kamp, Kathryn A.: "Where Have All the Children Gone?: The Archaeology of Childhood" in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), New York, p.4

⁵⁹ Roßbach, Prof. Dr. Hans-Günther: lecture notes from his course on childhood at the University of Bamberg winter 2006/2007, available under: http://www.uni-bamberg.de/fileadmin/uni/fakultaeten/ppp_lehrstuehle/elementarpaedagogik/studienmaterial/Vorlesung_WS_06_07__1.pdf, accessed on November 8th 2013

In his “Centuries of Childhood” Philippe Ariès claims that there simply was no concept for childhood in the Middle Ages⁶⁰, I doubt that very much. Kathryn A. Kamp gives a comprehensive history of the construction of childhood, pointing to the development from Ariès to among others Hughes and Loucke⁶¹. Roßbach studies the development of childhood as a cultural concept as well. According to him, there is on the one hand the utopian religious-anthropological view of the child as bringer of peace and freedom. The description of Christ as a child can be placed here especially when called friðubarn. On the other hand, we have the concept of the child as an incomplete being, and thus childhood as a phase in someone’s life that has to be overcome as quickly as possible⁶². Though referring to the pietistic view on childhood, it would constitute a logical point of departure for a warrior society as well, because children naturally are not yet able to fulfil the same functions as adult members of such a society, or have had the opportunity to participate in most of the activities that are thought to increase one’s social status. It is clear to me that Roßbach and Kamp are making use of Hughes’ and Loucke’s studies on different concepts of childhood. The description of Christ as friðubarn in the Heliand reflects clearly the “utopian religious-anthropological view of the child as bringer of peace and freedom and is actively used in the instructions of the Saxons on how to understand this representation of Christ. A study of further source material considering childhood and children in 9th century Saxony are necessary and recommended, but would fall outside the scope of this study.

As I have stated before, we know very little about the Saxon society in general, calling it a warrior society must therefore be argued for. Most Germanic societies are considered warrior societies in the public mind and to a certain degree also academically. Often cited in this context are the Nordic sources such as Hávamál and sources that give insight into everyday conflict resolution such as the sagas and some of the law codices. Of course later medieval accounts and stylizations of “Germanic virtues”, as opposed to “Roman virtues” perhaps, cannot by themselves be taken as a reliable source for how Germanic societies further south and several hundred years earlier behaved or thought.

⁶⁰ Ariès, Philippe: *Centuries of Childhood – A Social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick, New York 1962, p. 33

⁶¹ Kamp, Kathryn A.: “Where Have All the Children Gone?: The Archaeology of Childhood” in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), New York, p.4

⁶² Roßbach, Prof. Dr. Hans-Günther: lecture notes from his course on childhood at the University of Bamberg winter 2006/2007, available under: http://www.uni-bamberg.de/fileadmin/uni/fakultaeten/ppp_lehrstuehle/elementarpaedagogik/studienmaterial/Vorlesung_WS_06_07__1.pdf, accessed on November 8th 2013

2.2.1 A warrior society?

A mid-eighth century baptismal vow in Old Saxon is the oldest existing text written in Old Saxon and might give us some surprising insights into this question as well as shedding more light onto the missionary efforts in Saxony.

Old Saxon baptismal vow mid-8th century

Old Saxon

“Forsachistû diabolae?
et respondet: ec forsacho diabolae.
end allum diobolgeldae?
respondet: end ec forsacho allum
diobolgeldae.
end allum dioboles uuercum?
respondet: end ec forsacho allum dioboles
uuercum and uuordum, Thunaer ende
Uuôden ende Saxnôte ende allum thê
unholdum, thê hira genôtas sint.
Gelôbistû in got alamehtigan fadaer?
ec gelôbo in got alamehtigan fadaer.
Gelôbistû in Crist, godes suno?
ec gelôbo in Crist, gotes suno.
Gelôbistû in hâlogan gâst?
*ec gelôbo in hâlogan gâst.”*⁶³

English translation

Do you forsake the devils?
And responding: I forsake the devils.
Do you forsake the devils' rewards?
Responding: I forsake the devils' rewards.
And all the devils' works?
Responding: And all the devils' works and
words, Thor and Woden and Seaxnet and
all the fiends that are their comrades.
Do you pledge yourself to God the almighty
father?
I pledge myself to God the almighty father.
Do you pledge yourself to Christ, the son of
God?
I pledge myself to Christ, the son of God.
Do you pledge yourself to the Holy Ghost?
I pledge myself to the holy ghost.

Springer has pointed out several linguistic problems with this vow. The first is that the vow is not written in “proper” Old Saxon but shows traces of both Old High German and Old English, none of which are surprising and can be explained by the origin of both missionaries and clerical writers in Saxony at the time.⁶⁴ The other and bigger problem here is the mentioning of the god Saxnôte/ Seaxnet, and that we don't know anything about this god from the continent. We only know him to be a mythical forefather to an Anglo-Saxon line of kings and that he is possibly the son of Woden. Some scholars have tried to point to Seaxnet being an avatar of either Tyr/Tiwaz⁶⁵ interpreting the name to mean sword companion or Frey⁶⁶ where the name is interpreted as companion of the Saxons or sword offering⁶⁷. Both

⁶³ Codex Palatinus Latinus 577, Pal. lat. 577 jfr. Springer, Matthias: *Die Sachsen*, Stuttgart 2004, p.154

⁶⁴ Springer, Matthias: *Die Sachsen*, Stuttgart 2004, p.155-156

⁶⁵ i.e. Grimm, Jakob: *Deutsche Mythologie* (unchanged reprint from 1835), Wiesbaden 2003, p. 169; Philippon, Ernst Alfred: *Die Genealogie der Götter in germanischer Religion, Mythologie und Theologie*, Chicago 1953, p. 60; Chaney, William A.: *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*, Manchester 1970, p.29 and 33

⁶⁶ i.e. Dumézil, George: *Les Dieux des Germains*, Paris 1959, p.19-20; Simek, Rudolf: *Lexikon der germanische Mythologie*, Stuttgart 2006, p. 276

⁶⁷ Springer, Matthias: *Die Sachsen*, Stuttgart 2004, p.157

interpretations are contested and frankly none of them especially convincing. This however is of course directly linked to the shortage of comparative material. This does not necessarily mean that the conclusions are false; however I will make a quick argument for a possible third interpretation.

I find it somewhat strange that no one before me seems to have linked it with the Old Saxon word *nôd*, meaning need or distress. Read this way, it could be seen as either a Saxon patron god or possibly even as a Saxon attempt to incorporate Christ into Saxon folk religion. This might sound outrageous at first but Gro Steinsland has made a similar argument in her interpretation of *Heimdall*⁶⁸ as a pre-Christian accommodation of Christ and as a reaction to long-lasting cultural contact with Christianity that I found both interesting and convincing. The double meaning of *nôd* as need and distress makes sense too. On the one hand *Saxnôte* as an avatar of Christ is what the Saxons need. On the other hand he is not the true Christ, and keeping the “false gods” will bring the Saxons distress. It would even make perfect sense in a baptismal vow, to reject such a figure while at the same time accepting the Christian God in his equally tripartite form and fits very well with the way Christ is being portrayed in the *Héliand* as a saviour and helper of the Saxons. It also tells us that Thor and Woden are likely main deities in Saxon paganism, both of which have dominant warrior qualities.

When the baptismal vow was written, the Saxons had already been intermittently at war with the Franks for a long time. An emphasis on war and warrior gods would therefore not be surprising and might very well point to Saxon warrior cults prior to their conversion. It is also interesting how the vow emphasizes the collective of gods behind Woden, Thor and *Seaxnet*, calling the other gods their comrades. The concept of a freely associated collective of interest, be it by gods as in the example above, or of God and men as in the *Héliand*, seems to be recurring in the eldest Saxon literature. The Saxons were in fact not, as sometimes falsely assumed, one tribe but a collective of tribes that joined resources, strategies and leadership when their way of life was threatened. Connotations of a band of people united by a common goal, much like the Saxons themselves, are therefore something the Saxons very easily could relate to, while the *comitatus* term itself seems to be strongly influenced by Frankish early feudalism prior to the Saxons conquest, but gains the meaning of a Christian people, following one lord after the conversion of the Saxons.

⁶⁸ Steinsland, Gro: *Den hellige kongen*, Oslo 2007, p. 154, 172, 173

In the Héliand “friðubarn” is used not only as a term to describe Christ as a child but also as “a child of peace”, a peaceful person, a teacher and a protector of the weak, sick and defenceless – the Saxons’ defender should they choose him, may be appealing to their own understanding of the relationship between a lord and his subjects, where the subjects give their allegiance in return for protection. This I will return to in my drohtin chapter.

2.2.2 The status of peace in times of war

Some aspects of life can be seen as psychological needs, which are so basic that they are critically necessary for any person’s well-being. “The constructive fulfilment of these basic needs promotes caring and positive, helpful relations; their frustration creates an inclination toward hostility and aggression.”⁶⁹ Erwin Staub argues. This is further supported by Benjamin Miller’s model of how and when conflicted regions become peaceful which I will return to shortly.

Miller’s model of how and when conflicted regions become peaceful⁷⁰

	Cold Peace	Normal Peace	Warm Peace
Main issues in conflict	Mitigated, but not fully resolved	Resolved	Resolved or transcended (rendered irrelevant)
Channels of communication	Only intergovernmental	Mostly intergovernmental, beginning of development of transnational ties	Intergovernmental, plus highly developed transnational ties
Contingency plans for war	Still present	Possible	Absent
Possibility of return to war	Present	Possible	Unthinkable

Mierke traces Charlemagne’s idea of empire to different traditions from the antique and the Old Testament, focussing especially on the “Rex Iustus et sacerdotos” idea, where kingship and sacrality are being connected in the person of the emperor, by now linking him with

⁶⁹ Staub, Erwin: Notes on Cultures of Violence, Cultures of Caring and Peace, and the Fulfillment of Basic Human Needs” in *Political Psychology*, Vol. 24, Richmond, 2003, p. 1

⁷⁰ Miller, Benjamin: “When and How Regions Become Peaceful: Potential Theoretical Pathways to Peace” in *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Oxford 2005, p. 232

Christ in a special way - through anointment and blood.⁷¹ She also points to Charlemagne's far-reaching reforms in education, where knowledge equals power and is linked to the idea of an Imperium Christianum in the concept of "Translatio imperii et studii" – transfer of rule and knowledge.⁷² As we will see, these Carolingian ideas are expressed throughout the context analysis of all three terms, though different contexts naturally emphasise different aspects.

An answer to Mierke's question of how the Saxons' integration into the Frankish empire worked⁷³, can, I believe, be answered by using modern peace and conflict theory. Miller sketches 6 steps to how "the hegemonic power", being in our case the Franks, can establish a cold peace as a step towards achieving normal peace within a given region. Even though he discusses a different situation, the similarities are quite obvious. The Frankish kingdom and later empire is the hegemonic power that tries to pacify those it considers inferior and in need of integration for the greater good. Charlemagne's actions can be described as the following⁷⁴:

"(1) Restrain aggressive local clients intent on wars (of expansion) by imposing (diplomatic), economic, and military sanctions.

(2) Reassure local states and reduce their security dilemmas by extending security guarantees to them, preferably manifested in a regional deployment of their troops.

(3) Deter and contain potential aggressors.

(4) Prevent the use of force by pursuing preventive diplomacy.

(5) Mediate and reduce the level of regional conflict and, as a result, encourage or impose a cold peace.

*(6) Guarantee regional arrangements. The powers in either a concert or a hegemony situation can guarantee a regional settlement and serve as final arbiters in case of disagreements among the parties."*⁷⁵

In the following I want to take a look at whether and possibly how the Heliand could contribute to creating a climate of lasting peace between Franks and Saxons. Applied to the Charlemagne and the Saxons, the 6 steps can be reconstructed as following: (1) Charlemagne invades Saxony with armed forces and missionaries, and demands tribute from the Saxon

⁷¹ Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008, p. 65-66

⁷² Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008, p. 71

⁷³ Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008, p. 64

⁷⁴ The parentheses in the text show where the model and the history of the Saxon wars do not correspond 1:1.

⁷⁵ Miller, Benjamin: "When and How Regions Become Peaceful: Potential Theoretical Pathways to Peace" in *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Oxford 2005, p. 236-237

peoples. He introduces the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* as his law for the Saxons, thought to control their behaviour or pacify them. (2) Charlemagne backs up his superiority by deploying military forces that protect the missionaries and keep the Saxons “in line”. (3) He demands fealty from the Saxon leadership, rids himself of the ones whose fealty he doubts, i.e. Widukind and instates those whom he believes. (4) Efforts are made to win over the Saxons, to keep them pacified by trying to bring them into the fold. (5) He gives those who stayed loyal to him more freedom, privileges and power in order to keep the peace. (6) The Saxon families loyal to the emperor become full members of the Frankish nobility and within the next hundred years the Saxons start their own imperial family.

There are no indications that the Saxons tried to expand their tribal grounds, therefore I have put expansion in parentheses, though it is not unthinkable that the Saxon tribes participated in raids against the Franks prior to Charlemagne’s invasion. I am not sure whether to call the missionaries agenda of forced conversions diplomacy. On the one hand this did happen in a very undiplomatic way, especially at first. At the same time Charlemagne did get criticized by his own spiritual leaders such as Alcuin for exactly that, the lack focus on Christian dogma and teaching and hence the lack of diplomacy.⁷⁶ Even though Charlemagne removed the death penalty on paganism shortly after receiving this letter from Alcuin, a true change and the possibility for obtaining true vindication on behalf of the Saxons might simply not have been possible in his lifetime. The creation of the *Hêliand* approximately 15 years after his death, might have been such a diplomatic attempt. One could argue that the baptismal vow belonged to phase one, whereas the *Hêliand* belonged to phase four. The cold peace that was slowly being built by Charlemagne the brilliant tactician, and his successors seem to follow Miller’s model almost literally.

Miller argues that wars are based on a state-to-nation-imbalance. This is not unproblematic as state and nation both seem to lack an absolute definition. I will attempt to clarify my understanding and application of the terms. On the definition of state Hagen Schulze writes:

*“States, as we know them, are built to last, they are impersonal and linked to institutions: the medieval personal bond, however, was limited in duration, it came to an end with the demise of the overlord or his vassal, and had to be repeatedly renewed.”*⁷⁷

⁷⁶ See above, ed. Dümmler, Ernst: “Alcuin’s letter to Charlemagne, from 796” in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae, IV*, No. 110, p. 158

⁷⁷ Schulze, Hagen: *States, Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.7

When it comes to the definition of the term nation I have chosen to follow Barrington's argument saying in short that a nation is a collective "united by shared cultural features (myths, values, etc.) and the belief in the right to territorial self-determination."⁷⁸ The most important difference thus being that a nation is a group of people whereas a state refers to the set of governing and supportive institutions that have sovereignty over a definite territory and population.

While I would not go so far as to say the Frankish empire was a fully developed state as sketched in the definition above, it had already come closer to that state of being than the Saxons' loosely connected tribal nations. A war between Charlemagne and neighbouring nations seems thus almost inevitable.

We can see in other societies with a similar potential for violence that most of them still seem to try to avoid violence first, not least because it so easily seems to escalate. Old Northern European sources such as the sagas often describe how conflicts escalate into honour-bound feuds in a desperate but often failing attempt to restore equilibrium by repaying with the same coin.⁷⁹ Bringing peace is being portrayed as one of Christ's most important features and goals or as Richard Sullivan puts it:

*"A single ideal gave shape and meaning to much of Carolingian history. Men of that era were convinced that the City of God on earth was necessary, desirable, and attainable. They were confident that there could be a world inhabited by Christian peoples, living in peace with one another on the basis of Christian ethics, believing in and worshipping one God, and organized into one state and one church."*⁸⁰

2.3 Conclusion

In order to examine ways in which we can gain a better understanding of the reconciliatory function of the Hêliand in the conversion of the Saxons, I have looked at the name friðubarn as a name for Christ. I have first studied its application in the source text and discussed the implications, showing how the use of certain terminology can have contributed to pacify the Saxons. I have then looked at some aspects of peace and conflict, their impacts on basic

⁷⁸ Barrington, Lowell W.: "Nation" and "Nationalism": *The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science in Political Science & Politics*, 1997, p.713

⁷⁹ Fritzner, Johan: *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, vol. I-III, Christiania 1883-1896, new print by Hødnebo, Finn: including vol. IV «Rettelser og tillegg», Oslo 1954-1972

⁸⁰ Sullivan, Richard: "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan" in *Speculum*, Vol. 28, No. 4 Cambridge 1953, p. 705

human needs and the possible impact the Hêliand has had on the historic events and the likely role it had in promoting a change of mentality as a part of achieving regional peace.

By the time the Hêliand was written, the Saxons had been more or less constantly at war with Charlemagne and the Franks for two generations. They had changed faith and practice and their feeling of security must thus have been compromised to a rather large degree. Thousands had been killed in what can only be described as genocide on Charlemagne's behalf. Many others were forcefully moved to other regions in the Frankish realm. I assume that war therefore was on the one hand considered a necessity by most Saxons, and on the other hand threatened their survival as a people in a very direct way. Even after their conquest, the political tensions were high and I imagine the Saxons to be standing at the brink of extinction with two options: a) a continued struggle as a sort of collective suicide represented by all the Saxons who openly opposed the Franks, as to a certain degree demonstrated by the Stellinga uprisings⁸¹ or b) the more "peaceful" way of submissiveness and assimilation as argued for and propagated by the storytelling of the Hêliand. The latter became the way in which the Saxons and Franks got to terms with one another and were able to create lasting peace and achieve a high degree of reconciliation, where the Saxons ultimately became the Franks' equals and even got to be part of the European and German upper and reigning classes again, with the first Saxon emperor, Otto the Great on the throne roughly 100 years later.

We can safely assume that the Hêliand was rather popular considering that we have several fragments still existing today from a time where German literary sources are very few. It must therefore have found broad application and that it was used frequently as part of the missionaries' diplomatic approach to their Saxon audiences and as a means to almost constantly portray the Christian God as the bringer of peace and help in all sorts of situations in this life as well as the next. Nigel Biggar though talking about criminal justice argues that the vindication of victims, more than the retribution against aggressors, relaxes the tension between peace-making and -keeping processes.⁸²

⁸¹ The Stellinga uprisings though attributed to the Saxons' wish to return to paganism is much more likely politically motivated, rising during the political struggles over questions of inheritance amongst Charlemagne's sons. So one could argue that the basic conditions are no longer met and that the situation was already largely defused as the stellinga join one of Charlemagne's sons rather than revolting against the Franks in general.

⁸² Biggar, Nigel: "Peace and Justice: A Limited Reconciliation" in *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Pardoning Past Wrongs, New York 2002

So far my hypothesis seems to have been confirmed, by showing a link between the term *friðubarn*, the contexts in which it is used and political and theological concepts of the Carolingian religious and political leadership.

As I have shown Charlemagne's extremely brutal warfare and forced conversions follow a specific scheme that seems to be universal, as presented by Benjamin Miller. It could therefore be interpreted as part of a plan to pacify a rather large region that was still caught in a form of governance that was rapidly getting outdated at the time, creating a state-to-nation-imbalance. This imbalance is slowly corrected by the actions taken by Charlemagne, his advisors and successors, making the *Héliand* likely a programmatic step towards achieving regional peace. Charlemagne wanted to be a sacred king, by transferring knowledge and power into one person: the just and peace-making king at the head of a Christian Empire supported by the Catholic Church. In my opinion this in addition to the new missionary strategy of diplomacy, represented by both the clerics themselves and the *Héliand*'s reconciliatory message, has been key in achieving a peace that lasted. In the next chapter I will look at how the poet uses the term *drohtin* – lord, and why.

3 Drohtin – a lord, the Lord, a warlord or a warrior chieftain?

In this, my central chapter, I will examine how drohtin is used to describe Christ and, by following the same methodic approach as in the previous chapter, how it contributed to the Frankish-Saxon reconciliation.

Drohtin translates as lord, but its interpretation differs greatly from scholar to scholar. In this chapter I will therefore investigate in what way drohtin is used in the *Hêliand* and what we can deduce from those findings. The prevailing two views concerning this term are those of Green and Murphy. After having studied both on this issue, my initial starting point was to test Murphy's interpretation of drohtin as a Saxon chieftain as an opposite to *friðubarn*, and compare it with Green's view that drohtin was an orthodox Christian translation of the Lord God. Can the *Hêliand* be applied as a means to study the Old High German term *truhtin* the way Green does, or are there any reasons not to? I will take a fresh look at Green's discussion of the term and its original meaning and compare it with Murphy's approach.

In his book "The Carolingian Lord"⁸³ D. H. Green argues that by the time the *Hêliand* and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* were written, the Old High German *truhtin* was a well-established term for the Christian God. He uses a lot of statistical evidence from more or less all the available Old Germanic⁸⁴ sources in order to illuminate the question of both origin and use in Carolingian times. However, the Old High German *truhtin* is used largely by those peoples which were converted prior to and in often quite different circumstances than the Saxons. Green argues that the term drohtin had a background in military vocabulary and is connected to the Old Norse *drott*⁸⁵, denominating a military leader, a sort of warlord, but that by the time the *Hêliand* was written, had an already fully Christian meaning⁸⁶. Baetke claims that there was no continuity between older concepts of an Anglo Saxon "comitatus" as a group of brothers in arms and the mainland Saxons, and the later developing concept of feudalism in Mainland Europe, let alone that such a concept would have been applied to Christ and his

⁸³ Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, Cambridge 1965

⁸⁴ With Old Germanic sources I mean sources in different languages that are considered to be of the Germanic language family, such as Old Norse, Gothic, Old High German, Old Low German and Old English. The term should mostly be avoided because it suggests a non-existent uniformity of language, religion and culture.

⁸⁵ Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, Cambridge 1965, p. 59, 270-320

⁸⁶ Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, Cambridge 1965, p. 331-333

disciples.⁸⁷ Green sees it as vital to check whether Baetke might go too far in his rejection of this idea, arguing that a reshaping of the meaning of such a concept might still be found if, instead of concentrating on Anglo Saxon and Old High German alone, one looked at the semantic field of the term. He ultimately concludes that by the time the *Hêliand* was written, the term had a soundly established Christian meaning.

Ronald Murphy on the other hand disputes this view. He sees the *Hêliand* “as a part of the evangelical tradition of dual-cultural expression” that “observes the coexistence and interaction of Semitic and gentile expressions of the Gospels themselves”⁸⁸, but understands the figure of Christ in the *Hêliand*, as the leader of a band of warriors, and translates *drohtin* as “chieftain” in order to give the modern audience, by applying what he calls a “visual principle” in his translation⁸⁹, another way of interpreting the term and reading the *Hêliand*. He tries to sometimes refute, sometimes improve on some of Vilmar’s most problematic statements. He replaces Vilmar’s idea of “pan-Germanism” with “saxonization or northernization” rejects the notion of Germans as a “*Naturvolk*”, and that the figure of Christ recedes into the background.⁹⁰ Still he bases his interpretation mainly on “*Deutsche Altertümer im Hêliand als Einkleidung der evangelischen Geschichte*”⁹¹ a work in large and by refuted as a national romantic construction.

My intention is to gain a better understanding of how the poet used the term and possibly what connotations “*drohtin*” had for the Saxons at the time the *Hêliand* was written. My findings make it necessary to modify the way the term *drohtin* is understood by Green and Murphy. My interpretation largely follows Green but differs in one essential point:

Green concludes that the term had taken a fully orthodox Christian meaning, that a “successful attempt was made by the Church to monopolize this word and destroy its previous connections with this essentially military institution”⁹², while I will argue that instead, *drohtin* was likely still in the process of being coined as a term for Christ in Saxony and used to establish a linguistic link between Church and the political and social structure of early Frankish feudalism.

⁸⁷ Baetke, Walter: *Vom Geist und Erbe Thules*, p. 100ff

⁸⁸ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p. 3

⁸⁹ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel*, Oxford 1992, p. xiv

⁹⁰ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p. 4, 5 and 7 respectively

⁹¹ Vilmar, August Friedrich Christian: : *Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand als Einkleidung der evangelischen Geschichte*, Marburg 1845

⁹² Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, Cambridge 1965, p. 331

As I will show in the course of this chapter, “drohtin” in the *Héliand* should no longer be seen as either. The reconciliation of Saxons and their new faith is not found in an adaptation to Saxon taste as proposed by Murphy⁹³, but is emanating from imperial Carolingian ideas on politics, culture and religion as shown by Mierke⁹⁴ and a changed didactic approach to integration and Christianisation by the Church under Charlemagne’s heirs.

3.1 Drohtin Christ

Drohtin appears a total 224 times in the *Héliand* and constitutes one of the larger word complexes in the statistic. From the terms within the semantic drohtin-field I will try to single out context-categories just as I did in the friðubarn-chapter. I will sort them by how often drohtin appears in each context from the most to the least often found context, hopefully gaining an insight into what functions of drohtin the poet felt were the most important ones. These categories are not meant to be exclusive but are only an observation and complement one another. Since there are so many instances of “drohtin”, there are also a few more single instances that overlap than was the case in the previous chapter, but which instances overlap in context differs from time to time, and no single instance of drohtin is used in more than two contexts at the same time. This should by no means diminish my argument, but only shows that the poem works on several levels at once. I will only give a list of all the times the term is used in each context and not go through each and every instance in detail as I did previously. Instead I will group them according to their place within the story or according to how they illustrate different aspects within the same category. What does the text reveal itself and how does this affect the reconciliatory message of the text? How are drohtin and friðubarn related to one another?

First I have looked at which contexts drohtin appears in. I have found 8 contextual categories that complement each other, focusing on different aspects of Christ’s and God’s leadership. From these and as I will try to show in the following analysis, it appears quite clear that the poet wished to tell the Saxons why Christ was the best “lord”, that they needed his protection and that peace was an attainable goal, if only they chose to follow him in the right way. It is not so much a contrast between non-Christian and Christian, as much as it reflects the Saxons’ need for instruction in how to be “proper” Christians, and the political tension between

⁹³ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p. viii-ix

⁹⁴ Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008, pp. 62-63

Saxons and Franks, where joining Christianity and joining the Frankish Empire were one and the same. By submitting to God, they submitted to his agent on earth – the Emperor, thus it was equally a way of gaining redemption and peace in this life and in eternity, and a demand to cast off old grudges and choose diplomacy and non-violence.

3.1.1 Drohtin –the victor and vanquisher, the most powerful ally and friend:

This is the largest complex of instances, drohtin appearing a total of 46 times in this context, where the poet focusses on the help Christ gives his followers and his victory over all enemies, even in death. We can break down the concept of Lordship in this context and in relationship to a reconciliatory message and the integration of the Saxons into the Frankish Empire like this: God/ Christ and his followers are presented in a sort of gift-exchange context, similar to the underlying ideal state in Frankish feudalism, where Lord and vassal are standing in a mutually beneficial agreement. In this context in particular, the emphasis is on what falls into the responsibility of the lord.

Example verse 53:

“Than habda thuo drohtin god Rômanoliudeon farliuuan rikeo mēsta, habda them heriscipie herta gisterkid, that sia habdon bithuungana thiedo gihuilica[...]”

Then at that time lord God had granted the Roman people the greatest realm. He strengthened the hearts of their host that they could have conquered every people.

Damals hatte dann der Herr Gott dem Römervolk das grossartigste Reiche verliehen, hatten ihren Heerscharen die Herzen gestärkt, damit sie alle Völker bezwingen konnten.

The audience is given concrete examples in verses 53, 2208, 2210, 2279, 2840, 2854, 2857, 2925, 2937, 2950, 2986, 3026, 3623, 3865, 3891, 3978, 4044, 4093, 4964 and 5671 of God’s power to make anything possible, be it by building a vast multiethnic empire or by raising the dead, but also what happens when he takes his goodwill away. These are often examples in form of miracles, but also by God simply being there in times of great need. In verses 1054, 3091, 3532, 5833, 5837, 5860, 5892, 5909, 5928, 5932 and 5949 the emphasis shifts towards God’s power to defend himself and withstand even the mightiest foes such as the devil’s temptations and even his own death. This is to say that Christ has already won against these. He also knows of your failings and is willing to help you, and his help you will need. Instructing the people in how to pray and/or obtain God’s help is treated in verses 1571, 1575, 1607, 1670, 1688, 1790, 2169, 2228, 3506, 3623, 4088, 4207, 4259, 4365 and 4371, possibly meant to show how the people in the audience should shift their form of worship, and thus how to gain drohtin God’s friendship, how to serve him even better.

Remember that the Saxons had been terrorized by Christian missionaries and Frankish soldiers for almost two generations. In their eyes it is unlikely that they saw the Frankish emperor or Christ as their personal friend or ally, maybe even as a necessary evil. How could one change that? The new approach to Saxon mission represented by the Hêliand tries to eliminate this adversary picture, and shows Christ in his capacity as friend and ally. Whether this was a political and social reality or not does not actually matter, because the Hêliand, teaching the Saxons how to integrate into the Frankish empire and become better Christians in the process, is already speaking in idealised terms rather than political and social realities.

The Saxons who had not only fought Charlemagne and the Franks for so long, and therefore assumedly weren't very keen on accepting Frankish social hierarchies, and additionally had rejected kingship for their own part, were now no longer in a position that allowed them this independence of king and kingdom. That some noble families embraced Christianity more readily than others, and got rewarded thereafter by Charlemagne, might also point to this. They simply realised earlier what changes were about to come and that earlier integration meant greater independence and rewards. When Karras argues that:

*"[e]ven those Saxons who abandoned overtly pagan practices understood Christianity in the same way as they had understood the pagan religion that preceded it, not as a religion of salvation with emphasis on doctrine, but as a means of obtaining powerful aid in this world."*⁹⁵

She is probably right, while at the same time missing a crucial point, because Christ is not only shown as one who covers your needs in this world. He goes above and beyond this world and will help you also in the next. That is what makes him the supreme ruler above all else. Not only were the Saxons to see him as their new leader, being promised that a united Christianity will bring everlasting peace and harmony. They would also gain the benefits of God's personal friendship, his help in this world and the next and achieve victory over all their foes, as demonstrated in all the instances where he defies and vanquishes "the enemy" within and without, such as the devil, death, sin and temptation.

Drohtin points towards the relationship between Lord and subject. It explains to the new converts, both the Christian understanding of God the Lord, and the idea of the Frankish emperor as the worldly representative of God, the *rex iustus et sacerdotus*. It does not contain, as Ruth Mazo Karras argues "deceptively familiar terms through which Christian theology

⁹⁵ Karras, Ruth Mazo: "Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony" in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, Washington 1986, pp. 553-572, p. 571-572

would have seemed far closer to the old religion than it actually was.”⁹⁶ It does not put Christ in any heathen context, only in a lord – subject context, with very concrete demands attached to it. For the reasons mentioned above and as I have shown in the course of this chapter, her conclusion seems thus unlikely. The names used to describe Christ are not approximations used to comfort the Saxons into accepting Christianity. They are often direct translations of terms found in the New testament and of old Semitic names for God. An example would be *hebenkuning*, King of Heaven. At first I was surprised how often this term appeared in the *Héliand*, because the Saxons, as mentioned earlier, seemed to deliberately reject the idea of having a king. However once I started investigating why a Saxon poet would use a term which most Saxons supposedly would have strong negative feelings towards, I found that the term appears several times in the New Testament and should therefore be considered a translation and a way of introducing the Saxons to a new set of terms and understanding these, even when it specifically did not fit the Saxons own preferences.

So by cleverly placing God at the top of this, he poet tries to solve several problems at once: It is now Christ, not the Frankish Emperor that is the supreme ruler, making it just the slightest bit easier for the Saxons to accept, it is also a mutually beneficial relationship. This was also true for their relationship to their worldly leaders, but it is only God who brings “the long-lasting gift”.

By teaching the still newly converted Saxons to follow Christ the Lord, they would become part of the populous Christianus, while at the same time instructing them in how to be better Christians. God helping all his creatures, meant he would also help them against their enemies, when they were in need. To a large degree this means that joining the populous christianus would eliminate many of ones enemies and make them ones allies instead. In other words, in the case of the Saxons, this could only succeed if there was a distinct shift in mentality also among the Franks.

3.1.2 Drohtin – the one “you” owe:

Drohtin is used in this context 41 times. The emphasis in this one is put on how the subjects should behave in order to gain the benefits of their lord and savior, what they owe him in return for his protection: their trust, honesty, obedience, service, devotion and allegiance. Due to the number of instances drohtin appears in this context, the number of different under-

⁹⁶ Karras, Ruth Mazo: "Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony" in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, Washington 1986, pp. 553-572, p. 568

categories and their interchangeability, I have decided on a different form of representation. After the number of the verse that explains the believers' duties to the listeners, I have written which of the above mentioned duties are emphasized in parentheses after each verse.

Example verse 83:

“[...]uuârûn sô gihôriga hebancuninge, diuridon ûsan drohtin”
[...] were obedient to the King of Heaven, honouring our lord
[...] waren gehorsam dem Himmelskönig, ehrten unsern Herrn

These duties are described in verses 83 (obedience and devotion), 490 (devotion), 505 (devotion and service), 515 (devotion and service), 681 (trust and obedience), 710 (trust and obedience), 967 (devotion and service), 1047 (trust and obedience), 1560 (honesty and devotion), 1576 (devotion), 1917 (honesty and devotion), 2228 (service and devotion), 2615 (honesty and allegiance), 2925 (trust), 2966 (trust and devotion), in verse 3005 this is put in a negative context where the poet describes what the Jews do not give Christ (trust and allegiance), 3026 (trust), 3098 (trust and obedience), 3112 (trust and service), 3500 (allegiance and devotion), 3584 (devotion, service and allegiance), 3663 (service and allegiance), in verse 3722 this is again put in a negative context and describes how the Jews dislike what the followers give Christ (service and allegiance), 3993 (allegiance, obedience and service), 4001 (allegiance and service), 4037 (trust and devotion), 4044 (trust and devotion), 4250 (allegiance and obedience), 4409 (obedience and service), verse 4439 is another instance of a negative application of the concept threatening what happens if one denies God his “right” (service and devotion), in verse 4490 Judas is shown to betray Christ, but this is God’s plan which both have to obey (obedience), 4550 (trust, service and obedience), in verse 4579 Jesus tells his disciples about Judas’ betrayal, criticizing him for leaving him (allegiance and service), 4699 (allegiance and service), 4793 (trust and obedience), 4864 (allegiance and service), in verse 5146 Judas regrets his betrayal and tries to undo what he had done (allegiance and service), 5153 (honesty), 5170 (obedience), 5720 (service and devotion) and 5818 (trust, service and devotion).

While the first and most important context shows what the Lord God has to offer, this now reflects which obligations the believers, his followers had. The Saxons are thus being told not only how to worship the Christian god, when it comes to prayer⁹⁷, but what their overall duties consist of. That if they follow these instructions they will attain what is being promised; outer and inner peace, the “long-lasting reward”. This closely resembles the duties

⁹⁷ See below under 3.1.5

a vasall has towards his lord, but in the Christian context, as we among many others can see in the description of the conception of John the Baptist, it means one has to follow and obey, no matter God's plans for one's life, because it is not a human's place to know or question. Peacefulness and compassion are thus not expressed as major duties towards the lord, because they are subjected to those principles mentioned above, because if they served God truthfully, and obeyed his commands, they would be compassionate and be peaceful and have internalised these. The next context category emphasises this interplay by elaborating God's omnipotence and his subjects' obligation to bend to his will.

3.1.3 Drohtin – the ruler of all and everything:

The mentioning of drohtin in this context appears 33 times, putting great emphasis on God's omnipotence. The main objective of presenting the all-powerful and all-knowing God in examples must be to further underline his authority, demanding the subjects to follow and obey all of his commands, while this at the same time strengthens and justifies the position of his representative on earth.

Example verse 27:

“[...]that sea scoldin ahebban hêlagoro stemnun godspell that gouda, that ni habit ênigan gigadon huergin, thi uord an thesaro ueroldi, that io uualdand mêt, drohtin diurie [...]“

[...] that they should raise their holy voices, the gospel the good, that there has never been anything equal anywhere in words in this world before, that honoured our ruler and lord more.

“[...] dass sie ihre heiligen Stimmen erheben sollten, die göttliche Nachricht die gute, nie hat es je zuvor irgendwas Derartiges in Worten gegeben, dass unseren Herrn und Herrscher mehr geehrt hätte.

In verses 27, 37, 83, 140, 3046, 3091, the audience learns of God's power to inspire, create and work miracles. In verses 316, 418, 446, 600, 702, 770, 988, 1000, 1198, 1670, 2595, 3065, 3532, 4296, 4304, 4353, 4699, 4757, 4765, 5016, 5030, 5636, 5671, 5805, 5879 they are told that God commands and knows all, everything and everyone is subjected to his will, be it favorable or not. Even the angels, the stars, the animals, peoples' dreams and thoughts, the coming of judgment day and Christ Himself are at his command. In verses 936 and 2420 we read about His almightiness in general.

If God the Lord rules everything and everyone, He wanted the Saxons to fail against the Franks, He wanted to demonstrate his power to command, but He also wanted them to become part of His own people the “*populus christianus*”, and He wants them to know this. The reconciliatory message is in God's power to steer the lives of men into any direction He wishes, and in the case of the Saxons, to bring them into the fold of “his own” Empire on

earth, while at the same time as we have seen above, reassuring them that this is beneficial for them as well.

3.1.4 Drohtin – the saviour and redeemer:

In this category we find 32 examples of how drohtin Christ fulfills the wishes of His followers in this life and rewards them even more in the next, again pointing to the benefits of being proper Christians and following His commands.

Example verse 485:

“ [...] nu mi the uuilleo gistôd, dago liobosto, that ic mînan drohtin gisah, holdan hêrron, sô mi gihêtan uuas langa huîla.”

Now my wish is fulfilled on this beloved day, when I have seen my Lord, my gracious Lord, as I was told long ago.

Nun ist mir mein Wille zugestanden worden am liebsten Tag, dass ich meinen Herrn gesehen habe den holden Herrn, wie mir geheißen wurde vor langer Zeit.

In verses 485, 490, 1960, 2208, 2330, 2796, 3663, 4026, 4207, 4371, 4414 and 4520 we hear about people who are given God’s redemption. They are often thankful to meet or see Christ the son of God, and get repaid for their trust in Him and their deeds in life. They often see their destiny fulfilled in meeting Him and by obtaining His help or blessing. In verses 1133, 1208, 1790, 3316, 3500, 3611, 3614, 4185, 4416, 4559, 4563 and 5446 we are shown Christ revealed as the savior of all. In verse 5656 he brings fulfills God plan and becomes the savior. The poet explains God’s plan, His infinite capacity of forgiveness and how to obtain salvation on judgment day. In verses 1309, 1313, 1318, 1688, 1798, 2084 and 3312 we hear about the benefits of God’s kingdom.

Though there are some overlaps, it is largely set apart from 3.1.1 above by focusing much less on His ability to win over ones enemies, but by showing which other aids a good lord can give, emphasising His impact on the people he meets and the impact those who follow him will feel in their own life as well as the next. It also links the idea of Christ the Lord of mankind to Christ the savior of mankind, thereby connecting the term closely to the concept of a “Christian gens”, open to all who are willing to follow him. The author gives again concrete examples of the benefits of Christ’s friendship as one follows his teachings, and explains among other things the concept of Christ’s martyrdom and sacrifice. As mentioned in the introduction to 3.1, when Simon Peter the swift swordsman – *snel suerdthegan* *Sîmon Petrus* – attacks the soldiers sent to arrest Christ. Christ stops him and explains that this is part of God’s plan, that they have to obey all, and even heals the wounded foe. Simon Peter is not

happy about this of course, but has to follow his lord's wishes, as do the Saxons. This is a powerful image of forgiveness and another specific example of an instruction on how to be a better Christian by forgiving one's enemies and thus gaining salvation and redemption.

3.1.5 Drohtin –the prophet and teacher:

In this context drohtin is used when Christ preaches and is shown in his capacity as teacher and prophet. We find this context represented 26 times. What we can see is that the audience is given additional guidance in specific examples.

Example verse 681:

“Thar im godes engil slâpandun an naht [suueban] gitôgde, gidrog [im] an drôme, al so it drohtin self, [uualdand] uuelde, [...]”

There God's angel showed the sleepers in the night a dream, a vision in their dream, of what the Lord Himself, the Ruler wanted, [...]

Da schickte Gottes Engel den Schlafenden in der Nacht einen Traum, eine Vision ihnen im Traume, so wie es der Herr selbst, der Herrscher wollte, [...]

In verses 681, 4452, 4559, 4570, 4604 and 4772 God gives His followers insights into what is to come. Verses 1284, 1292, 1386, 1688, 2578, 3244, 3781, 3960, 4259, 4439, and 4705 tell about Christ's teachings and promises to His followers, portraying Him as a man of the people, a great teacher and wise man. The poet seems to be compassionate with his audience, trying to say that their worldly conquerors have done awful things and harmed them many times, but that they should forgive them to be forgiven themselves. The verses 1229, 1366, 3005, 3744 and 4825 tell of the workings of his enemies who do not follow his teachings. Christ's superiority as a teacher and prophet is underlined furthermore in verses 1831, 3411, 3749 and 5858. Here the author really stresses the power of God's word and the power of Christ as His son and prophet, telling that the Lord is good and forgiving, so should all Christians be and thus so should they.

Not only should they follow the almost step-by-step instructions mentioned above, they should also internalize Christ's teachings and acknowledge his prophecies, so that they might understand and fathom what is expected of them. The poet wants to show them the goodness and wisdom he sees therein. Because to fully profit from Christ's sacrifice and promise to humanity, one had to become a devout and deserving Christian first, following His example, His teachings and become part of His people. Similar to 3.1.2 drohtin is used in the context of instruction of how to be a good Christian, but while 3.1.2 describes general attitudes towards God, in this context drohtin is both represented in more detail as a teacher and prophet and

gives more hands on instructions on how to properly serve Him, and thus be rewarded in this life but also and especially the next, thus underlining furthermore both the promise of a full and peaceful life, but also his superiority to any worldly leadership.

3.1.6 Drohtin – the born leader:

Drohtin Christ is the born leader, even the stars obey Him and He is destined to rule and judge mankind. The term is used 21 times in this way, and emphasis is put on his nobility and divinity.

Example verse 264:

“Thu scalt ûses drohtines uuesan môdar mid mannun endi scalt thana magu fôdean, thes hôhon hebancuninges suno.”

You shall become the mother of our Lord here among men and you shall give birth to a son, the High King of Heaven's son.

Du sollst die Mutter unseres Herrn werden unter den Menschen, und du sollst einen Sohn gebären, den Sohn des hohen Himmelskönigs.

It is found in verses 264, 383, 401 and 439 as part of the tale of Christ's birth and earliest childhood, explaining the Saxons His nobility and thereby giving them a reason to take Christ as their new lord, possibly instead of the Frankish leadership. It recurs in verses 846, 940, 967, 971, 1253, 1318⁹⁸ and 2892 as Christ gathers followers, again emphasizing His nobility and His destiny to rule mankind. He cannot be given the title of king on earth because He already is the king of heaven. Once in verse 4338 it is used to explain judgment day, as an embellishment of his superior status as co-judge at the side of God His father. During His betrayal and passion it is used in verses 4507, 4833, 4940, 5030, 5331, 5544, 5613, 5735 and 5904 still emphasizing that despite His hardships He is the one true king and leader of mankind, this concept is built upon in the next category, where Christ is described to the Saxons as being the best leader to follow, better than their own leadership or their own gods, and more important than any earthly ruler.

In this context the poet explores the nobility of Christ. Now as I have stated earlier this is not in any way a sign of Germanisation. Christ is after all the son of God, and early Christian writers gave Him soon enough a noble heritage by connecting his bloodline to some of the most prominent and mythical Jewish kings - David and Solomon. Emphasising Christ's nobility is therefore not a new phenomenon, but a way of adding to His persona and status, to glorify Him. Put into the context of early Frankish feudalism a comparison of God and His

⁹⁸ Note that Christ's followers are called the Lord's sons, thereby making him their natural leader.

anointed representative on earth - the *rex iustus et sacerdotus* - was of course another way of reinforcing blood lines and justifying a certain leader's supposed superiority. This is not so much to humiliate the Saxons, but to make a point of why following the Frankish emperor also means following Christ, and is therefore another picture of the *populus christianus*. This is further amplified in the next category, where *drohtin* is used specifically to broaden that picture of many peoples under one lord.

3.1.7 Drohtin– the lord of many and all peoples:

Drohtin appears 21 times in this context. The previous concept of “Christ, the born leader” is further developed by stressing his being the leader of all people low- or high-born, and all peoples, of mankind, of the *populus christianus*.

Example verse 383:

[...] *legda lioblīco lutilna man, that kind an êna cribbiun, thoh he habdi craft godes, manno drohtin.*

[...] laid the little man lovingly, that child in a crib, though he had the power of God, the Lord of mankind.

[...] *legte liebevoll den kleinen Mann, das Kind in eine Krippe, obwohl er die Kraft Gottes hatte, der Herr der Menschen.*

In the verses 383, 430 and 439, the poem describes when this becomes apparent during his infancy. It reappears another three times in verses 846, 889 and 1027 as Christ is revealed to be the lord and son of god either by himself or John the Baptist. In verses 1198, 1218, 1284, 1318, 1386, 1999, 3424, 3706, 3763, 4187, 4213, and 4241, the emphasis is put on his uniting very different kinds of people in his host, rich and poor, young and old and from different peoples. Verses 4387, 4646 and 5504 urge mankind to follow his teachings so that his sacrifice might gain them all.

When the poet uses “our Lord” for the first time, it is to mark that “our” and “their” Lord is the same, that he is the Lord of many and all people, and that it is prudent to follow this one. Christ is thus being portrayed not only as the best leader, but as one that already has united many peoples. The Saxons could now become part of the collective of Christian peoples, all living in peace with one another. Among other things, the poet compares what happens at the Sermon on the Mount with the situation of his own listeners, underlining that Christ is the Lord of different peoples and wise men, saying that the lord of peoples does not care about who they are or where they are from, he has chosen them to follow him and they would be wise to do so, as have done all these wise men before them. We can see more and more

clearly how the concept of the “Christian gens” is central to understanding the description of drohtin Christ.

3.1.8 Drohtin – the man:

The last context, in which we find the term drohtin, portrays Christ as a man, acknowledging and even emphasizing his humanity. We find drohtin with an emphasis on Christ the man a total of 12 times.

Example verse 971:

“nu cumis thu te mînero dôpi, drohtin frô mîn, thiod[gumono] [bezto][...]”

Now you come to my baptism, my Lord and master, best man among the peoples

Nun kommst du zu meiner Taufe, mein Herr und Herrscher, aller Menschen bester unter den Völkern

Verses 971, 1025 and 5613 show Christ undergoing a rite of passage of some sort, twice in the context of his baptism and once, before he dies. Verse 3953 underlines his divinity as well as his humanity. In verses 4787 and 5641 Christ is shown subjected to the human condition, such as emotions, awareness of death as well as the doings of other humans as in verses 4940, 5491, 5513, 5538, 5544 and 5699.

So does this mean that the portrait of Christ as having suffered for the salvation of humanity is to be understood as an attempt at pacifying the Saxon audience? On the one hand it lets the Saxons sympathize with Christ. It explains in more detail the martyrdom of Christ and makes them more dependent on his sacrifice, as well as giving them yet another example of God’s omnipotence. After all, not even his own son can escape the fate he has chosen for him. Nigel Biggar argues that justice should not primarily consist of the punishment of the perpetrators, but of the vindication of the victims.⁹⁹ One might argue that the poet tries to achieve such vindication by showing the Saxons a self-sacrificing and peaceful Christ, who is willing to help them despite their previous misdeeds. That if he can forgive, why shouldn’t they be able to? It doesn’t stop there however, by portraying Christ in different rites of passage, the author also shows an understanding for the Saxons’ own painful transition. It therefore makes all the more sense that what they get in return is to be a part of Christ’s followers and thus gain redemption and eternal salvation through his sacrifice.

⁹⁹ Biggar, Nigel: “Peace and justice: a limited reconciliation” in *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 2, *Pardoning Past Wrongs*, New York 2002, p. 169

3.2 Conclusion

As I have shown, both *friðubarn* and *drohtin* are used in similar contexts. The poet lets different aspects of Christ dominate in his textual imagery in different instances throughout the text as would be expected, but he used them clearly in a programmatic way to further Saxon-Frankish integration and reconciliation.

How well established was the term of *truhtin*/ *drohtin* supposedly in early 9th century Saxony? Why use the term *drohtin*? Green claims that “both Otfrid’s work and the *Hêliand* reveal a spirituality which is largely derived from what had become by their day a traditional view of God [...]”¹⁰⁰ However I find it rather difficult to compare the two. Not only is the *Hêliand* a Saxon work and therefore in a kind of special position, as I will argue in the following, it is also older than Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch* - a Frankish work dated 30 to 40 years later than the *Hêliand*. One question therefore has to be whether the *Hêliand* can be applied as a means to study the term *truhtin* the way Green does in his approach. Another is whether there are any reasons not to? I will take a fresh look at Green’s discussion of the term and its original meaning and discuss the two in order to try to gain an understanding of what connotations *drohtin* had for the Saxons at the time the *Hêliand* was written. The main reason I think the *Hêliand* cannot be understood the same way Otfrid should be, is that the Franks had been Christianised both earlier and under completely different circumstances. They were the ones pushing for the Saxons to be Christianised. Furthermore some of the most commonly known terms for God appear quite late in the text, such as *father* in verse 828, the *lamb of God* in verse 1131 or the *almighty* 2168. This might be taken as indicative of these terms not being established standards to their audience, but that they are introduced *peu à peu* as the song goes on.

The dichotomy proposed by Green is somewhat artificial, because the Saxons were already Christians, and because the basic concept behind leadership is not *a priori* dependent on such a Christian content. It could therefore simultaneously be used as a comparative term for the Frankish feudal lord as well, in a willed process and as part of the integration and reconciliation of Franks and Saxons. That the term is not fully developed but in the process of being coined for its Christian use and propagation of Frankish feudal values, can be seen in the amount of different contexts it is used in, as well as the nature of these contexts, the

¹⁰⁰ Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, p. x

variations among these categories and the many attributes connected to the *drohtin* term: *mahtig* - mighty, *god* – good/God, *manno* – of men, *folco* – of peoples, *managaro* – of many, *hêlag* - holy, *self* - himself, *rîkeo* – rich/ powerful, *frô mîn* – my ruler, *erlo* – of earls, *mâri* - excellent, *ûsa* - our, *mîn* – my, *iuuuomo* – your, *iro* - their, *thiodo* – of peoples, *sigi* - victory, *hêlag an himile* – holy from heaven, *liudeo* – of people, *firiho* – of mankind, *berhto* - bright, *craftag* - strong, *leobo* - kind, *al* – all, *Crist* - Christ. These attributes also support my analysis of how *drohtin* is linked to different aspects connected both to the idea of a *populus christianus*, by focussing repeatedly on his ruling many people and peoples, as well as to the holy, and the Christian understanding of the term.

45 years seem in theory more than enough to establish new terms, to coin them for a new purpose. However this presupposes an audience that is in some way unified in its will to accept this new coinage. Of this I am not completely convinced in the case of the Saxons, instead I have tried to show that it is more likely that the *Hêliand* itself contributes to establishing these terms and is used to explain an all-Christian content. In his *Christian Iconography* André Grabar points out that early “Christian authors [...] expressed themselves in the language – visual or verbal – that was used around them.”¹⁰¹ Though referring to Late Antique Greco-Roman artists and authors, I see no reason why this would not be just as applicable to other cultures and time-frames. This partially overlaps with Rathofer, when he argues that the poet related orthodox Christian teachings as correctly as possible into his own language¹⁰². Rather it is used to portray Jesus in many different capacities, and thus introducing the new converts to different concepts of his lordship, by presenting him as a leader, judge, wise man, healer, prophet, teacher, man of peace and so on. What they all do have in common is the message that Christ combines many or all the properties one would look for in a leader and surpasses these, making him the strongest leader and the best man to follow.

When studying the term *drohtin* in this quantitative as well as qualitative way, it becomes evident that the poet neither intentionally tried to make his story more “Germanic”, nor that he tried to invoke heathen imagery, but that he regarded the coining of certain terms and concepts as necessary for the peace-making process in mid 9th century Saxony. The term is never used in any context suggesting a catering towards a supposed “pagan” background, as

¹⁰¹ Grabar, André: *Christian Iconography – A Study of its Origins*, Washington 1961, p. xlvi

¹⁰² See above, Rathofer, Johannes: *Der Hêliand – Theologischer Sinn als Tektonische Form*, Köln 1962, p. 52

proposed by Karras and Murphy, but neither do I believe that the term was a well-established Christian term as suggested by Green, both for the reasons mentioned above, but also because the focus is on teaching the Saxons about the spiritual content of Christianity and the benefits that would await any “good Christian”. Both *friðubarn* and *drohtin* are used to describe Christ as a teacher of how to be proper Christians both in general and in specific examples. Using *drohtin* as one of the main terms to describe Christ, the relationship between lord and subject, as well as God and man, must therefore be seen more as an explanation of the new political and social context.

The Sermon on the Mount is central to the teachings in the *Hêliand* and in verse 1454-1455 the poet clearly refers to the gospel of Matthew 5:44 “Love your enemies”, trying to say, that the path of war had failed, but that another way was open to the audience - the path of peace and forgiveness. The concept of God as pure love/ mercy which most consider a rather modern one might not be as new as we think. It is in this intersection that we find the connection between *friðubarn* and *drohtin*, as well as the reconciliatory message: “Christ is peace, join his people, the Christian people, make friends with your former enemies, you are now one.” In the *Vita Karoli Einhard* writes

“Eaque conditione a rege proposita et ab illis suscepta tractum per tot annos bellum constat esse finitum, ut, abiecto daemonum cultu et relictis patriis caerimoniis, Christianae fidei atque religionis sacramenta susciperent et Francis adunati unus cum eis populus efficerentur”

which translates to:

“The war that had lasted so many years was at length ended by their acceding to the terms offered by the King; which were renunciation of their national religious customs and the worship of devils, acceptance of the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and union with the Franks to form one people.”¹⁰³

This might further support the hagiographical evidence brought forth by Ingrid Rembold that the Saxons were indeed considered Christians, and that they were to be treated as such.¹⁰⁴

It is important to note that, contrary to Grigore’s rather blatant dismissal of peace as a basic concept in European medieval Christianity in general and in regard to post-conquest Saxon

¹⁰³ Einhard: *Life of Charlemagne*, translated by Samuel Epes Turner, Ann Arbor 1960, p. 32

¹⁰⁴ Rembolt, Ingrid: “Chapter 2. The Christian message and the Saxon laity”, unpublished manuscript, made available to me by the author via email on November 7th 2013, p. 2, 13

Christianity in particular¹⁰⁵, not only does my evidence support my thesis, the poet has consciously omitted a golden opportunity to portray Christ indubitably as a warrior as in Matthew 10:34 “Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.”, while he has no trouble depicting Simon Peter as “a swift sword”¹⁰⁶. If in fact the poet tried to present drohtin Christ as the leader of a group of warriors, this would be an improbable line to pass by, wouldn’t it? Instead depicting Peter as the aggressor and Christ stopping him is a narrative tool, used by the poet to teach the Saxons the same lesson, not because they were not Christian, so was Peter, but by showing them how to be better Christians.

I do agree with Cathey in that the Hêliand rather should be understood as an

“interweaving of epic depiction of action, explanatory references, and religious and moral lessons with the theological knowledge and moral precepts of the author, who tells the life of Christ thus in a synthesis of story, catechism, and dogma.”¹⁰⁷

But I would add that this is done just as much with the political goal of incorporating the now Christian Saxons into the Frankish empire and the *populus Christianus*. Where friðubarn introduces Christ as a bringer of peace, drohtin introduces him as the leader of the *populus Christianus*. Christ is to be interpreted as the strongest leader, but at the same time placed in the Frankish early feudalist concept as one lord over all Christian peoples, that unifies all.

Both friðubarn and drohtin show Christ as a protector of his people, no matter their social standing, as long as they follow him truthfully and keep their end of the bargain. Christ is portrayed as the one who will give his followers everything from good health and counsel to inner and outer peace. The poet, despite mentioning hell a couple of times, places far more emphasis on heavenly realm, as it is promised to the Christian Saxons. If we look at which contexts drohtin is used in, what becomes apparent is that these contexts can be put in two categories: a) Christ - and his worldly representative on earth - are the leaders to follow in this world so that b) God may reward you in the next. This is thus a willed duality, really summarizing the whole point of the gospel story, where everything points towards this one message, but explains it on very many different levels.

¹⁰⁵ Grigore, Mihai: “Christus der Krieger. Überlegungen zu einem Inkulturationsphänomen anhand der altsächsischen „Heliand“ in *Studii Teologice*, Seria a III-a, Anul VII, Nr. 1, Bucuresti 2011, p. 64

¹⁰⁶ Verse 4866

¹⁰⁷ Cathey, James E.: “Review” in *Speculum*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Jul., 1987), p. 728

4 Hêliand– healer and saviour

According to my hypothesis the Hêliand-poem was written as part of a reconciliatory effort directed towards the Saxons. In the second and third chapter I have looked at how *friðubarn* and *drohtin* were used to further the Saxons' Christianisation as well as their incorporation into the Frankish Empire. In this chapter I will investigate how the *hêliand* term is used and how it corresponds to my previous findings, using the same methodic approach as earlier.

Hêliand means literally, he who makes whole, and is used as he who heals and he who saves. My point of departure is therefore that the etymologic origin of *hêliand*, while quite certainly being *hêlian* which the modern word “healing” stems from, has had the double meaning of healing and saving¹⁰⁸.

I have chosen *hêliand* for my investigation in order to see if Murphy's translation as “healer” is valid. Could it be understood in a reconciliatory context as “the healer of a people divided” or possibly as “saviour of the Saxon peoples”? If so, why? If not, how does the term integrate into the poem's context and my previous findings?

Murphy has translated *hêliand* all the way as “healer”¹⁰⁹, whereas I will show that an individual approach to the term must be taken. Always translating *hêliand* as healer as Murphy does, gives the modern reader a somewhat false impression, conjuring up some new age tainted associations of heathen shamans. Of course this was never the intention of the Saxon author, whom we must assume was a cleric. My following analysis will show that the author of the Hêliand used the inherent duality of *hêliand* actively. How do healer and savior differ in meaning in the text?

In what instances is Christ called *hêliand* or any of its derivatives? I have tried to recount as much of the original context as possible, without necessarily taking the whole sentence into account, in order to show when and why the term is used in each instance. Hêliand appears 18 times in the text and is the last term I will examine. The different and sometimes overlapping meanings of the word make it necessary to consider each example individually. I have found that the term can be grouped into two groups according to different contexts within the poem: saviour and healer. How do these meanings differ from one another?

¹⁰⁸ Tiefenbach, Heinrich: “Hêli-Hêliand” in *Altsächsisches Handwörterbuch – A Concise Old Saxon Dictionary*, Berlin 2010

¹⁰⁹ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel*, Oxford 1992

As we will see in the following, “saviour” is used in instances pertaining to the salvation of mankind, and Christ offering help and protection to His followers, both within the text itself and without, that are not covered by the term “healer”. “Healer” is limited to those instances where Christ actually performs a healing of some sort, be it curing an ailment or raising the dead. I will discuss each instance in detail in order to illustrate my findings. Let us now turn to the first topic.

4.1 Hêliand – the saviour

The meaning of hêliand the saviour appears twelve times in the poem and also comes first as well as last, therefore it should be considered the more important function of the term. Hêliand is used as a name for the child of God very early on in the poem, appearing even earlier than friðubarn, but after drohtin. Christ’s nature as the savior of mankind is thus a central theme right from the beginning, reflected by the name of hêliand appearing three times in the tale about his annunciation and infancy. As we have seen above, the concept of Christ the bringer of peace and protection is linked to both God’s and the Carolingian lord’s function as saviour and protector, therefore the salvation of mankind is linked with the idea of a rex iustus et sacerdotus as well as the ideal of a populus Christianus, the protection of the believers in this world and the next.

“Saviour” is used in contexts that focus on Christ’s divinity and His sacrifice for humankind. The focus is mainly on the salvation in the next world – the heavenly kingdom, but is intertwined with Christ’s workings in this world to help his followers. It can also be linked to the concept of Carolingian lordship, where it is the lord’s responsibility to protect and help his subjects in times of need. This means that we must consider the possibility of an underlying didactic approach, as part of the ongoing Christianisation and integration of the Saxons into the Carolingian imperium christianum.

“Hêliand” meaning the saviour appears throughout the poem, with a strong emphasis on the salvation of mankind. This becomes apparent in the five separate contexts within the gospel: His annunciation and infancy, His baptism, the confessioin and confirmation of His divine nature, the consolidation of His believers and His passion.

4.1.1 Annunciation and infancy

Verse 50:

“scolda thuo that sehsta| sâliglîco cuman thuru craft godes| endi Cristas giburd, hêlandero [bestan],
hêlagas gêstes, an thesan middilgard| managon te helpun, firiho barnon ti frumon| uuið fiundo nîd [...]”

The blessed sixth [age] was to come by the power of God and the birth of Christ, the best saviour, of holy spirit, in this middle world to help many, for the benefit of the children of men, against the hatred of the foe [...]

Nun sollte das sechste [Weltalter] seliglich kommen, durch die Kraft Gottes und Kristi Geburt, dem besten Retter, heiligen Geistes, in dieser Mittelwelt, um vielen zu helfen, zum Wohle der Menschenkinder, gegen den Hass des Feindes[...]

The first time *hêliand* is used with this meaning is in the introduction of the epic, where it emphasises the annunciation of what is to come to its audience. I understand this instance as meaning the saviour, because a) in this passage Christ’s arrival is directly linked to the salvation of mankind, and b) there are no hints to any specific healing activity. His coming “to help many against the hatred of the foe”, to save them, obviously refers to the devil, and that Christ will protect His believers against him and an eternity in hell.

If interpreted in a wider sense, it could also be understood in such a way that Christ will give His protection against *the* and therefore *any* foe, to all of mankind. Possibly in regard to the Saxons conflict with the Carolingian empire. Now that they are all Christians, they no longer need to fear “the enemy” neither within nor without. Therefore the passage can also be interpreted as a way of saying that the Franks will no longer be their enemy. This is thus again an explicit promise of protection, peace and peacefulness, both in this life and the next.

Verse 266:

“[...] The scal Hêliand te namon êgan mid eldiun. [...]”

He shall have Saviour as his name among the peoples.

Er soll den Namen Heiland führen bei den Völkern.

The second instance is still part of Christ’s annunciation. What this passage tells us is that the poet considers Christ the saviour of many peoples, again pointing ultimately to Christ’s sacrifice. Again, there is no reference to any healing activity of Christ, while it can be seen as an attempt to unite the audience in Christianity with all other Christian peoples, and thus conveying a sense of affiliation and belonging and eliminating the need for violence and retribution.

In the parable of the workers in the vineyard, the author explains this further by confirming that it does not matter when in life one chose the Christian faith. And that, as long as one did, one was to be given the same reward – salvation. This is a clear message to the Saxons about their non-Christian background and is meant to calm any possible worries about whether they were Christian “enough” as long as they strived towards being “good” Christians now, including a peaceful and forgiving behaviour towards all, so that they might gain what Christ offers his followers.

Verse 443:

“[...] Helidos gisprâcun an them ahtodon daga| erlos managa, suîdo glauua gumon| mid thera godes thiornun that he Hêleand te namon| hebban scoldi, sô it the godes engil| Gabriel gisprach [...]”

The men spoke on the eighth day, many earls strong and wise men, with God’s maiden, that his name shall be Saviour, as the angel of God, Gabriel, said [...]

Die Männer sprachen am achten Tage, viele Fürsten, starke, kluge Männer, mit der Maid Gottes, dass er Heiland heißen sollte, so wie es der Engel Gottes, Gabriel gesprochen [...]

The third time *hêliand* is used in this sense is during Christ’s infancy. In the previous instance the angel Gabriel commands that Christ shall be called “the Saviour”. In this instance the poet emphasizes the nobility, wisdom and strength of the men who decide to follow the command of God’s angel during the annunciation scene: If these good men chose to believe in the annunciation and did as God commanded them, there was no reason for the Saxons not to. The author is thereby saying that they should rather acknowledge this and come to the same conclusion. By acknowledging Christ’s function as the saviour of mankind, they would also acknowledge him as their saviour and thus gain all the benefits that the Christian faith promises them, among which we of course prominently find the promise of peace and harmony eternal. In this context it is also interesting to note the use of “erlos” – earls – as a link between Christianity and the development of a new Frankish social and political order, where the earls follow their lord’s command willingly. The passage can therefore be said to have both a didactic function and a reconciliatory one. The next two verses take place at Christ’s baptism.

4.1.2 Christ's own baptism

Verse 958:

“Hebenríki uuirdid” quað he, “garu gumono sô huum,| sô ti gode thenkid endi an thana [hêleand uuili]| hluttro gilðbean, lêstean is lëra.”

“The heavenly kingdom will be ready” he said “for any man who thinks of God, and also the will of the Saviour, who sincerely promises to follow his teachings.

“Das Himmelreich wird” sagte er “jedem bereit stehen, der an Gott denkt und an des Heilands Willen, die ernsthaft geloben, seiner Lehre Folge zu leisten.”

The person saying these lines is of course John the Baptist. John stands by the river Jordan baptizing many faithful and instructs them in proper doctrine. One might argue that the poet compares himself, or at least the clergy active in the instruction and Christianisation of the faithful, with John. Just like John recognises Christ and his fate, and submits to him, so does the poet as he instructs his audience. The picture and message of one Christian people is therefore also a central trait of the concept of Christ's salvation of mankind as it was understood in the Carolingian empire.

Interestingly, the poet uses “lêstean”, which has the double-meaning of following and carrying out. Both of which make perfect sense, but signify a completely different approach to the teachings of Christ. The main difference between the two meanings is, in my eyes, how far the person is an active (carry out) or passive (follow) participant in his/ her interaction with the teachings of Christ. John and the poet thus enable the believers to take both the active and passive stance at the same time, and the narrator therefore shows the Saxons two ways of joining Christianity, by following the lord and by carrying out his commands.

It is also an attempt to explain to the Saxons, what their baptism was actually supposed to mean, and tries to correct some of the wrong that had been done to them. If we turn to Biggar again¹¹⁰, this is a clear and likely prudent choice of approach, as it is concentrating on the vindication of the victims. This approach acknowledges their pain and and tries to help them move past former injury, while enabling them to accept what rewards they could expect in return. It promotes a picture of Christ being personally involved in the well-being and salvation of his followers, but also one of forgiveness.

¹¹⁰ Biggar, Nigel: “Peace and Justice: A Limited Reconciliation” in *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Pardoning Past Wrongs, New York 2002

4.1.3 Christ's divine nature is confirmed

Verse 990:

“[...] Aftar quam thar uuord fon himile, hlûd fon them [hōhon] radura| [en] grōtta thane hêleand selbon, [Krist], allaro cuning bezton [...]”

Afterwards there came the Word from heaven, loud from the high vault of heaven, to greet the Saviour himself, Christ the Best of all kings.

Danach kam das Wort vom Himmel, laut vom hohen Himmelsgewölbe her, den Heiland selbst zu grüßen, Christ, den Besten aller Könige.

In this verse God acknowledges Christ as His own Son in front of the crowd that was baptized by John. The author puts Christ above all kings, meaning above the worldly kings of his own time. After Charlemagne's death in 814 the imperial bloodline did not end, it continued through his descendants. Charlemagne was almost obsessed with recreating the Roman Empire, while giving it a new content. Achieving the title of emperor instead of king was a way of putting himself above all other kings as well and almost next to Christ. Though Christ is never called an emperor, He is not a worldly king either and does therefore not stand in opposition to or competition with the Frankish emperors. It therefore allows the Saxons to follow Christ first and their worldly leadership second, because he is the ultimate leader to follow, as I have also demonstrated in the previous chapter.

It is one of the few scenes where the whole Holy Trinity is present. Though the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove on Christ's shoulder has sometimes been misinterpreted as an allusion to Odin's ravens Hugin and Munin¹¹¹, the idea of the Holy Ghost or Spirit of God descending like a dove is not a new 9th century invention from Saxony. The dove is a common and ancient symbol of peace and baptism among early Christians. It is present in the Old Testament in the tale of Noah's ark Genesis 8:11 “When the dove returned to him in the evening, there in its beak was a freshly plucked olive leaf! “ announcing to Noah that their peril was over; and in the New Testament in Matthew 3:16 “And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him.” Implicitly the author therefore again acknowledges the wrongs that had been done to the Saxons while at the same time showing them a way of vindication and reconciliation, and demonstrating that their hardships, now that they too were Christians, were over.

¹¹¹ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p. 79

Verse 2031:

“Than thoh [gitrûoda siu uuel] an iro hugiskeftiun,| hêlag thiorne, that is aftar them uuordun| uualdandes barn, hêleandoro bezt| helpan uueldi.”

And still she trusted well in her mind, the holy maiden, that even after these words the ruler’s child, the best saviour would help.

Dennoch verließ sie sich in ihrem Herzen voll darauf, die heilige Maid, dass, trotz dieser Worte des Waltenden Kind, der beste Heiland helfen würde.

This scene plays out at the wedding at Cana. The name “healer” clearly does not fit here, as Christ saves the outcome of the wedding party. It is the only instance of Christ working a miracle in the “saviour” category, and refers to the help Christ gives his followers in this world.

At first glance it is therefore difficult to see that this scene points to the salvation of mankind at all. If we look at what directly precedes this statement, we can see that, when Christ quite rudely rejects his mother, and tells her that “my time has not yet come”¹¹², this is a direct indication of Him being the son of God and His martyrdom to come. He then fulfils her wish nonetheless, confirming His divinity and His ability to work miracles, because she “trusted well in her mind”, as loyal Christians are supposed to.

It is more logical to assume a “savior” translation, because he does not heal anyone, and because it is His words to His mother that put the scene in its rightful context. In the passage above, Mary’s trust in Christ as the savior must be seen as an analogy to any doubts in times of harshness any newly converted Christian might feel, and implicitly tells them not to doubt. “The best” also suggests that while many can help, only He can surpass them all, and give the best rewards, stressing the issue that only Christ is good enough to do this deed. There is only one “Heiland” as in the proper name of God’s son.

The reconciliatory message towards the Saxons is found in the earlier discussed context of gift-exchange between leader and subject, putting Christ in the position of the benevolent gift-giver and the receiver in a subordinate position. This means that the Saxons would have to submit to Christ in order to get the gifts of help and salvation, and can be read as yet another take on submitting to Christ, by submitting to the Franks, so that they might become one people.

¹¹² Verses 2027-2028

Verse 3061:

“that thu sîs god selbo, hêleandero bezt.”
[...] that you are God Himself, the best saviour.
[...] dass du Gott selbst seist, der beste Heiland.

This verse is part of Peter’s confession of Christ’s divinity. He acknowledges Christ’s superior being and abilities as the Saviour, whereafter Christ names him as His direct follower and holder of the key to heaven. The promise of the heavenly kingdom, for all who acknowledge Christ as God, is the central message here. It tells the Saxons that they too can achieve salvation as long as they follow Christ as willingly as Peter did. We therefore are presented with both a picture of the devout serving follower of the Lord, and the promise of the kingdom of heaven.

We can see a political message to the Saxons about the importance to follow and support one’s lord, be he worldly or divine, who will, in turn, reward the follower with peace and protection, as well as the Christian message of salvation as the highest attainable reward. The scene is therefore to be placed in a didactic context of Christianisation and integration into emerging Carolingian feudalism.

4.1.4 The consolidation of His believers

Verse 3156:

“Thô geng im tô the landes uuard, behrên sie mid is handun hêleandero bezt, hêt that sie im ni andrêdin:“
Then the protector of the land went towards them, touched them with his hands the Best of all saviors and told them not to dread Him.”
Da ging der Hüter des Landes zu ihnen, berührte sie mit seinen Händen, der beste Heiland, hieß sie sich nicht fürchten:[...]”

This instance is interesting as I was not quite certain at first whether to interpret hêleandero as healer or savior. After the baptism, God reveals that Christ is his son, and his followers are terrified at the sight of his immense power while they also find comfort in him as they get the immediate benefits of his friendship and protection. I have come to the conclusion that this instance is somewhere in between a clear savior and healer interpretation, because Christ on the one hand “heals them of” and saves them from their fear, while at the same time accentuating his divine nature. God’s voice from heaven above is also a clear indication of the promise of the heavenly kingdom.

This passage should be read as an opposition to the one where the poet tells what will happen to the Jewish people in the story because they do not believe in or follow Christ. It shows specifically what he thinks the Saxons can expect in this life and the next, if they are good Christians. Protection from fear must have been a strong motivator after so many years of war and hostilities, thus contributing to the reconciliation between Franks and Saxons.

Verse 3620:

“Ôk mag ik giu [gitellien,] of gi thar tô uülliad huggien endi hôrien, that gi thes hêliandes [mugun] craft antkennen, huô is kumi uurðun an thesaru middilgard managun te [helpu,]”

Also I want to tell you, if you are willing to heed my advice and listen, so that you might recognize the Saviour's power, how His coming to this middle world was a help to many.

Und ich mag euch erzählen, wenn ihr es beherzigen und zuhören wollt, damit ihr des Heilands Kraft erkennen möget, wie sein Kommen in dieser Mittelwelt so manchem zu Hilfe gekommen ist.

This verse is part of the explanation of the parable of the Blind Men in Jericho. Murphy remarks that it is the first time the author addresses his audience directly¹¹³. The poet thereby stresses this passage even more, and the poet now compares his audience to the blind men, who cannot see the light shining upon them by the power of Christ, before they choose to ask Christ for his help and follow him. First then, so the poet tells them, will they be able to truly see the world as God had intended them to see it. All they would need to do was listen, ask and follow his son Christ. The explanation of this story goes as follows:

After the original sin, all human kind was born blind and bound to this middle world. They had to stay in darkness throughout their lives and burn in hell in death until God's son died for their sins to unlock the heavenly light for them, until they realised what help was being offered to them and chose to follow the light that he promised.

The meaning of healer is somewhat implied by the earlier healing of the blind men at the scene, but the explanation puts the image clearly in a context of salvation. The meaning of saviour is also implied in his coming to “this middle world”, because it means that he is not in fact of this world, but sent to earth by God, his father, so that he might save humanity.

¹¹³ Murphy, G. Ronald: *The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel*, New York 1992, p. 118

Verse 3644:

“[sie] afsôbun that uuas [thesaru thiod] kuman hêleand te helpu fan hebenrîkie,”
[they] saw that the Savior had come from the heavenly realm to help these people.
Sie sahen, dass der Heiland diesen Menschen zu Hilfe kam vom Himmelreiche,

This instance is still part of the same context, the interpretation of the parable of the blind men in Jericho, and overlaps in large an by with the one above, both emphasising His divine origin and His deeds in this world as well as the deed of salvation in the next. The direct speech towards the audience, the parable and its interpretation almost seamlessly complement each other, constantly making His messages of help, peace and salvation relevant to the listeners by illustrating these in specific examples.

The help that is being promised to many people, of course also includes the Saxons. When interpreting the poem as a contribution to the reconciliation of the Saxons with their new faith, this is expressed explicitly by addressing the audience so directly. The poet leaves no doubt that this concerns them personally, and he even states the conditions under which they can achieve this help themselves, namely by listening and understanding the message of the Gospel, and naturally, following it.

4.1.5 Christ’s passion

Verse 4842:

“Thô sprak imu eft thiû [menegi] angegin, quâðun that im hêleand thar an themu holme uppan geuûsid uuâri,[...]”
The crowd spoke back to him and said that the Saviour had been shown to them up there on the hill.
Da sprach zu ihm die Menge, sagte, dass der Heiland dort auf dem Hügel oben ihnen gezeigt wurde.

In this scene Christ gets taken prisoner in the garden in Gethsemane after Judas has betrayed him. The angry mob points him out as the saviour, as a blasphemer, and one who stirs up the Jewish community. Again nothing in the scene points to Christ as a healer. It does however point directly at his function as saviour. Christ confirms that it is him, the son of God, and the crowd and soldiers shiver in fear, when he speaks to them, thus his words alone are mighty and powerful enough to terrify them.

In this instance, the Saxons are being directly compared to the Jews, that if they doubt, speak evil and deny Christ’s divinity, they are just as damned as the Jews once were. This is not a demonization of the Jewish people, but a narrative tool, to convince the Saxon audience of

how bad an idea it would be to relapse into old habits, and leave their new path, that they have the chance to rectify this old wrong. The poet also gives them the choice of changing their attitude and the possibility to repent, to follow Christ and his disciples instead. He does this in the course of this fitte, when describing the disciples' reactions to Christ's arrest and also Christ's response to their defence.

The disciples are at first glance being portrayed as Christ's warrior-companions, and the poet puts great emphasis on their and Christ's actions, both the violent reaction of Simon-Peter, but also later in verses 4900-4903 the healing Christ gives the injured soldier there to arrest him. We must not mistake this tale as one of Christ the leader of a Germanic warrior-band, but as one of Christ correcting the aggressive behaviour of his followers, of showing them the right, the peaceful way to reaction to such transgressions. Christ knowing that he has to make the sacrifice his father asks of him in order to save humanity, forgives the arresting soldiers and submits to them instead, again underlining what was to be regarded as correct behaviour, instead of violence. This is therefore to be understood as another example of following Christ's lead, of forgiving one's enemies, forgiving the perpetrators their crimes, and rather find peace in following Christ, and submit to his judgement.

Verse 5217:

“Thô sprak [imu eft Krist] angegin, hêlendero bezt, thar he giheftid stôd an themu rakude innan: ‘nis mîn rîki hinan’, quað he,”

Then Christ spoke to him, the best saviour, where He stood chained in front of the court. “My realm is not here.”

Da sprach Krist ihm entgegen, der beste Heiland, der gefesselt vor Gericht stand: “Mein Reich ist nicht hier.”

This scene plays out at the palace of Pilatus. Christ tells the court that he came of his own free will, demonstrating yet again how the Saxons should conduct themselves, that they should willingly submit to their worldly leadership, even if it seems disadvantageous, that there is no point in fighting worldly leaders and courts in this life, because the only realm that should matter to them is that of God in heaven. The description of Christ after his arrest as sinless is also trying to invoke a sense of pity and compassion among the listeners, and contributes to the Saxons' vindication.

By directly pointing at “the other world”, the heavenly kingdom, the interpretation as saviour in favour of healer is quite clear, and Christ confirms his divinity. It also explains to the

Saxons that they should not be overly concerned about this world and its courts and leaders and thus complements what happens at his arrest; that God will provide for them in both worlds, and that it is God who will judge them. It is again a promise of salvation and God's reward for those who follow him and follow his command. Again we can interpret this instance of *hêliand* as a teaching example of submission and peaceful behaviour, but also as a promise of ultimate compensation in form of eternal peace in the kingdom of heaven. Let us now take a look at the next category, where *hêliand* is used in a more ambivalent meaning.

4.2 *Hêliand* – the healer

Hêliand with the meaning of “healer” appears only six times in the epic poem, and is reserved for the context of His miracles and parables exclusively. I have translated *hêliand* as healer in those instances only, where Christ is just about to, or actively healing or curing someone in the story. Healer is used in the context of demonstration of healing powers by example.

The accent in these instances is on his providing help to his followers and believers in this world rather than the next. The salvation aspect is largely pushed into the background, though important in the parable of the blind men of Jericho, it is most apparent in the interpretation of said parable, rather than the parable itself. “*Hêliand the healer*” links his miraculous workings with a gift-exchange context, and thus to the Saxons' situation with their integration into the *populus Christianus* and their place within the Carolingian empire. Let us now take a closer look at these instances and what we can deduce from them.

4.2.1 The Boy from Nain

Verse 2180:

“*Thô geng mahtig tô neriendo Crist,| antat he ginâhid uuas, hêleandero bez: [...]*”
There went mightily Christ the Rescuer, the best healer, until He was close.
Da ging Er mächtig hin der rettende Christ, der beste Heiler, bis Er näher gekommen war.

Earlier in this story the poet points directly to Christ as a teacher to many peoples, and that many were following him. He demonstrates his power in the town of Nain. The use of rescuer – *neriendo* and healer – *hêleandero*, is a prelude to what is about to happen here. Jesus brings a boy from Nain back to life. There is no greater rescue, nor greater demonstration of healing abilities and power than that. Of course one could argue that he is the boy's savior as well, but

the meaning of saviour is more strongly connected to Christ sacrificing Himself for humanity, than healer.

Savior also seems unnecessary in this instance for two reasons: 1) Christ is already described as the rescuer earlier in the same sentence and 2) because no other but the very best healer could help to bring the dead back to life. This overlaps with Christ's functions as seen in the previous chapters where he is being portrayed as the best man to help in dire need, as a healer of the sick and raiser of the dead. It underlines God's power and his ability to make virtually anything possible for those who believe in him, and places his followers in a position of dependency.

For the Saxons, this story shows on the one hand how different peoples follow Christ willingly and on the other hand, what benefits they get for doing the same and placing their trust in him. The author gives the Saxons reasons why adopting the Christian faith was the prudent choice, so that the Saxons as well may benefit from Christ's power in any way they might need.

4.2.2 The Paralytic of Capernaum

Verse 2294:

“[...]godes êgan barn fôr im te them friundun, thar he afôdid uuas endi al undar is cunnie kindiung auuôhs the hêlago hêleand.”

God's own child went to his relatives where he grew up among all his ancestors as a young child, the holy healer.

Gottes eigenes Kind zog zu seinen Verwandten, wo er als kleines Kind aufgewachsen war unter all seinen Vorfahren, der heilige Heiler.

In this instance “hêlago hêleand” is used in the beginning of the tale of the paralytic of Capernaum. “Hêlago” points to Christ's divinity and “hêliand” to his healing of the paralytic man, demonstrating his healing capabilities to the Jews who doubt his powers and godly nature, without pointing to salvation. However, the poet does point out what sort of fate awaits the non-believers shortly after.¹¹⁴

The poet compares the Jews at the scene with the Saxons in his audience, insinuating that they are the new doubtful Jews, and demonstrates Christ's powers in specific examples. While the Jews reject Christ's divine nature in the story, this is to be seen as a warning to the Saxons of

¹¹⁴ Verses 2339-2344

what will happen if they doubt or falter. At the same time they are given the chance of “righting that old wrong”, so that they might gain Christ’s and God’s good will, protection and help. The poet constantly reminds his audience of Christ’s abilities in specific examples, therefore reinforcing the message that this will be their reward as well. It is in this didactic use of the miracle as a gift-exchange context between lord and subject or as a promise of help and protection, that we find previously discussed relations between Carolingian ideas of lordship, social order and the *imperium christianum*, as a peace-making strategy.

Verse 2354:

“them the fûsid uuas helið and helsið than gideda ina the hêland self, Crist thurh is craft mikil quican efter dôða [...]”

The hero who was eager to make the journey to hell, by the healer Himself, by Christ’s great power, he was quickened again after death.

Eifrig war der Held bestrebt auf dem Weg zur Hölle, dann wurde vom Heiler selbst, durch Christi große Macht, er wieder erquickt nach dem Tode.

This theme is picked up again in the next instance, still part of the same miraculous tale. The poet elaborates on the concept by telling the Saxons a story about how healing people and raising the dead was part of Christ’s own teachings and mission.

Even those who willingly would go to hell can be raised and given a second chance so that they might enjoy their lives instead and make the right choices. In this context this means of course following Christ. The poet thus encourages his audience to make the same choice, to become part of Christ’s fellowship, the Christian people, and be given that same second chance. The implicit message is that joining Christ’s *populus Christianus* meant no longer being at war with those who had already become Christians, possibly both within the Saxon populace itself, but of course also the Franks.

The poet placed this responsibility of making peace with the enemy in the hands of the Saxons, by portraying Christ not only as a bringer of peace, and the greatest leader whom all others are subjected to, but also as the healer that can heal all wounds.

4.2.3 The Blind Men of Jericho

Verse 3558:

“[...] that thar Hiesu Crist fan [Galilealande,] hêleandero bezt hêrost uuâri, fôri mid is folcu. Thô uuarð frâhmôd hugi bêðiun them blindun mannun, [...]”
[...] that there was Jesus Christ from Galilee land, the best and highest of all healers, leading His people. Then the blind men became cheerful in their hearts [...]
[...] dass dort Jesus Christus aus Galiläa der besten Heiler Hehrster war, sein Volk anführend; da ward den beiden Blinden das Herz frohgemut [...]

This is the first time hêliand is used in the parable of the Blind Men of Jericho, which combines the actual healing of the blind men in the story, with the promise of salvation in the explanation of the parable. The emphasis on this-worldly help in the other miracles is here paralleled most explicitly by an interpretation of the parable that links it to a story of salvation.

As Christ meets new people on the way, they have heard of him and know of his powers, begging him to help and heal them, and of course he does.

The figurative blindness of all who do not follow Christ diligently, is a way of warning the Saxons not to return to old beliefs and traditions, because they would be blind again. This can almost be seen as a rhetoric trick, because if given the choice between blindness and seeing, few would want to choose the former.

The message is that: the Saxons, now that they have heard about Christ and know what he is capable of, should become convinced of his strength and power, and choose to follow his lead, so that they might become part of his peaceful fellowship, spread his teachings and attain his help and lead joyous lives again.

Verse 3570:

“Hêleand gestôd, allaro barno bezt, hêt sie [thô] brengien te imu, lêdien thurh thea liudi, sprak im listiun tô [mildlîco] for theru menegi:”
The Savior stood still, the best of children, asked them to be brought to Him, lead through the people, and spoke wisely to them in kindness in front of that crowd.
Der Heiland blieb stehen, das beste aller Kinder, hieß sie zu sich bringen, leiten durch die Leute und sprach in kluger Weise mild mit ihnen vor dieser Menge.

In the next instance Christ gets personally involved, and calls the blind men to him. The emphasis shifts to Christ being compassionate and a wise teacher, in his healing of the blind

men. The parable tells the Saxons to follow his teachings and be compassionate, that it would be wise and beneficial for them to do so. This is further elaborated in the next instance.

4.2.4 The Raising of Lazarus

Verse 4032:

“[...] ‘thar thu mi, hêrro mîn”, quað siu, “neriendero bezt, nâhor uuâris, hêleand the gôdo, than ni thorfti ik [nu] sulic harm tholon, [...]”

“If you, my Lord,” she said, “Best of rescuers had been nearer to me, good healer, it would not have been necessary, for me to endure such bitter suffering [...]”

“Wärest du, mein Herr,” sagte sie “bester Retter, doch hier gewesen, guter Heiler, so brauchte ich nicht solches Leid zu erdulden [...]”

It is the sister of Lazarus who utters these words, indirectly asking Christ for his help to resurrect her brother. Because the help given concentrates on the sister’s and Lazarus’ life in this world, and because Christ heals Lazarus by bringing him back from the dead rather than bringing him salvation, I understand hêliand in this context as healer, while the meaning of saviour or rescuer is covered by neriendo.

As I have shown earlier, this demonstration of power and willingness to help His believers is of course to be understood as a message to the Saxons of what to expect if they follow Him. It also implies that, had they followed Christ all along, they might not have had to suffer so much in the first place. The poet points indirectly at their belated reconciliation with the Franks, and criticises their earlier resistance to Christianity, he does not support and honour any previously held traditions. Let me elaborate quickly.

4.3 Accomodation, transformation and contextualisation

When studying the Hêliand, one encounters many ideas about cultural adaptation, that propose that the Hêliand is in some way adapted to the pre-Christian culture of the Saxons. Rathofer’s “accommodation”¹¹⁵ is one such example. It implies a willed change of form and content in order to make the latter accessible to those being incorporated into a new religious and cultural setting. Another similar idea is Murphy’s “transformation”¹¹⁶, that suggests a “saxonising” of the Gospel as an accidental side effect to such an inculturation process. Tveito argues for a “contextualisation”, meaning that the poem was written for a specific

¹¹⁵ Rathofer, Johannes: *Der Hêliand – Theologischer Sinn als Tektonische Form*, Köln 1962, p. 52

¹¹⁶ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989

purpose within a missionary context, which he imagines in the form of a scaldic monk, singing to the Saxon nobility in their feast halls.¹¹⁷

I will argue that, while Rathofer and Tveito do have some valid points, their conclusions ultimately fail, because they include assumptions and superimpositions that cannot be verified or are contradicted by the extant source material, as shown in my analysis

While I believe that Rathofers argument for a willed form and content in the *Hêliand* is correct, it is not to facilitate a cultural change among the Saxons from “Pagan to Christian”, rather it reflects the poet’s intention to contribute to laying a long-lasting conflict to rest and to further develop a Saxon Christianity consistent with Frankish and Catholic interpretations of the time. The poet did so neither by avoiding the use of words that would invoke “Kernvorstellungen heidnischen Glaubens”¹¹⁸ nor by “dem eifrigen Bemühen, die voll und ganz bejahte kirchliche Glaubenslehre möglichst korrekt in der heimischen Sprache wiederzugeben.”¹¹⁹ The latter is a means, rather than the end. Instead I have tried to show, that the poet’s intention was to reconcile the Saxons, and to provide them with dogmatic guidance in an attempt to build upon the slow process of reaching peace. The Saxon audience was already Christian, not merely by baptism as Ingrid Rembold has demonstrated convincingly in regard to both textual and archaeological sources¹²⁰, but dismisses perhaps too quickly the few sources that do point towards the persistence of older traditions as purely narrative tools, and undercommunicates the extent to which the hagiographical sources might be biased in respect to their goals to confirm Saxon Christianity themselves. Not denying the foothold that Saxon Christianity had gained by the mid 9th century, nor the vanishing of older traditions, more prominent is the fact that the Saxons were not at peace with the Franks politically. The threat of further civil unrest was looming still, calling for the church to take an active role in the pacification of a male warrior-elite. This continued to be one of its main objectives throughout the Middle Ages in the development of a Christian warrior ethos – reaching its peak in High Medieval knighthood.

¹¹⁷ Tveito, Olav: “Frelerskikkelsen i Heliand” in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* Nr. 3, Oslo 2005, pp. 203-204

¹¹⁸ „Core ideas of heathen belief“, my translation, Rathofer, Johannes: *Der Hêliand – Theologischer Sinn als Tektonische Form*, Köln 1962, p. 52

¹¹⁹ „an eager effort, to affirm wholly and fully the church’s dogmatic teachings and relate it as correct as possible in his vernacular language“, my translation, Rathofer, Johannes: *Der Hêliand – Theologischer Sinn als Tektonische Form*, Köln 1962, p. 52

¹²⁰ Rembold, Ingrid: “Chapter 2. The Christian message and the Saxon laity”, unpublished manuscript, made available to me by the author via email on November 7th 2013, pp. 5 ff

Tveito, despite his strangely incoherent argumentation, comes to the conclusion that the *Héliand* was written for a specific purpose within a missionary context. This of course depends in large on the definition of missionary. Is a missionary one who converts non-Christians to Christianity, or also one who teaches them current doctrine and thus Christianises them by enforcing a more or less specific idea of what constitutes Christianity? I would argue that both are equally true, and would argue that Tveito is correct so far, but he then proposes that the poet was a skaldic monk¹²¹, which is simply unfounded as there is, to my knowledge, no indication of singing, wandering monks in any source. Even the writing of a song does not by necessity mean that it is the writer who sings it, and the amount of existing manuscripts and fragments suggests a far wider use. He points to the Nordic skalds and their relationship to the Norse kings and their courts¹²² as does Ólason. This gives us a somewhat difficult timeline, considering that the supposedly oldest known skaldic poem *Ragnarsdrápa* dates to no earlier than the 9th century itself, while its oldest extant copy is from Snorri's 13th century Prose Edda from Iceland. Kingship as we know it from the High Middle Ages had not yet developed in Scandinavia in the early 9th century. *Ragnarsdrápa* is attributed to Ragnar Lodbrok, the Danish petty-king at the time¹²³ that Widukind flees to in 777¹²⁴. This attribution to Ragnar Lodbrok is however disputed because such attributions do not otherwise appear before the concept of kingship was more developed in Scandinavia from the 11th century on, and thus might very well be a later conjecture.¹²⁵ Therefore this cannot be used as evidence to indicate, let alone confirm how the poet worked, or that the Saxons and Danes shared the same social, political and religious cultures, as suggested by Tveito. It merely suggests that they were on a friendly footing with one another, possibly because Ragnar himself had a political interest in the Saxons' perseverance against Charlemagne as a buffer for himself, and in order to stay connected to the slowly growing and flourishing trade in the region to his south-west¹²⁶. Instead of speaking of any of the above mentioned approaches to how the *Héliand* relates the Gospel into the Saxon language, I would argue that its main characteristic is that of poeticising a religious and political message, important to its own time and context. This message contributes to the Saxons' integration into the Carolingian Empire in a

¹²¹ Tveito, Olav: "Frelserkikkelsen i Heliand" in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* Nr. 3, Oslo 2005, p. 204

¹²² Tveito, Olav: "Frelserkikkelsen i Heliand" in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* Nr. 3, Oslo 2005, p. 204

¹²³ Viking chieftains are often called kings in the medieval sources, though there is broad academic agreement that they were petty-kings at best.

¹²⁴ "Annales regni Francorum, inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829 qui dicuntur Annales laurissenses maiores et Einhardi" in *MGH*, Hannover 1895, reprint from 1930, p. 48

¹²⁵ Ólason, Vésteinn: "Old Icelandic Poetry", in Neijmann, Daisy (ed.): *A History of Icelandic Literature, Vol. 5 of Histories of Scandinavian Literature*, London 2006, p. 28

¹²⁶ See below under 1.5

diplomatic way, by making current ideas and ideal relevant to its Saxon audience, rather than draw parallels to the Saxons' pre-Christian culture. The latter is from a source-critical point of view simply impossible.

4.4 Conclusion

My analysis of the question of whether the *hêliand*-term too could be interpreted as part of a reconciliatory effort, has shown that it is linked to a more didactic approach to proper Christian belief and behaviour. It explains different aspects of Christian doctrine to the newly converted Saxons in examples, and by links the reconciliatory efforts and Carolingian ideals, such as the relationship between lord and subject, exemplified in a gift-exchange context, with one another. It does not try to accommodate previously held traditions and beliefs, as my analysis has shown.

The meaning of savior is used as a somewhat general term on the one hand and is mostly linked to the salvation of souls on the other hand. Healer seems to be quite distinctly used in instances where Christ cures a more or less definite number of people. With his power, Christ is portrayed as one who can heal any illness or ailment and anyone, even raise the dead. It is also a demonstration of God's omnipotence, the implications of which I have discussed in the previous chapter.

While *drohtin* and *friðubarn* are more directly related to concepts of reconciliation between Saxons and Franks, the reconciliatory message of *hêliand* is of a more didactic nature, demonstrated by the recurring affirmation of his divinity and his role in the salvation of mankind, and the help and protection promised to the devout believers. Christ promises peace by unifying all of his faithful followers into one Christian people, to whom he promises help, protection and salvation. The term *hêliand* thus supplements both *friðubarn* and *drohtin* by way of promising the faithful help in this world and the next, and peace for the body, mind and soul of the true believer.

After investigating the question of how *hêliand* is used, I have found that the meaning differs throughout. It should be translated as "saviour" most of the time, not "healer" as Murphy does, because quite often "healer" simply does not fit the context.

Could the term be applied to the "healing" or "saving" of the Saxon people? I believe it can, because The *Hêliand* links these actions and functions of Christ with the idealized Carolingian

concepts of: 1) the relationship between “feudal lord” and subject, 2) *rex iustus et pacificus* and *rex iustus et sacerdotus*, and 3) the *populus Christianus* in the *imperium christianum*. These are, as we have seen in the chapters above, directly linked to the ideas of Christ as bringer of peace, protection and salvation, while at the same time part of the cultural transfer between Franks and Saxons.

I have therefore argued to abandon approaches to the cultural changes that are expressed within the *Hêliand* in terms of “pre-Christian” vs. Christian. Instead I propose that the *Hêliand* is first and foremost a poetic adaptation of the Gospel in Old Saxon, written among other things to integrate the Saxon population into the Carolingian Empire and to further contemporary ideas about God, Church and Emperor.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Problem

The *Hêliand* tells the story of Christ to the newly converted Saxons. It is a highly sophisticated work of literary, religious and political art, with a range of possible origins, audiences and uses. I have been able to confirm my original hypothesis, that the *Hêliand*, in addition to its many other likely areas of application, can be interpreted as part of a programmatic approach to the reconciliation of Franks and Saxons in the mid-9th century.

My analysis of the poem has indicated such a reconciliatory message both on a religious and on a political level. The integration of the Saxon peoples into the Carolingian Empire was not all that easy after the long-lasting conflict between these peoples. A change in the missionary efforts from the forceful conversions under Charlemagne to a more preventive diplomacy as propagated by the *Hêliand* is noticeable, and must be seen as one of the major motives of the poet.

This change however, is as far as I can tell from my analysis, not rooted in any presupposed and imagined pre-Christian society. Instead, a Christianity had developed that now needed that long missing doctrinal guidance, and a culture had developed that was in constant friction with its Frankish neighbors. The need for this-worldly comfort is not a “Germanic” or even a Saxon spiritual need, but a recurring trait of human spirituality. The Saxons were shown that Christ encompassed all aspects of life and death and how he fulfilled these needs. The poet rather than explaining the Gospel in supposedly “Saxonised” terms, incorporates contemporary Carolingian theological and political theories by comparing different groups characters of the Gospel with groups and personae in his own time.

5.2 Method

I started by gathering extensive statistical data, both quantitative and qualitative, on the names and attributes of God in the *Hêliand*, from which I arrived at the three terms that were to become the basis of my study: *friðubarn*, *drohtin* and *hêliand*. I have analysed which contexts these terms are found in, and tried to incorporate that information into its historical and theological contexts.

This has resulted in a more nuanced picture of how God is represented in the *Hêliand*, which previous scholars have not been able to see. *Friðubarn* was chosen due to its proximity to the Old Saxon word for peace and protection. *Drohtin* was originally chosen for its military origins and as a contrast, but proved to be the most key term in my analysis of said Carolingian concepts, and I chose *hêliand*, in order to see if an argument could be made in regard to the spiritual and cultural “healing processes” that must have taken place among the Christianised Saxons around the time the *Hêliand* was written.

All the statistical data I have gathered during the writing of this thesis, is available in the appendix below, so that it might contribute to the further study of the *Hêliand*. It can be used in many different ways depending on the questions asked. I hope it will be found useful for other researchers and will contribute to illuminating medieval religious thought and the development of Christendom in the early Middle Ages in a new way.

5.3 In what way does the source represent God and what can we deduce from it?

The poet uses a very large number of different names and attributes for God. This is not in the least due to the poetic form in which the epic is written. I have analysed three of the names: *friðubarn*, *drohtin* and *hêliand*, because these seemed best suited to demonstrate a message of pacification and reconciliation. My original idea was that *drohtin* would stand in contrast to the other two, but this has not been confirmed in my analysis. On the contrary, *drohtin* is used programmatically to further the Frankish idea of a *populus christianus*.

5.3.1 *Friðubarn*:

As we have seen, *friðubarn* as one would expect is thoroughly linked to ideas of peace-making, the innocence of childhood and the pacification of the Saxons. I have demonstrated that the term *friðubarn* has four largely distinct and separate functions within the epic: (1) to introduce Christ to any audience both within or outside the narration itself as a bringer of peace and protection, (2) to portray Christ as the most powerful aid in any situation both in this life and the next, further developing the promise of protection and well-being for those who choose to follow Christianity, (3) to let him demonstrate the way of peaceful conflict resolution and (4) to be used as an example to follow. In light of these functions, *friðubarn* should be seen as a way of promoting both the “*Rex Iustus et pacificus*” ideal and the idea of

a “populus Christianus”. These are linked to the Carolingian theological and imperial ideals of the mid-9th century, as can be seen in the hagiographical record.

In conjunction with my analysis of friðubarn, I have also looked at whether the Saxon peoples might have been called warrior-societies, and in what way that would influence any attempt at interpreting the epic. I have arrived at the conclusion that peace is a fundamental human need, that even if the Saxons considered themselves to be a warrior-society, this would have little influence on their need for security and protection in every day life.

Modern peace and conflict studies have furthermore enabled me to indicate an answer to the question of how the Saxons’ integration into the Frankish empire worked. Miller’s model of how and when regions become peaceful shows an extraordinary congruence with the historical events surrounding the pacification of the Saxons, and their integration into the Carolingian Empire in six steps. These can be summarized as follows:

(1) Restrain, (2) reassure, (3) deter and contain, (4) prevent, (5) mediate and (6) guarantee¹²⁷. In conjunction with the the historic events and processes, this can be reconstructed as

(1) Charlemagne invades Saxony with armed forces and missionaries.

(2) Charlemagne deploys armed forces that protect the missionaries.

(3) He demands fealty from the Saxon leadership and rids himself of those whose fealty he doubts.

(4) A new approach to integration seeks to reconcile the Saxons with Church and Empire and concentrates on preventing further violence.

(5) Loyal clients are given more freedom, privileges and power.

(6) Full integration of loyal Saxon nobles into the Frankish nobility is achievable.

My study places the Hêalind at stage four of this process, as part of this new course in Carolingian integration politics.

¹²⁷ Miller, Benjamin: “When and How Regions Become Peaceful: Potential Theoretical Pathways to Peace” in *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Oxford 2005, p. 236-237

5.3.2 Drohtin:

I have shown eight separate contexts in which drohtin appears within the Hêliand poem. I have called them:

- 1) The victor and vanquisher, where drohtin Christ is placed in a feudal lord – subject and gift-exchange context, in order to compare God’s responsibilities towards Christianity, as well as a worldly lord’s duties towards his subjects. It is connected to the ideas of Rex Iustus et sacerdos, and Rex Iustus et pacificus.
- 2) The one you “owe” reflects back on this matter, but where the former context illustrates the responsibilities of the lord, this one shows what is expected of the subject. It is connected to Carolingian ideas of a feudal political and social order.
- 3) The ruler of all and everything underlines God’s complete authority, the inevitability of his will, but also points to the unification of his believers into one populus Christianus.
- 4) The savior and redeemer is connected to both the populus Christianus idea and the ideal of what constitutes a good Christian.
- 5) The prophet and teacher contexts elaborate further on how to be a good Christian and become part of God’s people.
- 6) The born leader focusses on Christ’s nobility and links Christ’s own noble lineage with that of the Carolingian emperors, by anointment and blood.
- 7) The lord of many and all peoples, focuses on the promise of peace and protection implied in the populus Christianus idea, and illustrates the peaceful co-existence of Christ’s own ethnically diverse followers.
- 8) The man inspires sympathy and demonstrates God’s almightiness through his will to sacrifice his own son for the benefit of his people.

I believe that the term is neither fully developed as a term for the Christian God, nor that it contains any Saxon pre-Christian ideals. The broad application of the term and the diverse attributes pointing to mainly feudal structures and the holy led me to believe that instead, the term was still in the process of being coined for its Christian use and the propagation of Frankish politics.

Mierke comes to a similar conclusion, when she states that:

“Memoria verbindet im Heliand die Geschichte der sächsischen Zwangschristianisierung unter Karl dem Großen und die Integration dieses Volkes mit der Etablierung der neuen christlichen Kultur in Anlehnung an die Antike und der Umsetzung christlicher Bildungsvorstellungen, die aus der Idee des karolingischen Reformprogramms heraus im 9. Jahrhundert versuchsweise in die Volkssprache transponiert werden.”¹²⁸

However, I do not believe that the Heliand was merely “an attempt” at integrating the Saxons, as Mierke proposes. There are simply too many surviving manuscripts to support that assumption. Rather I would suggest that the Heliand was part of that programmatic approach that I discussed in the the previous chapter.

5.3.3 Heliand:

The hēliand term can be interpreted most of the time as savior and sometimes as healer and combines Christian doctrinal teachings with a more hands-on approach in the integration of the Saxon peoples. The term can be interpreted as suggesting Christ’s ability to heal and save the Saxon peoples.

The concept of saviour is connected to Christ’s godliness and sacrifice, but also to the *populus Christianus* idea. It is divided thematically into Christ’s annunciation and infancy, His baptism, the confirmation of his divine nature, the consolidation of his followers and His passion.

The concept of Christ the healer is connected with his curative miracles, and the lord-subject relationship that I have addressed earlier, because the help given by one’s lord is the reward for the fulfilment of one’s own duties, and can be seen in a gift-exchange context. It is found in: the Boy from Nain, the Paralytic of Capernaum; the parable of the Blind Men in Jericho, and the raising of Lazarus.

Heliand is more of a didactic term that illustrates the benefits that a Christian can expect from his God in return for his spiritual devotion, but shows clear parallels to the emerging feudal ideal among the Frankish leadership.

¹²⁸ “[M]emoria connects in the Heliand the history of the forced conversions of the Saxons under Charlemagne and the integration of this people with the establishment of the new Christian culture rooted in Antiquity. It implements Christian education ideas, out of the idea of the Carolingian reform program in the 9th century by trying to transmit these into the vernacular.” Mierke, Gesine: *Memoria als Kulturtransfer – Der altsächsische »Heliand« zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Köln 2008, p. 29

5.4 Supposed features of Germanisation in the Hêliand demystified

In the following I take a quick look at some of the most commonly found arguments in favour of a “Germanised/ Saxonised” Hêliand, and why these should not be seen as signs of pre-Christian Saxon culture. I have noticed some recurring arguments about allegedly “Germanic”/ “heathen”/ “pagan” terminology in the Hêliand. In the following, I will refute this view of allegedly “pagan” imagery in the Hêliand, by pointing to some of the terms that have been misused and misunderstood in this context. The Hêliand is however, not an expression of a fully developed orthodoxy either, but instead contributes to the ongoing process of creating a definition of what constitutes “correct” Christianity in the Carolingian Empire.

So many scholars feel compelled to think that there are indeed traces of Old Saxon culture and religion to be found in the Hêliand. These are mostly based on false assumptions or great leaps of faith, as I will shortly demonstrate in the following:

Lordship and Comitatus:

Drohtin is far from the only term used to describe “a lord” or even “the Lord”, and after all, Lord is an ancient name for God, and his nobility is not a “Germanic” concept, but rather one that has followed Christianity across the conversion of numerous peoples from its very beginning. Of course this term had to be translated somehow, but that does not mean that any supposed previous meanings were transported as well.

Tveito misunderstands “erðrîki herod” by translating it as “protector of the world”¹²⁹, misreading Murphy’s translation, because “erðrîki herod” actually means “here on this earthly realm” while Murphy’s “protector of the world” is “managoro mundboro” literally translating as “protector of the many”. He never actually explains how this is supposed to be rooted in Saxon folklore or religion, and he continues to follow Murphy just as uncritically when it comes to the term drohtin, the concept of which as a specifically “Germanic” term, I want to address at this point.

¹²⁹ Tveito, Olav: “Frelserkikkelsen i Heliand” in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* Nr. 3, Oslo 2005, p. 188

Green argues convincingly that the *truhtin-comitatus* relationship between a warrior-retinue and its leader, is not in fact an “old Germanic” concept, but a Merovingian-Frankish construct from the introduction of early feudalism¹³⁰ and that by the time it was used in Anglo Saxon and Saxon works, had been generalised to mean lord or ruler, without any resonance of Germanic-warriorband relationships¹³¹.

Murphy, following Vilmar however, ignores these findings, and argues that this still was a valid Saxon, and essentially non-Christian concept that the *Hêliand*-poet superimposed on the Gospel in order to make it more accessible to its Saxon audience¹³². In regard to Green’s analysis of the terms, this notion must be rejected at its core. Murphy never actually analyses any of these terms, but bases his whole translational effort on Vilmar’s notoriously national romantic reading of the *Hêliand* epic.

Furthermore, it seems to me unlikely that the Saxons, given a Frankish origin for these terms, would regard them as their own - the term is noticeably absent from the mid 8th century baptismal vow¹³³ - but could be used didactically as part of the integration efforts towards the Saxon populace, where the *Hêliand* contributes to its coining as a Christian term for God, the ruler or lord.

Midgard:

Murphy also gets quite excited about the use of *middilgard* in the *Hêliand* and translates it in a seemingly straightforward manner as *Midgard*. However, I believe this has stronger “Germanic” connotations today than it had then. This becomes quite clear when looking at the expression “an thesarū middilgard” – in this *midgard/ middle world* – which appears in the course of *fitte 44* among others in verse 3606 and 3630. It is actually one of the few approximations in the text that I have found at all. It is seemingly a direct parallel to the Old Norse *Midgard* and synonymous to “an thesarū uueroildi” – in this world – which also appears several times. However, as stated earlier in regard to Grabar, it is unlikely that this is a sign of “Germanisation” or attempted accommodation of the audience. The more likely explanation is that it is simply a common Saxon term or phrase, that was now being given a new content.

¹³⁰ Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, Cambridge 1965, p. 59-60

¹³¹ Green, D.H.: *The Carolingian Lord*, Cambridge 1965, p. 61

¹³² Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel*, Oxford 1992, p. xv

¹³³ See below for a side by side Saxon and English version, Codex Palatinus Latinus 577, Pal. lat. 577 jff. Springer, Matthias: *Die Sachsen*, Stuttgart 2004, p.154

Midgard is in essence the place where we humans live, but there is no strict and implicit separation of mythological, religious and everyday life. This separation is a relatively modern one. I have therefore translated the former as “in this middle world”, and the latter as “in this world”, in order to prevent a modern misinterpretation as a “Germanisation” of the poem.

Fate:

Again, I struggle with fate/ *uurð* as a “Germanic” idea. To my knowledge, it is a concept that stretches across a great distance in both time and space, as it, in part, tries to explain why otherwise inexplicable or seemingly meaningless things happen. Hagenlocher finds that „Im Ganzen ist für *uurð* eine klare Zuordnung zu Tod, Krankheit und körperlichem Leiden zu erkennen“¹³⁴ and thus narrows the meaning to the problem of evil, that is the question of why bad things happen to good people: a question that most spiritual schools of thought try to answer at some point or another. Murphy states that the poet goes “far beyond the Hellenising of St. Luke who gave no space to Fate”¹³⁵ but that does not actually imply that it is a Saxon, let alone “Germanic” concept, but could just as well go back to other sources of the *Héliand* and be part of a didactic approach to the problem of evil, or even the personal preferences of the poet. It is a fundamental question that is relevant for Christianity as well as non-Christian religions.

Runes:

Last but not least, I wish to address Murphy’s translation of *girûni* as “secret runes”. Notwithstanding the possibility that runes might have been used to obtain secret counsel in some older folk-religions or folklore native to Northern Europe, there is simply nothing in the *Héliand* that would support such an assumption. This can be seen when Tveito almost instantly tries to give the *Héliand* “heathen” characteristics¹³⁶, or remnants of northern pre-Christian religions, that simply aren’t there. For instance: he introduces his argument by following Murphy uncritically and translating *girûni* as “secret runes”, though “*Girûni*” and “rune” have the same etymological root. “*Girûni*” does not mean rune as in letter or magic-word in Old Saxon, but murmurings or secrets, as the Modern German “*Geraune*” is a

¹³⁴ Hagenlocher, Albrecht: *Schicksal im Héliand*, Köln 1975, p. 32

¹³⁵ Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Saxon Savior*, Oxford 1989, p. 33

¹³⁶ Tveito, Olav: “Frelserkikkelsen i Heliand” in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* Nr. 3, Oslo 2005, p. 187

remnant of. The semantically and etymologically related *rûna*, appears two more times¹³⁷, but has nothing to do with runes either. It means confidential counsel, and the translation “secret runes” as propagated by Murphy simply does not fit the context.

The only viable translation is “secret”. There is however an undeniable and recurring context of secrecy surrounding God’s words, which very well might communicate older concepts of the magical power of words. However, we have no basis for assuming that this is an expression of a “pagan” Saxon concept. The lack of evidence is by itself no reason to dismiss a possibility, and there are no Saxon written or archaeological sources that could in any way shed light on their religion and culture in this respect. There is however, a known and documented Christian concept that was available to those who transmitted Christian ideas and dogmas to the Saxons. Therefore, the most logical conclusion is that the poet transmitted this known concept as part of his own Christian spirituality. The power of the word of God is after all emphasised from the very beginning of Christianity. Is not “logos” a fundamental principle of God’s working and creative power both in the first book of Moses and the Gospel of John? I would therefore rather interpret “*girûni*” as a way of relating this concept to the Saxons in their own language, and thus coining it for the purpose of Carolingian Christianisation.

5.5 Final contemplations

For some reason, the *Héliand* is still largely unknown even among medievalists. In my study I wanted to contribute to changing that and investigate early medieval thoughts and ideas within the epic gospel poem. A study such as mine has not been done before, and the statistical evidence I have gathered was able to illuminate central questions about the nature of the poem in a new way. By looking at what verbal strategies the poet of the *Héliand* used, I have gained insight into the poet’s religious beliefs and his approach to Christianity and the Christianisation of his fellow Saxons.

The new missionary approach, directed towards the now Christian Saxons, embraces the Carolingian ideas of the mid-9th century. Crucial to these efforts was the incorporation of theological and imperial thoughts and innovations such as: 1) the Carolingian *rex iustus* ideals, combining concepts of kingship with sacrality and peace-making, 2) the *translatio imperii et studii* or transfer of power and knowledge and 3) the idea of a united Christian

¹³⁷ In verses 3226 and 5062 of the *Héliand*

people – the *populus christianus* – under one Christian Empire – the *imperium christianum*. After almost 50 years of failed Frankish integration politics, some Saxon clerics, most likely on behalf of a Frankish emperor, decided to change strategy and to choose a more reconciliatory path. The *Héliand* is part of that new approach to the continuous Christianisation and integration of the Saxon peoples.

I have suggested directions for subsequent studies through the statistical evidence on the names for God that I have gathered, and by suggesting related concepts that have not been studied previously, the absence of any study on childhood in early medieval Saxony would be an example of just that.

Appendix

Names for God in the Hêliand

Old Saxon	Attribute	English/ German Translation	Commentary	Verse	Total
Names category: God					
God		God/ Gott		2, 7, 10, 14, 17, 19, 42, 49, 77, 81, 87, 92, 95, 110, 113, 120, 128, 132, 192, 216, 218, 227, 236, 242, 256, 258, 270, 276, 280, 283, 289, 324, 326, 331, 335, 336, 368, 382, 391, 412, 421, 427, 431, 442, 444, 457, 460, 466, 516, 528, 547, 595, 598, 610, 623, 648, 657, 661, 674, 679, 694, 696, 700, 711, 754, 769, 776, 784, 806, 807, 809, 855, 865, 946, 949, 955, 957, 977, 994, 999, 1007, 1015, 1057, 1069, 1072, 1081, 1117, 1145, 1159, 1234, 1241, 1258, 1289, 1299, 1323, 1344, 1373, 1387, 1412, 1418, 1440, 1456, 1465, 1471, 1473, 1539, 1543, 1547, 1557, 1564, 1638, 1662, 1685, 1687, 1726, 1746, 1784, 1793, 1800, 1865, 1921, 1964, 1969, 1977, 1985, 2003, 2070, 2082, 2127, 2133, 2171, 2172, 2204, 2267, 2323, 2340, 2438, 2451, 2456, 2459 ¹³⁸ , 2469, 2479, 2481, 2485, 2488, 2498, 2499, 2509, 2520, 2598,	251

¹³⁸ Gegen Gottes Willen!

				2620, 2699, 2711, 2726, 2805, 2870, 2870, 2876, 2882, 2905, 2942, 2980, 3025, 3070, 3082, 3102, 3107, 3147, 3152, 3277, 3297, 3304, 3350, 3396, 3450, 3455, 3460, 3471, 3475, 3478, 3480, 3483, 3486, 3582, 3583, 3602, 3612, 3668, 3686, 3748, 3805, 3925, 4043, 4050, 4089, 4115, 4122, 4149, 4160, 4161, 4248, 4257, 4261, 4275, 4300, 4336, 4410, 4421, 4451, 4465, 4496, 4551, 4572, 4621, 4625, 4635, 4641, 4660, 4678, 4739, 4754, 4781, 4789, 4853, 4964, 5024, 5032, 5040, 5074, 5084, 5093, 5103, 5165, 5286, 5394, 5405, 5633, 5654, 5684, 5770, 5804, 5814, 5845, 5868, 5893, 5969, 5976	
Uualdand god	uualdand	«the ruling God»/ « der waltende Gott»		20, 98, 645, 1402, 1614, 1618, 1622, 1658, 1665, 1907, 1959, 2533, 2634, 2790, 3613, 3650, 3831, 4408, 4431, 4435, 4440, 4892, 5048	23
godspell, spel godes, godes spel		«God's/the good» spell/ «Gottes/ der gute» Spruch	Murphy: zweideutig	25, 572, 1376, 1381, 1732, 2650	6
Hêlag god (1914: an himilríkea)	Hêlag, an himilríkea	The Holy God (in the heavenly kingdom), der Heilige Gott (im Himmelreich)		161, 240, 1513, 1914, 1924, 3384, 4759, 5352	8
Godcunde		Divine, göttlich/ von Gott stammend		188, 195, 3120	3

God (213: fon himila) selbo	(fon himila) selbo	God (from Heaven) himself / Gott (im Himmel) selbst		205, 213, 1937, 2644, 3060, 3514, 3944, 3953, 5387	9
God alohmahtig	alohmahtig	God the Almighty/ Gott der Allmächtige		245, 416, 476, 903, 1110, 1766, 2337, 4038	8
Thiodgod		(al)mighty God/ (all)mächtiger Gott	Murphy «mankind's God», «their clan's God»	285, 789, 1119, 1728, 3221	5
Gôdlîcan gumon		Glorious man/ herrlicher mann	Murphy: Divine Man, Tiefenbach	336	1
God mahtig, mahtig god	mahtig	The mighty God/ der mächtige Gott		357, 394+395, 1039, 1632, 1827, 3592, 3645, 4886	8
alouualdon gode	alouualdon	The all-ruling, all-powerful God/ der allmächtige Gott		861, 2155, 3937	3
lamb godes	lamb	The Lamb of God/ Gottes Lamm		1131	1
Gôdlîcnissea godes	gôdlîcnissea	The glory of God/ Gottes Herrlichkeit		2085	1
rîki god	Rîki	The powerful god, der mächtige Gott		2611, 3095	2
Libbiend god	Libbiend	The living god/ der lebendige Gott		3058, 5085	2
Mildi god	Mildi	The mild god/ der milde Gott		3239	1
Craftagne god, crafteg god	Craftagne	The strong god/ der krätige Gott		3607, 3618, 5011	3
Hebenrîki god	Hebenrîki	God of the realm of heaven/ des Himmelreiches Gott		5038	1
Iuuuan endi mînan, suoðfastan god	Iuuuan, mînan, suoðfastan	Your and my true God/ euer und mein wahrhafter Gott		5937	1

Names category: Child/Son					
Himilisc barn	Himilisc	The heavenly child/ das himmlische Kind		246	1
is (247: selbes) sunu	Is (selbes)	His own Son/ Seinen eigenen Sohn		247, 1042, 2930, 3148, 3615	5
Lioblíco luttilna man		The lovely little man/ den lieblichen kleinen Mann		381	1
Kind		Child/ Kind		276, 382, 407, 639, 672, 729, 774, 2018	7
barn		Child/ Kind		292, 446, 459, 474, 592, 644, 697, 770, 778, 824, 831, 5608	12
Barno strangost	Strangost	The strongest child/ das stärkste Kind		370	1
Hêlaga (440: himilsc) barn	Hêlage, himilsc	The holy (heavenly) Child/ das heilige (himmlische) Kind		385, 440, 663, 708, 804, 1584, 3688, 5372, 5419	9
barn godes (652: selbon)	Godes, selbon	God's Child (himself), Gottes Kind (selbst)		429, 479, 545, 584, 651 (+ 652), 702, 706, 714, 895, 911, 915, 919, 1164, 1168, 1203, 1260, 1587, 1996, 2176, 2264, 2298, 2303, 2309, 2321, 2370, 2415, 2539, 2648, 2666, 2675, 2820, 2895, 2929, 2975, 3125, 3161, 3173, 3262, 3560, 3564, 3655, 3707, 3727, 3739, 3755, 3799, 3862, 3902, 3965, 4020, 4067, 4071, 4164, 4198, 4218, 4470, 4559, 4752, 4770, 4829, 4882, 4903, 4929, 4933, 4939, 5117, 5122, 5170, 5203, 5229, 5261,	78

				5534, 5650, 5653, 5730, 5738, 5763, 5900,	
Sâlig barn godes	godes, sâlig	God's blessed Child/ Gottes seliges Kind		400, 1121, 1180, 3111, 5508	5
Barno rîkiost	rîkiost	The most powerful child/ das mächtigste Kind		404, 1249, 1993, 2577, 2901	5
Friðubarn godes (1157: selbo)	Friðu, godes, selbo	God's (own) Child of Peace/ Gottes (eigenes) Friedenskind		450, 667, 760, 983, 1128, 1156-1157, 2099, 2382, 3022, 3836, 3883, 3899, 3943, 4024, 4494, 4525, 5349, 5775, 5932	19
Hêlage barn godes	Godes, Hêlage	God's holy Child, das heilige Kind Gottes		518, 847, 2121-2122, 3895	4
(961: diurlîc) drohtines sunu, (1044-1045: mahtigna) sunu drohtines	Drohtines, diurlîc, mahtigna	The (dear) son of the Ruler/ der (teure) Sohn des Herrn		534, 834, 961, 1005, 1044-1045, 1596, 2073, 2199, 2284, 2290, 2366, 2621, 2803, 2815, 2969, 2974, 2999, 3115, 3980, 3984, 4053, 4631, 4744, 4800, 4992, 5109, 5206, 5567, 5787, 5849, 5926	31
godes êgan barn	godes êgan	God's own child/ Gottes eigenes Kind		326, 794, 838, 960, 1010, 1135, 1287, 1335, 2000, 2291, 3085	10
mahtig barn godes	Godes, mahtig	Mighty Child of God/ Gottes mächtiges Kind		798, 812, 2024, 2038, 2325, 5112	6
Sunu (1998, 2019: selbo)		The Son/ der Sohn		807, 819, 992, 1998, 5085	5
Allaro barno bezt	Allaro, bezt	The best of all children/ das beste kind von allen		338, 835, 1066, 1092, 1109, 1590, 2622, 2851, 2962, 3326, 3410, 3571, 5049, 5266	13
uualdandes barn	uualdandes	The Ruler's Child/ Das Kind des Waltenden/Herrsc		962, 989, 1050, 1222, 2030, 3126, 5143	7

		hers			
hebencuninges sunu	hebencuninges	The son of the King of Heaven/ der Sohn des Himmelskönigs		997	1
uualdandes sunu	uualdandes	The Rulers son/ der Sohn des Waltenden		1026, 1189, 1294, 1984, 2688, 2695, 2803, 3057, 3180, 5684	10
(2251, 4011: guodo/ 2847, 5088: the gôdo) godes sunu	Godes, guodo	God's (2251, 2847, 4011, 5088: good) Son/ Gottes (2251, 2847, 4011, 5088: guter) Sohn		1064, 1084, 1282, 1384, 1581, 2192, 2234, 2251, 2269, 2671, 2847, 2948, 3132, 3138, 3214, 3248, 3547, 3678, 3906, 4011, 4062, 4181, 4204, 4270, 4549, 4722, 4733, 4845, 4913, 4946, 5088, 5132, 5238, 5283, 5331, 5338, 5340, 5583, 5598, 5622, 5945, 5961	42
friðubarn	friðu	The Peace-Child/ das Friedenskind		1077	1
(2991: Selbo), (3563: drohtin) sunu Dauides	Selbo, drohtin , Dauides	(Lord) David's son (himself), (des Herren) Davids (eigener) Sohn		2991, 3563, 3682	3
Barno that bezte	Bezt	The best child/ das beste Kind		3034, 3510, 3712, 4990, 5305, 5518, 5685	7
Barn drohtines (4012: selbo)	Drohtines, selbo	The Child of the Lord (himself)/ des Herren Kind (selbst)		3542, 3787, 4012, 4272, 5288, 5430	6
(4379, 5094: Mâri) mannes sunu	Mâri, mannes	The (4379, 5094: shining/excellent/ famous) son of men, der (4379, 5094: strahlende/hervor ragende/berühmte) Menschensohn		4379, 4461, 5094	3
Heliðo barn	Helith	Child of man, hero/ Heldenkind, Menschenkind		5570,	1

Names category: Christ					
Krist		Christ/ Christus		3, 6, 12, 34, 49, 135, 399, 499, 538, 617, 657, 671, 866, 970, 982, 986, 991, 1004, 1021, 1116, 1134, 1138, 1146, 1182, 1191, 1199, 1235, 1265, 1835, 2018, 2089, 2161, 2208, 2225, 2232, 2297, 2345, 2355, 2413, 2689, 2884, 2902, 2996, 3130, 3280, 3290, 3644, 3763, 3788, 3926, 3964, 4002, 4026, 4062, 4118, 4128, 4213, 4223, 4266, 4478, 4521, 4546, 4717, 4755, 4807, 4825, 4859, 4969, 5082, 5190, 5216, 5248, 5271, 5328, 5444, 5508, 5543, 5561, 5583, 5607, 5611, 5623, 5674, 5680, 5694, 5707, 5716, 5624, 5832, 5848, 5892, 5911, 5981	93
Iesu Krist (3557, 3716: fan Galilealande)		Jesus Christ (from Galilee)/ Jesus Christus (aus Galiläa)		326, 3257, 3557, 3716	4
Krist selbo	selbo	Christ himself/ Christus selbst		426, 472, 754, 973, 1009, 4820, 5550, 5837	8
hêlago Krist (4004: selbo)	Hêlag, selbo	Holy Christ (himself)/ heiliger Christus (selbst)		460, 521, 1067, 1091, 1107, 2022, 2035, 2068, 2167, 2362, 2372, 2665, 3163, 3223, 3561, 3825, 3863, 4004, 4076, 4090, 4504, 4926, 4990, 5265, 5565, 5640, 5904, 5947	28
(2178-2179,: mahtig) neriendo Krist (1187: hêlagna)	Neriondio, hêlagna	the (powerful) saving (holy) Christ/ der (mächtige) rettende (heilige)		782, 1186-1187, 1267, 1279, 2178-2179, 2237, 2248, 2912, 3671, 4137, 4238, 4714,	18

		Christus		4803, 4848, 4857, 5422, 5602, 5819	
Crist alouualdo	alouualdo	The allpowerful Christ/ der allmächtige Christus		813, 1297, 1334, 3139, 3296, 3954, 3974, 4186, 4294, 4554	10
Uualdand Krist (4997, 5500: selbo)	Uualdand, selbo	The ruling Christ (4997, 5500: himself)/ der waltende Christus (4997, 5500: selbst)		905, 916, 979, 1017, 1231, 1325, 2078, 2124, 2310, 2386, 2827, 2863, 2919, 2973, 2994, 3009, 3051, 3118, 3170, 3182, 3198, 3444, 3567, 3666, 3683, 3723, 3758, 3768, 3780, 3891, 3921, 4039, 4103, 4168, 4174, 4213, 4293, 4378, 4495, 4997, 5210, 5371, 5417, 5430, 5500, 5512, 5629, 5942, 5977	49
hêlandean Krist	hêlandean	The healing Christ/ der heilende Christus		1049, 2206, 2278, 2306, 3031, 4608	6
Mârion Crist	Mârion	The shining/excellent/ famous Christ, der strahlende/hervorragende/berühmte Christus		1244	1
(3099: mâri) Mahtig Crist	Mahtig	The mighty (shining) Christ/ der mächtige (strahlende) Christus		2576, 2581, 2846, 2938, 3084, 3099, 3509, 4229, 4528, 4601, 5064, 5279, 5380, 5919	14
Rîkeon Krist	Rîkeon	The powerful Christ/ der mächtige Christus		2668, 4051	2
Craftigana Crist	craftig	The strong Christ, der kraftreiche/starke Christus		2804	1
Crist cuning (5086: êuuig)	Cuning, êuuig	Christ the (5086:eternal) King/ Christus der (5086: ewige) König		3059, 5086	2

Names category: Uualdand					
Uualdand		«Lord/ the ruler»/ «der Waltende/ Herr(scher)»		26, 39, 90, 106, 117, 179, 186, 190, 260, 277, 300, 327, 332, 358, 432, 453, 462, 469, 475, 575, 671, 682, 689, 700, 779, 1040, 1074, 1281, 1377, 1466, 1554, 1593, 1598, 1633, 1684, 1791, 2005, 2196, 2235, 2241, 2259, 2643, 2712, 2817, 2902, 2934, 2965, 3004, 3017, 3033, 3096, 3215, 3578, 3587, 3647, 3705, 3729, 3777, 3789, 4023, 4029, 4085, 4124, 4246, 4271, 4298, 4416, 4503, 4510, 4607, 4632, 4760, 4775, 4792, 5660, 5815, 5847, 5984	78
(998: ên) alouualdand		(the One) All- Powerful/ (der Eine) Allmächtige		121, 172, 251, 274, 294, 488, 998, 1510, 1979, 2287, 2421, 2842, 5796, 5830, 5936	15
uueroldes uualdand	uueroldes	Ruler of the world/ Herr der Welt		409, 2324, 2436, 3113, 4833	5
Uualdand self	selbo	The Ruler Himself/ the Herrscher selbst		522, 1285, 1765, 1962, 2213, 2336, 3064, 3503, 4702	9
uualdand uuârlico	uuârlico	The graceful Ruler/ der holde Herrscher		974	1
alouualdon obane	obane	The All-Ruler above/ der Allmächtige von oben		986, 1116	2
Hebenes uualdand	hebenes	The Heaven's Ruler/ der Himmelswaltende		1315, 2299, 3550	3
Ûsa uualdand		Our Ruler/ unser Herrscher		1552, 5930	2

Landes uualdand	Landes	Ruler of the land/Herrscher über das Land		1681	1
Alouualdon mahtig	Mahtig	The mighty all-ruler/ der mächtige Allmächtige		3617	1
uualdand thesaro uueroldes	Thesaro uueroldes	Ruler of this world/ Waltender dieser Welt		5586	1
Names category: Drohtin					
drohtin		«Lord/ Master/ ruler»/ «Herr/Meister/ Herrscher»	Murphy: «our dear Chieftain/ the mighty Chieftain»	27, 140, 264, 316, 418, 446, 485, 490, 505, 515, 702, 710, 770, 889, 936, 967, 988, 1000, 1047, 1198, 1208, 1253, 1309, 1318 ¹³⁹ , 1366, 1571, 1790, 1798, 1917, 2084, 2279, 2796, 2857, 2925, 2966, 3005, 3046, 3065, 3091, 3532, 3584, 3611, 3663, 3722, 3978, 3993, 4026, 4044, 4088, 4250, 4259, 4338, 4353, 4371, 4490, 4507, 4520, 4579, 4604, 4646, 4705, 4757, 4772, 5146, 5153, 5170, 5331, 5513, 5544, 5641, 5671, 5735, 5805, 5818, 5837, 5860, 5879, 5909, 5949	112
mahtig drohtin	mahtig	(powerful)«Lord/ Master/ ruler»/ (mächtiger) «Herr/Meister/ Herrscher»		37, 2210, 3411, 3614, 3953, 4304, 5491	7
Drohtin god, drohtin the gôdo, gôdan drohtin	god	«The good Lord»/ «der liebe Herr/gott»		53, 401, 1025, 1607, 1670, 2169, 2578, 2615, 4296	9
Manno drohtin	manno	The Lord of Mankind/ Der Herr der		383, 846, 1054, 2840, 2854, 3706,	9

¹³⁹ Suni drohtines: the sons of God, since it is what God calls his Christian “children” and not the Son of God as his aspect, it is counted under drohtin not sunu drohtines.

		Menschheit		3781, 3891, 5446	
Folco drohtin	folco	Lord of the people/ der Herr des Volkes		430, 2208, 5932	3
Managaro drohtin	managaro	The Lord of many/ der Herr vieler	[While] John was to be a warrior-companion (gisið) of the King of Heaven and Christ, and thus to be raised in the virtue of loyalty (treuua). Christ is to be the Chieftain [...] and thus is brought up fittingly on the appropriate reciprocal virtue: love (minnea)» ¹⁴⁰	439, 1999	2
hêlag drohtin (3500: mahtigne)	hêlag	The holy Ruler/ der heilige Herrscher		600, 1292, 1313, 2420, 2892, 3098, 3500, 4187, 4365, 4416, 4550, 4559, 4570, 5030, 5858, 5892, 5928	17
drohtin self	self	The Ruler himself/ der Herrscher selbst		681, 2228, 3623, 3960, 4414	5
rîki drohtin	rîkiumu	The rich/powerful Chieftain/ «der reiche/ mächtige Herr»		940, 1688, 3749, 4452, 5904	5
drohtin frô (4765: mîn)	Frô, mîn	(4765: my) Lord Chieftain/ (4765: mein) Herr (und) Herrscher		971, 4765	2
erlo drohtin	erlo	Lord of Earls/Chieftains/ Herr der Häuptlinge	Note: ethymologically “Earl” derives from the norse “jarl” and denotes a highranking warrior/leader/chieftain. Earl is an Anglo-Saxon term whereas the Saxons were not organized in royal and noble ranks,	1027, 3424	2

140 Murphy, Ronald G.: *The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel – A Translation and Commentary*, 1992, Oxford, p. 18

			therefore the supposed older meaning is here being used as a translation instead.		
Mâri drohtin	mâri	The shining/excellent/ famous Lord, der strahlende/hervor ragende/berühmte Herr		1133, 2330, 4387, 4787, 4793, 4826	6
ûsa drohtin (1218: selbo), mîn drohtin, iuuuomu drohtine, iro drohtine	Ûsa, selbo, mîn, iuuuomu, iro	Our, My, Your, Their Lord (himself)/ Unser, Mein, Euer, Ihr Herr (selbst)		83, 1218, 1229, 1560, 2937, 3316, 4001, 4185, 4439, 4563, 4864, 4940, 5538, 5720, 5833	14
thiodo drohtin	thiodo	The Lord of Peoples/ Herr der Völker		1284, 1386, 2950, 3112, 4207, 4833, 5504	7
Sigidrohtin (4093: selbo)		The Lord of Victory/ der Siegesherr		1575, 3744, 4093	3
drohtin self hêlag an himile	Self, hêlag an himile	The holy Lord in Heaven himself/ der heilige Herr im Himmel selbst		1576	1
Liudeo drohtin	Liudeo	The Lord of the People/ Herr des Volkes		1831, 3026, 3312, 4241	4
Firiho drohtin	Firiho	The lord of men/ der Herr der Menschen		1960, 4213, 5656	3
Berhto drohtin	Berhto	The bright lord/ der glänzende Herr		2595, 4037	2
Craftag drohtin	Craftag	The strong Lord/ der kräftig, starke, kraftvolle Herr		2986, 3506	2
Leobo drohtin	Leobo	The kind lord/ der liebe Herr		3244, 4699, 5016, 5636	4
(3763: al) Drohtin Crist (5613:	Al, Crist, mahtig	Lord (3763: of all) Christ (5613: the mighty)/ der		3763, 3865, 5613, 5699	4

mahtig)		Herr (3763: aller) Christus (5613: der Mächtige)			
Drohtines namon	Namon	In the name of the lord/ im Namen des Herrn		4409	1
Names category: Protector					
uuarð		«Protector/ watchman»/ « Beschützer/ Hüter»		42, 172, 243, 249, 1014,	5
managoro mundboro	managaro	The Protector of Many/ Der Beschützer vieler		378, 535, 1274, 2938	4
(626, 3759: liof) landes uuarð (1013: selbon)	Land, liof, self	The (beloved) protector of the land (himself)/ der (geliebte) Beschützer des Landes (selbst)		626, 1013, 1052, 1382, 2246, 2838, 3155, 3247, 3712, 3759, 3786, 4019, 5598, 5658	14
liof liudio uuarð	Liudio, liof	The beloved protector of the people/ der geliebte Beschützer der Leute/ des Volkes		984	1
friðu		Protection/ Schutz	Murphy: Security	1011	1
mahtig hêleg himiles uuarð	Himile, mahtig, hêleg	Mighty holy ward/protector of heaven/ mächtiger, heiliger Wächter/Beschüt zer des Himmels		1058-1059	1
Mahtig mundboro (2229: manno kunnie)	Mahtig, manno kunnie	The powerful protector (of mankind)/ der mächtige Beschützer (der Menschen)		1544, 2229, 2233, 4765	4
Hebenes uuarð	Hebenes	Ward of the heavens/ Himmelswärter		1609	1
Mundburd		The Protector/ der	Not counted when not	1916, 2693, 4695	3

		Beschützer	denominating God		
Mildi mundboro	Mildi	The kind protector/ der liebe Beschützer		1955, 1981	2
Manno mundboro	Manno	The protector of men/ Beschützer der Menschen		2300	1
Names category: Cuning					
Hebenkuning		King of Heaven/ Himmelskönig		82, 91, 100, 130, 159, 317, 521, 533, 537, 568, 781, 902, 1120, 1461, 1472, 1939, 1989, 2087, 2154, 2344, 2377, 2443, 2473, 2511, 2518, 2879, 2981, 3905, 4114, 4258, 4415, 5575, 5586	33
Hôhon Hebancuninge	hôhon	high King of Heaven/ dem hohen Himmelskönig		266	1
Hôhoston Hebancuninge	hôhoston	The most high King of Heaven/ dem höchsten Himmelskönig		278	1
cuning (407+408: oðar al erðun endi himiles endi oðar eldeo barn), (5191: oðar thit ríki), (5567, 5681: oðar al)	oðar al erðun endi himiles endi oðar eldeo barn, oðar thit ríki, oðar al	King (407+408: over all the earth and the heavens and over all the children of men), (5191: over this kingdom), (5567, 5681: over all)/ König (407+408: über die ganze Erde, über die Himmel und alle, Menschenkinder), (5191: über dieses Reich), (5567, 5681: über alles)		407+408, 598, 605, 610, 635, 642, 2884, 5191, 5205, 5567, 5681	11
Hêlagna hebancuning	hêlagna	The Holy King of Heaven/ der heilige Himmelskönig		473, 480, 668, 1129, 2855, 2926, 3116, 4633, 5636	9

uuiscuning		A wise king/ ein weiser König		583	1
Cuningsterron		The King's star/ der Königsstern		635	1
(973, 1599, 5633: allaro) cuningo craftigost	Allaro, craftigost	The strongest of (973, 1599, 5633: all) kings/ Der stärkste König (973, 1599, 5633: von allen)		973, 1134, 1599, 2315, 2696, 3119, 5633	7
Allaro cuningo bezton	Allaro, bezton	The best of all kings/ Der beste König von allen		991, 3644	2
hêran hebencuning	hêran	The Lord King of Heaven/ der Herr Himmelskönig		980, 3240, 3922, 4279, 4448, 4702, 5048	7
cuningo rîkeost	rîkeost	The most powerful King/ der mächtigste König		1138, 1334, 2089, 4380, 4606, 4745, 5630	7
Thiodkuning		The king of the people/ der Völker König		4799, 5583	2
Cuning (5556: uuâri obar) Iodeon, Iodeono	Iodeon	King (5556: was over) of the Jews/ König (5556: war über die) der Juden		5551, 5556	2
Names category: Hêrro					
Hêrro		«Master/ Lord/ ruler»/ «Herr/ Gebieter»	(2560: Parabel, hêrro is used for a man, that later appears to be Jesus), instances of hêrron not meaning God are not counted	100, 111, 259, 287, 480, 676, 708, 917, 956, 1022, 1093, 1120, 1165, 1171, 1187, 1199, 1342, 1509, 1566, 1573, 2528, (2560), 2997, 3007, 3020, 3061, 3066, 3094, 3098, 3137, 3179, 3197, 3284, 3310, 3905, 4004, 4030, 4260, 4510, 4589, 4627, 4650, 4672, 4675, 4683, 4694, 4830, 4868, 4870, 4999, 5007, 5026, 5147, 5611, 5620, 5688, 5731, 5830, 5901,	62

				5916, 5923, 5960	
liudio hêro	liudeo	The Lord of the peoples/ der Herr der «Menschen/Völker»		413, 431, 573	3
holdan Hêro	holdan			486, 968, 2418, 4580	4
Hêro obar al	obar al	Lord above all/ over everything/ Herr über alles		890	1
leobon Hêro	liobes,	The kind Lord, der liebe Herr		932, 1542, 3307, 4774, 4985, 5022, 5787	7
mahtigna hêron	mahtigna	The powerful Lord/ der mächtige Herr		997, 2878-2879	2
himilsc hêro	himilsc	The heavenly Lord/ der himmlische Herr		1209, 1767, 3608, 5283	4
Hêro the gôdo, gôdumu hêron	Gôdo	The good Lord/ der gute Herr		1588, 2105, 2423, 2821, 2824, 2935	6
iro hêro uuas mâri endi mahtig	Mâri, mahtig	Their Lord was shining and powerful/ Ihr Herr war strahlend und mächtig		2926, 3012	2
Names category: Man					
Friðugumono bezt	Friðu, bezt	The best Man of Peace/ der beste Friedensmann		619	1
Kindisc man,	Kindisc, kindiungan	the young man/ der junge Mann	This term appears twice in the text in verses 733 and 817, but only the latter is a name for Christ. It could be read as a comment on Christ's wisdom, saying that he was wise beyond his years, a man in the body of a child, but the first use makes it more likely that it	817	

			simply means male child, that which word is adjective and which is noun is simply switched.		
manno liobosto		Dear man/ lieber mann		821	1
thiodgumono bezto	Thiod, bezt	Greatest man of the people/ der Menschen bester Mann		972	1
(3883, 5487: allaro) gumono bezto	Allaro, bezto	The best of (3883, 5487: all) men/ der beste (3883, 5487: aller) Mensch		1010, 2431, 3684, 3883, 5487	5
(5751: thesan ênan) man		(5751: this one) man/ (5751: dieser eine) Mann		2652, 3040, 3048, 4482, 5198, 5342, 5482, 5751	8
mahtigna manno	Mahtigoro	Powerful man/ mächtiger Mann		2262, 4801	2
Thar rîki man		The powerful man/ der mächtige Mann		3554	1
The gumo		The man, der Mann		3768, 5342, 5737, 5742	4
Manno the bezto	Bezto	The best man/ der beste Mann		5249	1
Hafton man		The arrested man/ der verhaftete Mann		5259, 5314	2
Hêlagan mann		The holy man/ der heilige Mann		5454, 5478	2
Names category: Hirdi					
burgo hirdi	burgo	The Shepherd of Fortresses/ der Hirte von Burgen		625	1
lands hirdi	lands	The Shepherd of the Land/ Hirte des Landes		1286, 3665	2

Names category: Counsellor					
ríki ráðgebo	ríki	The powerful Counsellor/ der mächtige Ratgeber		627, 1961	2
rådand		The wise Ruler/ der Ratgeber	Murphy: the wise Ruler; in German the ethymologic double meaning is still visible in constructions such as “Rathaus” (eng.: City Hall), where the ruling would meet and discuss current issues, in Norwegian the double meaning of ruling and counseling has remained (et råd, å råde)	1273	1
Rådendero best	Best	Best counselor/ der beste Ratgeber		5600	1
Names category: Fader					
mîn (828: mahtig) fader	mahtig	My (828: mighty) father/ mein (828: mächtiger) Vater	828: 1. appearance of father as a name for God in a direct speech from Jesus	828, 4784	2
alomahtig fader, fadar alamahtig	alomahtig	Allmighty Father/ der allmächtige Vater	“father” has so far only appeared in one direct speech from Jesus, here it is the devil talking to Jesus, trying to discredit his divine descent	1087, 1619, 4892, 5635, 5976	5
Himiliscan fader, (4758: hôhan) himilfader	Himiliscan, hôhan	The (4758: high) heavenly father/ der (4758: hohe) himmlische Vater	First time “father” appears in a more general context	1403, 2004, 4758, 5653, 5934	5
Fadar ūsa (5936: bêðero)	Ūsa, bêðero	(5936: both) Our father/ Vater (5936: beider) unser		1600, 4706, 5936	3

(1635: iuuua), (1635, 4886: hêlag) fadar an himilríkea	Iuuua, hêlag, an himilríkea	(1635: your), (1635, 4886: holy) father in the kingdom of heaven/ (1635: euer), (1635, 4886: heiliger) Vater im Himmelreich		1635, 4297, 4886-4887	3
fadar iuuuan	Iuuuan	Your father/ euer Vater		1795, 1908, 1913, 1960, 4440	5
fader allaro firiho barno	Alloro firiho, barno	Father of all (children of) men/ Vater aller Menschen(kinder)		1847, 1978, 3065, 3240, 4394	4
Fader alauualdan, alouualdan fader	alauualdan	The allruling father/ der allmächtige Vater		1922, 1973, 4800, 5094	4
Fader		Father/ Vater		4305, 4792	2
faderoðil		His father's inheritance, "farm"/ seines Vaters Erbe, Hof	Oðil: is a Germanic term for the law governing inheritance, to prevent the splitting of land between siblings only one sibling would inherit the entire farm	4497	1
Fader alothiado gôdan grôtte		The good and great father of all peoples/ aller Völker guter und großer Vater		4746	1
God fader		Godfather/ der Gottvater		4779, 5540	2
Names category: Heliand					
Hêliand		The savior or healer/ Heiland		50, 266, 443, 958, 3570, 3620, 4842	7
Hêleand selbon	selbon	The savior himself/ der Heiland selbst		990, 2354	2
hêleandoro bezt	bezt	The best savior or healer		2031, 2180, 3061, 3156, 3558, 5217	6

hêlago hêleand	hêlago	The holy savior/ der heilige Heiland		2294,	1
Hêliand fan hebenrîkie	fan hebenrîkie	The savior from heaven/ der Heiland aus dem Himmelreich		3644	1
Hêleand the gôdo	Gôdo	The good savior or healer/ der gute Heiland		4032	1
Names category: Frô					
Aðalordfrumo alomahtig		The noble creator almighty/ der allmächtige edle Schöpfer		31	1
frô		Lord/ Herr		109, 490, 931, 1077, 1094, 1128, 1308, 1667, 2614, 2900, 2941, 3021, 3513, 3903, 3988, 3998, 4035, 4605, 5157, 5517, 5734	21
Frô mîn the gôdo	Mîn, The gôdo	My good lord/ Mein guter Herr		2099, 4080, 4292, 4402, 4509, 4516, 4685	7
Uualdand frô mîn	Uualdand, mîn	My Lord-Ruler/ mein Herr und Herrscher		2109, 2990, 4861, 5017	4
Names category: Light					
lioht ôðar, ôðar lioht		The other light/ das andere Licht		578, (1331)	2
Lioht		The light/ das Licht	Check the Sermon on the Mount. Is this really a name for God in a figurative sense?	1708, 5772	2
Hêlage lioht	Hêlage	The holy light/ das heilige Licht	Check the Sermon on the Mount. Is this really a name for God in a figurative sense?	1799	1
Liohte godes	Godes	The light of god/ das Licht Gottes	Check the Sermon on the Mount. Is this really a name for	1912, 2138, 2537, 2796, 2816, 3266, 4253, 5434, 5605	9

			God in a figurative sense?		
Himiles liht	Himiles	The light of heaven/ das Himmelslicht	Check the Sermon on the Mount. Is this really a name for God in a figurative sense?	1920, 3106, 3163, 3324, 4572, 4643	6
Seolono liht	Seolono	The light of souls/ das Licht der Seelen	Is this really a name for God in a figurative sense?	2083	1
Êuuig liht	Êuuig	The eternal light/ das ewige Licht		3653	1
That langsame liht	langsam	That longduring light/ das langdauernde Licht		4450, 5701	2
Names category: Auxiliaries					
hêlago gêst		The Holy Spirit/ der Heilige Geist	Note on 467: «He (the old man, being Simeon) had the Holy Spirit, a happy heart.» Murphy, The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel, 1992, Oxford, p. 19	11, 21, 50, 275, 291, 325, 335, 467, 890, 985, 1002, 1006, 1902, 2004, 2791, 3922, 4706, 5968	18
mêster		«teacher/ master/ superior»/ «Lehrer/ Meister/ Vorgesetzter»		30, 3192	2
(38: hie/is) ênes		«all by himself/ him alone»/ «er allein/ seine eigene»		38, 119, 1770	3
(3808: rîki) theodan, thiadan		(powerful) Ruler, Lord/ (mächtiger) Herrscher, Herr		269, 3056, 3242, 3808, 3996, 4518, 4523, 4630, 4673, 4692, 4870, 5014, 5045, 5149	14
Hêlag fon himile		In holiness from heaven/ der Heilige im Himmel		295, 4305	2
The mâreo		The «brilliant/bright»/ der «Glänzende/	Instances of mâreo not designating God	371, 4885	2

		Strahlende»	are not counted		
Metodes (2190: gescapu, 2210: gisceftie)	Gescapu, gisceftie	The (creations of the) Measurer/ des «Ermessers/ Messendes» (Schöpfung)	Murphy: A synonyme for God or Fate as the «ultimate determiner of the length of existence for any person or thing» ¹⁴¹	511, 2190, 2210	3
neriendo		The Rescuer/ der Erretter/ Erlöser		520, 1144, 2177, 3717, 3889, 4260	6
thegan		The thane/ der Thane	According to Tiefenbach thane can be used for everything between boy, follower, hero and servant – from the 9th century it was to be understood as a royal official with certain highly valued privileges, thane has been used earlier in the Heliand but not as a word for God, the three wisemen from the East are called thanes	851, 862	2
Mahtig (1314, 3518: selbo, 2193: mildi, 4758: grôtte)		The (2193: kind), (4758: great) mighty One(1314, 3518: himself)/ der (2193: milde), (4758: große) Mächtige (1314, 3518:selbst)		1314, 1999, 2103, 2193, 3172, 3518, 3547, 4028, 4079, 4523, 4758, 4780, 5505, 5540, 5609, 5650	16
The rîkeo		The Powerful/ der Mächtige		1595, 1980, 2314, 4278, 4713, 5545, 5758	7
Mînumu namon	Mînumu	My name/meine Name	The name of God itself seems to wield some form of power	1891	1

¹⁴¹ Murphy, The Heliand – The Saxon Gospel, 1992, Oxford, p. 20

An godes namon	Godes	In God's name/ in Gottes Namen		2079	1
Hêlagne		The holy one/ den Heiligen		2095, 2211, 2659, 2986, 3028, 3574, 4337, 5961	8
Alomahtig		The Allmighty/ der Allmächtige		2168, 2957, 4052	3
Is namo	Is	His name/ sein Name		2177	1
The gôdo		the good one/ Der Gute, Gütige		2381, 3565, 3672, 3684, 4505, 4571, 4774, 5249, 5725	9
Craftagne		The strong/ den Kräftigen		2674, 3130, 4223, 4744, 4830, 5962	6
Lêreandero bezt		The best of teachers/ der Lehrer beste		2811, 4036	2
(2876: Uuîsaro) uuârsago	Uuîs	A (wiser) teller of truth, profet, fortune teller/ ein (weiserer) Wahrsager, die Wahrheit sprechender, Profet		2876, 3049, 3718	3
Hêrosten		The most noble/ der Ehrste		2883, 3558	2
Libbiendero liobost	liobost	The most beloved of the living/ der liebste Lebende		3149	1
Lêreande		The theaching/ der lehrende		3255	1
Mêster the gôdo	Gôdo	The good master, teacher/ der gute (Lehr-)Meister/		3258	1
The êno		The One/ der Eine		3264	1
The thar al gescop		He who has created everything/ er der alles erschuf		3264, 4636	2
The thar alles		He who has willed it all/ er		3503	1

geuueldid		der alles herbeigewollt, bestimmt hat			
Imu thea is gôdan		He who is good/ er der gut ist		3516	1
(Ik scal imu te) frumu (uuerden)		I shall become their advantage/ Ich soll ihr Vorteil werden		3536	1
That megin		The mighty or the group/ den Mächtigen oder die Schar	Double meaning both possible/ zweideutig beide möglich	3552	1
Furista		The first, the prince/ der Erste, der Fürst		3555	1
Hêrost an hôbid		The noble at the head/ der Hehrste an der Spitze		3556	1
Hêrosto thes hîuuiskeas		The man of the house/ der Herr des Hauses		3414, 3441	2
Suôties brunnan		The sweet well/ der liebliche Brunnen		3914	1
Neriendero bezt	Bezt	The best rescuer/ der beste Erretter		4031	1
erl		The earl/den Jarl		4130	1
Sundea lôsan		The sinless/ der Sündenlose		4471, 5110, 5147, 5306, 5467, 5821	6
Dôian diurlîco		Dear friend ⁷ teurer Freund		4698	1
The gemarcode		the decerning/ der Merkende		4979	1
The mankunnies faruuardot		The caretaker of mankind/ der Bewahrer der Menschheit		4979	1
Haften		The arrested/ der Verhaftete		5262	1

Mâri endi mahtig		The shining and mighty/ der Strahlende und Mächtige		5273	1
Iesus fan Nazarethburh		Jesus from Nazareth/ Jesus aus Nazareth		5551	1
(5733: Liobes) lîchamon		(5733: The beloved) corpse/ (5733: der geliebte) Leichnam		5733, 5771, 5786, 5793, 5826, 5852, 5875, 5902,	8
Gêst		The ghost/ der Geist		5769	1

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