EXTENDED RIME IN OTFRID
by Joseph Wilson

In the ninth century Otfrid composed his monumental gospel poem (the Evangelienbuch) in some seven thousand long-lines, based on the principle of end rime between the ends of the two half-lines. Visually and syntactically, the long-lines furthermore fall into two-line strophes, but this has no effect on the rime pattern. The fundamental rime scheme is thus \textit{aa}, complete within the single long-line, or, to consider a series of long-lines, the scheme is basically \textit{aa bb cc}, etc. The following is a typical random passage of the poem, taken from Book II, Chapter 21:¹

\begin{verbatim}
II.21, 1 Oba thu ouh biginnes thaz thu zi gote things,
           inti thu githenkes thaz thin gibet wirkes:
           Thaz si in herzen thanne,
           thaz thir es wiht ni intfalle;
           gidougno in themo muate,
           theiz thir irge zi guate!

5 In herzen si iz scono,
   thaz iu es got gilono,
   si ther githang iu festi
   innan theru brusti;
   Thaz io bi themo meine
   thaz muat si fasto heime,
   then hugu in then githankon
   ni lazet wergin wankon!

Ni lazet faran iu thaz muat
   so then driagarin duat;

10 umbi kerit sih thaz muat
   selb so mo ther hals duat;
   Thaz duent sie allaz zi thi,
   ther liut se lobo thar bi thi,
   joh sie seeren thuruh thaz;
   bi thiust niest es wiht in thiuz baz.
   Weist thu weih thir redinon:
   thaz selba lob theist thaz lon;
   giwisso wizist thu thaz:
   in thiuz gisteit iz allaz.

15 Thanne ir betot, wizit thaz,
   duct iz kurzlichaz,
   ni ruachit druhtin harto
   thero managfaltin worto;
   In herzen betot harto
   kurzero worto
   joh lutoro thare,

Weist thu weih thir redinon:
Thaz selba lob theist thaz lon;
   giwisso wizist thu thaz:
   in thiuz gisteit iz allaz.

As this sample illustrates, the rimes employed are of varying quality, ranging from what we would call, from our present perspective,² "perfect" rime of one, two, or even more syllables (as in lines 4-5: \textit{muate/guate; scono/gilono}), through a multiple scale of degrees of impurity or incom-
\end{verbatim}

¹ Mr. Wilson is Associate Professor of German at Rice University.
pleteness (e.g., lines 6-7: festi/brusti; meine/heime), including identical rimes (line 11: zi thiui/bi thiuz), to complete absence of rime in a few cases (none in the above sample; an example is I.18.9: that ist lib ana tod, lioht ana finstri). It is also demonstrable that Otfrid’s riming technique improved over the years as he worked (note, for example, that all of the so-called rimeless lines occur in the first book). As in Latin rime, Otfrid’s starting point had been the rime of the final syllable, even when unaccented (cf. line 13 above: redinon/lon). The improvement of the rime consisted in its extension into the preceding syllables, quite evidently striving toward the principles of accentuation and purity which we feel today.

A great deal of research has been applied to the analysis of Otfrid’s rimes and to their improvement in the course of time, particularly with a view towards establishing the relative chronology of the various parts of the poem, since a preponderance of more primitive rimes indicates early date of composition and vice versa. An understanding of Otfrid’s riming technique is, moreover, crucial for the entire early history of end rime in German and its disputed origins. All these elaborate analyses, which have furnished hundreds of pages of lists of rimes and discussions of categories of purity, etc., and whose scholarship is admirable, unfortunately suffer from two serious defects: they all have dealt exclusively with the aa rime contained within the single long-line in isolation, ignoring the multiple rime play (which I call “extended rime”) with adjacent lines, and they have failed to notice the rime of non-final syllables in cases where the final syllables do not rime (“stem rime”). Thus, some of the most striking features of Otfrid’s rimes have been ignored.

In the first place, two or three or more long-lines frequently have the same or similar rime, so that the rime scheme is not simply aa bb cc. Note, for example, lines 1-2 of the sample: biginnes/thinges//githenkes/wirkes, with the same rime (es) in the final syllables and imperfect rime in the stem syllables; cf. also lines 14-15: thaz/allaz//thaz/kurzhehaz. These repetitions often reach striking dimensions; the following is a rather mild example (note especially lines 22-25):

IV.4.21 Joh datun iz in waru zi fronisgeru eru,
zi sineru heri; er was in filu diuri!
Nist ther io gihogeti in alleru worolti,
thaz kuning thiein fuari mit sulicheru zieri,
25 Then io liuto dati so scno giereti,
thaz thionoti imo in waru mit sulicheru fuaru.

Such an accumulation of identical final syllables is reminiscent of the Latin “tirades” so important in the early history of rime. An even more interesting variant of the tirade is shown by the following: in which it is not the final syllable but the stem syllable -in- which forms the basis of the
repetition:

I.2,1  Wola druhtin min, ja bin ih scale thin,
      thiu arma muater min eigan thiu ist si thin!
Fingar thinan dua anan mund minan,
theni ouh hant thina in thia zungun mina,

5  Thaz ih lob thinaz si lutentaz,
    giburt sunes thines, druhtines mines;

There are numerous other similar passages with such obviously non-
accidental rime repetitions. To consider any one line of such a series, e.g.,
line 1 (min/ihthin), in isolation would manifestly be misleading.

In the second place, the quality of the basic rime pair, so fundamental in
all the investigations, is itself often directly affected by the part it plays in
this extended rime with neighboring lines. Frequently an imperfect rime
pair is supported by rime with adjoining lines, as in this example:

I.6,4  joh spilota in theru muater ther ira sun guater.
      Sprah thiu sin muater: ,,heil wih dohter,

In this instance, the poor rime muater/dohter is clearly supported by
the preceding muater/guater. Conversely, one could say that the muater of
line 5 has a better rime connection to the preceding line than to its own
ostensible rime partner dohter. Another example of this fairly common
type is found in IV.12,15, where the riming series is thrati/dati//noti/quati.
It is only a step from this type to the so-called rimeless lines, most, if not all,
of which can be shown to fit this common pattern of rime with adjacent
lines, as we will see below.

In Otfrid, as in much contemporary Latin, Irish, and other Germanic
verse, we therefore find the important principles of “support” and “compen-
sation” for weak or missing rime or alliteration. End rime and alliteration
may even support each other, i.e., alliterating poems will compensate for a
lack of alliteration in a given line by the substitution of end rime and vice
versa.6 The latter possibility, the substitution of alliteration for end rime,
has long been recognized as the principle behind certain of Otfrid’s rimeless
lines. The most famous of these is the above mentioned I.18,9: thar ist lib
ana tod, lioht ana finstri, whose alliteration is proved conclusively to be
non-accidental by the fact that the line occurs also in the alliterating poem
Muspilli. An example of the subtler instances of a weak rime supported by
alliteration is I.2,58: fon ewon unz in ewon mit then saligen selon.

In considering the extended rime of Otfrid, it should be noted that stem
rime can be more important than the rime of the final syllable, i.e., there
are times when we have a riming connection between a pair like minan/
thines. This is clearly the case in I.2,1ff. (quoted above), in which eleven
out of twelve consecutive rime words are forms of min and thin: min/thin/
thinan/minan//thina/mina, etc. This set of affairs certainly cannot be ignored when considering the rime of line 5: thinaz/lutentaz. Another example of a clear stem rime connection of adjacent lines is seen in the following:

I.5.22  muater thiu diura  scalt thu wesan eina.
        Thu scalt beran einan  alawaltendan

In this instance, the rime of eina with einan is probably the most audible of the series (diura/eina/ /einan/alawaltendan).

As mentioned, these same phenomena are found also in other early poetries and are especially common in the Latin of Otfrid's time and of the preceding centuries, strengthening the sometimes disputed connections of Otfrid with Latin versification. Let us compare two Latin examples. The first is the end of the second book of Sedulius's Carmen Paschale, one of the Evangelienbuch's most important forerunners, and the second is the end of a poem (Hymnus de Natale Innocentum) by Hrabanus Maurus, the praeceptor not only of Germania, but also quite personally of Otfrid himself.⁷

I. Sedulius:

Sic aliena gerens, ut nec tua linquere posses.
355  Hoc Matthaeus agens, hominem generaliter implet.
    Marcus ut alta fremit vox per deserta leonis,
    Jura sacerdotis Lucas tenet ore juvenci.
    More volans aquilae, verbo petit astra Joannes.
    Quattuor hi proceres una te voce canentes,
360  Tempora ceu totidem, latum sparguntur in orbem.
    Sic et apostolici semper duodenum honoris
    Fulget apex numero, menses imitatus, et horas,
    Omnibus ut rebus totus tibi militet annus.
    Hinc igitur veteris recolens exordia mortis,
365  Ad vitam properabo novam, lacrymasque serendo,
    Gaudia longa metam: nam qui deflemus in Adam,
    Semina mittentes, mox exsultabimus omnes,
    Portantes nostros, Christo veniente, maniplos.

II. Hrabanus Maurus:

Ergo age, tortor, adure, seca.
    Divide membra coacta luto,
    Solvere rem fragilem facile est.
    Non penetrat dolor interius
35  Mentis in arce manet Dominus.
    Hic funeris quia causa fuit,
Praemia his super astra dabit.
Tu quoque mortis amator amens,
Mortis in extima jure cadis,
Et gemitum sine fine dabis.
Cedat amor lacrymantum hominum.
Qui celebrare suprema solent,
Flebile cedat et officium:
Martyribus quia regna patent,
Gaudia perpetuoque manent.
O secii sine fine Deum
Carmine jam resonemus, eum
Qui sua munera rite dedit;
Nostra libenter et ipse canit:
Christus et optimus hic Deus est.

Both these samples show the gradual beginnings of rime in otherwise non-riming poems, demonstrating the same imperfections common in Otfrid (e.g., rimeless lines in an otherwise riming section: 1,362; II,38 and 50; impure rimes: 1,361 [apostolici/honoris]). But they also exhibit the same kinds of extended rime (e.g., 1,356 and 358, in which weak rimes [fremit/ leonis; aquilae/Jaannes] are strengthened by the rime with adjacent lines [sacerdotis; proceres/canentes]; similarly in II, the aa rime scheme is broken by line 42, which rimes with 44-45). What we see here is the gradual development of pure rime in a definite rime scheme from the previously sporadic (and frequently accidental) rimes. The rime scheme, although fairly regular, is not yet fixed, so that irregular patterning (i.e., extended rime) occurs rather freely.

Against this Latin background, it should not be surprising to find a similar great use of extended rime in Otfrid. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, it has been almost completely ignored by the research. Kögel, who gives extensive information on Otfrid’s rime, notes only that in one instance Otfrid has committed the “error,” as he calls it, of a rime from one line to the next, rather than internally in the line:

IV.35,15 Thaz was engilo werd joh himilriches alles, erdun joh thes sewes, thoh sie so datin lewes!

Hennig Brinkmann briefly calls attention to the tirade-type repetitions of the same final syllable, and is, indeed, of the opinion that an imitation of the Latin tirade is the origin of Otfrid’s rime. Wilhelm Grimm’s excellent study “Zur Geschichte des Reims” gives lengthy lists of the most varied kinds of non-standard rimes found in Latin and Old and Middle High German poetry, e.g., identical rime, internal rime, etc., all of which are demonstrated to occur as sporadic adornments in works that base on a more common type of end rime. But Grimm did not realize that certain of these usages
in Otfrid are more than just sporadic and that they fulfill a vital function. Thus Grimm correctly calls attention to the fact that I.8,4 (in fluhti joh in zuhti theiz alles wesan mohti) contains an additional internal rime between fluhti and zuhti, but he does not note the connection with the following line (ouh, so iz thisu wurti, iz diufal ni bifunti) nor the support both additional rimes (the internal and the extended) give to the otherwise weak principal rime of zuhti with mohti. Nor does he show that the frequency and importance of this type of internal rime in Otfrid is very low, whereas that of the extended rime bond to adjacent lines is very high. Kleiber discusses some of the striking instances of repetitions of rime pairs (such as those I call rime refrains below), but only in connection with his theories of numerological structure, into whose service he tries to press them.13

Just as there is a whole scale of degrees of quality in the basic rime pair, so also there is a multiple range of types of extended rime. Without attempting to explore fully all the possible categories, let us proceed from the most obvious types to the less noticeable ones:

1. The most primitive type is the simple repetition of the same two rime words in successive lines, as in II.21,9-10 (above): muat/duat/muat/duat, and similarly in lines 16-17. The identical rime words are frequently reversed:

   II.14,68 thaz betont ware betoman then fater geistlichfo fram;
   Want er suachit filu fram thrato rehte betoman,

That the lines are connected in a non-accidental way could hardly be disputed. The long min-/thin- series of I.2,1ff., mentioned above, is a stem-riming variation of the identical type.

2. A step toward differentiation is taken in the following type, in which only one word of the rime pair is repeated:

   II.14,115 Gïoubta iro ouh tho in wara filu harto mera,
   wanta sin selbes lera thiu was in harto mera.

Here, as often, the rime between the lines (mera/lera/mera) is better than the primary rime of the first line (wara/mera). Another example of this is the muater/dohter rime of I.6,4-5 (above).

3. The most common type of extended rime is that in which the final syllables rime in two or more lines, with the previous syllables contributing to a varying extent:

   III.17,7 Sie thara tho in farun, so sie ubilwillig warun,
   eina huarrun brahtun, so sio in abuh thahun;

   IV.12,15 In muate was in thrati thie egislichun dati,
   joh forspotun zi noti, fon wemo er sulih quati:

In the latter example, again, the better rime is between the lines.
4. Sometimes, as in IV.4.21-22 (above), the rime progresses through a series of gradual transformations from the first rime word to the last: warul/erul/erul/diuri. Similar examples are found, for instance, in II.21,1-2 (above): biginnes/thinges/gihkenes/wirkes, and III.22,44-45: halt/scalt/einfolt/got.

5. Extended rime may also connect two or more lines which are not in direct succession but are, rather, separated by one or more lines:

IV.4,28 thazer then weg mit wati mammuntan gidati;
   Thagtun sie imo scioro then weg thar filu zioro,
   thes iltun sie io zi noti thie man mit iro wati.

IV.7,5 Ersaz sid themo gange in themo oliberge,
   fragetun sie nan suntuar (sie was es filu wuntar):
   ,,Sage uns, meistar, thanne, wio thiu zit gigange;

In these two examples, the identity of the extended rime words (wati; [gr]ange) establishes an especially close bond, also semantically, across the intervening line. Here, again, the more audible rime (i.e., of IV.4,30 and IV.7,5) is not the primary rime (noti/wati; gange/oliberge), but the extended one, in spite of the intervening gap. The spanning of one or even more lines for a rime connection is, of course, nothing unusual; that is what we have in the common abab and abba rime schemes. Obviously, the farther apart two rimes are located, the less the probability that they really have anything to do with each other; we must be cautious in seeking connections over larger gaps than a few lines. Even wider-spanning connections, however, can frequently be demonstrated in Otfrid. For example, at times a rime pair will be repeated several times in a passage in such a prominent manner as to become practically a "rime refrain," the remembrance of which can bridge a gap of ten or more lines. Thus in the dedication to Ludwig there are several such, chiefly the rime pair guat/-muat-, which occurs ten times in ninety-six lines.

Let us apply the principles of extended rime and support and compensation to some of the well-known problematical lines of Otfrid. The most famous of these has already been mentioned, the alliterating but allegedly rimeless I.18,9: thar ist lib ana tod, lioht ana finstri. If we look at the line in its context, we note immediately that finstri rimes with the following line (kunni/wunni). It would be more accurate to characterize the line as basically alliterative (as proved by its use in Muspilli), rimeless in the primary pattern, but riming in the secondary pattern (i.e., with an adjacent line).

Another famous problem is the case of lines I.4,6-7:

I.4,5 Warun siu bethiu goite filu drudiu
   joh iogiwar sinaz gibot fullentaz,
   Wizzod sinan io wirkendan
joh reht minnonti ana meindati.
Unbera was thi quena kindo zeizer:
so warun se unzan elti thaz lib bleitendi.

*Fullentaz* and *wirkendan* are striking examples of the use of grammatically incorrect forms for the sake of rime. They should be *fullenti* and *wirkendi*, in apposition with *minnonti*, referring to the subject *siu*, but they evidently have been improperly changed to take an ending in agreement with their respective objects in order to achieve a better rime. That is, instead of correctly saying, approximately, 'sie waren sein Gebot erfüllende und seinen Befehl wirkende,' we have 'sie waren sein Gebot erfüllendes und seinen Befehl wirkenden.' Erdmann supposes that the lines originally contained the grammatically correct forms and that the lines were rimeless. I would agree except that the lines in that form were by no means rimeless; they rimed with each other and with the following line in an *ab ab bb* pattern (*sinaz/fullenti/sinan/wirkendi/minnonti/meindati*). If they had not rimed in this way (or in some way), Otfrid would hardly have used the lines in the first place. Apparently he first composed the grammatically correct lines, which rimed, but not in his primary pattern. He then changed to the incorrect forms for the sake of the primary rime.

The situation is similar in I.2,5 (above), where, in the midst of the *min-/thin-* tirade, we have the rime pair *thinaz/lutentaz*. Considered in isolation, it is, as it stands, a rather weak rime; furthermore, the *lutentaz* is ungrammatical in the same way as the *fullentaz* and *wirkendan* just discussed. The form should be *lutenti*, in which case the line in isolation has no rime at all, so that it is generally held to be originally rimeless and forcibly changed to give a meager rime. But a glance at the line in its context, even in the original form, shows that it has a distinct rime connection of its first rime word *thinaz* with the *min-/thin-* tirade in which it stands.

As our last example, let us look at III.16,8-9:

III.16,8 hintarquamun thes ouh mer, wanta er ni lerneta sio er.
Ni sahun sie nan sizen untar scualariz[er].

Here the *er* of line 9 does not rime within the line; Erdmann puts it in brackets because he believes it is an error, a scribal miscopying from the previous line. He says that striking *er* leaves the rime of *sizen* with *scualariz*, which he considers very poor but tolerable. I suggest that the manuscript is correct and that the rime is between this *er* and the *mer* and *er* of the previous line (a rather similar rime of *er* occurs in III.24,2-3: *er*/begrabener/er/swester*).

Similarly considered in their contexts, most, if not all, of the allegedly rimeless lines of Otfrid will be seen to have this kind of secondary rime. We need not go into them here; I trust that sufficient evidence has already been given to show that in Otfrid, as in Latin and other early poetries, there are
true regular secondary rime types (extended rime and stem rime), which at times compete with the primary rime scheme and at times compensate for its defects, in such a way that weak rimes are strengthened and “rimeless lines” rime.

NOTES

This paper is based on a talk given at the meeting of the South Central Modern Language Association in New Orleans, October 30, 1971.

1. All quotations from Otfrid are taken from Oskar Erdmann, Otfrids Evangelienbuch (Halle, 1882). Accents and dots under vowels have been omitted, since they are not essential for this discussion. They would naturally have to be considered in a more detailed treatment of rime quality, as would the much more important question of vowel length (not marked in the manuscripts).

2. We should, of course, always be aware of the subjectivity of judgments on the quality of rimes, and not project modern English or German esthetic standards onto other poetries. For the sake of simplicity, however, I speak of ‘better’ or ‘poorer’ rimes, etc., and the terms probably are justified here, even from Otfrid’s viewpoint. They should nevertheless be viewed with caution.

3. For a listing of the rimeless lines, see Rudolf Koegel, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, 1.2 (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 23-24.


5. The dispute centers around the question of whether Otfrid’s end rime developed under the influence of the nascent Latin end rime. The consensus is that it did, but even the latest research (e.g., Patzlaff and Schweikle, see note 4) is divided.

6. For example, in the alliterating Old High German “First Mersenburg Charm” the last line substitutes end rime.


8. In passage II, a few non-riming lines have been quoted to show the transition to the riming conclusion. Note also that, as in Otfrid, the rime is primarily of the final syllable, but spreading into the stem (cf. II, lines 39-40: cadis/dahis).

9. The first two lines of passage I offer a good example of irregular patterning: the caesura of the first line rimes with that of the second (gerens/agens).


15. Also, very probably the final syllable of *lutent* was felt to rime, if weakly, with this same tirade.