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EXPRESSIONS OF DYING IN THE HELIAND

by

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ABSTRACT

EXPRESSIONS OF DYING IN THE HELLIAND

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The rich vocabulary of the Heliand has been the object of many fruitful studies, concerning not only the individual words and their usages, but also the use of variation in connection with certain concepts. One of the most widely varied concepts is 'to die,' but little comprehensive study has been devoted to expressions of dying in the Heliand, although these expressions have been the object of some interest ever since Schmeller's first edition of the work. A recent study concerns expressions of dying and killing in Old Norse, but the major emphasis is placed on their historical development and cultural significance. Such an approach is not possible for Old Saxon. More fruitful areas of investigation are the relationship of the expressions of dying in the Heliand with similar expressions in the Latin Tatian, and the importance of these expressions in the alliteration and variation of the poem.

Chapter Two concerns the expressions of dying in the Heliand and their occurrences and usages. These expressions are divided into two groups: (a) simple verbs, and (b) metaphorical expressions. There are five simple verbs used in the Heliand to express the act of dying, although only three of them have 'to die' as their basic meaning. These verbs are discussed in relation to their cognates in other Germanic languages, as well as their occurrences and usages in the Heliand itself. There are many different types of metaphorical phrases of dying in the Heliand, and these are discussed in separate groups. As well as the main metaphorical expressions of dying, there are sections devoted to certain
miscellaneous phrases and phrases whose precise meaning is open to question.

Chapter Three is concerned with the relation of expressions of dying in the Heliand to similar expressions in the Latin Tatian, which is considered to be the main source of the Heliand. It is seen that the Heliand poet shows considerable ingenuity and originality in his choice of vocabulary and phraseology.

Chapter Four considers the expressions of dying in the Heliand in their relation to the alliteration and variation of the poem. The function of several of these phrases in the alliterative scheme of the poem is investigated, and the results of this investigation are compared with the predictions of several theories of alliteration in Germanic poetry. The widespread use of variation among the expressions of dying is also studied, mainly to determine whether this variation results primarily from the needs of alliteration, or whether the variation is important in showing where the major emphases of the poet's message lay.

Chapter Five summarizes the results of the preceding chapters, and the implications of these results for the interpretation of the poem are considered. Expressions of dying are shown to be highly important for the presentation of the poet's message.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The number of different words used in Old Saxon to express a single concept is striking. Recently much attention has been devoted to many of these concepts by means of specific word studies, such as those carried out by Ohly-Steimer on huldi, Rupp on Leid and Sünde, and by Becker on Geist and Seelo. In addition to these studies, other work has been done in this field through research on the topic of variation, i.e., the frequent repetition of a thought by a synonymous word or phrase. These works frequently compile statistics regarding the many variations in the Heliand and the different words which are contained in these variations. One particular study by Pachaly, *Die Variation im Heliand und in der altsächsischen Genesis*, contains a detailed list of these variations, and the statistical results from his work have been cited and interpreted in later investigations on variation and in recent word studies. Pachaly separates the variations of the Heliand into several main groups and further subdivides these main units to present each different concept exhibiting variation in the Heliand. According to his findings, the most varied verbs are 'to tell,' 'to go,' and 'to die,' in descending order of frequency. Considering the subject matter of the Heliand, i.e., the Gospel, the frequency of variation of the first two verbs is understandable, but the reasons for the large number of related synonyms for the concept 'to die' are not so obvious.
and have not been systematically investigated. There has been no research dealing specifically with the expressions of dying in the Heliand; however, partial lists of these expressions have appeared in several editions of and works on the poem, including a small group listed in the glossary of Schmeller's first edition of the Heliand. More extensive lists are provided by Gallée and Vilmar, with the most complete list to be found in Pachaly's above-mentioned work, which devotes an entire page to the variations of sterben in Old Saxon. It is the purpose of this work to provide, in the absence of any similar comprehensive study, a thorough examination of the expressions of dying in the Heliand.

A recent study by Wolfgang Butt, 'Sterben' und 'Töten' in der Sprache der altnordischen Dichtung, (diss., Kiel, 1967), concerns the expressions of dying in another, related language. Although the title of his work would indicate a strong similarity between his study and mine, this is not the case; there is a certain correlation of basic subject matter, but the methods and purposes of his work are almost totally different from mine, due chiefly to the nature of the literatures of the languages involved. Butt discusses the expressions of dying in Old Norse mainly with respect to their development in the language and their historical ramifications. Such an approach is possible for Old Norse because the literature is varied and extends over several centuries; such a treatment can not be carried out for Old Saxon, however, since the literature is essentially limited to the Heliand and Genesis, two works dealing with approximately the same type of thematic material and written in relatively close time sequence. It
is more instructive, I believe, to consider the expressions of dying in Old Saxon in their relationships to more relevant issues and pertinent topics, such as their possible origins in the Latin Tatian or the conflicting heathen and Christian traditions, and the close interplay of these expressions of dying with the alliteration and variation of the poem.
CHAPTER TWO
THE EXPRESSIONS OF DYING

A. Simple Verbs. There are five simple verbs used by the Heliand poet as expressions of dying. Three of these verbs, sterben, döjan, and sweltan, mean simply 'to die,' while the remaining two, driosan and thorron, have a basic meaning other than 'to die,' i.e., 'to fall' and 'to dry up,' respectively.

The cognates of sterben are common in the West Germanic dialects, e.g., OHG sterben, OE steorfan (NE starve), and this word appears in North Germanic, e.g., OE starfa, meaning 'to work,' but it is lacking in East Germanic. The IE root *sterbh- originally meant 'stiff' or 'rigid'; sterben with the meaning 'to become stiff' was later used as a euphemism for dying in the Old High German period.

Sterben appears in the Heliand three times, near the middle of the work, in lines 3631, 4055, and 4155. Thus it is relatively rare, and moreover, in none of these cases does it refer to an actual death, whereas in New High German sterben is the most common expression of dying. Two of these occurrences of sterben are in speeches by Christ: once in line 3631 to describe the end of the world when men would die, and again in line 4055 when Christ tells Mary after the death of Lazarus that those who believe in him shall not die. In both cases sterben is used to refer to mortal men, but in line 4155 Caiphus uses it to refer to Christ, saying that perhaps it would be better for one man to
die bloodily than for all the Jewish people to be lost. From the examples of sterban above, one can say that Vilmar's definition of this verb (p. 20) to mean 'death by tiredness, work, or hunger' does not hold true in its usage in the Heliand; neither the death of Lazarus in line 3631 or the death of mankind at the end of the world as predicted in line 4055 can be described as death by tiredness or work, and certainly the third use of sterban in line 4155 does not support such a definition, for this line refers to the death of Christ, which must be a bloody death through violence. Vilmar was evidently basing his statement more on related etymologies than on actual usages in the Heliand, since in other dialects, where sterban cognates are common, their use may have related a death by tiredness, work, or hunger, but in the Heliand, where sterban is limited to three occurrences, this definition is not applicable.

In Old Saxon sterban is found exclusively in the Heliand and does not appear in the Genesis fragment or in the sermons or glosses. In the Old High German Tatian dying is expressed almost totally by sterben or arsterben, and also in Otfrid there is widespread usage of sterben and arsterben.

Dôian, another simple verb meaning 'to die' has a rather interesting history. In Gothic only its past participle is extant, in the form bata diwans 'the mortal, mortality.' In Old Norse the verb is dýja and in Old High German, tôwen or dôwen. Although the cognate tôwen is common in Middle High German, the verb dropped out of usage before the New High German period. The common word 'die' in modern English is a related word, coming from Old English dôeman, which in turn was borrowed from Old Norse during the Viking Period.
Dōian appears six times in the Heliand, each time in the early second half of the poem, in lines 3998, 4001, 4328, 4698, 4864, and 4899. Four of the six occurrences of dōian appear in speeches by the disciples in which they pledge their loyalty to Christ by promising to die for him; these pledges by the disciples to Christ emphasize their relationship to him. This relationship is expressed by the Heliand poet as the characteristically Germanic thane-leader relationship. Statements such as these are some of the few real "Germanicizations" of the poem, and they must have been included by the poet as a stylistic device to enable his audience to comprehend the true relationship between Christ and his disciples and thereby to relate more fully to Christianity. Dōian is used in lines 4694-4700 by Peter. His use of the adverb diurlīko here in connection with dōian, in addition to providing alliteration for the verb, seems to color the meaning of it slightly, lending to it the connotation of a noble death, suitable for warriors. The three other uses of dōian by the disciples in lines 3993, 4001, and 4864, also reiterate this Germanic spirit. The remaining two usages of dōian do not refer specifically to the Germanic warrior tradition, but both of them are connected with violent deaths. Lines 4896-4899 appear in a speech by Christ to Peter just after Peter had chopped off the ear of Malchus; the passage says, in essence, that whoever lives by the sword will die by it also. This concept must have been an accepted part of the Germanic way of life. The final use of dōian occurs in line 4328, in a passage of the Heliand whose message closely parallels that of the Old High German "Muspilli," and the Old High German cognate of dōian, tōwen, also appears in this document. Dōian appears in the Old Saxon Merseburg
Glosses, in the form duann, and in this case it is the gloss for the Latin mori, which means 'to die.' Döwen is found in Otfrid at least four times. In all four passages cited, the deaths are by violence. One passage, Book III, 26.40, espouses the same concept of the Germanic warriors' death as appeared in the Heliand: in uuige döuent thezanlichoc in battle die as a hero. 12

The most common simple verb in the Heliand to express dying is sweltan. It is found in Gothic, swiltan; in Old Norse, svelta; in Old High German, swelzan; and in Old English, swealtan. Sweltan, unlike sterban and döian, is not limited in occurrence to any certain part of the Heliand. It occurs throughout, from line 734 to line 5685. Sweltan is used twice, in lines 5659 and 5685, to refer to the death of Christ on the cross, and another time to refer to the tormenting of Christ by the Jews prior to his crucifixion. In two instances sweltan refers to the deaths of the young males of Israel, and in line 2250 this verb is used by the disciples to describe their fears of dying in the storm at sea. Herod (i.e., Pilate) uses sweltan when expressing his desire not to have Christ killed, in line 5322. In all cases in which sweltan is used to express dying, the deaths are by violence, with the possible exception of lines 2217 and 3105, where the cause of death is not given.

Sweltan occurs either in variation with or in close proximity to döian in three different passages. This indicates a similarity of meaning between the two verbs, in that they both express death by violence. Sweltan is used also in the Genesis fragment, line 318, to describe the destruction of Sodom. Although there are apparently no uses of swelzan in the Tatian or Otfrid, the Old English cognate swealtan, the primary verb for dying in Beowulf, is found extensively.
Driosan and thorron are the two simple verbs for dying whose basic meaning is not 'to die.' Driosan commonly means 'to fall' and thorron chiefly 'to dry up.' Each verb appears one time in the Heliand with the meaning 'to die'; both these occurrences are in fitte 52, the chapter bearing such a striking resemblance to the "Muspilli." Although driosan is not found in the "Muspilli" or Tatian, the Heliand poet chooses to include it in his description of the end of the world. Its inclusion here could, however, result from poetical stylistics, since driosan is used to provide double alliteration in the first half-line of line 4328, with dōian. The verb thorron is found in the Old High German Tatian, 145,15, in the passage paralleling fitte. 52 in the Heliand, and the usage in both cases is quite similar: thorronten mannon thurah forahta inti beitunza thie dar quement alleru weralti 13 'while men are withering from fear and suspense, which spread throughout the entire world.' The corresponding Heliand passage, lines 4317-4318, is only slightly different: Than thorrot thiu thiód thurth that gethuing mikil / folc thurh thea forhta. Since it is generally accepted that the Heliand poet made use of the Latin Tatian as a source, it is not unreasonable to assume this one usage of the verb thorron could be a borrowing; moreover, this is most likely the case, because the Old High German thorrenten and the Old Saxon thorrot are direct translations of the Latin aerecentibus.

B. Metaphorical Expressions of Dying. Some of the metaphorical phrases used in the Heliand to express dying seem to express this concept in rather concrete terms, such as farlātan lif, which, literally translated, means 'to leave life.' In other instances the poet uses less direct phrases, such as iro dar endiad, which means, literally, 'they end their day.' The most common paraphrases the poet uses to express dying are
certain verb phrases containing the noun light, meaning 'light.' The word light appears frequently in the Heliand and, properly translated, has a variety of meanings. Its most common use is to express light in its traditional meaning, with reference to daylight, sunlight, etc. Secondly, the poet often makes references to "the heavenly light," or "the light of Christ," using light in these cases to imply a quality of innate goodness in juxtaposition to the concept of darkness associated with evil, Satan, and Hell. A third common usage of light in the Heliand is with the meaning 'earth' or 'world.' One such example with light involves an expression for being born, in line 886: *ac the is an thit lioht cuman* 'but who has come into this light.' Light is used in expressions of dying in much the same manner as in expressions of being born. In all expressions of dying in which the poet uses light he accompanies it with a demonstrative, either thit, thesumu, or ðær, depending upon the verb used; this is an attempt by the poet to distinguish between this world and the hereafter. Of the eleven instances in which light is used to indicate death, the verb accompanying it in six cases is ageban (or afgeban), meaning 'to give up,' and in each of these cases thit light appears as the object of the verb; the verb farlætan, 'to leave,' also takes thit light as its object in expressions of dying. In the three occurrences of *soken 'seek' with light in expressions of dying, light is modified by ðær. Callée cites a similar phrase in Old English, ceosan him ocer leocht.* In line 4033 light is used in an expression of dying as the object of a preposition and not as the object of a verb, as has previously been the case.

Light in general seems to refer to the physical side of death, and subsequently it is used chiefly with people not directly acquainted
with the teachings of Christ: line 578, the ancestor of the wise men; line 771, the first Herod; and line 5698, the two thieves on the cross. In the Holland Christ himself employs the light expression on three different occasions, lines 1331, 2148, and 2618, to speak of those who will not repent and whose fate will then be death. The only example in which light is used in reference to Christ is in a description of his last night on earth, in line 4756. The use of light in this context seems to point out Christ's human side, stressing the fact that as a man he also feared death.

The term werold 'world' is another expression of dying used in the Helian. The verbs used with werold are similar and in some cases identical to those used with light. Among the meanings listed for werold by Behagel are 'Welt,' 'Erde,' 'Leute,' 'Lebenslage,' and 'Dasein,' all of which seem reasonably interchangeable among themselves and with light in expressions of dying. Cognates of werold appear in the other Germanic languages; in Old High German the form is weralt, which occurs in the Tatian in an expression of dying on two occasions, in 155.1 and 175.6. In Old English expressions of dying using this word also appear, as in Beowulf, line 1183, werold oflastest 'leave world,' and in line 1681, end ha bas worold ofgeaf 'and there this world gave up.' The Old Norse word werold was borrowed from Old English and is not included in any expressions of dying discussed by Butt.

With but two exceptions the werold expressions of dying occur in the first thirty-three fittes of the Helian. These phrases appear in lines 471, 484, 1331, 1628, 2149, and 2708, with two more references in lines 4495 and 5426. Werold expressions do not refer to any specific group of people; they are used in reference to Simeon, 471, 484; mankind,
1331; the disciples, 1628; the Jews, 2149; Herod’s brother, 2708; Christ, 4495; and Pilate, 5426. In line 5426 werold is used alone in an expression of dying, but in all other cases it appears in variation with one or more terms. Light expressions for dying appear in variation with the werold expressions in three passages, but not one simple verb or term of existence is used in variation with werold.

Many of the verbs which accompany werold and are in variation with it give the implication of motion, movement, or going from one existence to another. Among these are the verbs wendeñ af 'turn from,' hwerban fon 'turn away from,' ageban 'give up,' wehslon 'change,' faran 'travel,' sokien 'seek,' and skakan 'go.' The use of such motion verbs with expressions of dying represents, according to Vilmar (p. 21), a holdover from the heathen times when death was considered to be a journey with Hel, the goddess of death. Many expressions of dying using werold in the Heliand are no doubt due to this influence of heathen tradition upon the Heliand poet, as Vilmar conjectured, but similar expressions are not lacking in Christian documents either, as the two examples from the Tatian cited above testify. These expressions were not merely inserted into the Old High German Tatian but were in both cases direct translations from the Latin. 17

Another group of expressions of dying which use verbs of motion are terms of society; the members of this group describe death in relation to society and social life. There are only four of these expressions, all of which seem basically related to the expressions of dying using light and werold. The most common of these terms is drom 'the tumult of life,' which occurs three times in the Heliand to express dying; the less frequently used terms of society are gardos 'dwelling places,'
Gardos appears twice in expressions of dying, once in line 571 in reference to the ancestor of the wise men, and again in line 4496, with reference to the death of Christ. Gadulingo gimang, the second term of society, appears in line 577 in alliteration with gardos. Since this is the only usage of this term in an expression of dying, although both components are common in the Heliand, it is possible that gadulingo gimang was used mainly to provide alliteration and was not a common expression of dying in Old Saxon.

Another term of society used to express death is eldeo barn. Its appearance in line 762 marks the only usage of eldi in an expression of dying and one of the three usages of eldi as a noun by itself; it is more frequently found in combination with barn as a compound word. A similar expression yldobearn can be found in Old English. Vilmar, p. 55, calls the expression eldeo barn (or el dibarn) "ein allgemeiner ausdruck für die abstammung von den alten geschlechtern," trying to incorporate it into his general theory of the Germanicization of the Heliand.

Drom appears in the Heliand as an expression of dying three times. In line 578 it is used in connection with the death of the ancestor of the wise men; in line 763 in reference to Herod's death, and in line 3349 in recounting the death of Lazarus. In each of these passages the expressions relate deaths which have just occurred or are about to occur, and the deaths mentioned are all of secular person, not necessarily heathens, but nevertheless, people who are not intimately bound up with the church.
Vilmar (p. 38) discusses the meaning of *drōm* and its role as a part of the Germanic tradition in the *Heliand*. He calls it the highest joy of German heroes happy with wine and song. He refers directly to one of the expressions of dying using *drōm* and says concerning it: "Ohne zweifel war auch die obenangeführte formel für sterben *forlātan liudio drōm* ein sehr eindringliche, schmerzlich erregende darstellung des todes." If Vilmar was referring specifically to line 577, from which his quoted expression was directly lifted, his statement that this is a piercing, painfully moving presentation of death seems questionable. The death of the wise men’s ancestor recounted in line 577 is not significant in the poem nor does such a death seem to warrant the emotional significance Vilmar attributes to it. It appears likely that Vilmar has again become caught up in generalities, when discussing the meaning and uses of certain words, without looking closely at their specific uses and contexts in the *Heliand*. It is quite possible that the expression *forlātan liudio drōm* did at one time carry with it the connotation that Vilmar suggests, but the use of this expression in line 577 is no more specifically Germanic than it is Christian, since it was also a part of Old Testament tradition for the dying man to call all of his family around him.

One group of expressions for dying is composed of terms related to existence itself, such as *lif* ‘life,’ *ferah* ‘life,’ *aldar* ‘age’ or ‘life,’ *dōd* ‘death,’ and *endi* ‘end’; in these expressions the terms of existence usually appear as the direct objects of certain related verbs, such as *geban* and *farlātan*. The most common term of existence in expressions of dying is *lif*, which follows the verbs *geban*, *farlōsan*, and *scēlan*. *Ferah* follows *farlātan* and *geban*, and both *lif* and *ferah* are used in
connection with the adjective los, meaning 'free of.' Lif is used in lines 740, 5691, and 5323 to refer to the death of Christ, and two of the three uses of ferah, lines 2684 and 4156, also refer to Christ. In line 5698 lif is used to describe the death of the thieves on the cross.

Butt (p. 103) cited a distinct difference in Old Norse between the meanings of lif and fjar (OS ferah); in Old Norse fjar appears to have the specific meaning 'life' only with respect to individuals, while lif implies the more abstract concept of life as a generalized state of existence. However, no such divergence of meaning between the two is apparent in Old Saxon, and the two seem completely interchangeable. As shown in lines 740 and 2684, lif is used in the Helian to refer to individuals, and does not imply the abstract concept of life. Of the three death expressions mentioned using ferah, all three references are to individuals, but still another expression of dying using ferah appears in line 5703 and the meaning of ferah in this case is given by Schott as the more abstract 'Geist' or 'Seele.'

Butt's study of Old Norse expressions of dying and killing shows that the use of lif in expressions of killing preceded the similar expression of dying. There is no way, however, to substantiate the possibility that a similar progression occurred in Old Saxon, since there is no evolving body of literature by which to check for such a development. Lif appears only three times in expressions of killing, in lines 1435, 1905, and 5437, whereas the number of expressions for dying which use lif is exactly double that; curiously enough, however, the situation is reversed when one considers ferah—it is found only three times in expressions of dying as compared to its
occurrence in at least six similar expressions of killing.

*Aldar* is the Old Saxon word for 'age' with the alternate meaning 'life,' but there are in Sehrt at least twice as many examples in which *aldar* has the latter meaning. In line 2685 where *aldar* appears in an expression of dying, it evidently has the meaning 'life,' since the phrase *is aldres at endie* is in variation with *is ferhes lōs*. *Aldar*, like *ferah* and *lif*, is commonly found in expressions of killing and in such expressions often uses the same verbs, such as *bilosien* and *benectan*. *Aldar* also appears frequently in expressions of killing with the verb *ahtean*.

Because of its meaning the word *dōð* 'death' presented numerous problems when the expressions of dying were investigated. The line for distinguishing between the act of dying and the state of death is so narrow that many borderline cases occur, such as in line 5146: *he ageban gisah / is drohtin te dōðe* 'saw his lord given up to death.' However, because the majority of expressions for dying have been verb phrases, it seems most judicious to include words such as *dōð* only when they were specifically bound with a verb either as a subject or direct object.

*Dōð* is used in line 2218 as an expression of dying referring to the death of Lazarus. Butt (p. 121) refers to this line of the *Heliand* saying that such examples where death appears as the agent are rare in Old Norse but are frequently found in West Germanic, in the *Heliand*, and in *Beowulf*. The phrase *dead fornimid* appears in *Beowulf* in lines 488, 2119, and 2236. *Dōð* is used again in the *Heliand* in line 5378 when the people are calling for the death of Christ.
Endi is the final term of existence to be used in an expression of dying. It appears three times in the Heliand, in lines 267, 2685, and 4328. The first two passages refer to Christ; line 267 is an early prediction of Christ's triumph over death and line 2685 reveals the people's desire to end Christ's life. The expression of dying in line 4328 does not use the word endi itself, but rather a derivative, the verb endion, to depict the end of the world.

Although the Heliand is a Christian work dealing with a Christian subject, there are, nevertheless, many remnants of the prior heathen beliefs evident in the language of the poem. Concerning this, Vilmar (p. 12) says: "Merkwürdiger sind die deutschen spuren des polytheismus welche in unserem gedichte angetroffen werden." This statement could apply to many facets of the Heliand discussed by Vilmar, but the reference here is specifically to the poet's use of terms of fate, such as wurd, erblibigiscanu, reganosiscanu, metodigiscanu, and wurdigiscanu, extensively in the Heliand; he continues (p. 13): "die bedeutendste personification des schicksals ist die des todes in dem feminum thiu wurd." Wurd itself, exclusive of compound forms such as wurdigiscanu or wurdigiskerti, appears in the Heliand seven times. In all seven cases wurd is used to signify the immediate or inevitable fate of death. Sehrt even lists 'Tod' as one of the meanings of wurd, although none of the other glossaries or dictionaries does so. Vilmar separates the seven uses of wurd into two groups, those that deal directly with death, and those which, although not immediately identifiable with death, do nevertheless show the prospect of a dark fate. Into the first group would belong lines 761, 2189, and 3633, which relate, respectively, the deaths of Herod, the young boy, and mankind; the second group would then be composed of lines 4581
and 4619, which prophesy the end of Judas, and lines 4778 and 5394, which predict the death of Christ.

Mittner, in his book, *Wurd. Das Sakrale in der altgermanischen Epik*, devotes several pages to the discussion of *wurd* and its synonyms in the *Heliand*, as he attempts, through a comprehensive study of the uses of the word, to arrive at the meaning and significance of fate in Germanic poetry. He says (pp. 95-96): "Das Zeugnis des *Heliands*, der trotz seines christlichen Inhalts und seiner didaktischen Tendenz soviel Altertümliches sehr treu bewahrt hat, scheint entscheidend zu sein. Die sieben Stellen, an denen der *Heliand* *wurd* erwähnt, sagen von ihr eine doppelte und doch einheitliche Tätigkeit. Die Wurd offenbart sich auf zwei Arten: 'sie nähert sich' oder 'ist nahe' und 'sie rafft hin'; 'sie nähert sich' den Todgeweihten und 'rafft sie' als Tote hin."

After noting the shades of meaning of the various uses of *wurd*, Mittner, like Vilmar, divides the seven occurrences into two groups: the "rafft hin" group which deal directly with death, lines 761, 2189, and 3633, and the "nähert sich" group, in lines 5394, 4581, 4619, and 4778. His conclusions (p. 96) concerning the "rafft hin" group in the *Heliand* are: "Dor Ausdruck 'die Wurd raffte ihn hin' is mindestens zum Teil epischen Ursprungs; häufiger erscheint nämlich der Ausdruck der Tod... wobei die Wurd möglicherweise erst später Tod und Kampf ersetzt hat. Zu beachten ist an den drei Heliandstellen 761, 2189, 3633 die Nebensatzform 'bis ihn die Wurd hinrafft'...die den Lebensabschluss betont, so dass die Wurd auch in syntaktischer Hinsicht dem Tod gleichgesetzt ist." In his discussion (p. 96) of the second group of *wurd* terms, those in lines 4778, 4581, 4619, and 5394, Mittner attempts to explain the significance of this group of expressions in respect to the general use of *wurd* in
Germanic poetry. He states (p. 96) that this group of *wurd* terms is much richer in "geheimnisvoll sakralen Gehalt und [ist]vermutlich ausschliesslich sakralen Ursprungs." Mittner (p. 96) compares the *wurd* expression in line 539*, thyu wurd nahida thuo*, to an expression from the "Hildebrandslied," *wurdt skihit* bad fate happens, and calls it the echo of an expression from the heathen era. Mittner (p. 97) further traces the development of the concept of fate in Middle High German, where a nearing fate is expressed through the word *nöt*, which he considers an epic, sacred concept of fateful force, a concept especially of tragedy in battle and death in fighting.

In Old Saxon there are several words in addition to *wurd* which mean fate. Most of them are compound words whose second element is *giscapu* 'Geschick,' as *metodogiscapu*, *reganogiscapu*, *ordlibiziscapu*, and *wurdigiscapu*. All of these words are used in expressions of dying, in lines 1331, 2190, 3347, and 3354. Of the three deaths related through these expressions, two are nullified: the small boy in line 2190 and Lazarus in lines 3347 and 3354 are both brought back to life immediately, and even the death of mankind predicted by Christ in line 1331 is accompanied by the prospect of another life. From their usages in the above mentioned expressions these terms do not depict as dark a fate as that shown by the term *wurd*. Mittner (p. 108) notes that while *wurd* is used only in expressions of death, *wurdigiscapu* appears also in reference to birth, and from such usages as this Mittner speculates that these compounds have taken on a new Christian coloration, which lightens the prospect of the fate of death. The expressions of dying cited above which use these compounds seem to support Mittner's supposition that Christianity tended to rework the concept of fate and incorporate it.
There are among the miscellaneous terms for dying a group of expressions which do not all share the same meaning or grammatical structure but are tied together by a common theme. These expressions present death as a journey or trip and show a similarity to the expressions of dying containing light and werold, many of which also present a traveling theme. The verbs used in these expressions indicate motion, such as hwerban, faran, and wendean. Hwerban appears both in the Heliand and in the Old Saxon Genesis in expressions of dying; in the Heliand it is used by Simeon in line 482 when the old man is asking God to let him die. It appears again in line 3106 in a speech by Christ to his disciples in which he promises that they will not die before they see the heavenly light. In the Genesis fragment hwerban appears in line 144 to recount the death of Enoch.

Faran is used in expressions of dying on two occasions. In line 483 it appears in variation with hwerban and the reference is to the death of Simeon. In line 1627 faran is used with the prepositional phrase an thana sið 'travel on that way.'

Wendean is the last of the motion verbs to be discussed, and its use in line 3489 is similar to the expression of dying ellicr skoc in line 2708, meaning 'turned away' or 'went elsewhere.' The verbs wendean and faran are also used in expressions of dying in conjunction with werold.

There are three expression of dying in the Heliand which contain elements of time. One of these expressions, in line 4620, specifically uses the Old Saxon word for time, tîd. This phrase, thea tîdi sind nu cinâhid appears here in variation with a wurd expression thi wurd is at handun and is used in reference to Judas. Another expression of time is cited by Vilmar (p. 14) not as an expression of dying but as related
to the concept of fate in the Heliand; this expression, orlachwila
'Schicksalsstunde' appears in line 3355 in variation with both wurde- 
giscapu and a light phrase, referring to the death of the rich man.
The third expression of dying containing a time element is 'endag Todestag'
in line 3348 in variation with reganogiscapu. Since the three expressions
of time all appear in variation with terms of fate, it is probable that
the Heliand poet felt these two groups to be related in meaning.

Line 2708, which reports the death of Herod's brother, contains
an unusual expression of dying, ellior skoc 'went elsewhere.' Skoc is
the preterite of the verb skakan, which is related to OE skaka, OB seeacan,
(NE shake) and OHG scachon, whose only extant form is untschachon.
The appearance of the phrase ellior skoc in line 2708 of the Heliand
represents the only usage of either word in Old Saxon.

Another expression of dying appears only once in the Heliand,
although its components, unlike those of the phrase ellior skoc, are
common Old Saxon words; this expression, thiu seola besunkid, appears
in line 5692, recounting the death of Christ. Although this term was
not included among the expressions of dying mentioned in any other
source, it clearly carries this meaning, since it appears in variation
in this passage with the unambiguous expression than im that lif scribi,
an expression of dying mentioned previously and cited by Vilmar and
Pachaly.

The decision of just what phrases to include among the expressions
of dying is a difficult one; some of the phrases are clear-cut and defi-
nitely mean 'to die;' others however, constitute what might be called
a borderline group, a group whose members may or may not specifically
denote dying. The following list presents some of these expressions:
Although some of the expressions on this list contain elements discussed previously as expressions of dying, these phrases were not included at that time because their exact meaning is questionable.

Two of these phrases, *ni libod* and *ni wâri dôd*, seem to indicate the state of death instead of the act of dying and they were not, for this reason, considered along with other expressions containing *lîf* and *dôh*. The inclusion of these expressions as phrases of dying can possibly be justified, however, by virtue of their context. The first expression, *ni libod* 'does not live', appears in close proximity to several other phrases of dying which speak of the death of Herod. The second phrase, *ni wâri dôd* 'would not be dead', is in variation with another expression of dying, *fan thesumu lîchte*, in lines 4033-4034. It is likely therefore that the Helland poet did intend these phrases as direct expressions of dying.

*Aslân* and *answebbian* appear in close proximity, only two lines apart. Although neither verb has the basic meaning 'to die' (*aslân* 'to sleep' and *answebbian* 'to fall asleep*), the context in which these verbs appear would seem to refute a literal translation of either word. The line separating the two terms also contains an expression of dying, the straightforward phrase *habit thit lîcht aarchan*; it is therefore probable that the Helland poet intended all three phrases as expressions...
of dying in triple variation.

Another expression of dying whose meaning could be debated is *fulliad mid iro ferahu*, appearing in line 4329, immediately following asyndetically three other expressions of dying. Because of its use here among other expressions of dying, it is probable that this phrase should be considered a valid expression of dying.

One of the most debatable expressions for dying is the simple verb *quelan*. Cognates of it are found also in the other Germanic languages, although the meanings vary in each: OHG *quelan* 'to suffer pain,' OE *kvelja* 'to torment,' and OE *cwelan* 'to die.' While Vilmar translates *quelan* as 'langsaml und schmerzlich hinsterben' (p. 20) and Behagel (p. 278) gives only the meaning 'Qual leiden,' Sehrt (p. 431) lists both meanings. *Quelan* is used only three times in the Heliand, all in a three-fitte range and each in reference to Christ. Of the three occurrences of *quelan* in Old Saxon, two appear to mean specifically 'to suffer pain,' whereas the meaning of the third usage is debatable. *Quelan* occurs in line 5567, but it cannot mean 'to die' here because it is followed approximately twenty lines later by Christ's speaking from the cross. The next use of *quelan*, in line 5630, is accompanied by a time element, implying an extended passage of time, so that its meaning here is also most likely 'to suffer pain.' The third use of *quelan* is in line 5374, as a cry by the Jews for the death of Christ. Although *quelan* could only mean 'to suffer pain' in this line, the call for the specific death of Christ a few lines later (5378) would support the interpretation of *quelan* as 'to die' in this case.

Another questionable expression of dying is found in lines 5657-5658: * hélagon ãsom lict fan thono likhamen*. Gallée (p. xxvi) considers
this a basic expression of dying. His inclusion of this line no doubt rests upon the fact that it immediately follows several other phrases of dying and is in variation with them.

The next two expressions of dying appear together in lines 5702-5703 and present the same problem as did the helagon âðom phrase, in that they seem to represent aftereffects of dying and not the actual act of dying. However, these phrases, is liði cuolodun and that ferah was af them flâske, follow after another expression of dying, is scola was gisendid an suoðan weg, so that they are most likely in variation with this expression and therefore need to be included among the expressions of dying.

While the purpose of this study has been primarily to examine the expressions of dying in the Heliand, references have been made whenever possible to similar expressions in the Genesis fragment; two expressions of dying appear, however, only in the Genesis fragment but not in the Heliand and hence have not been mentioned before. These are in lines 232-233, liggian, fêria bifallan, and lines 317-318, swultun endi sunkun. The first expression means basically 'to fall down,' to 'fall dead,' and is used in reference to the people of Sodôm. The first half of the second phrase, swultun, appears often in the Heliand, but the second part, sunkun, never appears in the Heliand with the meaning 'to die.'

There are several more phrases which express dying but which do not coincide with the other expressions in this study, either in tone or meaning. Among these are farwirkian lîber, line 3852; buggean mid ira ferhu, lines 309-310; and ferahu kônon, line 5334. Their meanings are, respectively, 'to forfeit life,' 'to pay with life,' and
'pay by life.' All of these expressions imply that death in each instance is forthcoming because of some breach of law or custom, so severe that the only payment or fine acceptable is the loss of one's life. Since such factors as laws and customs have not entered into the consideration of other expressions of dying there seemed to be a divergence of tone and intent between the majority of expressions of dying in the *Heliand* and those just mentioned here. For that reason the latter have been omitted from further consideration for the purposes of this discussion.
CHAPTER THREE

A COMPARISON OF THE LATIN TATIAN AND THE HELIAND

For over a century the relationship between the Heliand and the Latin Tatian has been recognized and substantiated by most Old Saxon scholars. It should prove instructive therefore, when undertaking a study of a group of words in the Heliand, to review the Latin Tatian to ascertain the terms used there to express this same concept. For this reason a thorough search of the Tatian was carried out, checking the corresponding passages of the two works, and the results of this comparison show a decided amount of originality on the part of the Heliand poet in the choice of expressions of dying.

Of the three uses of sterban in the Heliand, two of these have parallels in the Tatian, both being rendered by the Latin verb mori, meaning 'to die.' Dólan, which appears in the Heliand six times, is expressed in the Latin three times by forms of mori. On another occasion, corresponding to line 4899 in the Heliand, the Latin verb perire 'to perish' is used to express dying. The other two occurrences of dólan in the Heliand, lines 4328 and 4864, appear in passages introduced by the Heliand poet and are not specifically found in the Tatian. Old Saxon sweltan is expressed in the Tatian through forms of mori and perire, although six of its uses in the Heliand are not traceable to the Tatian. Likewise, no verb similar to driosan appears in the Tatian verses from which the Heliand was drawn; the parallel use of thorron and arescentibus
has been previously noted. The Latin has *arescentibus hominibus per
timorem*, as compared to the Old Saxon, *Than thorrot thiub thiud.../ folc
thurh thea forhtu.*

The expressions of dying in the *Heliand* containing *light* have
no corresponding phrases in the *Tatian* using "light," and in at least
seven cases have no direct counterparts at all. The expressions of
dying rendered by *light* in the *Heliand* appear in the Latin *Tatian* as
some form of *mori*. However, one interesting usage occurs in the *Tatian*,
corresponding to line 771 of the *Heliand*. The Latin has *defuncti sunt-
enim qui querbant animam pueri* 'dead are they who sought after the soul
of the boy'; this passage is then redirected in the *Heliand* to refer
only to *Herod*: *nu habba thit light ageben...he wolde is ahtien giu,
frecon in ferhese.* In the *Tatian* there are at least two expressions of
dying containing *mundus* 'world.' 25 This corresponding *werold* phrase
appears in *Tatian* 155.1: *ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad patrem*, and is
expressed in the *Heliand* as that he these *werold scolde...ageben*, in
line 4496.

None of the expressions of dying in the *Heliand* using terms of
society or existence is directly translated from the Latin. In the
majority of cases these expressions have no apparent parallels in the
Latin; but a few do show a similarity with *Tatian* expressions. The
phrases of society in lines 761-763 of the *Heliand* appear in an ablative
absolute construction in the *Tatian*: *defuncto autem Herode* 'since *Herod
is dead' or 'Herod being dead.' The use of *dōb* in line 2218 of the
*Heliand* is rendered in the Latin through an adjective, *et resedit qui*
crant *mortum*. The terms of fate so common in Old Saxon do not occur
in expressions of dying in the *Tatian*. In the cases where expressions
of fate are used in Old Saxon the Latin usually employs the common verb *mori*.
CHAPTER FOUR
ALLITERATION, VARIATION, AND THE EXPRESSIONS OF DYING

A. Alliteration. With regard to alliteration, the Heliand poet follows the Old English poets, so that alliteration falls chiefly on substantives, less commonly on finite verbs, and with less frequency on pronouns, conjunctions, and particles, in that descending order. Since the expressions of dying are composed chiefly of simple verbs and verb phrases with noun complements, it is probable that a compilation of the alliterations of the lines in which expressions of dying appear would reveal a high percentage of representation from these expressions. A list showing these alliterations is added to this work, Appendix B.

The expressions of dying are involved in approximately eighty-seven per cent of the alliterations of their respective lines. Of the five simple verbs meaning 'to die,' only sterban does not show substantial alliteration. In all six lines in which doian appears, the alliteration is d, and nine of the twelve occurrences of sweltan show s alliteration. The single uses of driogan and thorron both appear in the alliteration of their respective lines.

The incidence of alliteration among the expressions of dying containing nouns is even more significant than among the simple verbs. In the eleven lines in which liht is used in expressions of dying, 1 alliteration occurs nine times, and werold phrases alliterate in all eight lines in which they appear as expressions of dying in the Heliand.
In regard to the alliteration among the terms of society, the percentage is only fifty. This relatively low figure is somewhat misleading, however, since three of the phrases, gardos, gadulingo gimang, and eldeo barn, carry the alliteration of each of their lines. Drôm, on the other hand, does not alliterate on any of the three occasions when it is used in an expression of dying. The alliteration of the lines containing drôm is carried by the word directly preceding drôm, which in each case is a genitive plural noun modifying drôm.

The alliteration in lines containing terms of existence in expressions of dying is frequently dependent upon these terms. The alliterating element is ₁ for all but one of the uses of ₁ff, and ferah alliterates in each line in which it occurs as an expression of dying. Vowel alliteration, a common stylistic feature of the Heliand, is also found among the expressions of dying, as in line 2685, with the alliteration of a, aldres, and e, endi, with the e of erlo in the second half-line. Dão and endi carry the alliteration of their respective lines, and wurd alliterates in each case in which it is used as an expression of dying. Among the other miscellaneous phrases, alliteration falls upon members of those phrases in all but one of the fifteen examples.

In summation, approximately fifty percent of all lines containing expressions of dying have alliteration of finite verbs; in those lines where the expressions of dying are exclusively verbal the percentage of verbal alliteration rises to seventy-nine percent. Lehmann has stated (p. 23-24) that verbs which alliterate in the Heliand do so "because they are primary for the sense of the lines, because they are rhetorically emphasized, or stand in contrast." Such a high percentage of verb alliteration among the expressions of dying indicates, therefore,
that these expressions are emphasized and important to the sense and meaning of the passages in which they occur and subsequently significant to the overall meaning of the poem as well.

Rieger was one of the first to postulate that the basic pattern of alliteration in the *Heliand* follows the rules set down by Snorri for Old Norse verse, which state that the key alliteration of the long line is determined by the first stress of the second half-line. This theory is generally adhered to by Sievers in his *Altgermanische Metrik* and Heusler in his *Deutsche Versgeschichte, Vol. I*; Lehmann (pp. 30-31) also supports this general theory, although he states on several occasions (pp. 8, 9, and 30) that the *Heliand* poet did not stand directly in the old Germanic tradition and that his alliterative principles therefore differed considerably from those of Old Norse, Old High German, and Old English.

A check of the list of alliterations in Appendix B of this study shows that while expressions of dying alliterate in almost ninety percent of their occurrences in the *Heliand*, they appear in the third, so-called main stave of the line in only approximately forty-five percent of these. It seems unlikely, in view of the relative importance of the expressions of dying (as shown by their extensive usage, their preponderance of variation, and their independence of the *Heliand* sources), that these phrases were chosen merely to fulfill a prescribed pattern of alliteration. Pope, in *The Rhythm of Beowulf*, points out the now generally accepted theory that, concerning metrical patterns, "the syllables taking primary accent are determined by the logic of the phrase or sentence" and that "this testimony of grammar and logic is reinforced by the alliteration which always introduces syllables which
the choice of alliterative elements is based upon the grammar and logic of the sentence and not upon preconceived metrical rules for related languages.

In order to test the applicability of Rieger's theory of alliteration in regard to the expressions of dying as opposed to Pope's more modern principles, I have reexamined the alliterations of those lines of the *Heliand* containing expressions of dying. The percentage of main thoughts, i.e., the basic sense and idea of the line, is about equally divided between the first and second half-lines, about forty-two to fifty-eight percent, respectively. Simple verbs of dying appear as the main thought of the sentence more frequently in the first half-line than do the metaphorical phrases, in a ratio of eight to three. When the main thought occurs in the second half-line, the metaphorical expressions of dying are used more frequently, in a ratio of ten to five. Passages with variations containing expressions of dying showed, in the majority of cases, the main concept introduced in the second half-line, with the variation form appearing in the succeeding first half-line. The relatively few varying forms appearing in the second half-line usually represented the third member of a three or four-fold variation.

These findings show that the pattern of alliteration in the lines containing expressions of dying in the *Heliand* is more often set by the third, main stave of the line (fifty-eight percent of the time), but the number of cases in which the alliteration seems dependent upon the first half line is almost as great.

**B. Variation.** Variation is one of the most typical stylistic features of Stabroim or alliterative poetry. Colliander (p. 3) calls
this device "Parallelismus" and defines it as "die Wiederholung oder Variation eines Satzteiles durch Synonyma." Although variation can be cited as a phenomenon of other languages it is especially prevalent in Germanic literature. Its widespread use in Germanic verse may be in part explained by its close relationship with alliteration: in order to complete the alliteration of a line the poet could resort to the use of one or more varying expressions. However, the use of variation is not seen only as a means to fulfill alliteration. According to Heinzel, who was one of the first to investigate the use of variation in Germanic poetry, the purpose of the variation is to impress upon the hearer the importance of the varying concept; Pachaly says (p. 3):

"Der Zweck der Variation ist nicht einen bekannten Begriff zurückzurufen, sondern ihn greifbar vor die Seele des Hörers zu stellen. Seine Variationen [die des epischen Dichters] sind schmückender, erklärender, oder steigender Art."

Although Pachaly's list of variations of the concept 'to die' is rather extensive, it does not contain all of the expressions discussed in this paper; hence I have compiled a more complete list, and it is added in Appendix G. The numerical subdivisions of this list are as follows:

- single expressions of dying, 32
- one expression of dying plus one variation, 19
- one expression of dying plus two variations, 8
- one expression of dying plus three variations, 2

These figures show that approximately forty-eight percent of the actual occurrences of expressions of dying appear in variation. Pachaly notes that most variations consist of two members, one concept and one variation, and this is substantiated in the expressions of dying, where sixty percent of the variations have only two members. However, the percentage of variations with three or more members,
thirty-four, is rather large. Those variations having four members are unusual in the Heliand, but there are two among the expressions of dying. Of the one in lines 577-578, Pachaly says (p. 20): "Eine solche Häufung von Variationen gehört zu den grössten Seltenheiten."

The interpretation of the statistics showing the number and extent of each expression of dying in variation is difficult. There are some cases when alliteration could have played an important part in the poet's choice of a varying phrase, such as in lines 471, 1628, 2148, or 3105. But there are still other lines where alliteration is definitely not a factor in the choice of variations. In these cases Heinzel's explanation appears preferable, that the expression is supposed to impress upon the hearer the importance of the concept. This would seem true in a line such as 4155 in which the concept of Christ's dying would be emphasized by the poet.

Paetzel's conclusion (p. 206) concerning the frequency of variation supports the view of Heinzel: "Mit wenigen Ausnahmen gehören also die mehrgliedrigen varierten Begriffe dem für das betreffende Gedicht wesentlichsten Vorstellungsinhalte an, und die Zahl dieser Var. gibt für die grössere oder geringere Bedeutung des Begriffes einen ziemlich sicheren Massstab ab." Paetzel's statement is substantiated by Pachaly's lists of variations, which show the important concepts of the Heliand as accounting for the majority of variations. The large body of variations for the concept 'to die' indicates therefore that the Heliand poet placed a considerable amount of importance on this concept and expressed the importance of it by means of the extended use of variations of the expressions of dying.
Expressions of dying in the Heliand fall chiefly into two groups, the simple verbs and the metaphorical phrases. The five simple verbs of dying account for approximately one third to one half of all usages of expressions of dying, although over forty different modes of expressing this concept can be found in the Heliand. The simple verbs are used by the Heliand poet primarily in direct speech and do not figure greatly in the variation patterns of the poem. Judging from this frequent use in direct speech and lack of use in narrative passages, I feel that the simple verbs used by the poet are more indicative of the actual speech of the Saxons and that the more intricate metaphorical expressions form part of a basically literary vocabulary utilized by the poet.

The metaphorical expression of dying used most extensively in the Heliand is a verb phrase containing the noun liht. In these cases liht foregoes its basic meaning of 'light' in favor of a more general meaning 'world.' Another common expression of dying in Old Saxon is a verb phrase containing the noun werold 'world.' There are numerous examples of similar phrases of dying using werold cognates in other languages. Vilmar cites this usage as a part of Germanic tradition, a holdover from the heathen age, but parallel expressions also occur in Latin Christian literature.

There is a small group of metaphorical phrases of dying that
express death in terms of society. These expressions are few in number and show a propensity toward variation among themselves. Because of this concentration of the terms of society to a few instances, I have concluded that these expressions are not common terms of dying in Old Saxon but are used chiefly in narrative passages to emphasize the human, mortal aspect of death.

Terms of existence frequently appear in expressions of dying in the Heliand and in other languages. These phrases also are common in expressions of killing. Because they are used throughout the Heliand, they must have formed a vital part of the vocabulary of the Heliand poet.

Phrases making use of the heathen concept of fate form another significant body of expressions of dying. The basic word for 'fate' in Old Saxon, wurd, figures prominently among the phrases of dying. The compound words meaning 'fate,' such as metodiscapu are used less frequently and seem to have taken on a lighter, Christian meaning by the time the Heliand was written.

In addition to providing a thorough examination of the expressions of dying in the foregoing study, I have attempted a further analysis of these expressions by comparing and contrasting them to parallel passages in the Latin Tatian, considered to be the source of the Heliand. My research in this area has shown that of the more than seventy individual usages of expressions of dying in the Heliand only five are direct translations from the Latin, and, in addition, it is apparent that the Heliand poet adds or expands more than twice the material he rephrases from the Tatian. In conclusion, I feel that while the Heliand poet is obviously indebted to the Latin Tatian for much of his basic source
material, the originality of the *Heliand* poet is quite marked in the expressions of dying and testifies to his extensive creative ability. The literary worth of a document such as the *Heliand* becomes particularly apparent when it is compared to the Old High German *Tatian*; a slavish translation of the Latin, showing no poetic skill and often forsaking the sense and form of its native language in order to remain true to its Latin model.

In order to further illuminate the expressions of dying I have conducted brief studies on the relationship between these expressions and the alliteration and variation of the poem. In regard to alliteration, these studies show that expressions of dying figure prominently in the alliteration of their respective lines. Over seventy-five percent of the simple verbs expressing dying appear in alliteration and more than eighty-eight percent of the metaphorical expressions alliterate. While the high percentage of metaphorical expression in alliteration is fairly predictable since those expressions almost always contain nouns, the large percentage of verbs in alliteration is significant and serves to point out the emphasis and importance placed on them by the *Heliand* poet.

My examination of the variation among expressions of dying in the *Heliand* shows that approximately one half of these expressions are used in variation, many of them in several-membered variations. Since many of the expressions of dying are found in direct speech where variation is seldom used, the percentage of variation among the remaining phrases of dying is considerably higher than fifty percent. In addition, the synonyms of *sterben* are the third most varied verb concept in the *Heliand*. These findings indicate that the poet considered the concept of dying important in his work.
The expressions of dying in the Heliand give a unique insight into the poem and its creator. The prose preface to the Heliand indicates that Louis the Pious commissioned a poet to write the Scriptures in the Saxon language. The purpose was basically to produce a missionary work, and the poet was faced with the task of couching his new and somewhat foreign message in terms his audience would understand. The result of his efforts is clearly shown through his choice of expressions of dying. He creates a widely varied group of expressions, part heathen and part Christian, which explain the Christian concept of death in a manner that the heathen Saxons can accept. The proper synthesis of heathen and Christian elements sought by the poet is achieved in the blending of these two cultures through the expressions of dying. These expressions are at the very heart of the meaning of the Heliand and are, therefore, important not only in their own right, but as a key for a broader understanding of the poem.
APPENDIX A

EXPRESSIONS OF DYING IN CONTEXT

Line 267
Neo endi ni kumid,
His end will never come,

Lines 469-473
Im habda giwisid, waldandes craft
langa hwila, that he ni mōsta ēr thit lioht ageban,
wendean af thesero weroldi, ēr than im the willeo gistōdi,
that he selban Krist gisehan mōsti,
hēlagna hebancuning.

The power of the Ruler had shown him
for a long time, that he would not give up this light,
turn away from this world, before the will (of God) should arise,
that he might see Christ himself,
the holy king of heaven.

Lines 481-484
nu ic sus gigamalod bium,
that thu thinan holdan scalc nu hinan hwerban lātas,
an thīna friōwāra faran, that ēr mīna forōrun dedun,
weros fon thesero weroldi,

now I am grown so old,
that you now let your devoted servant turn from here,
go to your refuge of peace, where my ancestors did (go),
men from this world.

Lines 576-579
Thō he thanan scolda,
afgeben gardos, gadulingo gimang,
forlāten liudio drōm, sōkien lioht ôčar,
thō he im is iungron hēt gangan nāhor,

When he should thence

give up dwelling places, the crowd of relatives,
leave the tumult of men, seek the other light,
then he called his heirs to himself, to come nearer.
Lines 733-734
Tho scolda thar so manag kindisc man
sweltan sundiono lōs.

Then should there so many a young man
die sinless.

Lines 740-741
thoh scolda it simbla that lif geban
the magu for theru mōdar.

but it always had to give its life
the son before the mother.

Lines 749-751
gisāhun iro barn biforan
kindiunge man, qualmu sweltan
blōdag an iro barmun.

saw their children before them
the young men, die by murder
bloody in their laps.

Lines 760-763
Thar that friūbarn godes
wonoda an willeon; antthat wurd fornam
Erodes thana cuning, that he forlēt eldeo barn
mōdag manno drōm.

There the peace child of God
dwelled in pleasure until fate took
Herod the king, so that he left the children of men
the arrogant one (left) the tumult of men.

Lines 771-775
nu habad thit līght afgeben, quā he
Erodes the cuning; he welde is āhtien giu,
frēson is ferahas, Nu maht thu an friū lādiēn
that kind undar ēwa cunni, nu the cuning ni libod,
erl obarmōdig.

Now has given up this light, said he,
Herod the king; he once wanted to waylay him,
to deprive him of life. Now you may bring in peace
the child among your people now that he does not live,
the arrogant man.
when he this world gives up
the fate of life on earth, and seeks the other light,
either pleasant or unpleasant,

before you travel on that way
men from this world,

before he should give up this light,
turn from this world.

until fate took him from her
well-known fate.

they saw him to have his life
to see the light of day, he whom death had just taken,
who died of sickness.

or we shall here in agony
die upon this sea.

for they saw him to have his life
to see the light of day, he whom death had just taken,
who died of sickness.
After that shall each of all people take care before he gives up this light,

_lines 2682-2685_
  anttat sibe te thuru stedi quamun
  thar sie ine fan themu walle niðer werpen hugdun
  fellien te foldu, that he wurði is ferhes lös,
  is aldres at endie.

  until they came to the place,
  where they intended to throw him down from the cliff,
  to make him fall to the earth, so that he would become free of his life, at an end of his life.

_lines 2706-2708_
  buðe imu be thuru brúði, thiu er sines bróðer was,
  idis an ðhti, anttat he ellior skóð,
  werold weslode.

dwelled with his bride, who had been his brother's, woman in possession, until he went elsewhere, exchanged the world.

_lines 3105-3107_
  thea ni mótun swelten ër,
  hwerben an hinenfard ër sie himiles lioht,
  godes ríki sehát.

  who may not die
  turn on departure before they see the light of heaven,
  the kingdom of God.

_lines 3347-3350_
  Thô gifra�n ik that ina is reganogiscapu,
  thene árman man is èndago
  gimanoda mahtiun suðð, that he manno dróm
  ageben scolde.

  Then I have learned that his fate
  had warned the poor man very strongly of his final day, that he should give up the tumult of men,

_lines 3354-3356_
  Thô quamun ëk wurdegiscapu,
  themu ðådagan man orlaghwaile
  that he thit lioht farlèt:

  Then came also fate
  to the rich man, the hour of destiny,
  that he left this light:
Lines 3487-3489

wirōit im mildera hugi,
thurugengit im mid guodu endi geld nimit
hôn himilrīki, than hie hinan wendit,

more pleasant thoughts will come to him
he will go to his end with blessing, and he will
receive a reward,
the high kingdom of heaven, when he turns from here,

Lines 3629-3634

So dōd an thearo weroldi hēr,
an thesaru middilgard menniscono barn:
farad endi folgod, frōde stertan
werōad oft iunga aftar kumane,
weros awahsane, unttat sie oft wurō farnimīd.

So do in this world here,
on this earth, the children of men:
they go and follow, and the old die,
the young come again later
grown men, until fate again takes them,

Lines 3851-3854

that allaro wībo gehwilic
an farlegarnessī lībes farwarhtī
endi that sie than awurpin wēros mid handun,
starkun stēnūn:

that each of all women
guilty of adultery would forfeit her life,
and that men should then throw against her
with their hands, large stones:

Lines 3996-3998

that ist thegnīes cust,
that hie mid is frāhon samad fasto gistantē,
dōie mid im thar an duōme.

that is the choice of a thane,
that he should together with his lord stand fast,
and die with him there in the judgement.

Lines 3999-4001

ni lātan ūse ferō wīō thiū
wihtes wirōg, neba wi an them werode mid im,
dōian mid ūson drohtīne.

not let our lives
be worth anything against his, unless we among the
people with him, die with our lord.
Lines 4004-4007
Thuo sagda hêlag Crist
selbo is gisîon that aslåpan was
Lazarus fan them legare, habit thit liocht ageban,
answerbit is an selmon.

Then said the holy Christ himself to his followers that Lazarus had fallen asleep from the sickness, he has given up this light, has gone to sleep in his bed.

Lines 4033-4034
than ni wari nu min brōder dôô
Lazarus fan thesumu lichte,

then my brother would not be dead,
Lazarus from this light.

Lines 4055-4056
nio the sterben ni seal,
lîf farliosen, the hêr gilobid te mi:

he shall never die,
lose his life, who believes here in me:

Lines 4110-4113
Tho sie ina fan themu grabe sâhun
siôn gesunden, thone the êr suht farnam
endi sie budulbun diapo undar erôu
lîbes lôsen.

then they saw him from the grave
go healthy, whom before death had taken
and whom they had buried deep under the earth,
free of life.

Lines 4153-4157
that hêr is betêra rad barno gehwilicumu
that man hêr ënne man aldru bilôsie
endi that he thurh iwa dâdi drôreg sterbe,
than al thit liudwerod farloren werēe.

that here is better advice for each of the children,
that one should loose one man of his life
and that he through your deed should die bloodily,
than that all the people should be lost.

Lines 4177-4318
Than thorrot thiu thîcid thurh that gethuwing mikil,
folc thurh thea forhta:
Then the people will dry up from the great distress, people from their fears:

**Lines 4327-4329**
liggiad seoka man,
driosat endi dōiat endi iro dag endiad,
fulliad mid iro ferahu;

men lie sick, they fall and die, and they end their days, they finish with their lives.

**Lines 4494-4497**
Than wisse that friūbarn godes,
wâr waldand Krist, that he these werold sceolde
ageben these gardos endi sôkien imu godes riki,
gifaren is faderoðil.

Then the peace child of God knew, the true ruling Christ, that he should leave this world, give up these dwelling places and seek god's kingdom, collect his father's inheritance.

**Lines 4581-4582**
be that he thea wurði farsihit
endi he thes arbedies endi scawot,

by that he will see the fates and he will look upon the end of his toil.

**Lines 4619-4620**
Thiu wurð is at handun,
thea tidi sind nu ginâhid.

Your fate is at hand, the times are now nearing.

**Lines 4685-4686**
ìk gibu min ferah furi thik
an wâpno spil.

I shall give my life for you in the wielding of weapons.

**Lines 4696-4700**
ef it gio an weroldi quathie giwerðan muosti,
that ik samad midi thi sweitan muosti
dōian diurífto thann ne wurði gio thie dag cuman,
that ik thin farlǫgndi, liebo drohtin,
gorno for theson ludeon,
if it ever in this world, said he, should happen that I together with you should die, die gloriously, then never will the day come, that I should deny you, beloved lord, of my own free will, before these Jews.

Lines 4756-4757
ni welde thiht licht ageben
ac drôtde for themu dôce,

did not want to give up this light, but shrank back before death.

Lines 4778-4780
Thiu wurd is at handun,
that it sô gigangen scal, sô it god fader
gimarcode mahtig,

the fate is at hand, that it shall thus come about, so God the father has determined it, the mighty one.

Lines 4864-4865
sô that wi hér for úsusmu drohtine dôan môstin
beniôun blêka

than that we here for our lord might die pale in our death wounds

Lines 4896-4899
huand sô hre sô wámpno niô,
grimman gôrheti wili gerno frummen,
he swill:it im eft swerdes eggiun,
dôit im bidrôregan,

because whoever would willingly use the hatred of weapon, the grim spear hate, he will die from it, by the edges of a sword, he will die bloodily.

Lines 5320-5324
Erodes mohta, thie liwan êo bican,
imaro liudo landreht, hie ne mahta is libes gifrêson,
that hie hir thrurh êniga sundia te dage sweltan scoldi,
lif farlâtan,

Herod might, who has long known your law, the laws of your people, he might not risk his life, that he here should die today for any sin of his, should leave life.
That he shall pay for his evil speech, for it is written in our laws that one pays for such blasphemous speech with his life.

The Jews demanded that they see the holy child hang, suffer on the cross.

He shall suffer death, punishment and torture.

Fate neared then, the glorious power of God, and in the middle of the day, that they should carry out the life torments.

for that he received punishment, reward in this light and long after, later suffering, after he gave up this world.

they ordered our lord to carry it to where he should die bloodily, free of sin.
saw the best of all men
suffer on the cross.

as long as ruling Christ
suffered on the cross, the greatest of kings,
until the ninth hour of the day.

the lord of men
bowed then his head, the holy breath(spirit)
he let from his body

that there on the gallows died,
the best of children.

until life should glide away from him
and the soul should pass away;

they were still alive then,
until the hateful people of the Jews
broke their legs, so that they both together
left life, sought the other light.
They did not need to force the lord Christ to his death further with any misdeeds: they found him already traveled there: his soul was sent on the true way, on the long lasting light, his body had cooled, the life was gone from his flesh.
APPENDIX B

ALLITERATION IN THE EXPRESSIONS OF DYING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Lines</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>sterben</td>
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drôm (cont.)

lîf

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<td>5698</td>
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ferah

| 2684 | fellien foldu : ferhes |
| 4156 | for folkscepî : ferah |
| 4685 | frô : ferah |
| 2685 | aldres endie : erlo |
| 2218 | dages : dôô |
| 5378 | farduan dâdion : dôô |
| 267  | êgan eldiun : endi |
| 2685 | aldres endie : erlo |
| 4328 | X |

wurd

| 761  | wonoda willeon : wurd |
| 2189 | wunnea willean : wurd |
| 3633 | weros awahsane : wurô |
| 4581 | werôn witie : wûri |
| 4619 | willeon : wurô |
| 4778 | wacon : wurd |
| 5394 | witan warahtun : wurd |
| 1331 | erôlibigiscapû : ôôar |
| 2190 | mârî metodogescapû : megin |
| 3347 | rîkeon : reganogiscapû |
wurdigiscapu 3354 wesan wunniun : wurdeiscapu
ellior skôc 2708 idis êhti : ellior
seola besunkid 5692 seola besunkid : sliömuoda
hwerban 482 holdan : hinan hwerban
3106 hwerban hinenfard : himiles
faran 1627 x
483 friwuâra faran : forôrun
wendean 3489 x
tid 4620 tîdi : treulogo
êndago 3348 armon : êndago
orlagh'wile 3355 ôdogon : orlagh'wile
ni libod 774 x
aslapan 4005 selbo gisidon : aslåpan
answebbian 4007 answebit selmon : sîö
ni wary dôn 4033 x
fulliad...ferhu 4329 fulliad ferahu : ferid
quelan 5374 quelan crûcie : cuning
5567 quelan crûcie : cuning
5630 qual crûcie : cuningo
hâlogen âdôm 5657 gihnâgida hôbid : hâlogen
5658 liet likhamen : landes
liôi cuolodun 5702 langsam licht : liôi
seola gisendid 5701 seola gisendid : suoån
ferah af flêskë 5703 fora flêskë : fiondo
farwirkian libes 3852 firinquidi : ferahu
buggoan mid ferhu 309 bedskepi : buggoan
310 frî ferhu : fêmea
APPENDIX C

VARIATION AND THE EXPRESSIONS OF DYING

Expressions of dying with no variation

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<th>Expression 2</th>
<th>Expression 3</th>
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<tr>
<td>267</td>
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<td>3633 wurd</td>
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<td>3998 doian</td>
<td>5374 quelan</td>
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Expressions of dying with one variation

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<td>licht-werold</td>
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<td>wurdo-metodogiscapu</td>
<td>4619-4120 wurdo-tidi</td>
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<td>doan-sweltan</td>
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<td>ferah-aldar</td>
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<td>ellior skoc-wehslon</td>
<td>5322-5323 sweltan-lif</td>
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<td>3105-3106</td>
<td>sweltan-hworban</td>
<td>5691-5692 lif-seola</td>
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One variation (cont.)

5698 lif-licht  Gen. 232-233 liggian-fegia biwallan
Gen. 318 sweltan-sinkan

Expressions of dying with two or more variations

482-484 hwerban-faran-werold
577-578 gardos-gadulingo gimang-drôm-licht
761-763 wurd-eldoo barn-drôm
1330-1331 werold-erëfbigiscapu-licht
3347-3350 reganogiscapu-ëndago-drôm
3354-3356 wurdegiscapu-orlaghwile-licht
4005-4007 aslâpan-licht-answebbian
4327-4328 driosan-dôian-endi(endiad)-fulliad
4495-4497 werold-gardos-sòkien
5701-5703 seola-lidi cuolodun-fera was af them flâske
The chief works on variation are Selma Colliander, Der Parallelismus im Heliand (Lund, 1912); Walter Paetzol, Die Variationen in der Altsächsischen Alliterationspoesie, Palaestra 48 (Berlin, 1913); Herbert Müller, Die Variationen in der altsächsischen, alt- und mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung, (Würzburg, 1939), and the next-cited work by Pachaly.

Paul Pachaly, Die Variation im Heliand und in der altsächsischen Genesis, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, ed. M. Roediger, IX (Berlin, 1899).

Andreas Schmeller, ed. Heliand Poema Saxonicum (Munich, 1830), Glossarium, p. 158.


A. F. G. Vilmar, Deutsche Altertümer als Kleidung der evangelischen Gedichte (Marburg, 1852), p. 20.

Pachaly, p. 20. The various lists of expressions of dying, especially Pachaly's, were constructive initial sources for the study of these expressions, but it became evident that none of the lists nor any combination of them contains all of the expression of dying in the Heliand. Therefore, in order to insure as complete an investigation as possible, I conducted a line by line examination of the Heliand in search of these expressions. The edition used was Otto Behagel, Heliand und Genesis, 8th ed., (revised by Walter Hitzka), (Tübingen, 1965).

Butt, p. 9.

When I first became interested in the expressions of dying in the Heliand, I was drawn toward the expressions of being born because of this phrase, cuman an thit lioht. However, after further investigation I found that this was the only metaphorical phrase used for being born. In all other cases the poet simply used the passive voice of the verbs giberan and fodian, meaning 'to bear.'
The editions are Behagel for the Heliand and Sievers for the Tatian. To ascertain the proper parallel passages, I relied upon the Tatian line references given by Behagel in his edition of the Heliand and also consulted the line by line survey of the Heliand sources recorded by Windisch in his study, *Der Heliand und seine Quellen* (Leipzig, 1865).

The world phrase in the Tatian line 175.6 occurs in a passage not incorporated from the Tatian by the Heliand poet.

The form *erant* must be a typographical error because that form would be plural, while the adjective which is supposed to agree with *erant* is singular, as are the surrounding verbs.


M. Rieger, "Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie VII (1876), pp. 1-64. Rieger attributed any deviations from this pattern to textual corruptions or degradation of taste, "geunkene Kunstwerk."


Pachaly, p. 3.


According to Pachaly (p. 103), Christ and God, the two most important concepts of the Heliand, vary 230 and 88 times, respectively. Of all verbs in the Heliand, 'to die' is the third most varied and 'to kill,' the involuntary act of dying, is fifth, making these among the most important concepts in the poem.

These passages are taken from Behagel, and the corresponding translation into English are my own.

The alliterations given are grouped according to the order in which they were discussed in the paper. An X indicates that the expression of dying was not included in the alliteration of the line specified. All alliterations given here have been checked with the list provided by Lehmann in his previously mentioned article.
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