CAMDEN HOUSE

HISTORY OF GERMAN LITERATURE

Volume 1

Early Germanic Literature and Culture

Edited by Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read

The Camden House History of German Literature

Volume 1

Early Germanic Literature and Culture

The Camden House History of German Literature

Volume 1

The Camden House History of German Literature

Edited by James Hardin

Vol. 1: Early Germanic Literature and Culture
Edited by Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read,
University of Stirling, UK

Vol. 2: German Literature of the Early Middle Ages
Edited by Brian Murdoch, University of Stirling, UK

Vol. 3: German Literature of the High Middle Ages
Edited by Will Hasty, University of Florida

Vol. 4: Early Modern German Literature
Edited by Max Reinhart, University of Georgia

Vol. 5: Literature of the German Enlightenment and Sentimentality
Edited by Barbara Becker-Cantarino, Ohio State University

Vol. 6: Literature of the Sturm und Drang
Edited by David Hill, University of Birmingham, UK

Vol. 7: The Literature of Weimar Classicism
Edited by Simon Richter, University of Pennsylvania

Vol. 8: The Literature of German Romanticism
Edited by Dennis Mahoney, University of Vermont

Vol. 9: German Literature of the Nineteenth Century, 1830–1899
Edited by Clayton Koelb and Eric Downing,
University of North Carolina

Vol. 10: German Literature of the Twentieth Century: From Aestheticism to Postmodernism
Ingo R. Stoehr, Kilgore College, Texas

Early Germanic Literature and Culture

Edited by
Brian Murdoch
and
Malcolm Read

CAMDEN HOUSE

First published 2004
by Camden House

Camden House is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt. Hope Ave., Rochester, NY 14620, USA
www.camden-house.com
and of Boydell & Brewer Limited
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN: 1–57113–199–X

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Early Germanic literature and culture / edited by Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read.
p. cm. — (Camden House history of German literature; v. 1)
(Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1–57113–199–X (hardcover: alk. paper)
1. Germanic literature — History and crticism. 2. Literature, Medieval — History and criticism. 3. Civilization, Germanic. 4. Germanic peoples. I. Murdoch, Brian, 1944– II. Read, Malcolm, 1945– III. Title. IV. Series: Studies in German literature, linguistics, and culture (Unnumbered)

PN831.E28 2004
830.9'001—dc22

2004000336

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.
Printed in the United States of America.

Contents

Illustrations

Preface

This volume was planned initially by Professor William Whobrey, who drew up the original outline and commissioned individual chapters from a wide range of scholars, and we wish first of all to acknowledge his work. He was, however, unable to continue with the editorship, and at a relatively late stage we agreed to take this over. Although some three-quarters of the chapters had by then been sent in, several of them some long time previously, there were still gaps for which new contributors had to be found. Our debt of gratitude to the contributors, therefore, is two-fold. To those who submitted chapters within the original time-scale goes our gratitude for their patience; and to the second wave of contributors go our thanks for their willingness to produce the material to give the book, we hope, as useful a range as possible. Apart from the editing of the contributions and the re-commissioning of missing chapters, there were a number of technical problems regarding unusual characters, such as those comprising the runic alphabet, as might be expected in a work concerned with the very earliest stages of Germanic literature. We hope that the outcome has been a satisfactory one, and the editors are grateful to James Hardin and Jim Walker for all their assistance in the completion of the project.

Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read
Stirling, 2003

Abbreviations

GIVEN THE RANGE of material included here, journal titles which may be familiar in one branch of the study but not others have as far as possible been given in full.

ABäG	*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASPR	*Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DVjs	*Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift*
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society (O[riginal], E[xtra], S[upplementary] S[eries])
GRM	*Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MHG	Middle High German
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
OUP	Oxford University Press
PBB	[Pauls und Braunes] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (H[alle], T[übingen])
RGA	*Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed. by Heinrich Beck et al. (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1976–)
UP	University Press
WBG	Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft

Introduction

Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read

WHY SHOULD A HISTORY of early medieval German literature contain a collection of apparently disparate essays, only a few of which — and those toward the end of the volume — have anything directly to do with literature at all? Indeed, even in the later chapters, some of the literature described either is not literary (at least in the sense that the modern world might understand it), or not German (but rather from England or from Scandinavia). The aim of this volume is to provide some insights into aspects of the culture of the Germanic world from which German literature in the modern sense originated. However, several preliminary caveats are necessary in the pursuit of what constitutes Germanic culture, and these derive partly from lessons that have been taught by the history of the last couple of centuries in particular.

It is, of course, simple enough to define German in terms of the modern language. However, what we now recognize as the German language is part of a far wider Germanic language family, sharing a common ancestry with other modern languages, such as Dutch, English, or Swedish, and also with earlier ones, either ancestors of those still spoken, such as Anglo-Saxon or Old Norse, or now extinct, such as Gothic. German is closer to all of these, however, than it is to other more distantly related languages throughout Europe. And thus, if we go back in philological history, we can, at least in theory, find some kind of common Germanic origin, get closer perhaps to the origins of that branch of the Indo-European language family whose speakers are known by the useful Roman name of *Germani*.[1] The Germanic branch separated from the Indo-European parent language between the fifth and second century B.C. (it is datable with reference to borrowings from other languages) and demonstrates various features not shared by, say, the Romance, Slavic, or Celtic language groups. These features include — and this is, of course, a great simplification — the effects of what is known as the First or Germanic Sound Shift. This is a series of sound-changes affecting one group of speakers, but not others, and the First Sound Shift affected the Indo-European stops, principally the "explosive" sounds /p/, /t/, and /k/ and their voiced equivalents /b/, /d/, and /g/. As representatives of the

unvoiced changes only (to give an idea of what is meant by the sound shift) we may note the shift of Indo-European */p/* to Germanic */f/*, still visible when we compare modern French *père* still showing the unshifted /p/ with a Germanic cognate, English *father;* for Indo-European /t/, which shifted to /þ/ (thorn, pronounced th), we can compare French *tu* against earlier English *thou;* and for the change from Indo-European /k/ to the Germanic guttural /kh/ usually represented in writing as h- we can compare in Indo-European languages not affected by the shift the Latin word *canis,* its Greek parallel *kyon,* or the Welsh word *ci* (all pronounced with a hard initial sound), and their modern German and English cognates *Hund* or *hound*. The voiced stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ became unvoiced as /p/, /t/, and /k/, so that we can compare Latin *decem* and Greek *deka* with English *ten*.[2] Another feature is the fixing in the Germanic languages of a stress on the root syllable of words, in contrast to French, for example. We might compare the French word *mouton*, "sheep" and the related English borrowing *mutton;* the French original stresses the end syllable, and the English has shifted the stress to the root. A third feature is the formation of a past tense in weak verbs with a dental (*-d, -t*) suffix: English *loved,* German *liebte:* compare French *aimais,* Russian *lyubil* and so on.

The search for Germanic origins is, of course, not without its dangers. Laudable as such a search might be, in certain political circumstances an insistence on a unified ethnicity might all too easily lead to a supposed exclusivity in the possession of certain characteristics, or indeed to the notion of superiority. The whole *Rassenkunde* of the Nazi period is a properly discredited area, but even in the sphere of literary criticism, the insistence in the nineteenth century on a *Nationalliteratur,* at the time simply an expression of the general striving toward political unity, had inherent in it the danger of an exaggerated stress on the *Volk*. Here is part of August Vilmar's preface to the fourth edition of his much reprinted *Nationallitteratur:* it is dated *1850, am Jarestage der Schlacht von Belle Alliance,* on the anniversary, then, of the defeat of Napoleon by Wellington and Blücher at what we now call Waterloo:

> Dem Leben aber hat diese Geschichte der deutschen Literatur dienen wollen, dem ganzen und vollen Leben meines Volkes, in der Kraft seiner Taten, wie in der Macht seiner Lieder, in dem Stolze seiner angebornen Weltherschaft, wie in der selbstverschuldeten Demütigung unter Fremde, in dem lachenden Glanze seiner Fröhlichkeit wie in dem tiefen Ernst seiner christlichen Frömmigkeit.[3]
>
> [This history of German literature is intended to serve life, the whole and complete life of my people, in the power of its deeds as in the might of its songs, in the power of its natural leadership and its self-

denigratory humility amongst foreigners, in the laughing splendor of its joy and the deep seriousness of its Christian piety.]

The late addition of Christian piety in that statement echoes at a distance of a thousand years the plea of Otfrid of Weissenburg that the Franks of the ninth century should not desist from producing Christian literature, since they are just as bold as the Romans and in no way inferior to the Greeks: *Sie sint so sáma chuani, sélb so thie Román; ni thárf man thaz ouh rédinon, thaz Kríachi in thes giwídaron*[4] (They are just as bold as the Romans, nor may anyone say they are inferior to the Greeks in this respect). But both Otfrid and Vilmar had cause to boost what they felt to be their own people, even if Vilmar used the term *deutsch* and Otfrid thought of himself as a Frank. So too in original literary production, the *Heimatroman, Heimatkunst* and *Heimatdichtung,* the regional novel, regional art and poetry, though once extremely popular and part of a broad German cultural context in the concentration on the countryside and on farming or peasant life, was nevertheless given a negative twist in the link with the extreme nationalism of *Blut- und Bodenliteratur,* the literature of blood and soil in the Third Reich.

How, then, does one investigate the concept of what is Germanic? The word is rooted in language and ethnology, of course, rather than in geography, and the original homeland, the *Urheimat* of the *Germani* is not Germany in any modern sense, but (as far as it can be determined at all) probably what is now Scandinavia and the North Sea and Baltic coastal areas. There are all kinds of ways in which the groups who constituted the Germanic ethnos can be (and indeed have been) investigated, and in most recent times philologists and historians have begun working with geneticists to examine and establish similar DNA patterns.[5] The longer established use of field archeology is also useful to establish common practices and indeed beliefs among the *Germani,* and one group, the Goths, for example, may be traced by such methods from the Vistula to the Black Sea by examination of the archeologically established cultures. Even more graphically we can learn a great deal about, and even look into the faces of actual Iron Age *Germani,* preserved by the waters of the peatbogs in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. The preservation of Tollund man, however, brings home to us forcibly precisely his inability to *speak,* and although forensic archeology permits us to know such details as diet, domestic habits, clothing and hairstyles, burial custom, and even matters associated with ritual murder, question marks, some of them large ones indeed, will always remain.[6]

A more specifically linguistic archeology, with reference to place names, may tell us a great deal, though it, too, can be inconclusive, especially in the early stages. Whether the Goths were really ever at Västergöt-

land in Sweden is unclear, but in later historical times they certainly left their mark on place names such as Godega (in Italy), Godos (in Spain) and Gueuex (in France) just as firmly as the Vikings would later leave their inscriptions on physical monuments located as far apart as the Piraeus in Greece and the north of Greenland. Place names may also convey other information, on religion and cult practices amongst the early *Germani,* for example; theophoric place names — those that include or are based on the name of a god — provide clear examples, as with Wednesbury in England and Godesberg in Germany, both containing the name of the Germanic god Wodan (variously Odin, Woden and so on). In the general vocabulary of the Germanic languages, too, evidence of early contact with other cultures may still be preserved. Thus from the Celts, their predecessors in much of Europe, the Germanic Goths (who are often used as examples because theirs is the most completely preserved of the early Germanic languages) took the word *reiks,* ultimately giving us the word *Reich,* from Celtic (we find it in names like Vercingetorix, and in the Old Irish word for a king, *rig*), and later we may point to the plethora of borrowings in the Germanic languages, especially those in the Western sub-group, after contact with the Romans. Germanic words were also taken over into Latin.[7] In terms of linguistic archeology in a general sense, it is worth noting that D. H. Green's *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* examines early Germanic vocabulary for information of practices in the precise areas of law, kinship, warfare, and the higher echelons of the social structure.

Most of the earliest direct information we have about the *Germani* in these respects in particular comes also from outside sources, from classical writers, the principal example being the *Germania* of Tacitus, which might of course have exaggerated some perceived qualities of the supposedly noble savages as a stick with which the author could beat his degenerate fellow Romans.[8] The literary topos of the *origo gentis* can also be helpful, of course — the concept itself and the written tale of the origins of the Goths as an early example are discussed in a chapter of the present volume. However, the history of Germanic interaction with the Roman Empire and indeed the filling of the vacuum left at the fall of that empire from the fourth century onward largely by Germanic tribes is a complex one, and eventually more than one Germanic group would claim to have assumed the mantle of that empire, some elements of which did indeed survive. Relations between the Germanic and the classical worlds, however, range from the great defeats of the imperial armies under Varus by Hermann at what we now know was Kalkriese, near Osnabrück, or by the Goths at Adrianople (now Turkish Edirne) in the fourth century, to the mixture of defense and trade along the *limes*-line, the fortified frontier

between imperial Rome and Germania, to the ultimate hegemony of what was essentially a Roman Church over all the Germanic tribes.

The *Germani* may be split into groups in a variety of ways. Tacitus speaks of Ingaevones, Herminones and Istaevones, which philologists have tried to associate with tribal and linguistic subdivisions. Other distinctions, based on the supposed geographical origins of various tribal groups, divided them into *Nordgermanen* (who would develop into the various Scandinavian peoples) and *Oder-Weichsel-Germanen* (those originating around the Oder and the Vistula, and including Goths and a number of tribes with un- or only scantily recorded languages, such as the Burgundians, Herulians, Rugians, Vandals and Gepids). The languages of these two broad groups are usually referred to as North and East Germanic, and are linked more closely with each other than with the third, West Germanic group, made up of *Elbgermanen* (Lombards, Bavarians and Alemanni or Alemans — again the spelling varies), *Nordseegermanen* (Angles, Frisians, Saxons) and *Weser-Rhein-Germanen* (Saxons and Franks).

Although there is a rich literature in Old Norse as representative of North Germanic, and some surviving material, albeit a Bible translation, in the East Germanic language of Gothic, our principal focus of interest is on West Germanic, the common ancestor of modern German and English. Distinctive features of West, as opposed to North and East Germanic, include gemination, a doubling of consonants under certain circumstances, and also the loss of the strong masculine noun ending found in Norse as *-r* and Gothic as *-s* (compare *ulfr* in old Norse and *wulfs* in Gothic with *wolf* in both German and English). Within the West Germanic languages, another series of radical changes to the stops in particular, occurring around A.D. 500, beginning in the area of the Alps and moving north as far as, roughly speaking, Aachen, made for a division between what we now refer to as the High and Low German dialects. Those that were affected by this High German Sound Shift to any degree (the shifting of the stops or plosives becomes less noticeable as the shift progresses northwest) constitute the High German group, of which the modern standard German language is the descendant. The dialects of the Lombards, Bavarians, Alemanni, Thuringians, and many of the Franks fall into this group, even though some (the Lombards) gave up German in favor of a local language at an early stage and hence are barely recorded, while others (Thuringian) are not recorded in writing for some long time. By Low German then, those dialects not affected by the shift, is meant Low Franconian, the ancestor of Modern Dutch, and Saxon (linked with modern Plattdeutsch), plus the various dialects of Frisian and their close relative Anglo-Saxon, the ancestor of English. As a very simple example, and again using only the unvoiced plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, the High German Sound Shift is the reason behind the contrast between modern

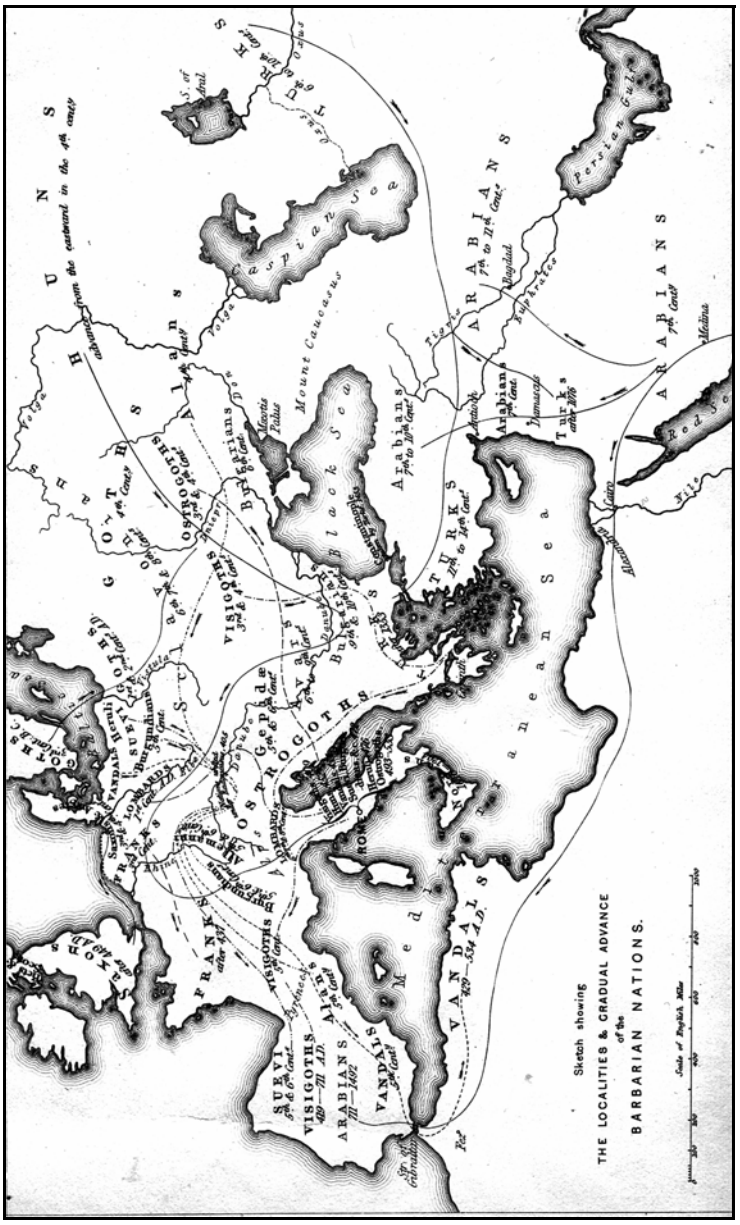
German *Pfad, zehn, machen* and their unshifted English equivalents *path, ten*, and *make*.[9]

The emergence of a standard and unified High German language was a long process, a unificatory progression involving political, social, and finally technological elements (in the arrival of printing). There is no unified language in any of the early stages, and when we speak of Old High German, the first written stage of German from about 750 to 1050, we are deliberately simplifying what should really be called Old Bavarian, Old Alemannic, and so forth. Written materials in the early dialects vary considerably, owing to dialectal peculiarities and the absence of an orthographic standard, and there are differences in vocabulary and syntax as well as just in spelling. Still more sound changes after the middle of the eleventh century within the High German dialects gave rise to a new stage, known as Middle High German, a kind of aristocratic literary language did emerge, and movement toward standardization, always linked with politics, would continue through the Reformation (with Luther playing a vital role). In any case, for many centuries, again down to the Reformation and beyond, the German language itself was seen in some social spheres at least as a secondary language, excluded from many spheres of intellectual life in favor of Latin, whose dominance throughout the Middle Ages cannot be overestimated. However clear it may be from later written material and from outside sources as far back as Tacitus, to say nothing of iconographical representations such as those of the story of Weland or Wayland, the mythological gold- and swordsmith depicted on the Franks Casket, that an oral literature existed in all the branches of Germanic, this can now only be reconstructed for individual cases with a great deal of conjecture.[10] The transmission of literature in any other way requires writing, and leaving the question of runic and the cul-de-sac of Gothic aside for the moment, the role of the Latin Church is formative in the simplest of ways. However inadequate the Latin alphabet may be for representing some of the sounds of early (and indeed to some extent also the modern) Germanic languages, it established itself through the offices of the Catholic Church for the purpose of transcribing German and English in particular. The runic alphabet, designed for carving and with mystical overtones as well, is sometimes linked with major works of literature,[11] and some letters made their way later into Germanic versions of the Latin alphabets. When he translated the Bible into Gothic, Ulfila had to design an alphabet, which he based largely upon Greek, though with some Latin and runic letters, but this did not last beyond the demise of the Gothic language. Runic, too, fell out of use. Although other alphabets have been used for Germanic languages (Yiddish uses a modified Hebrew system, for example), the alphabet of the Romans was victorious. The emergence of German (paralleled by other Germanic languages) as a

Schriftsprache, with a gradual and in some respects ad hoc standardization, led to a unification of language prior to, but linked with the search for a national identity. It should be added, of course, that even in the earliest stages of Germanic writing the culture depended upon the individually copied manuscript. Printing is a determinative and vital technology in the question of language standardization, but for the early period it is centuries away, so that we are faced with "the dynamic of the medieval manuscript matrix" — the citation is from an introduction to a series of essays on what has been called the "new philology" as applied to medieval studies.[12] The importance of the written language as the vehicle for memory, and hence for decisions, laws and government, needs no underlining, of course, so that the very fact of land ownership documents in, say, Gothic or Old High German have an importance that is more than simply linguistic.[13]

Germani from all three ancient language branches are in fact associated more with movement than with any clearly defined geographical locality, through what is known as the folk migrations (*Völkerwanderungen*). Although there is archeologically identifiable movement of some of the Germanic groups — the Goths are an example — in the first centuries A.D., the most significant periods of folk migrations came with the influx of Germanic tribes into the vacuum of the collapsing Western Roman empire in the old provinces of Gallia, Hispania, and Italia itself, to say nothing of the more remote outlying provinces, such as Britannia.[14] Dates such as that of the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410 and the eventual deposing of the last emperor in 476 are well known. If earlier Roman writers had identified a number of separate tribes beyond their borders in what they termed Germania, tribal movements are clearer from the fourth century on and especially in the fifth, as Germanic tribes moved from outside the old Roman Empire into virtually the entire area that the Romans had occupied.

We shall begin with the tribes that form the East Germanic language group, especially the Vandals, Burgundians and Goths: by the first decades of the fifth century the Vandals had moved from Eastern Europe into what is now Northern France, then into the Roman province of Hispania (Spain), and by 429 had crossed into North Africa, Roman Mauretania, the land of the Moors, where they set up a kingdom centered on Carthage, under Gaiseric, from which they could raid Southern Europe. They were eventually conquered in 534 by Belisarius, a general of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and their kingdom was virtually destroyed. It was only about a century and a half later taken over by the Arabs from the east, who took on the name of the Moors.



Map of the folk-migrations

The Vandals are the furthest traveled of the early Germanic tribes, even if they have given their name in modern English principally to a force of destruction. Their civilization was not well-structured and indeed they were not much more than a pirate kingdom in Africa. The Burgundians also moved southwest across Europe, settling first around the Rhine. But they were conquered by what was left of the Roman Empire, which meant effectively the soldiers in Gallia, modern France, in the fourth century, and then only because of a particularly effective general Flavius Aëtius, the Roman military leader in the Western Empire, one of whose most effective strategies was using barbarian auxiliary troops against each other. To defeat the Burgundians under their king Gundahari in 435–36 he brought in Huns, who in the next years destroyed the Burgundians completely. After 437 what was left of the Burgundians went southwest again to the territory that preserves their name, what is now known as Burgundy in France. The kingdom of Burgundy on the Rhine was in turn eventually ruled by the Franks.

A non-Germanic tribe, the Huns, had made a spectacular entry into Europe from Asia in the late fourth and early fifth century. Without a written culture, so that our information about them comes largely from hostile historians, they swept across Germany and France with enormous success, especially under their greatest leader, Attila, who ruled the Huns from 434 until his death in 453. Although he was not in fact involved at the fall of the Burgundians when they were attacked by the Roman general Aëtius and by Hunnish auxiliaries in 435–37 (an idea that becomes established in various branches of early Germanic literature), he continued the Hunnish tradition of incursive raids into Roman Gaul, and led the Huns against the combined forced of Aëtius's imperial army and the Visigoths at the Catalonian plains in 451. He was defeated, but in the following year ravaged northern Italy, dying in 453 on his wedding night to a Germanic princess, of a hemorrhage supposedly brought on by excessive drinking (Attila has a literary reputation for drunkenness), but also leading to the suggestion (again reflected in literature) that he had been murdered.

The Goths, another East Germanic group like the Vandals and the Burgundians, had originated (by tradition) in Scandinavia, and are attested at an early stage at the mouth of the Vistula in modern Poland. They moved in the first Christian centuries toward the Black Sea in a number of groups, developing eventually (but only after some time) into two groups, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths. It was the Visigoth leader Alaric who first sacked Rome, but the Visigoths moved on to set up a kingdom within the Western Roman Empire in Aquitaine, based on Toulouse, and then later in Spain, where they were more successful than the Vandals, and their kingdom, with its capital at Toledo, lasted for two centuries, producing some notable rulers. They had been Arian Christians,

adherents to a variant creed, that is, and which was later condemned as heresy, but they had served too as very early Christian missionaries to Germany and had indeed converted several other Germanic peoples to Arianism. In Spain they themselves eventually adopted Catholic Christianity, and survived as a political unit until they were subjugated at the beginning the eighth century, when the Moors under Tarik (whose name is preserved in the last element of the place-name Gibraltar) conquered and replaced them as rulers of Spain. The Ostrogoths, meanwhile, had themselves moved west to Italy, and at the end of the fifth century had set up a kingdom there under Theoderic the Great, but in their turn they too were defeated by the Byzantine generals Belisarius and Narses. Although there was still a handful of Ostrogoths in the Crimea in the seventeenth century, they disappeared, in effect, from history.

After the death of Justinian, the Byzantine emperor, in 565, a West Germanic tribe, the Lombards, invaded northern Italy, and their name, Lombardy, remains, together with other Germanic elements in the names associated with northern Italy in particular. The name of the great patriot Garibaldi, for example, is purely Germanic, containing the elements *gar* and *bald* [ready, strong], with only an Italian ending. Even though the Lombards gave up their Germanic language in favor of the local language (later Italian), as had the Visigoths in Spain and later the Franks in France, we do have some early relics of the Lombardic language. Their kingdom continued in northern Italy until they were subsumed into the Frankish empire under Charlemagne after 800.

Of other West Germanic groups, the Alemanni, who were not a tribe but a kind of confederation of smaller groups (their name means "all men"), settled in the southern part of Germany in the sixth century and in what is now central France. Although they were a coherent group, they were continually harassed by the most powerful of them all, the Franks, who had replaced the Burgundians on the Rhine and in central Germany, and who would push the Visigoths down into Spain. Eventually in the eighth century the Alemanni, too, were taken over into the Frankish kingdom. Their name, however, provided the Romance languages with designations for Germany such as Allemagne. Another confederation of Germanic tribes, the Bavarians, formed in the early part of the sixth century largely from tribes that had been subject to the Ostrogoths, were also defeated by various Frankish kings.

The Franks, the most significant of the West Germanic tribes, were originally a confederation of Germanic groups in what is now central and northwestern Germany, began to expand into Roman Gaul — France and the Low Countries. Chlodwig or Clovis, from a ruling dynasty known as the Merovingians, set up a kingdom at Tournai (now in Belgium), and gradually defeated and drove out or subsumed into his own lands the

other Germanic tribes. Clovis adopted Catholic Christianity in 503, and this is extremely important for the history of the west of Europe, since it marked the end of the hitherto powerful Gothic Arianism, which the Church had pronounced heretical. Frankish territory gradually came to embrace what is now, roughly speaking, France and Belgium on the one hand, and north and central Germany on the other.

The ruling Merovingian dynasty itself degenerated gradually to a situation in which the lands of the Franks were ruled in effect by stewards, the most famous of whom was Charles Martel, the hammer, who came to rule the whole of the Frankish kingdom from 719–41, and whose defeat of a Saracen army in 732 at Poitiers was also of enormous importance to the later development of Europe, just as the defeat of Varus at Kalkriese had been centuries before. The battle at Kalkriese prevented further Roman expansion; the victory of Charles Martel at Poitiers stopped the further expansion of Islam into Europe.

Charles Martel was succeeded by his son, Pépin the Short, who ten years later, in 751, deposed the last Merovingian king and established the new royal dynasty of the Carolingians. Pépin's son, Charles, who came to the throne in 768 was to rule later as Charlemagne, and although earlier Germanic leaders had come close to assuming the mantle of the Roman emperors, he was on Christmas Day, 800, formally crowned emperor of a newly constituted Holy Roman Empire, marking the ultimate triumph of this West Germanic group and in fact laying down the foundations for modern Europe to a great extent, as Charlemagne's empire divided in the next generations into what we would now understand as France and Germany. Charlemagne's view of a divinely appointed kingship may not actually have made him into a Holy Roman emperor, but he ruled, for a while, a largely unified western Europe, working together with the Roman church, but accepting, although he legislated on church matters, that the Pope in Rome would be charged with the exposition of the faith. Walter Ullmann has noted that Charlemagne's rule in the west was in fact very like that of the Byzantine Empire, but that the Byzantine rulers did not acknowledge the primacy of the Roman church. "This important difference was to prove itself of crucial concern to later royal (and imperial) generations. In Charlemagne's reign this thin end of the wedge could not possibly be perceived in its complexity."[15] This dualism of state and church would be a more or less permanent problem for centuries.

If Charlemagne's empire was a parallel to that of Byzantium (with whose rulers he eventually reached an accommodation through a treaty with Nicephorus I, in 810, a year in which he made three separate peace treaties), his lands in the West were defined to a great extent by the enemies that he had to face: the Asian invaders on the eastern side — the Avars, known as the White Huns, and on that eastern side, the Slavs. To

the south, the attacks came from a relatively new force in the world, the Arabs, unified with a new religion, Islam. In the north, too, a new and this time Germanic force was also gaining strength, the Vikings, but their own period of major expansion was yet to come. Charlemagne conquered the Avars and held back the Slavs, and in the north eventually reached an agreement of non-aggression with the Vikings, first with Godefrid and then with his son, Hemming, king of the Danes, also in 810. Finally, in that same year, and after years of fighting, Charlemagne made a peace treaty with Hakim, grandson of the great Caliph of Cordoba, Abd al Rahman. Indeed, he maintained a fairly cordial relationship, of course at a distance, with the ruler of Baghdad, his equally great contemporary Harun al Rashid (786–809), who famously sent Charlemagne the gift of an elephant, although Harun did play Charlemagne and western Christendom off against the Byzantines, his immediate neighbors.[16] We have moved on somewhat in time from the age of the migrations, but the age of Charlemagne, his sons and grandsons marks two important points for history and for literature. First, the establishment, after the division of his empire in 843, not thirty years after his death, of identifiable territories roughly corresponding to modern France and Germany, so that at last we reach a geographic approximation of what might be called Germany. And second, it is in the age of Charlemagne that we find the earliest writings in High (and Low) German. It is true that the Goths had a written language some centuries earlier, but what survives in Gothic comprises only a partial Bible translation (mostly the New Testament); early runic inscriptions, too, tend to be slight and are often difficult to interpret in any case; whether we may count an enigmatic single-line inscription on a horn from Gallehus as literature or even poetry is questionable.[17]

To round off the earlier stages of folk migration, a final West Germanic group, the Saxons, moved from North Germany, together with Angles and Jutes from Denmark to the most remote of the Roman provinces, Britannia, and took over much of the country. The legions had left, Britain was too far away from Rome to justify defending it, and the local Romano-British (that is, Celtic) forces could only hold them off for a while until they either retreated to the fringes, to Wales, to Cornwall, or indeed into mythology, led by the last Romano-British hero, whose mythological role is far better known than his historical one, namely Arthur. Later on, Charlemagne himself corresponded with some of the Anglo-Saxon leaders, including the king of Northumbria, and the king of Mercia, Offa, to whom in 796 he sent "a Hunnish sword-belt and sword, and two lengths of silk" — valuable gifts to demonstrate friendship. Charlemagne also took England's greatest scholar, Alcuin, away from York to his palace school.

Almost the last of the Germanic movements, not really part of the great folk migrations as such, but later and indeed by far the most far reaching, is the expansion of the Vikings, seafarers who, from the eighth century, began a series of major explorations and conquests. From Scandinavia they settled in the Faeroes and Shetland Islands (Faroese is a descendant of Old Norse, and the Shetlanders spoke Norse until the eighteenth century), and at the start of the eighth century they moved south from Orkney, off the north of Scotland (the Orkney Islands belonged to Denmark until 1469), through the Western Isles of Scotland (where Norse place names still share the map nearly equally with Gaelic ones), and established a kingdom in Dublin in 852 which was undefeated until 1014 at the Battle of Clontarf, and even then not decisively. Toward the end of the eighth century and all through the ninth, Vikings from Denmark and Norway attacked the Anglo-Saxons in England, and took over the land north of a line drawn roughly from London to Liverpool (known from 886 on as the Danelaw), and although they were held back in Southern England after the Saxon leader, Alfred the Great, defeated them at the battle of Ethandune (Edington) in 878, renewed their attacks particularly during the reign of Æthelred II, the Unready (978–1016). The Vikings were paid an enormous amount of what is effectively protection money, known as Danegeld, and by 1016 the Danish king, Cnut, son of Sweyn Forkbeard, was acclaimed king of England. In continental Europe the Vikings had turned their attention to what is now France and the Low Countries, then part of the kingdom of the West Franks, and after an initial defeat were, in the tenth century, given land centered on the city of Rouen, where they set up an independent state which they called the state of the Northmen or Norsemen, Normandy, from which England itself was again conquered in 1066.

Moving east, Swedish Vikings had colonized Finland, and moved into what is now Russia, at the same time as the kingdom was being set up in Ireland. By the later part of the ninth century a capital had been set up at Novgorod and the Duchy of Kiev, the political origins of the Russian state, founded. From here, the Vikings moved into southeastern Europe, with Vikings warriors serving in the palace guard of the Byzantine emperors, the Varangian guard. Evidence of their movements is provided by carved inscriptions such as those on the stone lion in the harbor at the Piraeus (taken to Venice in 1687) and that in northern Greenland at Kingitorsoak. From Greenland — a name given in the hope of attracting settlers — they moved at the end of the tenth century to what they called Markland or Vinland, which is a land where vines grow, presumably northern New England, and the expeditions by Leif Eriksson are well known. They also reached an area which they called Svalbarðr, which may actually be Arctic Spitzbergen.[18]

Echoes of the *Völkerwanderung* can be found in place names, but the spread of names lacks consistency. It is a philological pleasantry of some antiquity that Germany ought really to be called France, after the Franks, France Romania, since it used the language of the Romans (although Romania itself, where a Latin-derived language is still spoken, *is* appropriately named) and Switzerland Allemagne, after the Alemanni. But the Franks did give their name not only to France, where the local Gallo-Roman language predominated, but to Franken, Franconia in modern Germany. Roman imperial names predominate still in Europe, with the notable exception of France. Britain, Spain and Germany are all Roman names, although other languages preserve earlier tribal names, that of the Alemanni in Romance names for Germany, that of the Saxons in Celtic names (as modern Welsh *Saeson,* English, and the Scots word *Sassenach*), and England itself, deriving from the name of the Angles. As with Franken, tribal names are preserved in regions (Bayern, Sachsen, Thüringen); the Island of Rügen has the name at least of the Rugians, an East Germanic tribe; the extent of the migrations is still well illustrated by Bourgogne, Burgundy, the name of the East Germanic Burgundians who settled the area, and where Germanic tribes actually adopted the language spoken by the locals, names still remain, such as Lombardy.

Given the early tribal distinctions and the absence of a national unity, it is interesting to consider the rise of the national name *Deutsch,* which is still much debated. A Latin word *teudisca* or *theotisca* comes from a Germanic word represented in the earliest recorded Germanic language, Gothic, as *þiudisko* (in the Gothic Bible it renders "gentile," "heathen"), and comes in Latin during the early Middle Ages to mean something like Germanic, as opposed to Romance or Latin. Thus documents relating to Charlemagne — whose language was High German — and slightly earlier to the Anglo-Saxon king, Offa, use the word. Under Charlemagne it could mean any of the dialects — Otfrid called his first chapter *Cur scriptor hunc librum thodisce dictaverit* (why the author wrote this book in German), but in his own vernacular he refers always to *frenkisc,* Frankish. It is used in Latin, which was, after all, the dominant written language for many centuries, to define the language in opposition to a non-Germanic *lingua romana,* a Romance language deriving from Latin, and it is not until later that it comes to be used, still with the generalized linguistic sense, in German (as *diutisk, diutsch*); it is noticeable that no distinction is made between High or Low German, as the present use of the English word Dutch indicates; indeed, the phrase High Dutch continued in English as a periphrastic version of German. To speak of Old High German is in any case an unhistorical simplification, albeit a necessary and useful one. Otfrid was concerned about writing in what he thought of as Frankish, and Notker the German in the early eleventh century was also aware of the novelty of using the ver-

nacular language. Martin Luther was perhaps the first modern writer to give a programmatic statement (in the context of translation) on what is good German, and to speculate upon how the Archangel Gabriel would have addressed the Virgin at the Annunciation *wan er hette wollen sie deutsch grussen* (had he wanted to greet her in German).[19]

From the Middle Ages, however, the word *deutsch* became part of political history, as it is identified with a concept of nationhood, even if we may trace the origins of a specifically German Reich to the Treaty of Verdun and the breakup of Charlemagne's empire in 843.[20] That was technically an East Frankish[21] empire, and only under the Saxon emperor Otto the Great (936–973) does the concept of a German empire, using the word *diutisk,* appear. The notion of a holy and then a secular *deutsches Reich* and the designation of a geographical rather than socio-political concept *Deutschland* remains a shifting notion throughout the centuries.[22] It is still forgotten too easily that Hoffman's line *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* is a plea not for superiority (it does not seek to place Germany above all others, of course), but for nationhood before anything else, although his *Deutschlandlied* does offer a precise set of geographical borders from the Meuse to the Memel and from the Adige to the Skaggerak. And of course, within the past century, Europe has experienced (under the Third Reich) a *Großdeutschland* which included Austria (renamed *Ostmark,* eastern marches), plus other areas that were not entirely German speaking, but which excluded Switzerland and the Netherlands, and which caused a generation of émigré writers to ask what *Deutschtum* now meant. Thomas Mann could in May 1945, addressing Germany by radio through the British Broadcasting Corporation, speak of the German as having been deprived by Hitler, the person least worthy of so doing (*der Allerunberufenste*) of his German-ness (*sein Deutschtum*), and would later in the same year ask whether Germany was even a geographic entity any more. Ernst von Salomon answered in 1951 in his extended response to the allied military questionnaire, the *Fragebogen,* the question of *Staatsangehörigkeit* (nationality) that in the absence of a proper German state, he was a Prussian.[23] The country — even so rather different from that drawn on maps issued under the Third Reich — divided into politically divergent eastern and western parts, and having sat uncomfortably (and with some linguistic division too) on a line between two conflicting ideologies, joined together again in 1989–90.

In a sense, the Roman definition of Germania was a negative one, the lands outside the empire. What constitutes Germany at any point after the turn of the millennium has depended, of course, upon the historical and political situation, from *Kleinstaaterei* (regional particularism) to the Third Reich, and whether there is now an identifiable ethnos remains debatable in the present multicultural society.

The language designation "German" now refers to West Germanic High German as spoken (and, perhaps more important, used as the spoken and written official language) within a specific geographical area, that covered by modern Germany, Austria and Switzerland, with some few remaining linguistic remnants elsewhere (and not very many in the past few centuries). Even within that area, dialect variations are always present, mainly spoken but also written, and Plattdeutsch, for example, as opposed to the official High German language, is still spoken in north Germany.[24] In the south, German in Austria and especially in Switzerland exhibits considerable variation, and in the latter case it is an historical accident, perhaps, that Schwyzertüütsch is not now regarded as a separate, if related, language, on the pattern of English and Dutch. The point was underlined by a film made by Rolf Lyssy in 1978 called *Die Schweizermacher,* hinging on the difficulties precisely for German speakers of learning Swiss German for citizenship reasons. Equally, German is still spoken in some areas outside this geographical area, and this feature has been the cause of conflict, of course, in relatively recent history: one need mention only the German-speaking groups in the Sudetenland, in Alsace, in the Italian Tyrol, in what is now Slovenia and elsewhere, and going back even further, in Danish Schleswig-Holstein.

Germanic languages have spread to cover most of the world, with the dominance of English as the primary example. Other Germanic languages have played a very small part in this modern migration, though we may point to Afrikaans in South Africa and the remnants of modern High German in Namibia, formerly German South West Africa, and even in North America to Pennsylvania German and one or two tiny Low German survivals (Plautdietsch).[25] There is no real colonial literature in German itself, and the rather different literature of exile during the Nazi period was a limited and temporary phenomenon. Language changes constantly, of course, perhaps more rapidly than usual in a period of great technological advance, and the globalization implied by the age of mass media has led in German not only to a media language of its own[26] but to a dominance of English influence, forced upon it by advances in technology.

Sociological change, patterns of thought or intellectual movements can and do also affect the language, and in the case of Germany one might consider supranational questions, such as the so-called feminization of the language (the word *entpatrifizieren,* ["de-paternalisation"] for example, is a neologism based upon the analogy with *entnazifizieren* ["denazification"] and thus has emotional as well as gender connotations). Gender correctness does lead to special problems in a language where the nouns have grammatical gender in any case.[27] There has been interest too in *Jugendsprache,* youth language, all this giving different kinds of linguistic divisions from those based on tribal, regional or latterly political differ-

ences. The multiculturalism implied by immigrant movements in Europe has led to language changes in Germany as elsewhere, and the problem of the German language after the re-unification of Germany of 1990, too, is demonstrated by that very word, given that *Wiedervereinigung* and *Vereinigung* were both used, the latter being preferred since the Germany that emerged had never previously existed either geographically or politically. None of these features matches even closely the dominant influence of American English on the current German language.

Of course there are some identifiable natural boundaries for what we may call modern Germania, albeit not quite those implied in the words of the *Deutschlandlied,* where the boundaries are the Meuse and the Memel, the Adige and the sea around Denmark. The Alps and the North Sea do form natural boundaries, as does the Rhine to the west; but the eastern boundary is far harder to pin down, and various rivers have been called upon to serve as a limit, but the borders with the Slav world are difficult to determine, and have fluctuated over the past centuries. The ranges of mountains in the south — the Alps and the Carpathians — certainly form frontiers, and the contrast with the plains in the north is striking, although we must, with Edward Sapir, be cautious about the ascription of environmental influences to cultural developments, especially of and within language.[28] The effect of landscape (or indeed the sea) upon literature is well known, especially in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German writers such as Theodor Storm, for example, or Siegfried Lenz.

Socio-economic factors and cultural factors have always affected the concept of Germany. One predominant factor which is at once potentially unifying and dividing is religion. We may speak of a pre-Christian Germanic religion (for which we may even name a still moderately familiar pantheon of gods), but must remain aware that much of the material is known to us from relatively late or outside sources, and that even archeologically we cannot gauge to any real extent the beliefs of the Germanic group, if indeed there was a coherence to that set of customs at all. The promotion of Christianity, first by the Romans after it had been adopted in the Empire, then via the Goths already implies a divide, given that the latter group were Arian Christians, with different views on the Trinity, and influencing very strongly other East and West Germanic tribes for a long period. The somewhat roundabout adoption of Catholic Christianity in all the territories has been well documented, with special reference in continental Germania to Irish and then to Anglo-Saxon missions. Important enough as a social factor, it also provided the basis for the writing of German. This effect had been seen already with the necessary invention of the largely Greek-based alphabet by Ulfila to translate the Bible into Gothic in the fourth century, but with the spread of partly new, partly revitalized Christianity in the seventh and eighth centuries in Germany

the Roman alphabet was known and available. Equally important for the development of the German language some centuries later still was, of course, the effect of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the making accessible of the Bible to a broad spectrum of people, translated by Luther and assisted by the latest technology of printing. The cultural significance of the Reformation (on both sides of the Protestant-Catholic divide) cannot be underestimated, although of course this new religious division had an effect on literature. So, too, have other religious questions: the position of the Jews in German-speaking territories and more specifically their movement from them, has linguistic and literary implications in the development of another Germanic language, this time the Yiddish language, which achieved a real florescence, in spite of some earlier isolated high points, only in the nineteenth century. But it can arguably be traced back to the Middle Ages and to works written down in the late fourteenth century such as *Dukus Horant* (if we do not wish to describe that distant relative of *Kudrun* simply as Middle High German in Hebrew orthography), or to the later so-called *Tsena-Urena,* the storybook Bible designed for women. Nowadays in a society that can be and has been called both post-Christian and multicultural, religious conflict has thrown up further problems. In terms of linguistic history, of course, the layers are always present at the same time, so that a ceremony performed by the (Protestant) sovereign in Britain nowadays with a distribution of money on Maundy Thursday, combines in its name an earlier Latin Christianity (*mandatum* being the first word of the antiphon for that day), and the pre-Christian name of Donar/Þor in the name of the day of the week.

A volume intended to be introductory to a literary history will necessarily be disparate, since much of it is to do with the pre-literary period and the rest with — if such a formulation is permissible — the non-literary beginnings of literature.[29] It is for this reason that the volume is entitled "early Germanic culture," and as such it tries to consider some of the most important sources for the later development of what we understand by German literature, and also some of the early parallel developments, although clearly some aspects of this development process will be treated less fully than others. The first part of any literary history is a history of culture in general and of language in particular; consequently we attempt here first to move from the general consideration of what is meant by the study of Germanic antiquity in theory and in practice, to the classical literature of German origins. It would be possible to pick thereafter from a large number of cultural aspects of early Germanic society, or art, or what can be gleaned of social practices through archeology and in written history in other languages. However, two areas are of signal importance: the initial contact between the *Germani* and the greatest force

of the ancient world, that of Rome; and the confrontation with what became the dominant religion of the west, Christianity. It is significant that it was only at the end of the twentieth century that an actual location was at last established for the *Hermannsschlacht,* a battle that had played a part for centuries in the German consciousness in particular, celebrated in one way by the victors, but with history being written in this case largely by the vanquished, so that Varus's famous loss of the Imperial Eagles in the Teutoburg Forest to Arminius (Hermann) and the Cherusci in A.D. 9 became a potent symbol of heroic resistance on one hand and of barbarianism in a modern sense on the other. Archeology — both field and linguistic — and to some extent literary sources may help provide a picture of pre-Christian Germanic religion, even if the name of the chief of the gods may vary (as will be clear in later chapters) from Odin to Wodan or Woden in different subdivisions of the culture. The methodologies and practices of these attendant disciplines, and a consideration of how they contribute to an understanding of Germanic culture and literature are extremely significant.

The earliest literature in most cultures is oral, and this requires at least a theoretical consideration as a transition from cultural considerations in general to more readily acceptable areas of literary study. "At least," because empirical evidence (other than modern extrapolations, as in the work of Milman Parry or Albert Lord on twentieth-century oral bards)[30] is necessarily lacking. It has been pointed out that there is a strong distinction between the language of record and the spoken language — the former depending upon the status and context of what is being written and by whom, and this is of importance in the period when Latin dominates for written material in Germania.[31] But for the commitment of thought in more permanent form in general — with the use, that is, of writing — we must consider first the writing-system known as runic, which is not only pragmatic, but also has a mystic dimension (albeit one as exaggerated by modern romantics as it was abused by the Nazis), and then the language of the Goths and the first writings in manuscript form, before we reach the period in which the Latin alphabet provides more familiar written Germanic languages.

The final chapters of this collection, having arrived at that point, are more clearly literary, but now the problem must be confronted that was raised in the opening paragraph: of the chapters that look ostensibly at written records, only one is even (partly) to do with High German, the closest ancestor of modern German, and there, too, much of the material is not very literary. Even in the Old High German period, a self-conscious concept of *Hochdeutsch* is still some way off, and even the equivalent of our notion of *Deutsch* in the early stages meant simply Germanic rather than Roman. Runic monuments are extremely limited, however, in their

literary content, even if a claim may be made for the first line of Germanic poetry ever recorded on the Gallehus horn. Gothic is the oldest Germanic language written down in manuscript, and is the one surviving fully documented East Germanic language, with a fourth-century Bible translation which makes a polyvalent cultural statement of itself, even if the language itself vanished. It was used in Spain in the seventh and eighth centuries, and far later in the east, in the Crimea, but much reduced. There is no other literature, although there are still echoes of Gothic history even in Old High German. North Germanic literature in the form of Old Norse-Icelandic comes a few centuries later, but by now we are in the territory of recognizable literary history. Old Norse offers a rich, important and ongoing literature, and one that preserves much to do with the earliest Germanic peoples — including in works like the *Hamðismál* the Goths once more, and the links between Norse poetry and the Nibelungen saga are a bridge to later High German writings.

Moving at last to the broad group of West Germanic languages, Low German is represented first by Old English with its rich literature, and, again, with links to German writings. Here the case of *Waltharius* might stand as a symbol of the linkage: there are a couple of fragments of a Walter saga in the Old English *Waldere,* a heroic saga based on historical antecedents, perhaps, from the Burgundian and Gothic worlds. In High German there are later references to the story, but the full version is in Latin, though it was written by a German. These early roots are greatly entangled.

On the continent, High German itself — that is, a group of dialects that share certain features known collectively as Old High German — begins to be written down in the eighth century, almost exclusively in the service of the Roman Church (the Goths had been Arian rather than Roman Catholic Christians), and with little material surviving that we might recognize as literature. But there is a conscious effort and a self-awareness for the first time, even if the writer who may stand as a symbol of this time, Otfrid of Weissenburg, in the middle of the ninth century, thought of himself as writing in Frankish rather than German, and worked in a monastery that is now called Wissembourg in Alsace. Otfrid, the first named writer, the first self-conscious German literary figure, may stand as a starting point, but he too did not spring fully armed from nowhere. Anglo-Saxon has a religious epic, and on the continent Otfrid had an important forerunner in the anonymous *Heliand*. It is fitting that a chapter be devoted to another Low German text, the Old Saxon *Heliand* here, since it is a work that can all too easily — but quite wrongly — be omitted or sidelined in a history of German literature. In continental Low German, the *Heliand* stands alone, however, and some other early High or Low dialects either died out, while others were committed to parchment only later (such as, in spite of the name, Old Frisian).

Where, then, is one to start the first volume of the history of German literature? A precise beginning is, of course, impossible to determine: claims can be made for the songs mentioned by Tacitus (though of course we do not have them), for the inscription on the Gallehus horn, or for Ulfila's Gothic Bible, just as much as for Caedmon (who lived, according to Bede, in the late seventh century), the *Heliand* or Otfrid's Gospel Book. Furthermore, many of these existed side-by-side with literature that is clearly Germanic, but which was written in another language. The history of the Goths written by the Senator Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580), and adapted by the Goth Jordanes (who lived and wrote in the middle and later part of the sixth century), the *Getica,* is in Latin, and so is Bede's (ca. 673–735) history of the English Church and people. Otfrid apologized to his ecclesiastical superior for *not* writing in Latin, the language used in the written works of his much respected teacher, the German prelate Hrabanus Maurus (776 or 784–856), and indeed of his teacher, the Anglo-Saxon pedagogue and scholar Alcuin (ca. 735–804). This volume is, as indicated, in some respects a fragmented one, and that is inevitable, since there are many contributory sources to a German literature, and at the beginnings these were indeed diverse. It provides introductions to some of the paths toward the determination of what is meant by Germanic culture — through classical writings, social and religious history, archeology, then through oral transmission on to the earliest written Germanic, and finally to the beginnings of literature proper.

Notes

[1] D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), uses the word *Germani* to render *Germanen,* and this will be followed here. Green's work will not be referred to specifically for every point, but it is a work of considerable importance in most of the areas indicated in this introduction. The concept *Germania* is equally useful.

[2] This is a highly simplified presentation, and it has to be noted that German itself has undergone further sound changes not always shared by English, which is why English words rather than German ones have been chosen to demonstrate this shift. There are many introductions to this area of study both in German and English, but a good (if outdated) brief introduction is provided by Arthur Kirk, *An Introduction to the Historical Study of New High German* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1923, repr. 1961).

[3] A. F. C. Vilmar, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationallitteratur* (4th ed., Marburg and Leipzig: Elwert, 1850, still present in the 20th edition, 1881).

[4] *Otfrids Evangelienbuch,* ed. Oskar Erdmann, 7th ed. by Ludwig Wolff (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973) This is Book I, i, 59–60.

[5] See for example the work of Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *Genes, People and Languages,* trans. Mark Seielstad (New York: North Point Press, 2000). Some earlier anthropological-ethnological methods became tainted when used for purposes of racial discrimination rather than objective enquiry. This is a permanent danger.

[6] P. V. Glob, *The Bog People,* trans. Rupert Bruce-Mitford (London: Paladin, 1971).

[7] Green, *Language and History,* 182–235.

[8] The standard work remains E. A. Thompson, *The Early Germans* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), and see also Ferdinand Lot, *Les invasions Germaniques: La pénétration mutuelle du monde barbare et du monde romain* (Paris: Payot [1935], 1945), with good brief comments on the various tribal groups. A useful edition of Tacitus's *Germania* and *Agricola* is that by Henry Furneaux, revised by J. G. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938), with a translation by H. Mattingley, *Tacitus on Britain and Germany* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1948). Several chapters in the present volume consider Germanic/Roman interaction. For a brief but useful survey of Germanic tribal usage, see William Stubbs, *Select Charters* ([1870], 9th ed. by H. W. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon, repr. 1966), 7–9.

[9] See Theodor Frings, *Grundlegung einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (3rd ed., Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1957) for what are still extremely valuable basic essays on linguistic and cultural geography, the divisions of the German(ic) linguistic area, and the definitions of West Germanic. Modern histories of the language are plentiful, but see as another very useful small handbook: Werner König, *dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache* (Munich: dtv, 1978).

[10] See D. H. Green, "Orality and Reading. The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 267–80 and his *Medieval Listening and Reading* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994). There is another useful and brief, but thought-provoking study by Haijo J. Westra, "Literacy, Orality and Medieval Patronage," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 52–59. The Franks casket (named after the collector Sir Augustus Franks rather the Germanic people) is housed in the British Museum, dates from around 700, and shows illustrations both of pre-Christian sagas and of the Gospels. See on this and other examples David Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, rev. ed. 1971).

[11] See the Ruthwell Cross inscriptions and the Anglo-Saxon *Dream of the Rood,* ed. Bruce Dickins and Alan S. C. Ross (London: Methuen, 1934).

[12] The quotation is from Stephen G. Nichols's introduction to an issue of *Speculum* devoted to the New Philology and containing a series of interesting papers: *Speculum* 65 (1990): 1–10. Most studies of the New Philology take as their starting point Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989). As with many critical movements, defining what precisely is meant by the key term is difficult.

[13] See Patrick J. Geary, "Land, Language and Memory in Europe 700–1100," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th Series, 9 (1999): 169–84. The paper is one of a series in the same volume on literacy, and several of the papers refer to such standard works as Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989) and her edited volume *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).

[14] See for a clear introductory survey Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971) and as a useful guide *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe,* ed. George Holmes (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1988).

[15] Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Political Thought* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), 69–70. See Brown, *Late Antiquity* on the Byzantine world.

[16] See H. St. L. B. Moss, *The Birth of the Middle Ages 395–814* (London: OUP, 1935), 238 and such works as Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne,* trans. Bernard Miall (London: Allen and Unwin, 1939). On the Slavs, see *Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. Geoffrey Barraclough (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970).

[17] The two horns from Gallehus, one with an inscription round the rim, are described and illustrated in great detail in Willy Hartner, *Die Goldhörner von Gallehus* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969). See also David Wilson, *The Vikings and their Origins* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 53–54 and ill. 31. The inscribed horn was stolen and presumably melted down in 1802, but an impression of it was made. Its inscription is discussed in various chapters in the present volume.

[18] Wilson, *Vikings* and such works as Johannes Brøndsted, *The Vikings,* trans. Kalle Skov (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

[19] In the 1530 *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen,* ed. Karl Bischoff, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1965), 18/19 (two versions). The words *verdeutschet, gut deutsch, der deutsch man, Deutscher, das beste deutsch* all occur within a very brief passage.

[20] The equation of nation and language is not always a simple one, certainly in the earlier stages, although it becomes clear later. See R. R. Davis, "The People of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th Series 7 (1997): 1–24, esp. 2. See also Leonard E. Scales, "At the Margin of Community: Germans in Pre-Hussite Bohemia," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th Series, 9 (1999): 327–52 for some interesting comments on the later medieval position.

[21] Even though both translate the German term "ostfränkisch," it is appropriate to use East Frankish as the historical-geographical term, and East Franconian as the name for the dialect.

[22] See Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), 51–54 for a detailed discussion of *deutsch* and of *Germania.*

[23] Thomas Mann, *Deutsche Hörer! Radiosendungen nach Deutschland aus den Jahren 1940 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1987), 149, 154. Ernst von Salomon, *Der Fragebogen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1961), 45–53.

[24] See R. E. Keller, *German Dialects* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1961) and the older German work by Walther Mitzka, *Deutsche Mundarten* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1943). As a fortuitous example of modern written dialect, which could be multiplied, a series with the general title of *Fränkische Mundart in Vers und Prosa* (echoing Otfrid's insistence well over a millennium earlier on Frankish), opened with a collection of poems by Fritz Gronbach in the dialect of Hohenlohe: *Mir Hohaloher* (Gerabronn and Crailsheim: Hohenloher Verlagshaus, 1965).

[25] There is a good introduction to many of these languages, with examples, in W. B. Lockwood, *An Informal History of the German Language* (London: Deutsch, 1976). There are several publications on Plautdietsch (Plattdeutsch), including a rhyme dictionary, which certainly seems to indicate literary activity. As an extreme example, see Rogier Nieuweboer's 1998 Groningen dissertation, *The Altai Dialect of Plautdiitsch: West-Siberian Mennonite Low German* (Munich: Lincom, 1999).

[26] Harald Burger, *Sprache der Massenmedien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984).

[27] See Luise F. Pusch, *Das Deutsche als Männersprache* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984).

[28] Edward Sapir, "Language and Environment," *The American Anthropologist* 14 (1912): 226–42.

[29] An indication of the range of non-literary materials is provided by R. C. van Caenegem's *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale* (with F. L. Ganshof), new ed. by L. Jocqué, trans. B. van den Abele (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997 = Corpus Christianorum, Cont. med.).

[30] Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1960).

[31] See Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, 1066–1130* (London: Arnold, 1979), 160.