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The Semantic Field of ANGER in Old English

mgr

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Abstract

This thesis examines representations of ANGER in Old English by analysing occurrences of eight word families (*YRRE*, *GRAM*, *BELGAN*, *WRĀP*, *HĀTHEORT*, *TORN*, *WĒAMŌD* and *WŌD*) in prose and poetry. Through inspection of 1800 tokens across *c.* 400 texts, it determines the understanding of how ANGER vocabulary operates in the Old English lexicon and within the broader socio-cultural context of the period. It also helps refine the interpretations of wide-ranging issues such as authorial preference, translation practices, genre, and interpretation of literary texts. The thesis contributes to diachronic lexical semantics and the history of emotions by developing a replicable methodology that triangulates data from different sources.

Chapter 1 introduces the field of study and shows the approaches to emotions as either universal or culturally-determined. It discusses previous analyses of ANGER in Old English and proposes a cross-linguistic, semasiological approach, which minimises ethnocentric bias. Categorisations and conceptualisations are not identical between languages, and Old English divides the emotional spectrum differently from Present-Day English. Chapter 2 presents the methodology, which draws on approaches from historical semantics and corpus linguistics, integrating methods from cognitive linguistics, anthropology and textual studies. Chapters 3 to 10 investigate each of the eight word families, analysing all occurrences in relation to grammatical category, collocations, range of meanings, and referents. Cognates in Germanic and other Indo-European languages, and Middle English and Early Modern English reflexes are examined to trace diachronic development. The thesis determines recurrent patterns of usage, distribution between text types, and socio-cultural significance. Specific passages from Old English from a range of genres are analysed and discussed. Each family is found to have a distinct profile of usage and distribution. Chapter 11 examines ANGER in the Old English translation of Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*. This text exhibits usage not found in later prose or in poetry. The *Cura pastoralis* also presents a different framework for understanding and conceptualising ANGER to the one found in Latin. Finally, Chapter 12 synthesises my findings and considers them comparatively. These word families differ in usage, conceptual links, referents, and even authorial preferences. Most common portrayals of ANGER in Old English involve one of the three themes: ANGER AS VICE, WRATH OF GOD and ANGER AS HOSTILITY.

The thesis demonstrates that a detailed analysis of lexical usage is essential for understanding larger conceptual structures within a language, and that this in turn aids the analysis of literary texts and understanding of Anglo-Saxon psychologies.

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List of Abbreviations

adj.	– adjective	OFris.	– Old Frisian
adv.	– adverb	OHG	– Old High German
Arm.	– Armenian	OIr.	– Old Irish
Av.	– Avestan	OLF	– Old Low Franconian
EDu	– Early Dutch	ON	– Old Norse
Elfd.	– Elfdalian	OPrus.	– Old Prussian
EWS	– Early West-Saxon	OS	– Old Saxon
Far.	– Faroese	OSl.	– Old (Church) Slavonic
Gaul.	– Gaulish	OSw.	– Old Swedish
Gr.	– Greek	past part.	– past participle
Gmc	– Germanic	pres. part.	– present participle
Goth.	– Gothic	PDE	– Present-Day English
Icel.	– Icelandic	PIE	– Proto-Indo-European
Hitt.	– Hittite	Pol.	– Polish
Lat.	– Latin	PP	– prepositional phrase
Latv.	– Latvian	Skt.	– Sanskrit
Lith.	– Lithuanian	Slav	– Slavic
LWS	– Late West-Saxon	subst. adj.	– substantive adjective
MDu.	– Middle Dutch	ToA	– Tocharian A
ME	– Middle English	ToAB	– Tocharian A and B
MHG	– Middle High German	ToB	– Tocharian B
MLG	– Middle Low German	W	– Welsh
n.	– noun	WGmc	– Western Germanic
NHG	– New High German	VP	– verbal phrase
NP	– nominal phrase	v.	– verb
OE	– Old English		

Typographic Conventions

<i>WORD FAMILY</i> , e.g. <i>GRAM</i> , <i>YRRE</i>	- capitals and italics
<i>lexeme</i> , e.g. <i>gram</i> , <i>yrre</i>	- italics
LEXEMES in headings and tables	- capitals
PDE translation, e.g. ‘anger’, ‘angry’	- single quotation marks
COGNITIVE CONCEPT, e.g. ANGER	- small caps
conceptualisation, e.g. anger as heat	- small caps
<i>*reconstructed form</i> , e.g. <i>*g^hrem</i>	- italics with asterisk

The above follows the most commonly occurring typographic conventions in the literature. However, in the case of representing lexemes, two conflicting conventions can be found in scholarship. In etymological and lexicographic discussions, lexemes are represented with italics, whilst in semantic analyses capitals are used. The purpose of the semantic distinction is to separate the abstract lexeme (e.g. RUN) from words which are instances of this lexeme, such as *ran*, *running*, *runs*. Lexicography and etymology deal with lexemes by design and does not need to maintain this distinction to the same extent (though the clear distinction between lexeme and word is not always maintained in the literature, and scholars use ‘word’ when they mean ‘lexeme’).

To avoid confusion, I have decided to follow the etymological-lexicographic convention throughout the thesis, except for headings and tables in the sections on lexicographic data.

In discussion, length marks are added when lexemes are discussed on their own. When quoting phrases or words in the form in which they are found in Old English texts, no length marks have been inserted.

In quotations from Old English ANGER-words have been emboldened, and their PDE equivalent in the translation has been underlined. Occasionally, other relevant words, which are related conceptually, are marked in bold.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The thesis aims to answer the following research questions: what did the lexical-semantic field of ANGER look like in Old English and how did it reflect conceptual structures? On basis of the surviving lexical evidence, what were the perceptions and understanding of ANGER in the Anglo-Saxon period?

1.1 Understanding Emotions

A wide range of disciplines are concerned with the study of emotions. All these disciplines employ methodologies and work under biases and limitations peculiar to them. One of the greatest limitations to understanding Anglo-Saxon emotions is that we can only access information about them through a body of fragmentary textual evidence. Often, however, the fact that this is essentially a *cross-linguistic* investigation is not brought to the fore. On the level of language and discourse, Present-Day English lexis is used to discuss Old English emotions. On a conceptual level, the study of emotions in Old English is potentially directed by implicit and often subconscious understanding of what an emotion is and how it is conceptualised and expressed in our own cultures and languages. On the one hand, there is a need to approach any study of emotions in a multidisciplinary fashion, as other disciplines bring valuable insights into understanding primary processes guiding the experience and display of emotions. On the other hand, research into historical emotions cannot be divorced from a careful analysis of the emotional lexicon, and how it represents the underlying conceptual structures specific to that language. Because our material is textual, issues such as genre or convention will also have a large role to play. Rather than attempting to impose modern categorisation on the available data, there is need to develop a methodology that will be sensitive to lexical and semantic nuances.

Despite decades of research, there is still no firm consensus on how to define emotions. Emotions involve both the activation of higher brain functions and the activation of the autonomous nervous system: internal experiences, external interactions, and the cognitive or conceptual construction of emotions. Emotions are also “inherently social in nature” (Manstead 2012: 177) resulting from our interactions with others and regulating society.

The biological nature of emotions in terms of physiology and neurology is indisputable. In the *universalist* perspective, emotions are understood as “biologically

determined processes, depending on innately set brain devices, laid down by a long evolutionary history” (Damasio 2000: 51). Such research concentrates on the universality of facial expressions (e.g. Darwin 1872; Ekman 1993) and the existence of *basic emotions* (e.g. Ekman 1999), which usually comprise anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness and surprise (Matsumoto 2010: 126). In this view, the human experience of emotions is shared across our species.

Cultural and linguistic anthropology proposes an opposite view: relativist or social constructionist; an apt summary of the two sides is provided by Pavlenko (2005), though she adds the ‘nativist’ approach to the mix as well. Emotions are viewed as unique, socio-culturally constructed phenomena, and the emotion concepts are distinct and untranslatable. Whilst some psychologists would posit the existence of a universal emotion of ‘anger’, cultural anthropologists stress that Ifaluk *song* (Lutz 1988), Ilongot *liget* (Rosaldo 1980), or Malay *marah* (Goddard 1996) are all different from one another and from English *anger*, and that the rules regarding their display are not identical. In recent years, the two opposing polar views have begun to reconcile. As Matsumoto suggests, whilst the framework of basic emotions is supported by research, “cultures endorse the modification of universal angry expressions” (2010: 125), and both the universal and the culture-specific aspects need to be taken into consideration in any study of emotions.

1.2 ANGER - Linguistic Methodologies

Any study into emotions can be classified as relativist or universalist, and on the surface both approaches can employ the same tools for analysis, but with a completely different focus. Cognitive linguistics provides several such tools to analyse emotions, primarily metaphor theory and prototype theory.

Metaphor theory has traditionally pointed to the universality of emotion metaphors, which are stable and predictable, both cross-culturally and cross-linguistically (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Distant cultures arrive at similar conceptualisations, whether metaphoric or metonymical, for example ANGER IS HEAT, or the MIND IS A CONTAINER. This approach has yielded studies into language and literature that help uncover conceptualisations often going beyond the word-level (e.g. Harbus 2012). Some of these metaphors can be explained by the *embodiment* theory, where experiences of the body direct the conceptualisation of an emotion. For instance, anger is accompanied by such physiological reactions as elevated heart-rate, elevated temperature, and a feeling of

pressure in the head. This is why the conceptualisation ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (as in ‘You make my blood boil’) is found among so many unrelated cultures (Kövecses 2010). However, this approach can also yield examples of conceptualisations and metaphorical expressions that are unique to a given culture. Additionally, whilst cognitive approaches to emotions utilising metaphor theory in a diachronic perspective have been fruitful in recent years, an investigation of historical emotions should not overlook the lexical–semantic features of words and rely simply on lexicographic definitions; such definitions are often insufficient for fine-detailed work, particularly when for a large portion of that lexicon the *Toronto Dictionary of Old English* still possesses no entries.

Prototypicality or prototype theory is yet another crucial set of concepts with several applications. The general understanding is that ‘linguistic categories may be fuzzy at the edges but clear in the centre’ (Geeraerts 2010: 183), which means that words belonging to the same category can be more representative of that category (core) or less representative (periphery), and in fact belong to some other categories as well. For instance, in Present-Day English, we may think of *anger* as the prototypical representative of the category, whereas *aggravated* might be more peripheral. On the level of the word, it also suggests that a word will have more prototypical usage and meaning, but will also have some unique or unexpected applications. Geeraerts’s (2007) introduction of this approach to historical semantics initiated many investigations in a similar vein. Diller (2009) warns, however, of relying on historic dictionaries for cognitive semantic categorisations, and urges scholars to employ corpus-linguistic methods.

Pavlenko (2009) comments specifically on cross-linguistic studies, but her assessment is equally valid for diachronic and historical semantics:

[cross-linguistic studies] show that speakers of different languages rely on categories that may differ in structure, boundaries or prototypicality of certain category members (e.g. Levinson, 2003; Lucy, 1992a, 1992b; Malt et al., 1999, 2003). This in turn means that translation equivalents are not always conceptual equivalents (d. Panayiotou, 2006): some words may be in a relationship of partial (non)equivalence, and there are also words that have no conceptual equivalents in the other language. (133)

The concepts of prototypical scenario or cognitive script are based on the assumption that the human brain is highly capable of forming generalised, abstracted frames of events. A cognitive script can be defined as “a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation” (Shank and Abelson 1977: 210), and this definition can

apply to a prototypical scenario as well. These scripts are abstractions and generalisations of common situations that provide a rough framework of ‘how things should generally happen’. Emotions, as internal states and social interactions, follow a scenario that regulates the rules of their expression. The universalist position would suggest that there is one universal prototypical scenario for an emotion. Kövecses (1986) proposes such a prototypical scenario for ANGER. This Cognitive Model of Anger assumes a five-stage process: (1) offending event, (2) anger, (3) attempt at control, (4) loss of control, (5) act of retribution.

On the other hand, we can assume that scenarios found for emotions in different cultures will not be the same. Some scholars go further, combining this understanding with a lexical approach, which is based on the underlying assumption that separate terms suggest separate concepts. Thus, if we can distinguish lexically between certain emotions, the scenarios attached to them will also be different. These scenarios are often delineated with the use of the conceptual framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), which was developed by Wierzbicka (e.g. 1992, 1994), and Goddard (1996, 2008), but has been applied in semantic analyses of emotions (e.g. Durst 2001). NSM aspires to be a culture-free meta-tool that eliminates ethnocentric bias by using semantic primes or universals found in any language. It means that, whilst there is a generic similarity between such terms as Ifaluk *song* and English *anger*, they will differ in one or two, often crucial, elements of the scenario. Wierzbicka proposes the following NSM explications for Ifaluk *song* and English *anger*:

song

X thinks something like this
 this person (Y) did something bad
 people should not do things like this
 this person should know this
 because of this, X feels something bad
 because of this, X wants to do something (Wierzbicka 1992: 147)

anger

X thinks something like this
 this person (Y) did something bad
 I don't want this
 I would want to do something bad to this person
 because of this, X feels something bad toward Y
 because of this, X wants to do something (Wierzbicka 1992: 569)

The two emotions are different in that, prototypically, the assessment of the action causing the emotion is different. *Song* is glossed as ‘justified anger’ and prototypically experienced when “‘people should not do things like this’”. *Song* “is considered ‘good’; ... this ‘goodness’ is of a higher, moral level” (Lutz 1982: 117). NSM can capture these differences in an objective fashion, since these explications can be translated into any language whilst retaining their meaning with the use of semantic universals.

In Present-Day English, ANGER refers to the entire semantic field, i.e. a group of ANGER-related words, such as *anger*, *fury*, *rage*, *wrath*, *indignation*, and it may therefore be treated as a hyperonym. However, the superordinate category ANGER is not equivalent to the usage and range of the English word *anger*. The word has been chosen as representative of the semantic field, because it is the most prototypical of the set, but Wierzbicka argues that, whenever there is a separate term, there *are* different emotions, both within and across languages. It matters in Present-Day English whether we use a phrase *He was angry* or *He was enraged*. The difference is not only in the scale of the emotion (*rage* being of a greater intensity than *anger*), but also in the prototypical scenario, evaluation and consequences (*rage* is more unrestrained and potentially more destructive¹ than *anger*).

The differences between words within one language are already quite significant. It is no wonder that the differences between words from different languages would be even more pronounced. Translation studies and cross-linguistic research show that languages model reality in a different fashion. This is equally true for words having material objects as referents and for words denoting abstract concepts.² The vocabulary of a culture reflects its main preoccupations and interests, and the organisation of vocabulary into categories reflects the conceptual structures this culture imposes upon the world. Unfortunately, a common problem for researchers is “to engage in terminological ethnocentrism... to impose culturally alien categories as an interpretive grid on other linguistic and conceptual systems... Terminological ethnocentrism necessarily introduces distortion and inaccuracy because it imposes the perspective of a cultural and linguistic outsider” (Goddard 2003: 2). Whilst broad correspondences exist between languages, they are hardly ever one-to-one.

¹ *Rage* is defined by the OED as ‘violent anger, fury, usually manifested in looks, words or action’, so in some ways it is an excessive or intensified version of *anger*.

² An early observation of this was made by Sapir and Whorf (e.g. in Sapir 1949). Whilst the Sapir–Whorf theory is obsolete, it has nonetheless drawn the needed attention to the differences between languages in defining human experience.

For instance, both Mikołajczuk and Wierzbicka have to resort to several English equivalents when glossing Polish ANGER-words: *złość* ‘anger’/‘exasperation’ (Mikołajczuk 1998), *Jestem wściekła* ‘I am displeased/angry/furious’ and *Jestem zła* ‘I am displeased/angry/furious.’ (Wierzbicka 1994). Similarly, Durst stresses that “there is no German word that perfectly matches the English word *anger*, and none of the German words ... has a clear counterpart in English” (2001: 118).

Whilst NSM’s theoretical base is sound, there are difficulties in applying it to historical semantics. As Biggam (2012) points out, the data of a historical semanticist are “non-representative of the former spoken language” and there are no “native speakers with whom to conduct a substitutability test” (98), one of the major criteria for verifying an NSM explication. Another drawback of NSM is that, whilst useful for uncovering prototypical scenarios, it often does not take into consideration literary convention and textual issues.

In historical studies these are of primary concern, since our data are textual, governed by genre and style. Diller points out the need to reconstruct context for our data, and he divides them into *microcontext*, the immediate syntactic environment and behaviour of a lexeme, *mesocontext*, the episodic or situational context and *macrocontext*, the socio-historical context. Whilst *microcontext* is most relevant to corpus linguistics and semantics, a historical semanticist cannot operate without at least a working knowledge of the remaining two (Diller 2012b). Thus, the textual criterion can be more important than the temporal criterion, as a given text type will utilise certain vocabulary with more stability due to literary convention, as is the case with poetic vocabulary in Old English.

Another distinction that is useful for understanding semantic and lexical studies into emotions is that between onomasiological and semasiological approaches. Geeraerts explains the difference between them:

Given that a lexical item couples a word form with a semantic content, the distinction between an onomasiological and a semasiological approach is based on the choice of either of the poles in this correlation as the starting-point of the investigation. Thus, the onomasiological approach starts from the content side, typically asking the question ‘Given concept *x*, what lexical items can it be expressed with?’ Conversely, the semasiological approach starts from the formal side, typically asking the question ‘Given lexical item *y*, what meaning does it express?’ In other words, the typical subject of semasiology is polysemy and the multiple applicability of a lexical item, whereas onomasiology is concerned with synonymy and near-synonymy, name-giving, and the selection of an expression from among a number of alternative possibilities (Geeraerts 1997: 16).

Most studies on metaphoric expression and conceptualisations, as well as lexical field research, are onomasiological, because their focus is extended to various means of expressing the same concept. The studies utilising NSM can be termed semasiological, as they focus on isolated words. However, the semasiological approach is also concerned with polysemy and vagueness and how the same word can function differently in a different context. In a diachronic perspective, onomasiology looks at how innovations change the “lexical inventory of the language” whilst semasiology is more interested in “changes of denotational, referential meaning and changes of connotational meaning (specifically, of emotive meaning or *Gefühlswert*)” of a given lexical item (Geeraerts 2010: 26). However, both approaches should be complementary. A broad analysis of conceptualisations that begins with abstract emotional macrocategories (such as ANGER or SADNESS) and already pre-existing types of metaphors but fails to analyse the specific lexical items runs a higher risk of ethnocentric bias. There is a likelihood for non-prototypical examples (from a Present-Day English perspective) to fall outside the bracket of research or be placed in a different category. On the other hand, lexical studies of isolated words do not show us how those words fit within their own semantic and lexical fields and how they link with other broader concepts in the lexicon.

There is an obvious tension in various approaches between what is universal and what is culture-specific, between words as they are used in language and the concepts and cognitions behind them. The methodologies developed are often geared towards showing one or the other in greater relief. The universality of emotional experience resulting from a shared biology is pitted against the complexities of social norms regulating emotional expression and complicated further by cognitive maps and linguistic categorisations. In the case of historical semantics, textual concerns need to be accounted for as well.

1.3 ANGER in Old English

There is an ever-growing body of research into emotions and mind in general (Godden 1985, Soon 1988, Harbus 2002, Lockett 2011, Mackenzie 2014), and ANGER in particular in Anglo-Saxon studies. There have been several semantic studies of ANGER in Old English, focusing on conceptual metaphors and metonymies, and providing only partially overlapping conceptualisations, which are analysed either on a phrasal level or on a lexical level. Romano traces in Old English the same six metaphorical systems identified by Johnson and Kövecses in American English (1999). Fabiszak (1999, 2002) proposes

metaphors similar to Romano's, such as ANGER IS FIRE/HEAT, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, ANGER IS A WILD ANIMAL, but they are not identical. These studies analyse phrases into which ANGER-words enter, for instance "ANGER IS A LIQUID, which one can *ageōtan* 'pour', 'shed on somebody'" (Romano 1999:50). Conversely, Gevaert's studies (2002, 2007) are limited to words denoting ANGER and the conceptualisations she assigns to them are based almost entirely on etymology. She traces the changes in the conceptual and lexical fields, whilst calling for an approach that combines "historical, cognitive and prototype semantics ... based on quantitative corpus analysis" (Gevaert 2002: 294).³ A similar approach is also proposed in this chapter, but from a different perspective. Both Romano's and Fabiszak's studies work on a limited set of data, but Gevaert's are more extensive, covering the entire *Toronto Corpus of Old English*, and tracing changes in conceptualisations in Middle and Early Modern English.

One other concern with such studies is that, in order to designate a given conceptualisation as ANGER IS X, first we must define our source domain X with a Present-Day English word carrying its own cultural valence. Whilst this does not pose problems with simpler concepts (i.e. FIRE or HEAT), it becomes an issue when more abstract concepts are the source domain – there are *two* heuristic crutches in the same conceptualisation, which increases the potential for ethnocentric bias twofold.

ANGER is often portrayed as insanity throughout European history (Durst 2001), and Gevaert (2002: 286) identifies the conceptualisation of ANGER IS INSANITY in a single occurrence of *ellenwōd* in *Juliana*. However, using the shorthand INSANITY may obscure semantic and contextual ranges of *wōd*. DOE defines *ellenwōd* as both a 'strong negative emotion' and a 'strong positive emotion', meaning 'furious' and 'zealous'.⁴ OE *wōd* 'mad, raging', *wōda* 'a madman, an insane person, one possessed', *wōda* 'epilepticus, demoniacus', *wōden-dream* 'madness, fury, *furor animi*' are all related to insanity, but not in its modern understanding. Etymologically and conceptually they are linked with the name of Woden, associated with poetic or battle fury. Pokorny gives the definition of the PIE root **uāt* as 'geistig angeregt sein'⁵ and provides cognates: Latin *vates* 'prophets' or Proto-Celtic **wātus* 'mantic poetry' (IEW). Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, chapter 26, relates: "Alter Wodan, id est furor, bella gerit, hominique

³ Gevaert has been strongly criticised by Lockett (2011: 115-17) on account of "serious methodological flaws" in her work. Lockett clarifies some of the more serious errors Gevaert makes.

⁴ Gevaert uses ANGER AS A STRONG EMOTION for some of her conceptualisations, but does not attribute it to *ellenwōd*.

⁵ '[being] intellectually [or mentally] animated'.

ministrat virtutem contra inimicos” (Lappenberg 1876: 174-5).⁶ In the case of the Old English word, that inspiration of warriors with courage is echoed in the second part of the compound, as *ellen* means ‘courage, strength’.⁷ Madness was also explained as demonic possession (*wōda* glosses *demoniaticus*). Consequently, treating *ellenwōd* as an example of the conceptualisation of ANGER IS INSANITY does not provide this fine-grained view. In fact, the conceptualisation could better be rendered with ANGER IS INSPIRATION BY SUPERNATURAL FORCES or ANGER IS POSSESSION.

Adopting a more semasiological, lexical–semantic approach allows us to first understand the words in their own right, with all the nuances of application and usage, and only then look at links in the entire semantic field and between various word families. If we want to study the semantic field of ANGER, our approach is initially onomasiological, and we need to select ANGER-words in Old English with the help of *Thesaurus of Old English* or the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (looking at the section on ‘anger, wrath, fury, rage’). But once the choice of material has been made, a semasiological study should analyse the entire range of meaning for a given word family. This bottom-up approach, which allows categorisations to emerge from the material, minimises the dangers of ‘an outsider’s perspective’. It means that examples which do not fit the presupposed ANGER-scenario are not disregarded, and it leaves room to deal with ambiguity, context and genre, as well as cultural richness. It is not enough to acknowledge cultural differences; the methodology needs to be aimed at minimising the ethnocentric bias, and there is a need to supplement the cognitive and conceptual studies with a careful lexical–semantic analysis of the key terms.

⁶ ‘The other is Wodan, that is fury, he wages war and gives man courage against enemies.’

⁷ DOE, s.v. *ellen* 1.

Chapter 2 Methodology

2.1 Data

2.1.1 Selection of Lexical Material

The first step in establishing the lexical field for ANGER in Old English was to consult both the *Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE) and the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED). The initial selection singled out words found in the EMOTIONS section, under category ANGER (TOE 08.01.03.05.02).⁸ In brief, when the words were cross-referenced with their dictionary definitions, it was found that for some lexical items ANGER was clearly a primary meaning (e.g. *yrre* ‘anger’), whilst for others, ANGER was secondary or even incidental, and often motivated metaphorically or metonymically (e.g. *gesweorcan*, literally ‘to darken’, but used of various emotions such as grief or anger). For some words, it was difficult to establish whether the meaning was primary or secondary, or whether ANGER coexisted with other meanings by virtue of polysemy or other mechanisms. It was also doubtful whether such a distinction was applicable at all in some cases. Additionally, the material comprised different grammatical categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

The notion of a word family was implemented to group the lexemes together based on their common root. A word family comprises all the words that have been formed from the same root, whether by derivation, compounding, or other word-formation processes, unless a compound itself becomes the derivational base for a different group of lexemes (as is the case with both *HĀTHEORT* and *WĒAMŌD*). A word family would therefore encompass all the grammatical categories and all the compounds. One lexeme form was chosen as representing a given word family. For instance, *yrre* – the simplex noun and adjective form – stands for the entire word family *YRRE*, including all its member lexemes, such as the adjective *yrre*, the noun *yrre* and the verb *ysian*, but also the compound adjective *yrremōd*. The typographic convention of using italicised capitals for a word family follows Diller’s usage (2012a: 109–24).

From that initial selection of vocabulary for ANGER, eight word families were chosen for subsequent analysis, comprising a total of 100 lexemes (evidenced in prose and

⁸ For instance: *yrre*, *weamod*, *þweorh*, *hatheort*, *wilm*, *hygewealm*, *onælan*, *onbærnan*, *ontendan*, *hathige*, *acoligan*, *gealh*, *wod*, *belgan*, *þindan*, *þrutian*, *gram*, *wrað*, *rede*, *grim*, *anda*, *astyrian*, *drefan*, *upahafen*, *seoþan*, etc.

poetry, for the breakdown of numbers see Table 2.1). These were, in a descending order of the number of lexemes: *WŌD*, *GRAM*, *TORN*, *BELGAN*, *YRRE*, *WRĀP*, *HĀTHEORT*, and *WĒAMŌD*.

Word family	Lexemes	No. of lexemes (types)	No. of occ. (tokens)
<i>WŌD</i>	<i>āwēdan</i> , <i>ellenwōd</i> (n. and adj.), <i>ellenwōdnes</i> , <i>gewēd</i> , <i>wēdan</i> , <i>wēde</i> , <i>wēdehund</i> , <i>wēdenhēort</i> (n. and adj.), <i>wēdenhēortnes</i> , <i>wēdensēoc</i> , <i>wōd</i> , <i>wōda</i> , <i>wōdfrec</i> , <i>wōdhēortnes</i> , <i>wōdlīc</i> , <i>wōdlīce</i> , <i>wōdnes</i> , <i>wōdsēoc</i> , <i>wōdþrag</i>	21	265
<i>GRAM</i>	<i>æfengram</i> , <i>gram</i> , <i>grama</i> , <i>grame</i> , <i>grambære</i> , <i>grambærnes</i> , <i>gramheort</i> , <i>gramheorte</i> , <i>gramhydig</i> , <i>gramhydige</i> , <i>grammōd</i> , <i>gramlīc</i> , <i>gramlīce</i> , <i>gramword</i> , <i>(ge)gremman</i> , <i>(ge)gremian</i> , <i>nīþgrama</i>	17	374
<i>TORN</i>	<i>gārtorn</i> , <i>lygetorn</i> , <i>torn</i> (n. and adj.), <i>torncwide</i> , <i>torne</i> , <i>torngemōt</i> , <i>torngeniþla</i> , <i>tornlīc</i> , <i>tornmōd</i> , <i>tornsorh</i> , <i>tornword</i> , <i>tornwracu</i> , <i>tornwyrðan</i>	14	47
<i>BELGAN</i>	<i>(ge)ābylgan</i> , <i>(ge)ābelgan</i> , <i>ābylgnes</i> , <i>æbylg</i> , <i>æbylgþ</i> , <i>(ge)belgan</i> , <i>bolgenmōd</i> , <i>(ge)bylgan</i> , <i>ēapbylge</i> , <i>ēapbylg</i> , <i>ēapbylgnes</i> , <i>forbelgan</i> , <i>gebelg</i> , <i>onbelgan</i>	14	200
<i>YRRE</i>	<i>yrlic</i> , <i>yrlice</i> , <i>yrness</i> , <i>yrre</i> (n. and adj.), <i>yrremōd</i> , <i>yrreþweorh</i> , <i>yrreweorc</i> , <i>yrninga</i> , <i>(ge)yrsian</i> , <i>yrsigendlic</i> , <i>yrsung</i>	12	624
<i>WRĀP</i>	<i>andwrāp</i> , <i>wrāp</i> (n. and adj.), <i>wrāþe</i> , <i>wrāþian</i> , <i>wrāþlic</i> , <i>wrāþlice</i> , <i>wrāþmōd</i> , <i>wrāþscraef</i> , <i>wrāþu</i> , <i>wrāþan</i>	11	154
<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	<i>hātheort</i> (n. and adj.), <i>hātheorte</i> , <i>hātheortlic</i> , <i>hātheortlice</i> , <i>hātheortnes</i> , <i>(ge)hāthirtan</i> , <i>(+hāthige)</i>	8	104
<i>WĒAMŌD</i>	<i>wēamōd</i> , <i>wēamet(tu)</i> , <i>wēamōdnes</i>	3	31
		100	1799

Table 2.1 – Member lexemes of ANGER word families

These eight word families were chosen for a variety of complementary reasons. First of all, the analysis needed to restrict its material in terms of quantity so that it would be manageable within the timeframe of doctoral research. However, the data needed to provide a good representation of the entire lexical and semantic field. Therefore, the analysis focused on a combination of the most frequent (e.g. *YRRE*), least frequent (e.g. *WĒAMŌD*), and medium frequency words (e.g. *BELGAN*) found either in prose or in poetry or in both types of texts. The analysis also aimed to concentrate primarily on those word families which appear to be more prototypical or central in expressing ANGER (e.g. *YRRE* or *GRAM*), but also those that are more peripheral (*TORN* and *WRĀP*).

However, several word families were omitted from this analysis, with different reasons for exclusions. When ANGER as a meaning was rare, either as a singular occurrence attested or when just one lexeme of the entire family denoted ANGER (for instance, in the case of such words as *mihtmōd*), the word family was not analysed. When the word family seemed to denote a broader (or superordinate) category of strong feelings, with ANGER being only one possible meaning, the family was again not taken into account (for instance, *ANDA*). Excluded were also those families where the primary meaning was literal and/or referred to observable physical phenomena, and the usage with the meaning ‘anger’ served as a figurative or metaphorical extension (such as *wylm* ‘surge’, *hāt* ‘hot’, *sēoþan* ‘seethe’, *biter* ‘bitter’ or *gesweorcan* ‘darken’). This decision was made because in such an extensive corpus study as this, it would be difficult to sift out all the literal applications of these words and expressions.

The main exception here was the *WŌD* word family, whose primary meaning is MADNESS (whether understood as mental illness or possession by the devil or both). It was deemed important for the understanding of the cultural and theological dimensions of ANGER. On the surface, the *WRĀP* word family could also have been omitted as its dictionary definitions concentrate on the meanings of fierceness or cruelty, rather than anger. However, as this word family produced the Present-Day English *wrath*, it seemed necessary to include it in the analysis in order to understand the process of semantic change that led to this development.

Table 2.2 details some of the more prominent word families, which appear in both thesauri under ANGER, but were eventually left out and provides reasons for their exclusion.

ANDA	a superordinate category denoting various types of strong emotions, both positive (such as <i>ZEAL</i>) and negative (a. ‘envy, spite, malice’, b. ‘anger, hostility, indignation’, c. ‘fear, terror, alarm’). According to DOE, the two senses a and b are often not distinguishable. <i>ANGER</i> is one of the many possible subordinate meanings.
GEALG	appears in TOE, but is given as ‘sad, gloomy, fierce, stern’ in DOE without ‘angry’. <i>ANGER</i> is likely incidental.
RĒPE	defined as ‘fierce, cruel, savage’ (B-T), without ‘anger’. Seems to overlap to an extent with <i>WRĀP</i> , but ‘anger’ is not included in the list of senses. Occasionally, <i>ANGER</i> is probably found for this family, but out of the two <i>WRĀP</i> was deemed more relevant.
TIRGAN	appears in TOE, but is given as ‘vex, provoke, oppress, exasperate’ in B-T. Belongs to a larger group of word families in the semantic field of provoking/vexing. <i>GRAM</i> partially shares this meaning.
WIELM	primary sense of ‘surge’ of water, fire, flood, flames, heat, etc. Transferred sense to emotions, such as fervour, ardour, rage, passion (B-T). <i>ANGER</i> incidental.

Table 2.2 – Some other word families denoting ANGER

2.1.2 Selection of Texts

Following the Cameron number designation for the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, texts from which the analysed occurrences have been taken start with either A (poetry), B (prose) or E (runic inscriptions). The texts whose designation starts with C (Interlinear glosses), D (glossaries) or F (inscriptions in the Latin Alphabet) do not form a part of the material for this study.

Whilst ideally, a thorough semantic analysis of *ANGER* vocabulary in Old English should encompass the entire available corpus, glosses were omitted from the analysed material. The main reason why glosses were not included was that the methodology required for the analysis of the glossatory material would have to be quite different from the one proposed below for poetry and prose. The syntactic and phraseological behaviour of words forms a considerable part of the analysis of the word families and glosses do not provide this kind of material. Additionally, a proper analysis of the glosses would require a thorough investigation of Latin *ANGER*-related vocabulary and a mapping of Latin and Old English words and concepts. Whilst a lot of the Old English material comprises translations of Latin original texts, the texts included in the prose and poetry parts of the corpus can be read as discrete. For prose and poetry the knowledge of Latin originals would certainly add to the understanding of *ANGER* as portrayed in Old English. It would also answer questions as to the non-vernacular influence on the language. But the knowledge of Latin is not essential for reading and understanding the language of the

translation. In the case of glosses, the analysis would not be possible without engaging with the Latin text.

2.2 Challenges

2.2.1 Approach

One of the main challenges was to select an appropriate approach from a variety of approaches available in the study of emotions, which often appeared contradictory. As has been mentioned before, there are areas of considerable debate in the study of emotions and in the history of emotions. The aim of this investigation was not to contribute to the debate on basic and complex emotions, nor to support one or the other position in the clash between biological determinism and cultural relativism.

This study is underpinned by an acute awareness that terminological ethnocentrism can bias one's own perceptions of the material under study. Such ethnocentrism cannot be avoided entirely, unless drastic measures are taken (i.e. NSM). These were not deemed appropriate for this investigation as one of the aims was to analyse the literary representations of ANGER in Old English literature, for which such tools as NSM are inadequate. However, steps still need to be taken to minimise the ethnocentric bias. Whilst the initial selection of data may seem motivated by a predetermined categorisation of meaning (and is onomasiological in nature), the main thrust of the analysis thereafter is semasiological and lexical-semantic. The words are understood in their own right, with all the nuances of application and variety of usage, and only then links in the entire semantic field and between various word families are considered. This bottom-up approach, which allows categorisations to emerge from the material, minimises the dangers of 'an outsider's perspective'. It means that examples of usage for a given word family which do not fit the presupposed ANGER-scenario are not disregarded. It also leaves room for dealing with ambiguity, context, and genre, as well as cultural richness.

It is not enough to acknowledge cultural differences; the methodology needs to be aimed at minimising the ethnocentric bias, and there is a need to supplement the cognitive and conceptual studies with a careful lexical-semantic analysis of the key terms.

2.2.1 Word Definitions

Unfortunately, abandoning the simplicity and precision of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage means that Present-Day English is the only language in which the analysis, discussion and conclusion can be conducted. Cross-linguistic differences suggest that if this study was written in a different language (German or Polish, for instance), the results might have been somewhat different. Using any modern language introduces limitations on the information that can be conveyed. English words that are used as definitions or equivalents for Old English words are never going to represent a one-to-one correspondence, and have to be treated as approximations.

On top of the difficulties involved with the language of the study, there is also the problem of the language under study. Polysemy is very difficult to ascertain without native speakers to perform a substitutability test and meanings do not have clear boundaries. This is why prototype theory has been one of the main tenets and tools in dealing with the material. The understanding that linguistic categories are usually clear at the centre and fuzzy at the edges means that ambiguity in meaning can be taken under consideration and discussed without the need to impose strict categorisations on the material.

2.2.2 Dating, Diachronic Change and Borrowings in Old English

Recorded Old English spans around four centuries and cannot be considered static. There are dialectal variations as well as diachronic change evidenced throughout its history. This causes a measure of difficulty for analysing an entire lexical field, as the word families may not be entirely co-existent in time or may be subject to changes of meaning throughout the Old English period. The fact that most Old English texts cannot be dated with any degree of precision complicates matters further.

It was decided that creating artificial temporal divisions of the period with precise dates given for each sub-period (as Gevaert does), would not benefit this study. Instead, whenever a rough date of composition could be determined for the less controversial works or authors, its relevance to the development and change of a word family's usage was considered. Some assumptions have also been made about vernacular and Latin-influenced poetry and earlier or later prose, but they are all mentioned within the discussion.

Occasionally, Old English vocabulary may be affected by borrowings from other languages (for instance Old High German). This is one of the reasons why etymological investigation and comparison of cognates in other Germanic languages is proposed, as it will allow for such borrowings to be found out more easily.

One major source of potential borrowings is Latin. Its influence on Old English vocabulary has not been investigated in this study, as it would require a different methodology. However, the varied degrees of bilingualism of some learned Old English writers must have had an influence on the language of emotions, particularly in prose. More research is needed in this area, as Latin influence could potentially be discovered in both the lexical-semantic sphere (e.g. the potential influence of Latin *ira* on the predominance of the unrelated OE *irre/yrre* due to visual similarities) and in the conceptual sphere (e.g. predominance of ANGER IS HEAT metaphor).

Mental lexicons of bi- and multi-lingual speakers differ from those of monolinguals (Pavlenko 2005; Jarvis 2009), and “cross-linguistic influence... sometimes affects several dimensions [of word knowledge] at the same time” (Jarvis 2009: 100).⁹ This could have serious ramifications for Old English vocabulary. Whilst lexical transfers would probably be less evident in poetry, particularly vernacular, they will be more observable in prose works (especially those that have Latin as their source text, whether as inspiration or in direct translations). Conceptual and lexical transfers (both negative and positive) could be examined by determining the stability and consistency of correspondence between Old English words and their Latin equivalents, as well as changes in usage of Old English words between poetry and prose.

2.2.3 Stylistic Concerns

In historical studies stylistics and pragmatics are of primary concern, since our surviving data is purely textual, and governed by discourse, style, genre and poetic or prosaic tradition. In fact, in a diachronic analysis, it is the textual criterion that can often be more significant than the temporal criterion, as a given text type will utilise certain vocabulary with more stability over time due to literary convention (as is the case with poetic vocabulary in Old English).

⁹ A knowledge of a word consists of: (1) how the word is spelled and pronounced, (2) the word's meanings (3) grammatical class and syntactic constraints, (4) collocations and syntagmatic associations (words it tends to co-occur with), (5) lexical and conceptual associations (words and meanings it associates with outside of 'collocation and denotation'), (6) how frequently the word occurs in the language, how formal it is, and in which registers of the language it can be used appropriately and conventionally.

Therefore, the analysis has to be sensitive to the questions of authorial intentions, intended audience, the purpose of the text and its situation within the broader literary traditions of the period.

2.2.4 Incomplete and Selective Data Set

Naturally, one of the greatest challenges in any corpus analysis of Old English vocabulary is the incompleteness of the data. Surviving evidence is fragmentary and not necessarily representative of the language as it was used. The sizes of the samples for the word families are different and this makes the results of analysis not directly comparable. Whilst a high number of occurrences for a word family may well reflect its common usage and popularity, it may also be attributed to the greater chances of survival for particular types of texts, which might have favoured a certain usage. Likewise, due to the different sizes of the poetic and prosaic corpuses the results of analysis for either text type are often not directly comparable either.

Whilst statistical analysis has been used to provide a general overview of the families, the data produced is not meant to represent the established usage for these word families in spoken or everyday communication. As such, several artefacts are introduced by a purely computational approach that need to be offset by a more sensitive analysis of the material, and a look at both the macro and the micro scale.

For this reason, even if a given finding was not statistically significant, or there were only singular or rare occurrences of certain phenomena, they were still treated as relevant to this analysis.

2.3 How the Data was Approached

The main goal of this study was to integrate different approaches in an interdisciplinary fashion that would take into account different types of data – lexicographic, etymological, semantic, syntactic and conceptual – and bring them together to create a multidimensional picture of the surviving lexical-semantic evidence for ANGER vocabulary in Old English and its relevance to the perceptions and understanding of this emotion in the Anglo-Saxon period.

2.3.1 Corpus-driven Data-Mining and Family Overview

The lexical material analysed comes in its entirety from the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, and the same system of designations is used for texts (that is the DOE Short Title and the Cameron number). The corpus is searched for all the variant spellings of a given lexeme accounting for both dialectal variation and scribal preference, and all the occurrences from prose, poetry and runic inscriptions are included.

Each attestation is put as an entry in the database and analysed for the following:

- passage designation (which consists of the first letter(s) of the word family, prose/poetry marker if applicable, and the number assigned to the passage, e.g. Ypr12: the twelfth passage analysed for the *YRRE* word family in prose)
- Cameron number (as in DOE)
- short title (as in DOE)
- text type (p – prose, v – verse and r – runic)
- lexeme
- word category (noun, adjective, adverb, verb, but also substantive adjective, past participle and present participle)
- form in which the word appears in the text
- meanings / potential Present-Day English equivalents
- collocation / sentence environment (the phrase or sentence in which the word appears)
- relevant OE words (co-occurrences, near-synonyms, antonyms)
- actor/referent (if present)
- receiver (if present)
- general comments on the situational context and usage

This data serve as the starting point for the remainder of the analysis. Initially, an overview is given of the distribution of the occurrences in prose and poetry. This is followed by a detailed break-down of the distribution of different grammatical categories across prose, poetry and the total number for the entire word family (without details on specific lexemes). Such an approach aims to show any differences between poetic and prose usages of various parts of speech for a given word family. For that reason, substantive adjectives are treated together with nouns, since they perform a nominal function in a sentence. Past participles are counted together with adjectives, because they perform an adjectival function. Finally, present participles, even though not common, are usually used adjectivally as well, so they have been treated together with the adjectives. Even though technically past and present participles belong to the verb conjugation and substantive adjectives are still adjectives, it was a functional approach that was taken here and the word's function in the sentence was deemed more relevant.

The lexemes of a given family are then quantified. The total number of occurrences and how they contribute to the overall number of occurrences of a word family are provided to establish the most and least frequently occurring lexemes.

A point of note, however, is that using the DOE designation for texts has caused ‘double occurrences’ to emerge, which means that the results of statistical analysis sometimes need to be examined more closely. This seems to have happened for two reasons: either a given passage appears in two different texts in much the same form (most often it is a translation of a scriptural quotation) or there are variant manuscripts of the same text available (as the DOE includes some manuscript versions of the text separately). Often the corresponding texts are more or less identical, and the differences are mostly in spelling or grammatical endings. To avoid unnecessary confusion and the need to decide on a case-by-case basis, all occurrences are treated as separate when they appear as separate in the DOE corpus, with the reservation that some of those occurrences can be virtually identical.

Another problem with using the DOE corpus text division is the inconsistency with which the label ‘text’ is applied. In some cases, the corpus breaks down certain texts which could be treated as a whole into chapters treated as separate ‘texts’ (as is the case with, e.g. the Old English *Orosius*, which is divided into chapters and marked as: Or 1, Or 2, Or3, etc.). On the other hand, though each of the Riddles is treated as a separate text, all the psalms of the *Paris Psalter* are treated together as one text. Again, to avoid the unnecessary confusion, DOE text division has been followed, even if it might alter total numbers in the analysis. In certain cases, particularly in the final stages of the analysis, the texts have been grouped together thematically or generically, if there was a good reason to do so.

2.3.2 Lexicographic Data

The lexicographic data serves as a starting point for an in-depth analysis of meaning of the word family. Its main sources for Old English are the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), Bosworth and Toller’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (with *Supplement* and *Addenda*) (B-T) and Hall’s *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Hall). Whilst most advanced and representing the most recent understanding of Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, DOE currently stops at letter G (with some data from letter H available in a draft form). This means that for four word families out of eight analysed, only B-T and Hall can be consulted.

Additional care needs to be taken in case of these word families as some of the lexicographic findings can be outdated.

What is more, the lexicographic material can often be misleading as it provides a selection of Modern English words in the definitions which impose the terminological ethnocentrism (see above 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). These definitions provide a range of Present-Day English equivalents, sometimes suggesting separate meanings for a lexeme where Old English might have treated it as a single meaning. The definitions are often arranged into either separate headwords or separate senses, and the meanings are grouped according to editorial practices of a given dictionary, which may not always clearly represent the category boundaries found in Old English.

In the analysis of each word family the definitions found in all the available dictionaries are summarised for all lexemes found in prose and poetry. Occasionally, the lexemes have been grouped together, for instance in the case of poetic compounds with only one occurrence each. Then, the most prominent meanings for the word family as a whole are established, as well as differences for various lexemes.

2.3.3 Diachronic Development

The diachronic development of meanings in a given word family is analysed by consulting the Middle English Dictionary (MED) and Oxford English Dictionary (OED) for reflexes in Middle English, and, if applicable, in Early Modern English and Present-Day English. This gives further clues to semantic development and change, and the word family's survival or disappearance.

2.3.4 Etymological Data

The etymological data is gathered in two discrete stages. The first stage analyses the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European roots and their proposed meanings. Cognates from other Indo-European languages are compared and contrasted to look for common meanings, departures and innovations. This process allows to determine the meaning of the root of a word family at the earlier stages of language development and its later developments, as well as the direct and indirect etymology of the Old English lexemes. The main source is Pokorny's seminal work *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*

(IEW), supplemented by more recent works on Proto-Indo-European, as well as the etymological dictionaries of Germanic languages used in the second stage of analysis (see below).

During the second stage cognates in Germanic languages broadly contemporaneous with Old English (Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Old Norse, Gothic) are considered. This helps establish meaning developments at the Proto-Germanic and West-Germanic stages of language development and compare cognates across the families, looking for possible influences. Works such as Springer, Lloyd and Luhr's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen* (1988–present), Orel's *Handbook of Germanic Etymology* (2003), Kroonen's *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic* (2013), and others are consulted.

Both these stages are aimed at delineating the semantic development of the root to help determine whether the conceptualisations evident in the etymology of the given words are transparent in Old English and, if so, to what extent. Additionally, it provides information on alternative lines of semantic development within the same language family, which hints at possible differences in conceptualising emotional states in contemporaneous Germanic languages.

2.3.5 Prose and Poetry – Distribution

For most families poetry and prose are treated separately, unless the family is predominantly or exclusively poetic or prosaic, or unless the family is small in terms of the number of occurrences.

The analysis first deals with the total numbers of occurrences for each text type, and then proceeds to present how the occurrences are distributed with regard to specific texts or groups of texts. For poetic works each poem is taken separately (as designated by the DOE corpus), but for the prose occasionally the texts are grouped further, by either bringing together chapters of the same text (*Orosius* covers Or 1, Or 2, Or 3, etc.) or similar text types (e.g. laws) under one heading.

2.3.6 Referents

This study also aims to identify the most common referents for ANGER-words, that is those who experience the state or emotion identified by the word from a given word family. In some cases no referent or actor can be identified, as sometimes the word in question does not refer to an ‘experiencer’ of emotion at all.

The referents are grouped into superordinate categories to establish patterns of usage and determine whether ANGER (as expressed by a given word family) can be attributed to a certain group of people or beings exclusively (or more often) than to the others.

The frequency is represented by percentage points, which are given for each group of referents. The percentage is calculated by dividing the number of occurrences for a given referent by the total number of occurrences in prose or poetry – depending on which text type is being analysed. However, this means that it is difficult to compare between prose and poetry due to the different total number of referents in each.

2.3.7 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Near-synonyms and Antonyms

The words from a given word family are considered in their immediate textual environment, taking into account the micro- and meso-context (as defined by Diller (2012b)).

For the analysis of the co-occurrences and near-synonyms, the main focus is on situations where a word from the analysed word family is accompanied by a different one with a similar range of meaning in a context that makes it clear the two characterise the same referent or the same situation. This process allows for a range of different relationships to come to the forefront. Co-occurrences are words which denote related, but not necessarily identical concepts, which appear with noticeable frequency alongside the analysed ANGER-words. ‘Related concepts’ are allowed to emerge from the Old English data on their own through frequency, not by their perceived similarity to or connections with ANGER in Present-Day English.

Near-synonyms are theorised to be similar enough in meaning that they could be substituted for one another in a similar context. Whilst no true substitutability tests are possible without the presence of native speakers of the language, and our record of Old

English is not representative of the former spoken language, the Old English poetic practice of variation allows for identifying closely-related words and determining their substitutability at least in written language.

Often, these near-synonyms already belong to one of the word families analysed in this study or to the group of ANGER-words identified by the thesauri and excluded from analysis (see 2.1.1). The word families are cross-referenced with one another to see which of them occur together most often. Sometimes the boundary between a co-occurrence and a near-synonym may be arbitrary and difficult to define precisely, which is why this section of the analysis does not aim to define these boundaries, but rather points to a net of relations of a given word family with other Old English groups of words and concepts.

Antonyms do not always appear in the analysed material, but whenever they do, they have been included in the analysis. They provide crucial information for a later analysis of the Anglo-Saxon understanding of ANGER by showing contrasting and opposing concepts.

Direct collocational patterns can show different metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisations of the word being analysed, as well as frequent modifiers (e.g. those that suggest intensity) and common phrasing, which could potentially be formulaic.

2.3.8 Conceptualisations

Analysing conceptual metaphors and metonymies was not the primary aim of this study, as it has been attempted previously for ANGER in Old English.¹⁰ One of the most problematic issues in the study of metaphor, as Lockett (2011) has demonstrated, is often whether a given concept is a metaphor or a literal expression of cultural knowledge. As the discussion for each possible metaphor was outside the scope of this work, I have chosen to refer to the various phenomena as conceptualisations. As conceptual analysis does not end with metaphors and metonymies, other aspects, such as cognitive prototype scenarios and different types of conceptual links between domains, have been tackled in the course of the analysis of the word families. Pavlenko's (2005) distinction between semantic and conceptual content of a word has been helpful here.

The main questions which were driving this part of the study were: are there any conceptualisations characteristic of a given word family or group of word families? Are

¹⁰ This has been attempted previously in different studies by Gevaert (2002, 2007), Fabiszak (1999, 2002), and Romano (1999).

some conceptualisations consistent across the entire domain of ANGER? What links can be seen between ANGER (as expressed by a word family) and other concepts (e.g. GRIEF, FIERCENESS, INSANITY)? What different concepts are represented by the different word families and lexemes belonging to them?

2.3.9 Case Studies

Finally, passages are selected to illustrate usages of a given word family in a series of small case studies. This section relies on textual analysis and textual interpretation of the passages. It takes into account the most common scenarios for which a given family is used as well as problematic or non-typical examples. The main aim is to give a general overview of the contexts in which one is likely to encounter a given word family. Comparisons are also made between the prosaic and poetic use of the family for specific situations.

This section is also concerned with broader literary, historical and socio-cultural issues, attempting to identify the Anglo-Saxon understanding of ANGER in the framework of theological and philosophical discourse, social mechanisms, vernacular psychology and medicine, as well as poetic convention and literary representations.

2.4 Advantages (and Disadvantages) of the Proposed Methodology

The proposed methodology allows the internal semantic and conceptual structure of the Old English ANGER lexicon to emerge on its own from the data, whilst minimising the dangers of ethnocentric bias. It attempts to combine different approaches in order to reflect the richness and complexity of the extant material. It does not limit itself only to the analysis of words, but tackles the broader concepts that permeate the literature of the period.

The main disadvantage of this study is that it does not have firm methods for dealing with polysemy and meaning boundaries. Whether the meanings and applications of a word are treated as evidence of distinct senses or as different manifestations of the same concept, is in the end a subjective decision of the researcher, though informed by the entire analysis process and data immersion. Additionally, a measure of ethnocentric bias cannot

be escaped, because the analysis is conducted in Present-Day English. The usage of English words that are laden with their own history and connotations may obscure the results. However, though it is a flawed tool, it is still the most useful tool available for that kind of investigation.

In the end, the methodology is robust, as it not only provides tangible results and a clear idea of how the word families are used on their own and in relation to each other throughout the Old English period and in different text types, but it also provides several points of departure for further study.

Chapter 3 *YRRE*

3.1 Introduction

YRRE is the largest word family used for expressing ANGER in Old English. There are 624 occurrences: 120 in poetry and 504 in prose, across 200 texts. Uniquely, this word family is the only one to occur more frequently in glosses than in prose or poetry, where it accounts for around a further 705 occurrences (more than 53% of total occurrences in the corpus). Despite that, different text types are still well represented, mostly due to the family's size. Disregarding glosses, the word family is more common in prose (80.77% of occurrences) than in poetry (19.23%).¹¹ Its occurrences are spread throughout the Old English period, from earlier or linguistically more archaic poetry (e.g. *Beowulf*, Cynewulfian signed poems) and early prose (*Orosius*, Gregory's *Dialogues*), to much later compositions (e.g. *Apollonius of Tyre*). There is a distinct predominance of texts that have been either translated from or based on Latin originals in both poetry (e.g. the *Paris Psalter*, *Genesis A,B*) and prose (e.g. Old and New Testaments). The word family does not survive into Modern English, though it has a presence in Middle English, at least until the fifteenth century (MED, for instance s.v. *erre*).

3.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

3.2.1 *YRRE* word family in Old English

The vast majority of occurrences are nouns (around 60% in prose and poetry), followed by adjectives (23.60% in prose and 27.29% in poetry, including present and past participles used adjectivally). The proportions of nouns and adjectives are similar in both prose and poetry, but the verb is more common in prose (see Table 3.1). Together with *WŌD*, it is one of the few families to exhibit a relatively frequent use of the present participle form of the verb (most often used adjectivally and only in prose). The family is not varied or productive in terms of its member lexemes, as it numbers nine in total. The simplex *yrre* (n. and adj.) and *yrnian* (v.) are the most common. Some poetic compounds, on the other hand, have only one occurrence (see Table 3.2).¹²

¹¹ When the glosses are taken into consideration, the difference in proportions becomes more pronounced: poetry 9.03%, prose 37.88% and glosses 53.09%.

¹² *Yrscipe* (*ierscipe*) is only present in glosses.

The initial vowel is variously represented in the corpus as <y>, <ie>, <i>, <u> or <eo>, depending on scribal preference, dialect, possible date of composition of the text and the date of the manuscript itself. The most common spelling found in the corpus is that beginning with <y>, which is a LWS form of the EWS <ie> or <i> (Campbell 1959: §39; §§300-1).¹³

Lexicographic data for *YRRE* exist only in B-T and Hall, and these two sources differ in the choice of representing the initial vowel, choosing the earlier or later form.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
<i>nouns</i>	65	54.17%	306	60.71%	371	59.46%
<i>subst. adj.</i>	2	1.67%	2	0.40%	4	0.64%
<i>subtotal</i>	67	55.83%	308	61.11%	375	60.10%
<i>adj.</i>	40	33.33%	107	21.23%	147	23.56%
<i>past part.</i>	0	0%	7	1.39%	7	1.12%
<i>pres. part.</i>	0	0%	17	3.37%	17	2.72%
<i>subtotal</i>	40	33.33%	131	25.99%	171	27.40%
<i>v.</i>	4	3.33%	59	11.71%	63	10.10%
<i>adv.</i>	9	7.50%	6	1.19%	15	2.40%
TOTAL:	120	100.00%	504	100.00%	624	100.00%

Table 3.1 – Distribution of word categories for *YRRE*

LEXEME(s)	no. of occ.	%
YRRE (n.)	331	53.05%
YRRE (adj.)	144	23.08%
(GE)YRSIAN (v.)	87	13.94%
YRSUNG (n.)	34	5.45%
YRRINGA (adv.)	14	2.24%
YRNESS (n.)	4	0.64%
YRLIC (adj.)	4	0.64%
YRSIGENDLĪC (adj.)	2	0.32%
YRREMŌD (adj.)	1	0.16%
YRREPWEORH (adj.)	1	0.16%
YRREWEORC (n.)	1	0.16%
YRLĪCE (adv.)	1	0.16%
	624	100.00%

Table 3.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for *YRRE*

¹³ In prose and poetry, the <y>-form appears around 460 times, in various texts, such as Ælfric's homilies or lives of saints, and Wulfstan's homilies, but also in the *Paris Psalter*, OE Hexateuch and Gregory's *Dialogues*. The second most common form is the <i>-form (52 occ.), found predominantly in CP, in *Orosius* and Boethius, but also in Wulfstan. The diphthongized form <eo> is equally prominent with 51 occ, found mostly in Alex, And, Bede, Beo, El, GD and anonymous homilies and lives of saints. The <ie> form is rarer (only 36 occ.) and is found again primarily in CP, but also in MSol and ChronA, Aelfric, Bede, Beo, GD, Hexateuch, Homs, LS, PPs, Wulfstan. The <u>-form is extremely rare (just 3 occ.).

3.2.1.1 YRRE (n.)

Both dictionaries define *yrre* (n.) as ‘anger’, with B-T further supplementing the definition with ‘wrath, ire, rage’. Hall uses the earlier, diphthongised form *ierre* (though he provides <y> and <i> as alternatives in parentheses),¹⁴ whilst B-T chooses *irre* as the main headword. The diphthongised *eorre* has a separate entry in B-T as well.

3.2.1.2 YRRE (adj.)

The adjective is presented as polysemous. Both dictionaries provide two separate senses. The first one, as given by B-T, is ‘gone astray, wandering, confused, perverse, depraved’ and by Hall as ‘wandering, erring, perverse, depraved’, which suggests becoming lost or displaced in physical, as well as in mental or moral dimensions. Whilst this meaning can be linked directly with the etymology of the word, it is rare in the corpus and occurs primarily in poetry. For this meaning, OED provides three instances, two in *PPs* and one in *MSol* and dates them all to c.1000.

The second set of meanings corresponds to the meaning of the noun. Hall (for *ierre*) lists ‘angry, fierce’, and B-T (for *irre* and *eorre*) gives the same meanings and additionally ‘enraged, wrathful, indignant’. The *Supplement* also provides a headword for the <y>-form, with some additional contextual uses of *yrre*, but without any additional senses.

3.2.1.3 (GE)YRSIAN (v.)

The verb shows both a transitive (or causative) and intransitive usage, as ‘to be angry (with), to rage’ on the one hand, and on the other as ‘to make angry, to anger, provoke’ (B-T for) or ‘enrage, irritate’ (Hall). The prefixed variant of the verb (*ge-eorsian*) is expanded upon only in B-T as ‘to be angry’ and shows similar meaning to the non-prefixed variant. The prefixed verb occurs only as a past participle used adjectivally (and only in prose), so I take it here as part of the conjugation of the non-prefixed verb. Neither the present, nor the past participle is given separate treatment in the entries.

¹⁴ Admittedly, in the preface to the 2nd edition of his dictionary, Hall admits that the head form can either be a normalised form or an actually occurring one (p. v).

3.2.1.4 YRRINGA (adv.)

The adverb is taken to mean ‘angrily’ by both B-T and Hall. Hall also has ‘fiercely’ and B-T ‘in anger’.

3.2.1.5 YRSUNG (n.) and YRNESS (n.)

The two nouns are less common than *yrre* and share the simplex’s meaning ‘anger’, although B-T also expands *yrsung* to ‘readiness to anger, irascibility’.

3.2.1.6 YRREMŌD (adj.), YRREWEORC (n.) and YRREƿWEORH (adj.)

All three compounds are rare as they each occur once in the corpus, exclusively in poetry, and therefore should be treated as poetic compounds. The *yrre-* element is usually expanded by the dictionaries as ‘angry’ or ‘anger’, but the definitions differ in the particulars. *Irre-weorc* is ‘work undertaken in anger’ and found only in B-T, as Hall does not have an entry for it. For *irremōd* B-T has ‘of angry mood, angry-minded’, but Hall has *ierremōd* ‘wrathful, wild’. The third compound, *īreƿweorh* (B-T) or *ierreƿweorh* (Hall), is explained as ‘having a mind perverted by rage’ in the former, and ‘very angry’ in the latter. The difference in the senses given for the third compound are most likely due to the different interpretation of the *-ƿweorh* element, which, according to B-T, has four different senses. The first sense is ‘crooked, cross’, the second ‘adverse, opposed’, the third ‘cross, angry, bitter’ and fourth ‘perverse, wrong, evil, depraved’. Hall’s definition, ‘very angry’, chooses to treat *-ƿweorh* as an intensifying element, which is roughly synonymous with the meaning ‘angry’, whereas B-T’s definition concentrates on the sense of ‘perversity’.

3.2.1.7 YRSIGENDLĪC (adj.)

The adjective, likely derived from the present participle of the verb (*yrsigende*) with the adjectival *-līc* suffix, is defined by B-T as ‘capable of anger’ and by Hall as ‘passionate, emotional’. Again, since this word is very rare (only 2 occ. in similar contexts), its definition is much more dependent on the interpretation of the two passages in which it occurs.

3.2.1.8 YRLIC (adj.) and YRLĪCE (adv.)

This rare adjective is defined by B-T as ‘angry’ and by Hall as ‘angry, vehement’. The derived adverb is even rarer (only 1 occ.) and means ‘angrily’, according to B-T.

The dictionary definitions attribute the meaning ANGER to this word family almost unequivocally. Its apparent lack of polysemy is evident, though there are exceptions in the form of some rare uses of the adjective, and perhaps some indication of FIERCENESS or WILDNESS (given only by Hall). This strengthens the initial impression that this word family may well be prototypically used for expressing ANGER in Old English, although this needs to be qualified by taking into account both the genre in which it occurs and the time period of its usage.

3.2.2 YRRE word family in Middle English

YRRE word family survives into Middle English where the following lexemes are found: *erre* (adj.), *erre* (n.), *irsien* (v.) and *irsunge* (n.). The Middle English verb *erren* appears to be derived from the adjective *erre* in Middle English and not directly descended from Old English. The sample quotations in both OED and MED range from eleventh to fifteenth century, but most of them seem to be concentrated around the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Judging from these quotations only, the usage of *YRRE* in Middle English appears to be similar to Old English. Additionally, some of the attestations of *YRRE* could be attributed to fossilisation of phrase. Alternatively they could be counted among late Old English occurrences, since they are present in very early Middle English, like the *Ormulum*. For instance, the MED cites both the twelfth century homilies in MS Bodley 343 and the thirteenth century homilies in Lambeth MS 487 which are considered Old English homilies. There are, of course, examples which cannot be attributed solely or directly to transmission from Old English, such as the ones found in the *Ormulum*, the *Ancrene Riwe* or Layamon’s *Brut*, but certain prosodic and stylistic features of Old English could have been imitated in some of these works, which would include the usage of *YRRE*.

OED and MED are unanimous in designating ANGER as the only meaning for this word family in Middle English. For *irre/erre* (adj.) the OED has ‘enraged, angry’ and the MED ‘wrathful, enraged, angry’. For the noun (*irre/erre*), it is ‘anger, wrath’ in both

dictionaries. MED discusses *irsien* and *irsunge*, and gives the meaning ‘to become angry (with sb.); be wrathful (against sth)’ to the former and ‘anger, ire’ to the latter.

As Gevaert notes, the actual use of this family declines drastically in Middle English (2007: 92) and, according to Esposito, its range was limited to West Midlands texts (Gevaert 2007: 178). The survival of this word family in Middle English and the extant examples strengthen the conclusion that in Old English it was a highly monosemous family with some limited potential for transmission and fossilisation due to formulaic use in religious and homiletic writings.

Though superficially similar, the Middle English noun *ire* is not etymologically related to OE *yrre*, but constitutes a later (c. 1300) borrowing from Old French *ire*, *yre*, which was borrowed from Latin *īra* ‘anger, wrath, rage’ (OED). Although due to the graphic similarities of *ire*, *ira* and *yrre/ierre*, the words might have been easily confused both in Old English and in Middle English, their etymology is quite different, though some degree of bidirectional influence cannot be excluded.

3.2.3 Etymology – Indo-European and Other Germanic Languages

Members of the *YRRE* word family are derived from the PIE root **ere-s-* (IEW), **ers-* (OED), or, alternatively, taking into account the laryngeal theory, **h₁ers-* (LIV, EDPG) with the meaning ‘to flow’. This root developed in Proto-Germanic into **erz-* (OED) and the progression of meaning is supposed to have gone from ‘flowing’ to ‘wandering, straying’, as in Lat. *errare* ‘to go astray’ or Arm. *erām* ‘to be restless’, then to ‘misleading’ or ‘deception’ as in Goth. *airzeiz* ‘deluded, erring, misled’ (Orel), to OHG *irri* ‘wandering, deranged’, but also ‘angry’ (Buck), and finally to ‘angry, enraged’ in Old English and Old Saxon. OED notes that: “the transition to the sense ‘angry’, seen in Old Saxon and Old High German, and completed in Old English, arose from the consideration of anger as a wandering or aberration of the mind”. Anger or rage would therefore involve losing control of your mind or allowing it stray from its true course. The adjective appears to be the base from which both the noun and the verb were derived in Germanic.

It is not entirely certain whether this transition has really been completed in Old English, since there are instances of the adjective being used with the meaning ‘wandering, straying’ and they do not appear in very early texts. Gevaert (2007) remarks that this meaning is important, but she does not elaborate on its significance. She also does not mention how rare this meaning is. In light of more than 600 occurrences with a clear and

literal meaning ‘anger’, these several occurrences (three definite, and several more that are contestable, see below) can be deemed practically negligible. In any case, the etymology of *YRRE* could not have been transparent. Despite this, Gevaert (2007) attributes all the occurrences of *YRRE* to the ANGER AS A WRONG EMOTION conceptualisation on the basis of this ‘wandering or aberration’. As shall be shown below, however, the word family is used to refer to both positive and negative figures, and its most frequent referent is God. Therefore, it seems unlikely this word family would have exclusively negative connotations.

3.3 Discussion

3.3.1 Poetry

Almost 60% of all poetic occurrences of *YRRE* are found in three texts – the *Paris Psalter*, *Beowulf* and *GenA,B*, with the *Paris Psalter* having the largest number of occurrences in poetry (49 occ.). Whilst other texts are relatively well represented, most of them have between one and three occurrences, even though some of them are longer poetic pieces. There are examples of more secular, heroic poetry amongst the texts (i.e. *Beowulf*, *Battle of Maldon*), but the majority are translations of Latin source texts (e.g. *Paris Psalter*, *Kentish Psalter*, *Meters of Boethius*, and arguably *The Phoenix*) or texts inspired by Biblical material (*Exodus*, *Daniel*) and other Christian writings, like poems inspired by the lives of saints (*Juliana*, *Elene*, *Andreas*, *Guthlac*).

Title	no of occ.	%
PPs	49	40.83%
Beo	11	9.17%
GenA,B	11	9.17%
Jul	8	6.68%
Met	6	5.00%
MSol	4	3.33%
ChristA,B,C	3	2.50%
Dan	3	2.50%
El	3	2.50%
GuthA,B	3	2.50%
JDay II	3	2.50%
Sat	3	2.50%
And	2	1.67%
Mald	2	1.67%
Prec	2	1.67%
Ex	1	0.83%
Fort	1	0.83%
Jud	1	0.83%
KtPs	1	0.83%
MPs	1	0.83%
Phoen	1	0.83%
PsFr	1	0.83%
	120	100.00%

Table 3.3 – Occurrences of YRRE in poetry

3.3.1.1 Referents

God is the most frequent referent for *YRRE*, with 63 occurrences (totalling almost 53% of all occurrences in poetry), most of them in the *Paris Psalter* and *Genesis A,B*. The second most common group comprises various antagonists and enemies in hostile situations, with 24 occurrences (slightly over 20%), either *en masse* (as the Myrmedonians in *Andreas* or enemies of Israel in the Psalms) or as individual antagonists (such as Eleusius or Juliana's father in *Juliana* or Grendel in *Beowulf*). This group is not uniform and some further divisions could be made, for instance: antagonistic figures of authority (such as king, judge, father – 10 occ.), supernatural beings (Grendel, the dragon, devils – 7 occ.) and human enemies as a whole (5 occ.). The third most common group with 12 occ. (10%), are protagonists, often, though not always, in the context of battle. This group includes Beowulf and Wulf from *Beowulf*, Byrhtnoth and Leofsunu from the *Battle of Maldon* or, as the only female figure, Elene from *Elene*. Other referents for this word family also include animals (wild bees, lions), the natural world (sea), the wicked and the sinful (in the Psalms), and the unrighteous king in the *Meters of Boethius*.

3.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

YRRE occurs most often with two other ANGER word families, *BELGAN* (13 occ.) and *WRĀĀP* (10 occ.). Other ANGER families are less well represented, considering the size of *YRRE*, with *GRAM* showing five occurrences, *TORN* three and finally *WŌD* and *HĀTHEORT* only one each.¹⁵ However, since the meaning of *WRĀĀP* in poetry is much closer to FIERCENESS or CRUELTY, these co-occurrences could be grouped together with *RĒĀPE* (4 occ.) and perhaps *BITER* (3 occ.) under a category FIERCENESS. Another distinguishable group of co-occurring words denotes FEAR/TERROR, as in the *EGESA* word family (e.g. *egesful*, *egeslīce*, *egesa* – 8 occ.), the adjective *atol* ‘horrible, terrifying’ (2 occ.), the noun *brōga* ‘terror, horror’ (2 occ.) and the verb *ondrēdan* ‘to fear’ (1 occ.). These often alliterate with *YRRE*.

YRRE also occurs four times with the adjective *ānrēd* ‘constant, resolute, steadfast’ (DOE).¹⁶ Three times this happens in a coordinated alliterative phrase (*yrre ond ānrēd* twice, *ānrēd ond yrepweorg* once). As all the occurrences are found in three different texts from various periods (*Juliana*, *Beowulf* and *Battle of Maldon*) this phrase is likely formulaic. When not in an alliterative phrase, the adjective occurs once among other descriptive adjectives describing Beowulf a couple of lines before *yrre*. Romano groups *ānrēd* together with such expressions as *hygeblind* under a conceptualisation ANGER PROVOKES INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION, and translates it as ‘single-minded’ (2009:46). However, being *ānrēd* is not a negative quality which would necessitate altered perception. The other meanings of the word given by DOE are ‘to be in harmony’ or ‘to be in agreement’. Whilst it can be understood as ‘characterised by a singleness of purpose’, and this is reflected in the definition ‘constant, resolute, steadfast’, it is by no means as limiting or negative as *hygeblind*.

The most common syntactical patterns for the noun *yrre* are with the noun in the position of a direct object or in prepositional phrases. The most common collocation for the former is when *yrre* collocates with the verb *oncirran* (4 occ.), *awendan* (1 occ.) and *ācirran* (1 occ.) all meaning ‘to turn away or aside, to avert’. All of these are found in the *Paris Psalter* and are a translation of the Latin *avertere*. Romano treats it as an example of ANGER IS A PLACE (1999: 49) where anger is understood as a place from which one escapes. However, the constructions in poetry show that it is the actor (God) who is implored to

¹⁵ Alternatively, with two occurrences when we count *hāthige* and three if we count *hāme hyge*.

¹⁶ It also occurs once with *ānmōd*, which could be seen as synonymous, with the meaning ‘resolute, steadfast; perhaps also with connotations of boldness or obstinacy’ (DOE).

move the anger elsewhere, to turn it away from its previous course. Metaphorically, then, it is the removal of ANGER IS A POWERFUL FORCE, rather than ANGER IS A PLACE.

Romano's category of ANGER IS AN OBJECT (1999: 50) corresponds to several different collocational patterns for ANGER. For *YRRE* in poetry there is an attestation of *habban* 'to have' or *healdan* 'to hold'. The construction *yrre habban* occurs three times in poetry, but its usage is not uniform. It occurs once when the one who 'has' or 'holds' anger is the one who feels or experiences the emotion, as in the *Paris Psalter*, when God is invoked: *Nelle þu oð ende yrre habban*. It occurs twice where the one who 'has' *yrre* is the one who is subject to God's anger, as in *Hæfdon godes yrre (Phoen)* and *hie godes yrre habban sceoldon (GenA,B)*.

The phrase *yrre gebolgen*¹⁷ occurs three times in poetry. Additionally, *YRRE* collocates three times with the verb *ācyðan*. The second collocation is found only in the *Paris Psalter* and means 'to show or to manifest an emotion' (DOE).

Twice, *yrre* (n.) is found with the verb *āgēotan* 'to pour out' which is a translation of Latin *effundere*. *Yrre* (n.) also occurs twice with verbs denoting burning as in *his yrre barn* or *is nu onbærned biter þin yrre*. All four are found in the *Paris Psalter*.

The prepositional phrases are formed with the prepositions *tō* (1 occ.), *þurh* (3 occ.) and *on* (14 occ.). These prepositional phrases are usually followed by a verb, whereby an action is performed and anger accompanies this action (e.g. *ic on yrre uppriht astod* 'I stood upright in anger' or *þu hi on yrre ehtest and drefest* 'you will, in anger, afflict and trouble them').

Not surprisingly, the adjectives are most often found in predicative position (15 occ.) in constructions employing the verbs 'to be' (*bēon/wesan*) or 'to become' (*weorþan*), as in the phrases: *þa wearð yrre...*, *yrre wæron begen* or *ealle synt yrre*. The second most common type of collocation (9 occ.) is when the adjective occurs in a coordinated construction with other adjectives, either following the formula *x ond yrre*, or the inverted *yrre ond x*. These adjectives have been discussed in the co-occurrences section (they are: *ellenwōd*, *egesful*, *ānræd*, *rēðe*, *biter*). In attributive positions, the adjective is used to qualify people (5 occ., with *oretta*, *eormenstrýnde*, *ealowōsa* and *æscberend* twice), or the mind (*mōd* three times and *hyge* once), indicating that both a person and a mind can be *yrre*. In case of *mōd*, it always occurs with the preposition *on*, so for instance *yrre on mode*. The adjective often appears in conjunction with verbs of movement (four times, with *ēode*, *cwōm*, *wōd*) and speech (five times, with *andswarode*, *oncwæð*, *hwēop*) in constructions where it is removed from the noun it modifies, but in proximity of the verb.

¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion see *BELGAN*, 5.3.1.2.

For example: *feond treddode, eode yrremod* (*Beo.* ll.725b-6a) or *Da him yrre andswarode*. Finally, the adverb modifies a variety of verbs, though most of them denote a violent action, such as roaring, stinging, striking with weapon or killing. Alliteration is a common feature of YRRE in poetry as almost 80% of occurrences alliterate (95 out of 120).

3.3.1.3 Case Studies

The Wrath and Judgement of God

The wrath of God is the most commonly observed scenario for YRRE in poetry. This is mostly due to a high number of occurrences from the *Paris Psalter*, but it can also be seen in *Genesis A,B*, *Exodus* and *ChristA,B,C* among others. These occurrences show God's anger in two main ways: as a direct and immediate response to someone's transgression or as a potent force that can work in both the short and long-term.

In the first case the portrayal of anger is a part of God's characterisation as an active and personal agent. In *Genesis A,B*, for instance, God is said to become angry with the rebelling angels, with Satan, Adam and Eve, and with king Abimelech. In passage Yp5 below, God becomes angry because of the refusal of the rebelling angels to bow down to him. In passage Yp11, God is angry at Abimelech for failing to return Sarah to Abraham for a second time, despite an order to the contrary. In both cases, the reason for God's anger is immediately given and anger is portrayed as God's own reaction.

[Yp5]

Unc wearð god **yrre**
forþon wit him noldon on heofonrice
hnigan mid heafdum halgum drihtne
þurh geongordom; (*GenB*, ll. 740b – 3a)

[*God became angry with us, because we two did not wish to bend our heads in vassalage, in the kingdom of heaven, to the holy Lord.*]¹⁸

[Yp11]

þa gien wæs **yrre** god Abimelehe
for þære synne þe he wið Sarrai
and wið Abrahame ær gefremede,
þa he gedælde him deore twa,
wif and wæpned. (*GenA*, ll. 2742-6b)

¹⁸ All translations of poetry and prose are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

[Then again God was angry with Abimelech for the sin which he had committed previously against Sarah and Abraham, when he separated the two creatures, woman and man]

In other cases God's anger is presented as a potent force which is externally visible to those experiencing it. In *Exodus*, we read:

[Yp12]

He onfond hraðe,
siððan grund gestah godes andsaca,
þæt wæs mihtigra mereflodes weard;
wolde heorufæðmum hilde gesceadan,
yrre and egesfull. (*Ex*, ll. 502b-6a)

[He quickly found out, the enemy of God, after he descended to the bottom, that the guardian of the sea-flood was more powerful; he [had] wished to decide the battle with a war-grasp, angry and terrible.]

The flood is God's anger made manifest, and the description here is not unlike the battle idiom that we find, for instance, in *Beowulf*. It is a force that can be experienced almost tangibly – the flood is likened to a war-grasp, hence violent tactile and physical associations – and it provokes fear in those who experience it. As has previously been mentioned, the adjective *yrre* co-occurs often with *egesful*. An example is the following passage from *Christ III*, which describes God's wrath during Judgment Day:

[Yp20]

Sceolon raþe feallan
on grimne grund þa ær wiþ gode wunnon.
Bið þonne rices weard reþe ond meahtig,
yrre ond egesful. (*ChristA,B,C*, ll. 1525b-8a)

[They will at once fall into the terrible abyss, those who had previously contended against God. The guardian of the kingdom will then be fierce and powerful, angry and terrible.]

The adjective *yrre* is coordinated here with *egesful*, but also with *rēþe* and *meahtig*. Whilst in the first subtype discussed above the focus is more on God becoming angry (therefore, pertaining more to God's internal reaction), here anger is seen externally, associated with power and fierceness, and invoking terror. Whilst we may deduce the cause of God's anger, it appears as more of a lasting state or characteristic rather than a direct response. In fact, as shall be seen in the prose section (3.3.2.2.), the phrase *tōweardan yrre*, rendering

the Latin *ira ventura*, ‘the forthcoming anger’, is used periphrastically to refer to Judgment Day, therefore *yrre* here can be seen as evoking these associations.

Whilst the anger on Judgment Day can be seen as a consequence of the sins of mankind delayed in time, sometimes the temporal frame is shifted closer to the consequences in this life, not beyond it. In such cases, anger retains the characterisation of a potent force, but it is evident more in the circumstances of life of those who are at the receiving end of God’s wrath, as in this use in *The Phoenix*:

[Yp23]

þær him bitter wearð
 yrmþu æfter æte ond hyra eaferum swa,
 sarlic symbel sunum ond dohtrum.
 Wurdon teonlice toþas idge
 ageald æfter gylte. Hæfdon godes **yrre**,
 bittre bealosorge. (*Phoen*, ll. 404b-9a)

[*The misery after the eating was bitter to them there, and also to their children, a lamentable feast to the sons and daughters. They were grievously rewarded for their busy teeth according to [their] sin. They had/carried/received/suffered God’s anger, a baleful sorrow*]

In this case, God’s anger could be equated with both *bealosorg* and *yrmþ*, that is the hardships and miseries endured after the eating of the forbidden fruit. God’s anger is not an immediate emotional response exhibited by the deity, but could be equated with the punishment endured by his subjects for their transgressions. This is reflected in the use of the verb *habban* ‘to have’. We see a similar usage in *Beowulf*:

[Yp35]

Ða com of more under misthleopum
 Grendel gongan, godes **yrre** bær. (*Beo*, ll. 710-1)

[*Then came from the moor, under the misty slopes, Grendel walking; he bore God’s anger*]

Here, Grendel is said to carry or bear God’s anger with him, which may refer either to the curse of Cain or to a punishment for Grendel’s own atrocities. Whilst anger is directly attributable to God, it seems that in these cases it is meant more as a powerful force responsible for Grendel’s exile and isolation, which can be borne or carried (hence the verb *beran*).

God's wrath is most prominent in the *Paris Psalter*, and some of the examples fall into the categories outlined above. However, since the *Paris Psalter* occurrences are so numerous and since the nature of the psalms as almost direct translations from Latin is slightly different than other works of poetry, they will be discussed here separately. The occurrences can be grouped into several different scenarios. For the most part, they show God being angry primarily with the Israelites and the Egyptians, reflecting the Biblical narrative. The second type occurs when the speaker of the psalm invokes God to take vengeance and wreak his wrath upon the speaker's enemies. Alternatively, God is also presented as being angry *with* the speaker of the psalm, who is imploring forgiveness and mercy. Finally, God is also angry with all men in general, particularly sinners, usually at Judgment Day.

The plea to destroy the speaker's enemies is perhaps best reflected in passage Yp55 from Psalm 68, as it consists of a number of different ANGER-words:

[Yp55]

Syn hiora eagan eac adimmad,
 þæt hi geseon ne magon syþþan awiht;
 weorðe heora bæc swylce abeged eac.
 Ageot ofer hi þin þæt **grame yrre**,
 and **æbylignes** eac **yrres** þines
 hi forgripe **gramhicgende**. (*PPs*:68, ll. 70-5)

[*Let their eyes be dimmed as well, so that they are not able to see anything afterwards, let their backs be likewise bent/bowed. Pour out your hostile/angry anger over them, and also let the indignation/offence/wrath of your anger grip them, with angry/hostile intent.]*

Here, the force of God's anger is intensified by a concentration of other ANGER-related words. Both *GRAM* and *BELGAN* have slightly different connotations from *YRRE*, the first of hostility and fierceness and the second of indignation or offence, or incorrect behaviour (especially as *æbylignes* renders the Latin *indignatio*). *YRRE* seems to be the most neutral of the ANGER expressions used. The conceptualisation of ANGER IS A LIQUID, which is visible here, results from a direct translation of Latin *effundere*, as has been mentioned above. ANGER is also presented as a gripping force, which echoes Latin *conprehendat*, but the images of grasping and seizing in anger are frequently found in Old English poetry as well.

Psalm 87 is an example of a situation where God's anger is directed at the speaker of the psalm, and accompanied by fear.

[Yp79]

Oft me þines **yrres** **egsa** geðeowde,
and me **broga** þin bitere gedrefde. (PPs:87, ll.48-9)

[Often the fear of your anger enslaved me and your terror oppressed me bitterly.]

In these cases, God's wrath is once again more of a potent force that is a result of sins and wickedness, and fear and terror are appropriate responses in the face of such wrath. Similarly, in Psalm 95 people will be punished for their wickedness:

[Yp85]

He ferhtlic riht folcum demeð
and on his **yrre** ealle þeode. (PPs:95, ll.28-9)

[He shall judge the people with just punishment, and all the people, in his anger.]

ANGER is closely associated with Judgment Day. The link is made stronger since *yrre* is added in the translation and its most common Latin equivalent *ira* or *furor* does not occur in the Latin versions. In this case, the appearance of *yrre* is of course dictated by the constraints of alliteration, but God's wrath is clearly linked to justice and just punishment (*ferhtlic riht*), and thus righteous.

Finally, the following example from Psalm 77 shows the more narrative use of anger which corresponds to both scenarios outlined above, God responding immediately to a transgression and God's anger as a potent force:

[Yp65]

þa gyt hi on muðe heora mete hæfdon,
þa him on becwom **yrre** drihtnes
and heora mænige mane swultan,
æðele Israhela eac forwurdan. (PPs:77, ll. 88-91)

[No sooner had they put their meat into their mouths, than the Lord's anger came upon them and many of the wicked ones died, the nobles of Israel also perished.]

The Israelites eat meat, which they were forbidden to do, and immediately they are punished with death. Anger is a force that can move and descend upon the men, hence the use of the verb *becuman*.

Occasionally, God's anger is also presented in terms of heat or fire, generally following the source material. In Psalm 77 again, God is described as turning away his anger:

[Yp66]

He þa manige fram him mangewyrhtan
 yrre awende, eall ne wolde
 þurh **hatne hyge** hæleðum cyþan. (*PPs*:77, ll.108-10)

[*He then turned away his anger from many a wicked man; he did not wish by means of a hot mind show (his emotion?¹⁹) to the warriors.*]

In this case *yrre* is coordinated with *hātne hyge*, which shows an interesting usage of [**anger**]adj+**hyge/heort** construction that unequivocally means ‘to be angry’, rather than passionate in other ways (See the report on *HĀTHEORT*).

The Angry and Fierce Advance

Beowulf follows the *Paris Psalter* in terms of the number of occurrences of *YRRE* and many of them are directly related to either heroes or monsters engaged in combat. Similar usage can be found in other works. These are situations of conflict between two sides, and both protagonists and antagonists are portrayed as being angry. In the passage below, when Beowulf and Grendel fight together in the hall, the language places them as equals and does not discern between hero and monster:

[Yp37]

Dryhtsele dynede; Denum eallum wearð,
 ceasterbuendum, cenra gehwylcum,
 eorlum ealuscerwen. **Yrre** wæron begen,
 reþe renweardas. (*Beo*, ll.767-70a)

[*The princely hall resounded with noise. To all the Danes, the city-dwellers, to each of the bold ones, to the warriors there was the serving of ale (bitter distress?). They were both angry, the fierce and mighty guards.*]

The fierceness of the battle rage exhibited by Beowulf and Grendel, the noise and the associated damage to the hall are all juxtaposed with the implied terror that the Danes feel. Anger is a powerful force causing wayward destruction. It is responsible for a clash of great magnitude between two formidable fighters, who possess some supernatural qualities, and as such is feared by ordinary men.

The dragon is also portrayed as angry on many occasions, one of which occurs when it fights Beowulf in the final battle:

¹⁹ DOE suggests in sense 5.a for *cýþan* that it may mean ‘to show an emotion, affection, state of mind’.

[Yp43]
 Æfter ðam wordum wyrn **yrre** cwom,
 atol inwitgæst, oðre siðe
 fyrwylmum fah fionda <niosian>,
 laðra manna; (*Beo*, ll. 2669-72a)

[*After these words, the dragon came, angry, the terrible evil visitor, a second time, to seek out his enemies, the hated men, with a hostile surge of fire.*]

The dragon's anger is accompanied by the hostile action of spewing out fire. The 'second time' (*oðre siðe*) probably echoes a similar situation several lines above (ll. 2580-81), where the dragon reacts to Beowulf's blow with a surge of fire and is described as *on hreoum mode* 'with a fierce/savage mind'. In this case, ANGER and FIERCENESS are shown to be closely related.

But even in this poem alone, it is not only Beowulf and the monsters who exhibit anger with the use of the *YRRE* word family. In the passage below, it is the warrior Wulf, who attacks Ongentheow in the fray:

[Yp44] Hyne yrringa
 Wulf Wonreding wæpne geræhte,
 þæt him for swenge swat ædrum sprong
 forð under fexe. (*Beo*, ll. 2964-7)

[*Wulf the Son of Wonred reached him angrily/furiously with his weapon, so that, because of the blow, the blood sprung forth at once from under his hair.*]

The battle is described in intense detail, and anger is a characteristic attributed to a warrior on a battlefield, or in the middle of combat. In this usage, the focus is on the visible and external manifestations of anger.

In the *Battle of Maldon* as well, we can see that anger is part of the heroic stock descriptions, particularly in the description of Leofsunu straight after his declaration of martial intent and promise to join the battle and avenge his lord:

[Yp95] ...ac me sceal wæpen niman,
 ord and iren." He ful **yrre** wod,
 feaft fæstlice, fleam he forhogode (*BoM*, ll.252-54)

[*...but rather the weapons shall take me, point and iron." He went very angry, fought resolutely/vigorously, he disdained fleeing.*]

ANGER is an inherent feature of a warrior who is engaged in battle, and very close semantically to fierceness. Leofsunu's fight is characterised by his steadfastness and

resoluteness – he does not flee, but, on the contrary, advances. In some ways, this is reminiscent of the collocations with *ānræd*. The characterisation of Leofsunu here, unlike the monsters of *Beowulf*, is positive, and thus the emotion of anger is written into the heroic ideal, together with a certain unwavering singleness of purpose. A very similar scene takes place in *Judith*:

[Yp45] Hæleð wæron **yrre**,
 landbuende, laðum cynne,
 stopon styrnmode, stercedferhðe,
 wrehton unsofte ealdgeniðlan
 medowerige; (*Jud*, ll.225b-9)

[The warriors were angry, the inhabitants of the land, with the hostile people, they advanced with a hard mind, a stout heart, not gently did they rouse their ancient foes, [who were] drunk with mead.]

The Hebrews advance against the Assyrians and their characterisation is unequivocally positive and heroic, associated with courage and with steadfastness. Whilst we have neither *ānræd* nor *fæstlice* in this passage, *stercedferhð* serves a similar function. Here anger is once again immediately followed by an advance and moving forward,²⁰ just as it was in the case of Grendel, the dragon, and Leofsunu, among others.

Good Advice for Men

Occasionally, *YRRE* is used in poetry in passages that give good advice and warn against the negative influence of ANGER. This is a much rarer type of scenario in poetry than it is in prose, where, as we shall see, *YRRE* is used to this effect more often. Amongst the works represented in poetry for this scenario we have the *Precepts, Fortunes of Men* or *Meters of Boethius*. *YRRE* occurs in the *Precepts* twice.

[Yp32]
 Fiftan siþe fæder eft ongon
 breostgeþoncum his bearn læran:
 Druncen beorg þe ond dollic word,
 man on mode ond in muþe lyge,
yrre ond æfeste ond idese lufan. (*Prec*, ll. 32-6)

²⁰ This example is not included in the collocations section, because the verb is far removed from the occurrence of *yrre*.

[A fifth time the father then began to teach his child with the thoughts from his breast: guard yourself against drunkenness and foolish words, wickedness/sin in the mind and falsehood in the mouth, anger and envy and a woman's love.]

YRRE is enumerated amongst other examples of improper behaviour, such as drunkenness, foolishness, sin, envy and carnal passion. In many ways, this example resembles more those found in prose, where ANGER is often counted amongst the vices, but here also the importance of verbal actions is stressed – both foolish words and speaking falsehood. The theme continues later on:

[Yp33]

Yrre ne læt þe æfre gewealdan,
 heah in hreþre, heoroworda grund
 wylme bismitan, ac him warnað þæt
 on geheortum hyge. (*Prec*, ll. 83-6a)

[Do not ever allow anger to rule over you, high in the breast, the sea of hostile words pollute you with an upsurge, but one should guard against it with a courageous mind.]

Lockett chooses the above example to demonstrate the hydraulic model of mental activity. In this case, it illustrates the workings of the mind when the emotion is being restrained. She argues (2011: 64-65) that “in these lines, anger is analogous to flame: it can presumably be controlled when it is small, but when it grows too high, the flame of anger within the container of the chest cavity can dominate (*gewealdan*) the individual in whom it burns.” The image in this passage does not correspond to the fiery anger of God in the Psalms, because the heat is associated with water. *Wilm* can refer to both fire and water, particularly when it is surging or boiling water, and *grund* has the connotations of depths of the sea or a body of water. To expand on Lockett's analogy, anger is the flame underneath a vessel of water and the ‘sea of hostile words’ and other violent actions are the water which is boiling over. Anger is a powerful force that can easily take over and the passage emphasises the need for self-control. It further links anger with its immediate form of expression, that is the *heoruword*, ‘the hostile word’. Amongst various forms of expression it is either the physical or the verbal attack that most often accompanies anger and both need to be contained. Similarly, in the *Fortunes of Men* we see that drunkenness can cause both anger and the loss of control over one's speech, which has dire consequences for the warrior:

[Yp34]

Sumum meces ecg on meodubence
yrrum ealowosan ealdor oþþringeð,
 were winsadum; bið ær his worda to hræd. (*Fort*, ll. 48-50)

[*On the mead-bench the sword's edge will force out the life from another one, an angry swiller of ale, a wine-sated man. He will have been too hasty in his words.*]

Gwara (2008: 110) points out how important it was for a warrior and a retainer to be able to control his words when drinking. B-T suggests that in this passage *yrre* can be read as either 'confused' with drink or 'angry', and both seem plausible. As the example of Unferth shows, a retainer who is immoderate in his drink, breaches the etiquette of the hall (Gwara 2008). In other words, he is arguably 'led astray' by the drink to behave unwisely. However, the above examples also show that drunkenness results in foolish and hostile speech and an increase not only in the feeling of anger, but more importantly in its outward expression. Violence, both verbal and physical, and immoderate reactions to slights are the true dangers of drunkenness. Thus 'angry' seems a more plausible choice.

Other Meanings – Gone Astray and Perverse

As has been suggested above, sometimes *YRRE* is used in the sense of 'gone astray, wandering, confused, perverse or depraved' rather than 'angry', but these examples are relatively scarce (B-T notes four). The decision to differentiate these meanings from 'anger' results not only from the context, but presumably also from the comparison with Latin source texts of which the Old English passages are often a translation.

[Yp59]

ealle synt **yrre**, þa þe unwise
 heora heortan hige healdað mid dysige; (PP:75, ll. 9-10)

[*All are gone astray/confused, who unwisely govern the mind of their heart with foolishness*]

Here, OE *yrre* renders Latin *turbati* 'troubled'. The idea of having gone astray or being confused is strengthened with the words *unwise* and *dysige*. Those who are foolish can be said to have wandered astray from the right course of action. For passage Yp59 it would be logically difficult to ascribe 'angry' to the word *yrre* and the sense 'gone astray' fits better. The matters are complicated, however, because a couple of lines later in the same psalm

yrre is referring to God, with a clear meaning ‘anger’ and translating Latin *ira*. Both senses seem to coexist in this psalm, but are quite distinct, which would suggest polysemy for *YRRE*.

Another example of a problematic use of *YRRE* in the Paris Psalter comes from the already quoted Psalm 77.

[Ypr62]

Ne wesen hi on facne fæderum gelice;
 þæt wæs earfoðcynn **yrre** and reðe;
 næfdon heora heortan hige gestaðelod; (PP:77, ll.25-27)

[*They would not be like their fathers in their deceit; that was a depraved generation, perverse/angry and savage, they did not make the mind of their heart resolute.*]

Whilst B-T quotes this psalm under ‘gone astray, perverse’, it is a problematic example on many levels. The Latin phrase is *genus pravum et peramarum*, which means roughly the ‘perverse/deformed and hostile generation’. It is clear that B-T has taken the phrase *yrre and reðe* to be equivalent to *pravum et peramarum*. However, there are several reasons why it is a doubtful translation. First, the uniquely occurring compound *earfoðcynn* is translated by DOE as ‘a perverse generation’. The adjective *earfoðe* and its many compounds appears to oscillate between the senses ‘difficult’, ‘hard’ and ‘troublesome’, but also ‘suffering’ and ‘distressed’. Second, as has been mentioned in the collocation section, *yrre ond reðe* occurs as a formulaic phrase in poetry. Third, *yrre* alliterates with *earfoðcynn*. The Latin phrase needs to be translated in such a way that the resulting phrase in Old English meets metrical constraints. It is therefore likely that *earfoðcynn* and *reðe* are already covering the meaning encapsulated in *pravum et peramarum*, and the adjective *yrre* is added here to fulfil both alliterative and formulaic purposes, perhaps strengthening the ‘hostile’ associations of *reðe*, rather than expressing perversity or having gone astray.

In *Solomon and Saturn* *YRRE* also occurs with the potential meaning ‘gone astray’.

[Yp97] and ðurh ðæt his mod hweteð,
 lædeð hine and læceð and hine geond land spaneð,
 oððæt his ege bið, æfðancum full,
 ðurh earmra scyld **yrre** geworden (*MSol*, ll. 539-543)

[... *through this [it] incites his mind, leads him on, and seizes him and urges him across the land, until his eye is full of disdain, depraved/led astray by the wretched man’s sin.*]

The passage speaks of two spirits (*gastas*), one inciting a man to do good and the other to do evil. In his translation, Kemble provides ‘full of evil thoughts... made to err’ (1848: 175), whilst B-T translates this sentence as ‘filled with evil thoughts... and gone astray’. Even so, in his entry for *æfðanc* the following senses are given: ‘offence, insult, grudge, displeasure, envy, zeal’. DOE similarly gives the following senses for the noun *æfþanca* ‘spite, disdain; insult, offence’ or ‘cause of envy’. Anlezark (2009: 95) chooses to translate the sentence ‘full of resentment, through wretched guilt have become enraged’.

As can be seen, translating *yrre* as ‘angry’ is not entirely impossible in this passage. It depends on the interpretation of both *æfðanca* and the phrase *ðurh earmra scyld*. In the passage above, the man is continuously urged and incited by the evil spirit until he is filled with *æfðanca*. We can understand it to mean that he has begun to take more offence, hold more grudges, disdain others and feel spite towards them. The eye – that is, figuratively, mind or reason (see DOE s.v. “ēage”) – is thus either ‘led astray’ or ‘turned angry’ by the wretched man’s sins. The word *æfðanca* is not far removed from the meaning of *yrre* and some sort of connection could be seen here. The man has sinned by starting to take offence and hold grudges, and thus has allowed his mind to become angry. In this case *yrre* is not so much the consequence, but the concomitant of *æfðanca*. However, the interpretation where *yrre* is understood as ‘gone astray’ – and thus a consequence of *æfðanca* – is arguably more intuitive. Because the man has sinned by listening to the evil spirit, by feeling disdain, his mind has gone astray, veered from the right course of action that is represented by the good spirit. Both interpretations are equally possible and in the light of such a strong body of evidence for *YRRE* denoting ANGER, some doubt is cast on the ‘perverse’ or ‘gone astray’ meaning.

3.3.1.4 Conclusions

YRRE in poetry presents itself primarily as a word family used to denote the wrath of God, which is influenced highly by the predominance of the *Paris Psalter* occurrences. The word family is also used in the context of battle, portraying both the protagonists and the antagonists in similar terms. ANGER, where denoted by *YRRE*, is sometimes perceived as a negative quality – when it is a breach of hall etiquette or of moderation of behaviour – but it also appears as a laudable and necessary feature of the heroic ethos, particularly when

accompanied by steadfastness and resoluteness.²¹ Additionally, FEAR appears to be more strongly associated with *YRRE* than with other word families, as seen in the formulaic phrases and from the context of various occurrences. Whilst it is mostly used in the context of the wrath of God, it is probably present in other situations as well. Several uses in poetry bear more similarity to prose usage, as shall be shown later in the course of this chapter. Finally, the rare meanings of ‘gone astray’ or ‘confused’, whilst substantiated by the etymology of *YRRE*, are dubious when considered in specific contexts. Whilst some association with confusion or perversion may have been retained for *YRRE*, it was probably to a small, practically negligible extent.

3.3.2 Prose

The *YRRE* word family is more common in prose than in poetry (503 occ.). It is, therefore, not surprising that a range of texts is represented. As with *BELGAN*, the majority of texts fall under the category of homiletic writing, which includes homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan, as well as anonymous homilies. These account for a little more than 31% of prose occurrences. The second largest group comprises various lives of saints, both anonymous and authored by Ælfric. The third largest group of occurrences is from a single text, that is the Old English translation of *Cura pastoralis* and it is, at the same time, a text with the most occurrences of *YRRE* in a text (followed by the prose *Paris Psalter*). For a more detailed breakdown see Table 3.4. What is also relevant is that *Cura pastoralis* does not feature so prominently where other word families are concerned, which shows a distinct preference for this word family in this text.²² This might be helpful in tracing the developments and changes of preference for all the word families throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

²¹ As such, Gevaert’s conceptualisation of ANGER AS A WRONG EMOTION, which she bases on the etymology and applies to all occurrences of *YRRE*, is not substantiated by contextual evidence, especially since this emotion is so often attributed to God.

²² 16 occ. of *GRAM*, 14 of *HĀTHEORT*, 4 of *BELGAN* and none for other word families.

Text / text type	no of occ.	%
Homilies (Ælfric, Wulfstan, anon.)	160	31.81%
Lives of Saints (Ælfric, anon.)	86	17.10%
<i>Cura pastoralis</i>	57	11.33%
Old Testament (Hexateuch)	49	9.74%
Gregory's <i>Dialogues</i>	24	4.77%
Paris Psalter (prose)	21	4.17%
Rules (Benedictine, Theodulf, Chrodegang)	18	3.58%
Gospels (Jn, Lk, Mk, Mt + apocryphal)	17	3.38%
OE Bede	12	2.38%
OE Boethius	8	1.60%
Letters (Ælfric and others)	8	1.60%
OE <i>Orosius</i>	6	1.19%
Confessionals and Penitentials	6	1.19%
Proverbs	6	1.19%
Laws	5	0.98%
Ælfric's writings (other)	4	0.79%
Wulfstan's writings (other)	3	0.60%
<i>Apollonius of Tyre</i>	3	0.60%
Charters	2	0.40%
Chronicles	2	0.40%
Adrian and Ritheus + Salomon and Saturn	2	0.40%
Medical and scientific texts	2	0.40%
<i>Letter of Alexander to Aristotle</i>	2	0.40%
	503	100.00%

Table 3.4 – Occurrences of YRRE in prose

3.3.2.1 Referents

The most common referent for YRRE in prose is God with around 175 occurrences (34.79%),²³ followed by personal pronouns or nouns denoting men in general, where behaviour of men is considered from various perspectives or didactic teaching is aimed at them, with 92 occurrences (18.29%). The third most numerous group comprises people in a position of secular power: kings, emperors, noblemen, commanders or judges, with 76 occ. (15.11%). The following group numbers 27 occ. (4.97%) and comprises holy men, either church officials (bishops, archdeacons, priests) or saints, although occasionally they are said to never be angry (6 occ.). Anger is also ascribed directly to various component parts of the human being: the soul (9 occ.), the mind (8 occ.) and the body (1 occ.). The usually more common category of referents – a group of people, often enemies – is also present, but to a lesser extent. It numbers 18 occurrences and among them we can find Vikings, heathens, Lombards, soldiers, Jews, etc. A smaller group is involved with familial

²³ The numbers are slightly more difficult to establish with certainty, because in some cases God is only the implied actor (particularly in the parables on the lord or master, where the parable discusses the behaviour of a lord/master towards his servant and the other way round, whilst God is meant as the non-literal referent).

relations (11 occ., with father, son, children, brothers, widow, etc. and this group also contains 3 occurrences referring to women). A variety of characters, both positive and negative, from the Old and the New Testament and apocryphal writings are also the referents for anger, such as Moses (4 occ.), Cain (4 occ.), Christ's disciples (3 occ.), Jacob, Judah, Phinehas, Pilate, and others. Finally, anger is ascribed to the Devil with the use of *YRRE*-words only 3 times and to animals 4 times.

3.3.2.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Co-occurrences, Synonyms, Antonyms

YRRE in prose co-occurs with other ANGER word families, most frequently with *HĀTHEORT* (26 occ.) and *GRAM* (24 occ.), followed by *BELGAN* (17 occ.). Other usually observed ANGER-families appear with *YRRE* rarely, considering the total number of occurrences – *WŌD* (5 occ.), *WĒAMŌD* (4 occ.) and *WRĀP* (2 occ.). *YRRE* occurs also with another word family, *ANDA* (14 occ.), which usually denotes various types of strong emotions and passions, which in some contexts can be narrowed down to ANGER. Another frequent co-occurrence is with the verbs *āstyran* and *onstyran*, but these will be discussed alongside collocations.

As in poetry, a group of FEAR words appears amongst the co-occurrences, but it is not present to the same extent (only 11 occ., with such words as *ege*, *ondrēdan* or *geyrgan*). Other emotion words appear, but not frequently (*wilnung* 'passion' – 7 occ. and *hatung* 'hate' – 4 occ.). *YRRE* also occurs with antonyms, the most frequent group denoting PATIENCE (such words as *geþyld* (13 occ.) and *þolemōd* (4 occ.)), followed by MERCY (10 occ., for instance, *mildheort* 'gentle, merciful' and *miltsian* 'have mercy').

Collocations

The *YRRE* family, due to its size, enters into many different collocational and syntactical patterns, some of which can be considered metaphorical or metonymic,²⁴ others showing broader thematic patterns present in prose.

²⁴ Some of these have been discussed in Fabiszak (2002) and Romano (1999), but since neither of them shows the number of occurrences in the corpus, I will be providing my own analysis.

Nouns

Nouns are the most common word category for *YRRE* in prose, and that influences the most common collocations that occur, i.e. adjectives, other nouns (usually in a genitive phrase) and verbs where the noun is either the subject or direct/indirect object.

The nouns of the *YRRE* family are modified by an adjective relatively infrequently. The most common adjectives are those denoting the intensity of anger, such as *swiðe/swiðlīc* (9 occ.), *micel* (5 occ.), *hefig* (3 occ.),²⁵ *ungemātlīc* (2 occ.) and *māre* (1 occ.). Other adjectives associate anger with suddenness, impatience and stubbornness (*ungeðyldig*, *fārlīc*, *ānwille* – 1 occ. each) or with hostility (*gramlīc* – 1 occ.²⁶ and *hetelīc* – 3 occ.). Anger can also be unjust (*unryhtlīc/unryht* – 2 occ.) and sinful (*fullīc/fūl* – 2 occ.), showing a connection with moral evil. Interestingly, both *yrre* and *ysung* are treated as countable in constructions utilising the adjectives *ālc* and *ānig* (4 occ. total), which suggests that the nouns might refer to the instances of angry behaviour or angry feeling. Additionally, the phrase *tōweard yrre* ‘the future/upcoming anger’ (5 occ.) is used to render the Latin *futura* or *ventura ira* and refers to Judgment Day.

The nouns appear alongside other nouns either as heads of the phrase (with the other noun in genitive) or less commonly in the genitive with the other noun being the head of the NP. One such phrase echoes the meaning of *tōweard yrre*, by referring to Judgment Day as *yrres dæg* ‘day of anger’ (4 occ.). Other phrases where *yrre* appears in the genitive case are: *yrres bearn* ‘children of anger’ (2 occ.), *yrres hyrde* ‘shepherd of anger’ (1 occ) or *yrres fatu* ‘the vessel of anger’.

The NPs with *yrre* as the head are much more frequent and attribute anger directly to an actor, usually God, but also teacher, lord and man, taking such forms as: *Godes yrre* (67 occ.), *drihtnes yrre* (4 occ.), *hlafordes yrre* (3 occ.), *scyppendes yrre* (1 occ.) and *deman yrre* (1 occ.), but also *lareowes yrre* (1 occ.), *cyninges yrre* (2 occ.), *mannes ysung* (1 occ.), and *rihtwisra manna yrre* (2 occ.)

The verbs which collocate with the nouns appear in distinct patterns which show several different conceptual links. *YRRE* often appears with verbs of motion. Anger can come over someone (*min x cymð ofer eow*, *x on becymedð*), it can be stirred within someone (*stiere x, beon astyred mid x*), it can be driven out of someone (*x sy ut adrifen*) or it can be turned away from someone (*ahwyrfde Godes x fram Israhela folce*) or, alternatively, it

²⁵ This also shows a conceptualisation of ANGER IS HEAVY.

²⁶ *Gramlīc* can also be taken as meaning ‘angry’ and could be grouped with the adjective *unrōt* ‘sad, troubled, angry’ (1 occ.).

itself can turn somewhere (x *awendan*). In these cases anger is a dynamic force in motion, either external – a force that works on someone from the outside, like God’s anger coming down on the people of Israel – or internal – a force that moves within someone. The verbs that occur here are (*a/ge/on*)*styrian* (10 occ.), (*be*)*cuman* (7 occ.), (*a/ge*)*hwyrfan* (6 occ.), (*a/ge*)*cyrran* (2 occ.), *awendan*, *adrifan* and *aweorpan* (1 occ. each). Where the motion is performed by the subject and anger is the object we can still see the external and internal differentiation. One can flee from anger or otherwise avoid it (i.e. *Godes x beflugon* (the verbs are (*be*)*flēon* – 3 occ. or *forbūgan* – 1 occ.), send it over someone (*sendan* – 2 occ.) or, internally, rise out of it (*ārīs of pīnum x* – 1 occ.).

Similarly, ANGER is conceptualised in terms of position in SPACE, as it can sit or lie on or over someone (*onsit/gesette* – 5 occ., *licgan* – 1 occ. and *bēon ofer* – 1 occ.). Anger is also a powerful internal force that works on the mind/heart (*mod*) by overpowering it *oferswīðan* (4 occ.), damaging or polluting it (*amyrran* – 1 occ., *gewemman* – 1 occ.).

ANGER, expressed by YRRE nouns, often occurs with verbs for possession, such as *habban* (7 occ.) and *healdan* (8 occ.). It is also something to fear (*ondrēdan* – 6 occ.) and to defend against (*beorgan* – 6 occ, *gehealdan* – 5. occ., *scildan* – 1 occ., and *warnian* – 1 occ.), but also something to be endured or suffered in patience (*geþolian* – 2 occ, *geðyldegan* – 1 occ., *forberan* – 1 occ.), as it torments or makes one suffer (*geswencan* – 3 occ.).

When experienced by men, anger often needs to be soothed or moderated (*gestillan* – 2 occ., *gelīþigian* – 2 occ., *gemetigan* – 1 occ., *forhabban* – 2 occ., *geswīcan* – 1 occ.) or is outright prohibited (*forbiddan* – 1 occ.), even though it has been given to us for specific reasons (*forgifan* – 7 occ.).

A number of verbs correspond to the conceptualisation of ANGER IS A LIVING ENTITY, ANGER IS HEAT/FIRE, and ANGER IS A LIQUID (noticed by both Romano (1999) and Fabiszak (1999)), though they are not as frequent. Anger lives or has a place of abode somewhere (*wunan* – 1 occ., *habban wununge* – 3 occ.), it can grow (*weaxan* – 1 occ.) and wake (*aweccan* – 4 occ.). Anger is also kindled or burns (*onālan* – 4 occ, *bærnan* – 1 occ.) and can fill a person like a container (*gefyllan* – 2 occ.). Anger also has intoxicating powers when one can be *drunk* on it (*oferdrincan* – 1 occ.).

In fact, the collocational patterns for the nouns reflect the two different thematic strands present in prose (which will be discussed below), that is the differentiation between the anger felt, experienced and expressed by God and the one experienced by man.

Adjectives and Past Participles

The most common collocational pattern for the *YRRE* adjectives (and also present and past participles) with verbs, is a construction with *bēon* ‘to be’ or *weorþan* ‘to become’ in a variety of tenses and moods (90 occ.), in such phrases as *And he wearþ ða yrre* or *he bið eac yrre*. Occasionally (only 7 occ.), *YRRE* occurs with the verbs *ge/beseon*, where anger is clearly visible to the onlooker.

This external visibility is partially reflected where the adjective modifies the nouns denoting countenance (3 occ.) such as *andwlitan* or *ansȳn*, or words (2 occ.). More often, however the adjective modifies the noun *mōd* (7 occ.), either simply as *yrre mōde* (‘with an angry heart/mind’) or in a prepositional phrase *yrre on mōde*. This shows the internal workings of anger on the mind.

YRRE appears to refer to strong emotions of anger, which is underscored by the fact that the adverb *swīðe* or *swīðlice* ‘greatly’ occurs with the adjectives 40 times. Some other adverbs of intensity are *wōðlice*, *ungemetlice*, *hātheortlice* (once each).

Verbs

Since verbs occur relatively infrequently in this family, there are few strong collocational patterns. However, amongst the adverbs modifying the verbs, we can see again the adverb of intensity *swīðe* or *swīðlice* (4 occ.), as well as *deofolllice* ‘devilishly’ (3 occ.) and ‘madly’ *wōðlice* (1 occ.). The verb usually governs the preposition meaning ‘against’, such as *wið* (15 occ.) or *ongean/agean* (7 occ.).

General

Regardless of the grammatical category of the *YRRE* word in question, there are certain collocational patterns that are widespread. One of the most prominent is what has previously been referred to as the SPEECH-scenario, where the ANGER-words (most often verbs and adjectives) are followed by a speech verb, such as *hētan*, *cweþan*, *biddan*, *clypian* or *ascian*. In the case of *YRRE* this accounts for 54 occ. Some of the possible phrases are:

- he forhogode hi & swyðe **yrre bebead** his mannum
- Ða wearð Iacob **yrre & cwæð**
- And he **clypað** to him on his **yrre**

○ Pa **yr**sode Quintianus and **het**

Far less frequently (only 6 times) *YRRE*-words can be followed by verbs of motion (similarly to cases discussed in the poetry section). Among the verbs are *gān* ‘go’ (in the past tense, *ēode* – 2 occ.), *arīsan* ‘arise’ (3 occ.), *gewītan* ‘to depart’ (1 occ.).

3.3.2.3 Case Studies

The Angry God – Punishment from Heavens

As was previously mentioned, God is the most common referent for *YRRE* in both prose and poetry. In prose, the representations of the wrathful deity can be found in a variety of contexts and text types. The two types of representation discussed in the poetry section – immediate anger in response to a situation and God’s anger as a force – can also be observed here.

One of the commonly occurring themes is when God’s wrath is synonymous with punishment sent down in the form of powerful natural forces, such as fire, pestilence or tempest, or, alternatively, wrought by God’s chosen agents, such as various enemies or groups of men. This can be seen in the Biblical material sourced from the Hexateuch (e.g. Deuteronomy, Numbers, Exodus or Ælfric’s homilies which contain Biblical accounts), as well as in more historiographical accounts from Bede or *Orosius*, or in other homilies. The punitive function of God’s anger is very much the focus in such passages. Below are several examples of this type of occurrence with a short commentary on each of them.

[Ypr165]

Nimaþ eowre wæpn & gað forð mid me & wrecað Godes **yrre** on þam mannum þe hine forlæten habbað (Exodus 32.27)

[*Take your weapons and go forth with me and wreak God’s anger on the men who have abandoned him.*]

Here, Moses talks to the Levites and takes an armed group of men to punish the Israelites for worshipping the golden calf instead of God. God’s anger is *wrecan* (avenged or wreaked) on them, through the weapons of men.

In the following two examples from the Book of Numbers God’s anger is introduced with the phrase *ða wearð X**yrre*** and the form of punishment (fire, plague) follows immediately after.

[Ypr167]

ða wearð he **yrre**, & Drihtnes fyr wearð onæled & forbærnde þone ytemestan dæl þæs folces. (Numbers 11.1)

[...then he became angry and the Lord's fire was kindled and burned up the outermost part of the people]

[Ypr169]

ða wearð Drihten **yrre**, & sloh ðæt folc mid swyðe miclum wite. (Numbers 11.33)

[Then the Lord became angry and struck the people with a very great plague]

In *Orosius* we can see a combination of God's punishment rendered in terms of both fire and an attack of enemies. Rome is invaded by Gauls and burnt down by them, but it is the heavenly fire that is truly to be feared.

[Ypr461]

Ðær wæs gesiene Godes **irre**, þa hiora ærenan <beamas> & hiora anlicnessa, þa hie ne mehton from Galliscum fyre forbærnde weorþan; ac hi hefenisc fyr æt ðæm ilcan cyrre forbærnde (*Orosius*, Book 2)

[The anger of God was seen there, when their brazen beam and their statues could not be burnt down by the Gaulish fire; but at the same time the heavenly fire destroyed them.]

Another example of natural forces seen as an extension of God's will can be seen in a non-Biblical context, in Gregory's *Dialogues* where Bishop Maximianus of Syracuse, during his return to Rome, chances upon a great storm. The raging storm is represented as God's anger, whilst Maximianus' survival is seen in terms of God's gift or favour.

[Ypr387]

& þa þa he eft cyrde to Rome to þam minum mynstre, þa wearð he befangen & onstýred mid swiðlicre hreonesse in Atriacio þam sæ. Þa oncneow he & ongæt þæs ælmihtigan Godes **eorre** & eac his gife mid ungeehtedlicre ændebyrdnesse. Witodlice hit gelamp, þæt þa yþa reðgodon in heora þeawe & wæron upp ahafene for þara winda mycelnessum swa swiðe (GDPref and 3 (C))

[When he afterwards turned towards Rome, to my monastery, he was seized and stirred with a great tempest on the Adriatic Sea. Then he recognised and saw the anger of the almighty God and also his grace, in extraordinary manner. Truly it so happened that the waves raged in their manner and were raised up because of such great power of the winds.]

Wulfstan's frequent use of *Godes irre* (God's anger) to refer to the various misfortunes that befall the English in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* can be seen as following this pattern.

Wulfstan uses this phrase 23 times.²⁷ The Scandinavian invaders are a tool of God's punishment, because God's anger is directed at the English preventing them from achieving victory:

[Ypr440]

and Engle nu lange eal sigeleas & to swiðe geyrgde þurh Godes **irre**, & flotmen swa strange þurh Godes þafunge þæt oft on gefeohte an fealleð tyne & twegen oft twentig... (WHom 20.2)

[And the English for a very long time now have been victory-less and greatly disheartened/frightened through God's anger and the seamen have been so strong through God's permission that often in battle one puts ten to flight and two can make twenty flee.]

In an anonymous homily *In Letania Maiore*, the fall of the city of Vienna is described in the following terms:

[Ypr83]

Þæt wearð mycel eorðstyrung and feollon gehalgode godes cyrcean & manega hus hruran and comon wilde deor and tosliton and abiton ealles to fela þurh godes **yrre** and ðæs cyninges botl wearð mid heofonlicum fyre forbærned and fela ungelimpa gewearð for folces synnan. (HomS 30 (TristrApp 2))

[Then there was a great earthquake and the consecrated churches of God and many houses fell down, and wild animals came and tore to pieces and devoured all too many <people> because of God's anger and the king's hall was burned with heavenly fire and many misfortunes happened because of the people's sins.]

Whitelock (1963: 22) suggests that this might be Wulfstan's alteration of Ælfric's homily *De Letania Maiore*, particularly with regards to the addition of the phrase *þurh godes yrre*, and it seems like Wulfstan's frequent use of God's anger as a rhetoric device substantiates this position.

God's Anger as a Guarantee of Proper Behaviour

As a natural extension of the punitive function, God's anger also serves a corrective purpose for both laymen and clerics, as a powerful deterrent that is supposed to ensure proper behaviour and the observance of Christian rules. This is particularly the case in

²⁷ In those works that the DOE Corpus cites as authored by Wulfstan. There may be other uses in texts attributed to Wulfstan that the DOE does not overtly mark as such. There are several Napier homilies that are authored by Wulfstan but are not ascribed the 'W' letter.

homiletic writings. A number of such occurrences of *YRRE* concentrate on the importance of Sunday observance, as in the following passages:²⁸

[Ypr404]

gef ge ne willað get healdan sunnandæges bebod and sæternes ofer non and þære monannihte, þonne becumaþ get ofer iow micel goddes **erre**. HomU 35.2 (Nap 44)

[If you will not wish to hold the observance of Sunday and Saturday afternoon and the Monday eve, then a great God's anger shall come over you.]

Passage [Ypr130] below combines the importance of Sunday's observance with the image of God whose anger is a force that works through natural and man-induced forces, such as hunger, war, pestilence and captivity:

[Ypr130]

hig syndon to <healdanne> on sunnandagum, forþan se sunnandæg is se forma dæg ealra daga, and he bið se endenyhsta æt þyssere worulde ende. And, gif ge þis nellað healdan, cwæð god, ic wylle swingan eow mid þam smeartestum swipum, þæt is, þæt ic witnige eow mid þam wyrstan wite, swa þæt ic sende ofer eow min **yrre** on feower wisan, þæt is, hunger and sweordes ecge, cwyld and hæftnunge. (HomU 46 (Nap 57))

[...they are to observe Sunday, because Sunday is the first day of all the days, and it will be the last at the end of the world. And if you will not wish to observe it, said God, I will flog you with the most painful rods, that means, that I shall punish you with the worst of torments, that I shall send over you my anger in four ways, that is: hunger, sword's edge, pestilence and captivity.]

The final passage below, apart from stressing the importance of Sunday, contains another element that occurs often in conjunction with God's anger, that is the advice to protect or shield oneself from it through correct behaviour.

[Ypr123]

And drihten sende his agen handgewrit on Sanctus Petrus heahaltare <in> his circan,... þæt he get wolde his mildheortnesse on us gecyðan and us sæcgan, hu we us gehealdan sceoldan wið godes **yrre**, and hu he wið us gedon wolde, gif we ne woldan healdan sunnandæges bebod and sæternesdæges ofer non and þære monannihte. (HomU 35.1 (Nap 43))

[And the lord sent his own writing onto St Peter's high altar in his church, that he wished to make his mercy known to us and tell us, how we must protect

²⁸ This is quite similar to Munich 9550 Quia nescitis illum custodire, propter hoc venit ira Dei super vos (Haines 2010: 47).

ourselves from God's anger, and how he would deal with us if we were not to hold the observance of Sunday and Saturday afternoon and Monday's eve]

As has been mentioned in the collocations section, different verbs are used here, such as *beorgan*, *gehealdan*, *warnian* or *scyldan*:

[Ypr262]

ealle mæssepreostas we biddað & lærað, þæt hy beorgan heom sylfum wið Godes **yrre**. (LawVAtr)

[We ask and teach all the mass-priests that they should shield themselves from God's anger]

[Ypr263]

& ealle Godes þeowas, & huruþinga sacerdas, we biddað & lærað, þæt hy Gode hyran & clænnesse lufian & beorhgan him sylfum wið Godes **yrre**. (LawVIAtr)

[and all God's servants, and x priests we ask and teach, that they listen to God, love chastity and shield themselves from God's anger]

[Ypr259]

<Swylc> is to beþencenne and wið Godes **yrre** to warnienne symle. (WPol (2.1.1 (Jost)))

[Such is to think and to always guard against God's anger]

A large number of these occurrences appears to be directly authored and/or attributed to Wulfstan, and the figure of an angry God permeates his writing whether it is homilies or laws (Trilling 2007: 62). Most significant here is his marked preference for *YRRE* to denote God's anger, in contrast to other word families. *YRRE* is the destructive, powerful anger of God that causes misfortunes and shows itself in natural disasters or the attack of enemies. It is to be feared and, more importantly, to be guarded against through correct behaviour, such as chastity and Sunday observance.

Naturally, God's anger is not found exclusively in Wulfstan's writings. An example from Theodulf's *Capitula* shows the threat of God's anger for corrective purposes, though in a slightly different fashion. Following the wisdom of Solomon, the *Capitula* stresses that corporal punishment for children is much better than for them to suffer God's anger. Thus, corporal punishment is the corrective measure, but ultimately it is God's anger that is the feared punishment.

[Ypr251]

Forþy is gehwæm micele betere þæt he her his bearn þreage for his misdædum þonne sy him þær Godes **yrre** gehealden. (ThCap 1 (Sauer))

[Because it is much better that he here punishes his child for his misdeeds rather than God's anger be held against him there.]

Advice for Men

Another commonly occurring theme for *YRRE* concentrates on the dangers of exhibiting anger by men and the ways to deal with this emotion when it does happen. The effects that anger has on the soul and mind are also discussed, as well as the legal or moral consequences of acting upon anger. A separate group of occurrences also deals with anger exhibited by rulers and judges and how the emotion affects their responsibilities.

Both secular and ecclesiastical advice stresses the importance of patience and control over anger. Men should not be too quick to anger, nor allow that anger to linger in the mind for too long. A common motif is that anger should not last after the setting of the sun. Once the emotion is felt, it should not be acted upon. Additionally, ANGER is often responsible for making men irrational and unable to distinguish right from wrong. Below are several examples that illustrate one or more of these principles:

[Ypr314/315/316]

Ne beo ðu to **yrsigende**: of **yrsunge** wexð hatunge, & of ðære geþwærnisse lufu. Ðær þær þu niede **yrnian** scyle, gemetga þæt þeah. (Prov 1 (Cox))

[Do not be too prone to anger (angering?): hate grows from anger, and love grows from patience. When you must be angry, do so in moderation]

[Ypr89]

...ne to **yðbelige** ne syn ne to langsum **yrre** hæbben... (HomS 40.1 (Nap 49))

[We should not be too quickly enraged, nor hold anger for too long.]

[Ypr146/147]

Ne beo ðu on þinum **yrre** to anwille, forþon þæt **yrre** oft amyrræð monnes mod þæt he ne mæg þæt ryht gecnawan. (Prov 1 (Cox))

[Do not be too stubborn in your anger, because anger often impairs a man's mind so that he is not able to recognise what is right.]

YRRE is also juxtaposed with the Christian virtue of *patientia* and virtues of restraint are extolled.

[Ypr364]

Seo feorðe mihte is *Pacientia*, þæt is geðyld gecweðen, þæt se man beo geðyldig & þolemod for Gode, & læte æfre his gewitt geweldre þone his **eorre**...
(ÆAbus (Warn))

[The fourth virtue is Patientia, that is this which is called Patience, so that the man is patient and patient on account of God and should always allow his reason to rule over his anger]

[Ypr243]

Yrre ne sceal mon fulfremman; **yrsunge** tidelice sceal mon gehealdan; facn ne sceal mon on heortan gehabban (BenR)

[One must not act out one's anger, the anger must be felt only temporarily, and treachery should not be had in the heart]

Whilst they do not strictly fit within the category of ‘advice’, confessional writings and canonical laws discuss anger and its expression, showing how it could have been socially regulated in everyday life with regard to applied penance. The most common result of anger seems to be assault, murder or fighting, and special provisions are in place to take account of the influence of the emotional state in the final penance imposed on the perpetrator:

[Ypr392]

Gyf man slyhð oðerne on morð on **eorran** mode and mid behydnyse, fæste IV gear, sume willað VII. (Conf 1.1 (Spindler))

[If one strikes another to death with an angry mind and in secrecy, he should fast four years; some will fast for seven.]

[Ypr255]

Se ðe man ofsleað on folcgefeakte, XL daga fæste, and gif he hit þurh **yrre** do, III gear bete. Gyf he ðurh druncen oððe þurh oðerne cræft man ofslea, III gear fæste oððe ma. (Conf 5 (Mone))

[If he kills a man in battle, he should fast 40 days, and if he does it in anger, he should make amends/repent? for 3 years. If he does it because of drink, or through some other means kills someone, he should fast three years or more.]

The fuller version is as follows:

[Ypr256]

Se þe be his hlafordes hæse man ofslea XL daga fæste, gif he hit þurh yrre do III gear bete, gif he hit holinga do, fæste I gear, gif he hit þurh gedrinc oþþe þurh oþerne uncræft man acwelle, III gear fæste, gif he þurh unnytte ceaste man ofslea, fæste X gear. (Conf 5.1 (Thorpe))

[If someone kills another on his lord's command he should fast forty days, if he does it because of anger, he should make amends for three years, if he does so without cause, he should fast one year, if he does it because of drink, or kills the man through some other evil craft, he should fast three years, if he kills another because of unnecessary strife/scandal, he should fast for ten years.]

In both [Ypr255] and [Ypr256] we can see a clear gradation of consequences for murder, depending on the extenuating circumstances. Killing someone during battle or because of the lord's command is clearly less harmful to one's soul than killing someone in anger. However, killing someone without a cause, or when drunk or by some crafty or evil means is worse still. Some sources, like ÆEtat, will go as far as to say that:

[Ypr49]

Þæt is seo mæste <synn><þæt><man><unscyldigne> mann ofslea for his yrre... (ÆEtat)

[It is the greatest sin when a man kills someone innocent because of his anger]

All these passages stress the difference between killing in battle, often in defence of one's own country, and anger-inspired murder. This can also be seen in Ælfric's writings when he discusses the concept of *iustum bellum*:

[Ypr13]

Iustum bellum is rihtlic gefeoht wið ða reðan flotmenn, oþþe wið oðre þeoda þe eard willað fordon. Unrihtlic gefeoht is þe of yrre cymð. (ÆLS (Maccabees))

[Iustum bellum is righteous war against the cruel seamen, or against other peoples who would wish to bring the realm to ruin. Unrighteous war comes from anger.]

As can be seen, whilst killing and battle can be justified as long as they serve protective measures, they are not to be endorsed if they are done under the influence of anger. This provision is probably more appropriately directed at rulers who can wage war, rather than ordinary men. This brings us to another type of advice, which is aimed specifically at people in position of power who could be prone to anger, such as kings, rulers and judges. *Cura pastoralis* deals in great detail with the problem of ANGER in general and of people in position of power in particular. In the Latin original *rector* can refer to both secular rulers

and church officials and the same applies to Old English. In short, the advice presented in *Cura pastoralis* can be summarised as follows:

- A ruler should not be too quick to anger. ([Ypr413] *to hræd ierre*)
- Anger makes one unaware of what one does and irrationality interferes with the meting out of justice) ([Ypr452] *...nat huæt he on ðæt irre deð*)
- Anger dissolves the bonds between lord and follower and leads to discord ([Ypr417] *gremeð ðæt ierre ðæt hie wealwiað on ða wedenheortnesse, & ðurh ðæt wierð toslieten sio stilnes hiera hieremonna modes*)
- Angry rulers falsely think their anger is 'just' ([Ypr419] *hie wenað ðætte hiera hierre sie ryhtwislic anda*)
- Their mind is turned to anger via pride ([Ypr414] *ðæt mod ðara ricena for upahæfenesse bið to ierre gehwierfed*)

There is a marked preference in *Cura pastoralis* to use *YRRE* for ANGER, though other word families are used as well.

Royal anger is discussed elsewhere with the use of *YRRE* by others as well, For instance in Ælfric:

[Ypr45]

& swa hwæt swa he wrece wrece for rihtwisnysse na for his agenum **yrre** ac for Godes ege. (ÆAbus (Mor))

[*Whatever he avenges he should avenge it because of righteousness, not because of his own anger, but for God's fear.*]

The negative influence of ANGER on rationality can be seen not only in ordinary men or kings, but also in judges:

[Ypr265]

Se hatheorta dema ne mæg he behealdan ðas domes riht, for ðan þe for ðæs **yrres** dimnesse he ne mæg geseon ðas rihtes beorhtnesse. (LawIudex)

[*The angry judge cannot judge correctly, because the darkness of anger makes it impossible for him to see the brightness of the 'right'.*]

Anger is metaphorically darkening or blinding the judge, so that he cannot see the light, which is a righteous and correct judgement. This fits well with the overall portrayal of anger as a dangerous quality of mind that can occasionally overpower men and make them irrational, and that needs to be controlled at all cost.

Anger as One of the Vices

Following in a similar vein, ANGER is very often seen as a sin and incorporated into various lists of vices. These occurrences all follow a similar pattern, usually of a short and comprehensive list of vices. Some texts expand a little on the significance of anger as a vice, but these are rarer. The vices accompanying anger are many and varied²⁹ and the lists are not fully consistent with each other. Below are just a few selected examples:

[Ypr76]

is þæt forme, gyfernes, þæt is þare wombe fræcnes; oþer is derneligere; þridde is sleacmodnes, & unrotnes; feorþe is gytsung; fifte is ydel wuldor; sixte is æfest; seofode **yrre**; eahtoðe oferhyd... (HomS 11.1 (Belf 5))

[The first is gluttony, that is the peril of the stomach; the second is adultery; third is melancholy and sadness, fourth is avarice, the fifth is vainglory, sixth is envy, seventh wrath, eighth pride...]

[Ypr127]

Se oðer *inuidia*, þæt is anda.

Se ðridda is *ira*, þæt is **yrre**.

Se feorða is *tristitia*, þæt is unrotnes. (HomU 38 (Nap 47))

[The second is inuidia, that is jealousy. The third is ira, that is wrath. The fourth is tristitia, that is sadness.]

[Ypr136]

And beorgað eow wið þa eahta heafodleahtras, þæt ge huru þa ne gefremman, þæt is morðor, and maneaðas, stala, and gitsunge, modignessa, and **yrre**, dyrne forligera, and manslihtas, gyfernesse, and tælnessa, wirignyssa, and lease gewitnessa, yfelsacung, and <oferdruncnessa>, untidætas, and oferdrænceas, wiccecræftas, and wiglunga. (HomM 7 (KerTibC 1))

[And you should guard yourselves against the eight cardinal sins, that you certainly never commit them, that is murder and false oaths, theft and avarice, pride, and wrath, adultery, and murder, greed, and slander, cursing and false witness, calumny, drunkenness, eating at improper times, immoderation in drink, witchcrafts, and sorcery.]

[Ypr250]

An is gyfernes metes, oðer unrihtæmed, þrydde worulde unrotnes, feorðe gytsunge feos, fyfta ydelgylp, syxta æfest, seofoða **yrre**, eahtoða ofermedla... (ThCap 1 (Sauer))

²⁹ Mostly they include the main sins of pride, greed, gluttony, envy, sloth, vainglory, lust, but also adultery, drinking too much, murder, slaughter, sorcery, sadness, etc.

[*One is the greediness for food/gluttony, the second is adultery, the third is the sadness of the world, the fourth is the covetousness of money, the fifth is vainglory, sixth envy, seventh wrath, eighth pride.*]

Some passages expand a little more on the nature of *YRRE* as a vice or a sin, showing its consequences or links with other sins and with other emotions more explicitly. The following passage from HomS 38 (ScraggVerc 20) echoes the themes found in the previous section as well as employing the hydraulic model:

[Ypr87]

Ponne ys se fifta heafodleahter gecweden **yrre**, þurh þæt ne mæg nan mann habban fullþungennesse hys geþeahtes. Of ðam sprytt modes toðundennes & saca & teonan & æbylgð & yfelsacung & blodes agotenes & mannsliht & grædignes teonan to wyrccanne. (HomS 38 (ScraggVerc 20))

[*Then there is the fifth cardinal sin called anger, because of which no man can have the full capacity of his thoughts. From it spring forth the swelling of the mind and dissensions and troubles and offences and vituperations and effusion of blood and murder and the eagerness to cause harm.*]

Anger occludes reason and results in strife and discord amongst men, which can often lead to murder and the spilling of blood. The *modes toðundennes* or the swelling of the mind accompanies anger and seems to be directly caused by it. In the idiom of the hydraulic model, this may mean that anger is the heat that makes the liquid expand.

Whilst Ælfric often prefers to use *WĒAMŌD* to render the Latin vice of *ira*, and in various writings he applies different numbering to the vices, his use of *YRRE* may show an conceptual distinction between the two word families.

[Ypr276]

Se feorða leahor is weamet. þæt se man nage his modes geweald. ac buton ælcere foresceawunge. his **yrsung** gefremað; Of ðam leahre cymð. hream. and æbilignys. dyslic dyrstignys. and mansliht; (ÆCHom II, 12.2)

[*The fourth vice is wrath. That is when a man does not have the power over his mind, but without any consideration puts anger into effect. From this vice comes uproar and offence, foolish rashness/arrogance and murder.*]

Whilst we may consider *weamet* and *yrsung* to be roughly synonymous, it seems that the former is the vice in more abstract or moral terms, whilst *yrsung* is the actual realisation of that vice – something to be put into effect and acted upon. *Abylgness* on the other hand, appears to be the effect of *weamet/yrsung*, that is offence or discord, or anger between people. In Ælfric's second letter to Wulfstan, a similar distinction can be discerned:

[Ypr469]

Se fifta is *Ira*, þæt is wæamodniss, þæt se mann ne mæge his mod gewildan, ac butan ælcum wisdom e waclice **irsað** and mannslihtas gefremað and fela reþnissa. (ÆLet 3 (Wulfstan 2))

[The fifth is Ira, that is wrath, when a man is not able to control his mind, but without any wisdom, in its weakness is angry and commits murders and many cruel deeds.]

Again the vice causes lack of control in the mind, but *YRRE* is followed by actions (murders and cruel deeds).

Anger (as rendered by *YRRE*) firmly belongs in the domain of vices, but Ælfric himself suggests a more positive use for it, which may distinguish it from *WĒAMŌD*.

[Ypr4/280]

Yrre is ðære sawle forgifen to ðy þæt heo **yrsige** ongean leahtras, and ne beo na synnum underþeodd, for þan ðe crist cwæð, ælc þæra þe synna wyrçð is þæra synna ðeow. Gif þæt **yrre** bið on yfel awend, þonne cymð of þam unrotnisse and æmylnysse. (ÆLS (Christmas))

[Anger is given to the soul so that it can be angry against vices/sins and will not become subordinate to sins, because Christ said that everyone who commits sins is a slave to sins. If anger is turned to evil, from it will come sorrow and treason.]

Much as in the real warfare to defend one's realm, in spiritual warfare anger can be used to fight against sins. That is one of the few examples of righteous or positive types of anger found for *YRRE*.

Saints in Oppression and Anger of Kings and Emperors

Another significant body of examples comes from the lives of saints. This scenario has been observed already in other word families and *YRRE* follows similar patterns. The saint is usually held in captivity or otherwise harassed by the figure of oppressor, be it a king or an official. In the face of the saint's steadfastness, the antagonist grows increasingly angry, often employing the SPEECH-scenario and ordering the saint to be tortured further. This can be found, among others, in:

- LS 4 (ChristophRyp) – St Christopher and King Dagnus [Ypr94 and 96]
- LS 14 (MargaretCCCC 303) – St Margaret and Governor Olibrius [Ypr99, 100 and 101; Ypr370, 371]

- LS 16 (MargaretCot.Tib. A.iii) – St Margaret and Governor Olibrius [Ypr102 and 103]
- ÆLS (Agatha) – St Agatha and Consule Quintianus [Ypr281]
- ÆLS (Lucy) – St Lucy and judge Pascasius [Ypr282]
- ÆLS (Alban) – St Alban and judge (no name given) [Ypr284]
- ÆLS (Vincent) – St Vincent and Datianus [Ypr291]
- LS 30 (Pantaleon) – St Pantaleon Emperor Diocletian [Ypr374 and 375]

The phrasing found in this SPEECH-scenario can be rendered with adjectives of the *YRRE* family in such constructions as *þa wearð Olibrius swiðe yrre and het...*, with nouns: *Ða wearð se gerefa eorre geworþan and cwæð...* and with verbs: *Pa yrsode Pascasius, and hi spræcon...*

This scenario can also be found in other narratives, where a figure in position of authority (such as a king or emperor) displays his displeasure and anger at a direct refusal to obey his command or dereliction of duty by his underlings (such as king Ahasuerus: *Se cyning þa sona swiðe wearð geyrsod*, ÆHomM 14 (Ass 8), [Ypr363]). Most of these characterisations are also negative.

Some other YRRE uses

Most other examples with *YRRE* do not form such strong patterns of usage. They are however still relevant to the general discussion on the representations of ANGER, and often contrast with the more common portrayals.

For instance, though generally royal anger is not commendable, *YRRE* is used to characterise the angry lord in various parables, such as the Parable of the Unforgiving Servant. The lord, naturally, stands in for God, so this does not necessarily depart from one of *YRRE*'s primary usages. However, sometimes the anger of figures of authority is justified, as in Prov 1 (Cox):

[Ypr148]

Gepola þines hlafordes **yrre** & þines lareowes & his word swiðe wel, þeah he ðe cide. (Prov 1 (Cox))

[*Endure your lord's and your teacher's anger and his words very well, although he is rebuking you*]

Here the corrective function of anger is once again invoked. The lord's or teacher's anger is aimed at correcting the student's behaviour – much as God's anger is there to correct the

behaviour of all men – in this case, it seems, anger is justified. Interestingly, this is partly influenced by the perspective. The speaker here does not address the teachers and lords, but the underlings, as it is a student's duty to obey one's teacher. At the same time, however, we can find direct counters to prevent the abuse of such actions, in the form of instructions in the Benedictine Rule for Women:

[Ypr339]

Gyf hwilc heora þurh dyrstinesse on maran ylde **yrsað** & þreale gebytt, buten þære abbodesse hæse, odðe on þam sylfum cyldum mid ungesceade **gehatheortað**, underlicge heo regollice steore, forþi hit is þus awriten: ðæt þu nelle, þæt þe sylfe gedon sy, ne do þu oðrum. (BenRW)

[If any of them through presumption/arrogance is angry (in a greater age => older?) and promises correction/reproof/chastisement, but without an order/instruction from the Abbess, or with the same child is angry with indiscretion/unreason, she must undergo the discipline of the rule, because it is said: do unto others as you would have done to yourself.]

Anger can and occasionally should be used as a corrective measure. But because it often leads to being irrational or unreasonable in one's judgements, it has to be exercised carefully and with appropriate authority behind it.

In Gregory's *Dialogues*, we can also find a positive portrayal of anger not exhibited by God alone. Holy men and women can be angry, but only when they are facing the Devil:

[Ypr225]

Þa aras seo halige fæmne & mid **yrrum** ansyne & mid mycclum cleopungum bebead þam deofle & þus cwæð: aga, yrming, ut of ðysum mæn.
(GDPref and 3 (C))

[Then the holy woman arose and with an angry countenance and with a great shouting ordered the devil and said: Away, wretch, out of this man!]

[Ypr385]

Þa færinga wearð se halga wer Datius mid swa manigra wilddeora stefnum aweaht, & he þa swyþlice **eorre** aras & wið þam ealdan feonde ongan mid mycclum stefnum clypian & þus cweðan... (GDPref and 3 (C))

[Then suddenly the holy man Datius was awoken by very many voices of wild animals, and he arose, greatly angry, and began shouting at the old enemy/devil with a powerful voice, and said thus...]

In both cases, the holy person is an agent of God in the fight with the Devil. As such, he or she is allowed to exhibit anger, because it is a righteous anger directed at evil, not at other people. As can be seen in those two examples, anger is associated with verbal attacks. The

loud shouting is one of the tools to defeat the devil. More often, however, saints and holy men are said to *not* be angry and to *not* use verbal abuse. For instance, the Virgin Mary is described in the following terms:

[Ypr106]

Heo wæs þolemod and gestæðþig on hire gebæran and ne geseah hi nan man **yrre**, ne tælan, ne wyrigean, ne nan man ne gehyrde yfel word of hyre muðe gan.
(LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J))

[*She was patient and steadfast in her bearing, and no one ever saw her angry, nor reproaching, nor cursing, nor ever an evil word could be heard going out of her mouth.*]

The phrase *ne geseah hi/hine nan man yrre* or its variations is used for other saints as well, such as St Martin ([Ypr14] in *ÆLS (Martin)* and [Ypr105] in *LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18)*) or St Guthlac ([Ypr97] *LS 10.1 (Guth)*) and also St Aidan and St Chad are said to always refrain from anger. And though cursing is not mentioned explicitly, the saints are also said to have nothing but the word of God in their mouths.

3.3.2.4 Conclusions

God is the most frequent referent for this family in prose. The use of *YRRE* for God's wrath is often accompanied by connotations of strong FEAR and excessive, unstoppable power that draws upon the natural world or external agents. The punitive function of that anger comes to the forefront.

YRRE in prose emerges also as the word family that is most likely to be used for discussing anger in a more abstract way as one of the main vices of men and juxtaposed with the virtue of *patientia*. With notable exceptions, anger is something to be avoided and warned against. It has a negative influence on the mind, it leads to bad judgment and to unnecessary strife, as well as to murder and physical conflict. It is equally deplorable in ordinary men, as well as in kings and judges. In rare cases, ANGER can be seen as positive, justified or righteous, but only in those situations where it is short-lasting and serves corrective (used to amend someone's behaviour) or defensive (to defend from enemies) purposes. Alternatively, it can be exhibited when it is an extension of God's will, as is the case with the holy men fighting against the Devil.

3.3.3 Conclusions

YRRE is the largest word family, and thus exhibits much variety and complexity in its usage. There are important differences between the uses of *YRRE* in prose and poetry: whilst anger can have some positive characterisation in poetry, this is almost never the case in prose. Whilst in poetry *YRRE* is found in the context of battle, the prose stresses the punitive, corrective and defensive functions of anger.

Even so, there are probably more similarities than differences, as in both text types, *YRRE* is most often used for God's anger and associated with *FEAR*, whether in the context of Biblical narrative or of Wulfstan's apocalyptic sermon. One of the most distinctive features of *YRRE* is that it seems to occur more often in texts that have a clear link with the Latin tradition – either being based on Latin sources texts, or squarely situated within Christian homiletic tradition and discourse on the vices.

YRRE is almost entirely etymologically opaque, and the etymological links with going astray have probably been pushed out by the stronger visual and contextual association with Latin *ira*.

Chapter 4 *GRAM*

4.1 Introduction

GRAM is the second largest word family used for expressing ANGER. There are 374 occurrences, 87 in poetry and 287 in prose, across 173 different texts.³⁰ The word family is more common in prose (69.69%) than in poetry (30.31%). In prose, several different text types are represented, such as homilies, lives of saints, Bible translations or chronicles, representing both earlier (e.g. *Orosius*, *Pastoral Care*) and later Old English prose (e.g. Wulfstan's writings). In poetry, however, more than 40% of the occurrences come from one text only, that is the *Paris Psalter* (36 occ.). The word family has a strong presence in Middle English, and can also be found in Early Modern English. In rare cases, it survives into the nineteenth century (OED, s.v. *grame*).

4.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

4.2.1 *GRAM* word family in Old English

Adjectives and past participles show a similar distribution in both prose and poetry. In both text types adjectives are the most common word category (30.48% of total occurrences) and past participles the least common (4.81% of all occurrences). However, there is a high disproportion in the use of the remaining word categories between the two text types.

Though substantive adjectives are used often in poetry and account for slightly more than 28% of all the occurrences therein (25 occ.), they are relatively rare in prose (15 occ., 5.23%). Similarly, the adverb is relatively common in poetry (15 occ., 17.24%), but is almost entirely absent in prose (4 occ., a little over 1%).

The nouns from this word family are well-evidenced in prose, with 79 occurrences (27.53%), but there are only two occurrences of nouns in poetry (2.30%). While the verb is quite common in prose (34% of prose occurrences), it is extremely rare in poetry with an almost negligible 1.15% (only one occurrence). In short, substantive adjectives and adverbs predominate in poetry, whilst nouns and verbs are found almost exclusively in prose (the detailed breakdown can be found in Table 4.1).

³⁰ *GRAM* occurs around 177 times in glosses, which brings the total number of occurrences in the entire corpus to 551.

The *GRAM* family is relatively productive as it comprises fifteen lexemes³¹ (see Table 4.2), though several compound nouns and adjectives occur only once. The lexicographical analysis is based primarily on DOE, as almost all lexemes can be found there (with the exception of *nīþgrama*), and further supplemented by B-T and Hall.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
nouns	2	2.30%	78	27.18%	80	21.39%
subst. adj.	25	28.74%	15	5.23%	40	10.70%
<i>subtotal</i>	27	31.04%	93	32.41%	120	32.09%
adj.	40	45.98%	75	26.13%	115	30.75%
past part.	4	4.59%	14	4.88%	18	4.81%
<i>subtotal</i>	44	50.57%	89	31.01%	133	35.56%
v.	1	1.15%	101	35.19%	102	27.27%
adv.	15	17.24%	4	1.39%	19	5.08%
TOTAL:	87	100.00%	287	100.00%	374	100.00%

Table 4.1 – Distribution of word categories for *GRAM*

LEXEME(s)	no. of occ.	%
(GE)GREMMAN (v.)	119	31.81%
GRAM (adj.)	87	23.26%
GRAMA (n.)	78	20.85%
GRAMLIC (adj.)	38	10.16%
GRAME (adv.)	12	3.21%
GRAMHY(G)DIG (adj.)	12	3.21%
GRAMBÆRE (adj.)	10	2.67%
GRAMLICE (adv.)	7	1.87%
GRAMHEORT (adj.)	4	1.06%
GRAMHYCGENDE (adv.)	1	0.27%
GRAMIAN (v.)	1	0.27%
ÆFENGRAM (adj.)	1	0.27%
GRAMBÆRNES (n.)	1	0.27%
GRAMMÖD (adj.)	1	0.27%
GRAMWORD (n.)	1	0.27%
NĪÞGRAMA (n.)	1	0.27%
	374	100.00%

Table 4.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for *GRAM*

4.2.1.1 GRAM (adj.)

All three dictionaries provide similar sets of senses for the adjective. DOE distinguishing three different senses: ‘angry, wrathful; hostile, fierce, and cruel’, ‘enemy,

³¹ Alternatively, sixteen if the noun GRAMA is treated as two separate lexemes, as DOE does it. There is also one additional lexeme that occurs only in glosses, that is GREMMING or GREMUNG.

adversary’ when used substantively in poetry, and ‘troublesome, distressing, oppressive’. B-T presents them all together in one string of words as ‘furious, fierce, wrath, angry, offended, incensed, hostile, troublesome’. Hall does not differ from DOE and B-T in a significant way. There seems to be a wide range of meanings available for the adjective. ‘Angry’ or ‘wrathful’ refer to emotions, but the others, such as ‘hostile, fierce, cruel’, etc. show association with external, visible and observable actions. It also shows the role of the adjective as a negative modifier for situations which cause distress, and mirrors the usage of the adverb (see 4.2.1.4).

4.2.1.2 GRAMA (n.)

Both DOE and B-T have two separate headwords for the noun *grama*, whereas Hall does not. In DOE, the senses for *grama*¹ are further divided into three separate groups: ‘rage, anger, wrath’, then ‘manifestation of divine wrath; plague, terror’, and finally ‘harm, injury; trouble, affliction’. For the first headword B-T only has ‘anger, rage, fury, indignation, wrath, trouble’, which is also reflected in Hall’s ‘rage, anger, trouble’. As in the case of the adjective, the senses range from anger to the consequences of acting upon it, and finally to a generally unfavourable situation. The second sense given by DOE for manifestations of divine wrath can be seen as a metonymic extension. The *Supplement* to B-T makes the distinction between an emotion and the consequence of that emotion by presenting two senses, the first one as ‘...an emotion in a person’, and the second as ‘...ill effect on another as a consequence of a person’s anger’.

The second headword found in DOE and B-T outlines the use of the noun to refer to devils and is glossed by DOE as ‘fiend, devil, demon’ and by B-T as simply ‘fiend’.

4.2.1.3 (GE)GREMMAN (v.) and GRAMIAN (v.)

Though formally there are two different verbs in the *GRAM* word family, *gremman* (or *gremmian*³²) and *gramian*, their senses are almost identical. DOE provides more contexts for *gremman* as it is the more frequently occurring of the two. *Gramian* occurs only twice in the entire DOE corpus. For *gramian* DOE and Hall give ‘to anger’ as the primary sense (or, ‘to enrage’ found only in Hall). B-T differs here as it provides a non-causative sense ‘to be furious, rage’. Additionally, both DOE and B-T provide ‘to vex’.

³² B-T uses *gremian* form as its main headword and considers *gremman* an alternative form.

For *gremman*, DOE has three separate senses ‘to anger, enrage, infuriate’, ‘to rouse, incite, provoke’ and ‘to revile, insult’. The first sense is further expanded as ‘to offend, vex, annoy, provoke, goad’. The second sense can also be used in a medical sense with the meaning ‘to stimulate, induce’, and the third sense is used in translations of Latin as either rendering *blasphemare* or glossing *incitare*. Both B-T and Hall provide a much shorter list of senses that nonetheless are quite similar to those found in DOE: ‘enrage, provoke, irritate, revile’ (Hall) and ‘to provoke, irritate, exasperate, vex, revile’ (B-T). Once again the *Supplement* offers a slightly expanded definition, adding ‘to provoke to action’ and ‘to vex, to behave ill to, be hostile to’, introducing the association with HOSTILITY for this word.

DOE also has a separate entry for the past participle form of the verb *gremman*, that is *gegremed* and defines it as ‘angered, enraged, provoked; annoyed, irritated, offended’ and also ‘incensed’, which adds associations with HEAT to this verb.

4.2.1.4 GRAME (adv.)

All three dictionaries give similar senses for the adverb as ‘fiercely, cruelly’. Hall and DOE also have ‘angrily’, whilst the senses ‘severely’ and ‘hostilely’ can only be found in one dictionary, the former in DOE, the latter in B-T.

4.2.1.5 GRAMLIC (adj.), GRAMLĪCE (adv.)

DOE distinguishes the senses for the adjective based on the referent for the adjective, and divides it into three separate groups. When the adjective qualifies people, devils or gods, it means ‘fierce, cruel, wrathful’. If it qualifies anger, wickedness, thoughts, intentions, threats, etc. it means ‘angry, wrathful, cruel, terrible’. When it is used of inanimate objects it means ‘terrible, dreadful’. B-T and Hall keep it simply as ‘fierce, hostile, cruel’ (B-T) and ‘wrathful, fierce, cruel, severe’ (Hall).

As is usually the case, Hall does not define the adverb at all, equating its meaning with the adjective from which the adverb was formed (with the adverbial suffix *-lice*). Both DOE and B-T define the adverb as ‘hostilely’, but their choice of the remaining senses differs. B-T has ‘evilly, fiercely’, whilst DOE has ‘cruelly, harshly; sternly, angrily; bitterly, severely’.

Of note is the use of both adjective and adverb as negative modifiers that do not necessarily relate to an emotional state, but often modify unwelcome situations or actions.

The adjective and adverb also focus on the external appearance or impressions of a person (who may or may not be experiencing anger as an emotion), as when *GRAM* expresses the notion of FIERCENESS. They may also relate to observable actions and express such notions as CRUELTY or HOSTILITY.

4.2.1.6 GRAMBÆRE (adj.) and GRAMBÆRNES (n.)

The occurrences of the adjective are limited exclusively to the Old English version of the *Pastoral Care* (See 11.2.5.1). The adjective is meant to render the Latin *iracundus*. Thus all three dictionaries choose ‘passionate’ as one of the main senses of the adjective. B-T and DOE also add ‘angry’, and only DOE provides ‘fierce’.

The noun is a *hapax legomenon* and can be found only in Conf 10.1 60 (the *Use of Confessors*) as *gramfærnys*. It has been postulated that the noun would have probably been formed with the productive suffix *-bærnes*, and would have had the form **grambærnes*, similar to such lexemes as *cwealmbærnes* ‘destruction’ or *lustbærnes* ‘desire’ (Healey 2010: 192-4). However, as this is only one of the possible solutions and goes against the form found in the manuscript, DOE still queries it, though Healey states that **grambærnes* as a solution “makes good morphological sense” (2010, p. 194). Where B-T and Hall translate the noun in more absolute terms as ‘anger, fury’ (B-T) or ‘wrath’ (Hall), DOE defines this noun as a ‘(fit of) anger, bad temper’, emphasising that the noun refers to an instance of emotion (hence ‘fit of’), as opposed to the abstract notion ANGER in general.

4.2.1.7 GRAMHÝDIG (adj.), GRAMHYCGENDE (adv.), GRAMHEORT (adj.)

These three lexemes have been formed in a similar fashion by suffixing a second element that denotes the mind (OE *hyge*, thus *-hydig* and *-hycgende* as the equivalent endings for adjective and adverb) or heart (*-heort*), which can be treated as interchangeable to some extent.

Due to this interchangeability, all three lexemes represent an attitude (hence, *hyge* and *heort*) of FIERCENESS and HOSTILITY (according to both DOE and B-T), e.g. ‘fierce/hostile in heart/mind’ or ‘having a fierce/hostile thought’, whilst Hall assigns them only to HOSTILITY.

4.2.1.8 GRAMWORD (n.), GRAMMŌD (adj.), ÆFENGRAM (n.), NĪÐGRAMA (n.)

These four lexemes occur only once each in the corpus. The preference of all three dictionaries is to translate the *-gram/grom-* element with FIERCENESS or CRUELTY for *æfengram* (e.g. ‘fierce at evening’) and for *grammōd* (e.g. ‘of fierce/cruel mind’), and DOE also suggests ANGER for both of these lexemes (‘angry in the evening’, ‘angry’).

In *gramword*, *-word* can be translated as either speech, word or utterance, but the *gram-* element is given as ‘evil’ by Hall and ‘hostile’ by DOE. B-T chooses a more periphrastic definition and renders *gramword* as a speech ‘expressing anger, wrath, hate, evil’, giving a broader spectrum of meaning to this lexeme

Finally, *nīðgrama* is present only in Hall and B-T and given as a combination of ANGER and MALICE (‘malicious anger, anger and malice’ in B-T and ‘anger, malice’ in Hall).

4.2.2 GRAM word family in Middle English and Early Modern English

The *GRAM* word family is continued in Middle English by seven lexemes: *gram* (adj.), *gram* (adv.), *grēme* (n.), *grēme* (adj.), *grēmen* (v.), *grēmful* (adj.) and *gremth(e)* (n.). OED further suggests the verb *greme* that is derived from the adjective *grēme*. Not all of these are direct reflexes of the Old English lexemes and have either been coined later or borrowed from Old Norse.³³

Most of the meanings observed in Old English such as ANGER, FIERCENESS, HOSTILITY, remain stable and are not greatly affected by semantic development. One major addition is the introduction of SADNESS as a meaning for several of the lexemes. This is particularly the case with *gram* (adj.), with the second group of senses given by MED as ‘bitter, sorrowful’. The quotations for this sense in the OED (‘grieved, sorrowful’) start in the Old English period and end in 1560; however, the Old English quotation comes from *Beowulf* 1. 777 *Þær þa graman wunnon*. This is a misattribution on the part of the OED, as this line is certainly an example of *GRAM* used substantively to denote enemies, rather than any expression of the concept SADNESS.

³³ The ON borrowing is the noun *grēme* (n.), from which two adjectives have been formed: *grēme* (adj.) and *grēmful* (adj.).

Other examples come in the form of the Middle English noun *gremth(e)*, which, apart from its expected sense ‘anger, fury’, can also mean ‘grief’, and is a reflex of a postulated, but unattested OE **gremþu*. The noun *grēme* is an Old Norse borrowing (MED and OED), but shares a similar set of senses with the Old English noun, that is: ‘anger, hatred, resentment; ?martial spirit; injury, harm, trouble’, and also shows the SADNESS group of meanings (‘grief, sorrow, shame’). Finally, OED gives only ‘sad; sorrowful’ as the senses for *gremeful* (adj), though marks it as obsolete, with the latest quotation from 1300s.

A related group of meanings that is on the rise in Middle English and in Early Modern English are those, which express the notions of INJURY, TROUBLE or VEXATION. For instance, the verb *grēmen* can mean ‘to injure (sb.), trouble, disturb; be unpopular or obnoxious’ (MED, s.v. *grēmen*).

The senses of SADNESS, INJURY and TROUBLE eventually dominate and override the previous denotation of ANGER. The noun *greme* is an example of this development. OED dates the last entry for the sense of ‘anger, wrath, ire’ to 1621, whilst the sense ‘grief, sorrow, harm’, or in plural ‘troubles’ is attested in the late nineteenth century (the quotations are dated 1865 and 1872). The gradual development of SADNESS or GRIEF for *GRAM* has most likely risen out of the Old English set of meanings that denote VEXATION, OFFENCE or INJURY, whilst ANGER has slowly gone out of use.

An interesting development in Middle English is the use of *GRAM* in surnames, such as the adjective *gram* in Peter le Gram (1249), and the noun *grēme* in Alexander Grem, most likely to personal characteristics.

4.2.3 Etymology – Indo-European and Other Germanic Languages

The reconstructed PIE root for the OE *GRAM*-family is the verbal root **g^hrem-* ‘to roar, to rage’ (LIV) or ‘resound loudly, be angry’ (GED and IEW). The meanings ‘anger’ or ‘loud noise’ (often threatening) or both have developed in various cognates for *GRAM* in Indo-European languages, for instance: Av. *gramənt-* ‘furious, enraged’ (LIV), Gr. *χρόμος* ‘noise, neighing’, OSl. *gromǫ – gr̥mĕti* ‘thunder’ (cf. Pol. *grzmieć* ‘to thunder’, but also ‘to speak loudly with a threat or reprimand’ (SJP)), Latv. *gremst* ‘threaten’. Additionally, the meaning of a strong emotion, often causing harm is attested in the form of the New Persian noun *مَرغ* (*gharam*) which means ‘passion, affliction, distress, [caused by love or

separation]’ (Hayyim 1934-1936) and is given as a cognate in IEW with the additional meaning of ‘anger’.

Within the Germanic family the lexemes derived from that root are relatively widespread. From the Proto-Germanic **grama-* (EWAhd) we have the adjectives: OI *gramr*, OSw. *gramber*, OE, OS, OHG *gram* ‘inimical, angry, furious’.

The verbs are equally widespread with the Proto-Germanic reconstructed form **gramjan-* ‘to provoke, anger’ (EDPG). The cognates include Go. *gramjan*, ON *gremja*, OSw *græmia*, MLG *gremmen*, OHG *grem(m)en*, all from the Indo-European **g^hrom-éie*. (EDPG, EWAhd, Lehmann). The etymological dictionaries differ slightly in attributing meanings, with EDPG equating all these verbs, and EWAhd suggesting ‘irritate’ for OHG *gremman*.

Like Old English, both Old Norse and Old Saxon use the adjective substantively, either in singular or in plural, to mean ‘fiends, devils, demons’ (ON *gramr* or *gramer/gramir/gröm* ‘devil, demon’ or OS *gramo* ‘the devil’). The meaning of ‘king, warrior’ for the substantive use is present only in Old Norse (Cleasby-Vígfusson), which suggest that Old Norse has either expanded on the meaning or retained an older usage. The denotation of ‘warrior, king’ may be motivated by the link between warriors or kings in a martial role and the concept of HOSTILITY or FIERCENESS which often accompanies *GRAM*.

In Old Norse, the cognate nouns, verbs and adjectives are used frequently in contexts of offending or provoking the wrath of gods, or in ‘heathen oath formula[s]’ (Cleasby-Vígfusson).

The PIE root **g^hrem* is highly productive in Germanic and responsible for several word families (though they do not share all the possible meanings at the same time). In Old English this macro-family includes: *GRAM* ‘angry, hostile’, *GRIMM* ‘fierce, cruel, severe’, *GRYMETTAN* ‘roar, rage, make a loud noise, neigh’, etc. These families can all be traced to a common source and have their equivalents in other Germanic languages.³⁴

³⁴ A further inquiry into the relations between *GRAM*, *GRIMM* and *GRYMETTAN* is necessary, as those words co-occur and overlap to some extent, but this is currently beyond the scope of this work.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Poetry

The *Paris Psalter* contains the largest number of occurrences (36 occ.), which accounts for more than 40% of all the occurrences in poetry. The source with the second largest number of occurrences is *Beowulf* (7 occ.), but the difference between the two is significant (see Table 4.3). The *Paris Psalter* is not a single text but a group of poetic translations or paraphrases of the Latin psalms. In the majority of cases the *GRAM*-words do not have their equivalent in the Latin version, but are added for stylistic and rhetoric effect. A closer look at the psalms shows that some of the uses of *GRAM* are anomalous when compared to the uses in other poetic works.

Title	No. of occ.	%
PPs	36	41.38%
Beo	7	8.06%
And	6	6.90%
GenA,B	6	6.90%
Dan	4	4.59%
Mald	4	4.59%
Jud	3	3.44%
Riddles (4, 20, 73)	3	3.44%
ChristA,B,C	2	2.30%
El	2	2.30%
GuthA,B	2	2.30%
Jul	2	2.30%
Az	1	1.15%
Ex	1	1.15%
JDay I	1	1.15%
KtPs	1	1.15%
Max I	1	1.15%
MPs	1	1.15%
PsFr	1	1.15%
Res	1	1.15%
Seasons	1	1.15%
Wid	1	1.15%
	87	100.00%

Table 4.3 – Occurrences of *GRAM* in poetry

4.3.1.1 Referents

It is difficult to discern a specific actor (understood as acting within the framework of a typical ANGER-scenario) for *GRAM*-words in poetry, as *GRAM* is so often used substantively to denote ‘enemies’.

The referents for *GRAM* in poetry are most often figures in the position of power, both men and supernatural beings, but typically in a martial context. Though this word family is applied primarily to antagonists who oppose the hero or heroes of the narrative, this is not always the case. Sometimes, the protagonists are referred to with *GRAM*-words as well.

Among the referents or actors are: God, kings, rulers (e.g. Nabuchodenezar), warriors (e.g. Beowulf, Anglo-Saxons in *The Battle of Maldon*), commanders of the army, enemies and foreign people (especially in large groups or numbers, taken collectively, such as the Myrmedonians, the Huns, the people of Sodom, Egyptians, etc.), Satan, and devils. *GRAM* is used twice with reference to the natural world, where it qualifies *ceafer* ‘locust’ (*Paris Psalter*, Psalm 104) and *geofon* ‘the sea’ (*Maxims I*, 1.51).

4.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

GRAM in poetry does not show any strong patterns of co-occurrence. It occurs with other ANGER-words, though often does not refer to the same actor or referent. Where it does concern the same referent, the following pattern can be observed: *YRRE* 4 times, with *WRĀP* 3 times and with *BELGAN* once.

Most of the collocations appearing with *GRAM* (adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns) in poetry (excluding the *Paris Psalter*) can be grouped into several superordinate categories: ‘Internal state’ of the mind, heart or spirit, the action of “Gripping” (holding in grip, seizing, keeping in fingers, snaring, capturing), “Hostilities” (enemies, warriors in battle, troops, attackers), “Violent Physical Action” (such as tearing, breaking, destroying), “Speech Act” (speaking angrily and boastfully) “Affliction” and “Sin” or transgression. They have all been presented in Table 4.4

Category	Collocation / Referent		No.	meaning of -GRAM-	word form
INTERNAL STATE	mind/heart	mod	G1	angry	gram
	mind/heart	modes	G69	angry/troubled	grames
	spirit	gaste	G66	angry	gram
	spirit	gastes	G16	angry-hearted	gramhydiges
GRIPPING	bonds	bendum	G74	fierce/hostile	gramum
	captivity	hæftned	G58	hostile/wicked	graman
	seize	onwod	G3	fiercely	grome
	seize	forgripen	G21	angrily (angry-heartedly)	gromhydge
	seize	forgripe	G48	angrily (angry-heartedly)	gramhicgende
	grip	gripe	G11	enemies	gramra
	grip	gripe	G14	enemies	gramra
	fingers	clommum	G5	enemies	gromra
	grip	grapum	G34	enemy	grames
	grip	gripe	G24	enemies	gromra
	set up snares	gryne setton	G76	enemies	game
	set about with wrongs	onginnað mid unrihte	G59	enemies	gramhydige
	HOSTILITY	enemies	feondas	G75	angry/hostile
enemies		feonda	G4	angry/hostile	gromra
enemies		feonda	G64	angry/hostile	gramra
meeting		gemang	G18	enemies	gramra
meeting		gemot	G15	enemies	gramra
host		gang	G7	enemies	gromra
foreign people		fremde þeoda	G57	hostile	game
		heafodweardas			
leaders of the army		herefolces	G41	angry	game
war-men		guðfreca	G40	angry	game
warriors		guðgelæcan	G17	angry/hostile	gramum
creators of misfortune		grynsmiðas	G13	angry/hostile	game
spearbearer		garberend	G79	angry	game
hunter		huntan	G72	hostile	grames
man		guma	G23	angry-hearted	gromhydig
man		guma	G37	angry-hearted	gromheort
man		guman	G30	angry-hearted	gromhydge
spirit / demon		gast	G39	angry at evening	æfengrom
fight		wunon	G35	enemies	graman
flight of spears		garfare	G20	enemies	gromra
locusts	ceaferas	G62	fierce/hostile	game	
VIOLENT ACTION	break	gescæneð	G44	angrily/fiercely	game
	force	nydde	G8	angrily/fiercely	grome
	die	swultan	G54	fiercely/wickedly	game
	tear to pieces	torænded	G73	fiercely/wickedly	game
SPEECH ACT	boast	gealp	G10	angrily/fiercely	gramlice
	boast	gylpað	G50	angry-heartedly	gramhydige
	speak	spræcan	G10	angrily/fiercely	gramlice
	speak	spræcan	G65	angrily	game
	speak	sprecan	G51	angry word	gramword
AFFLICTION	led to affliction	gelæddeð gryne	G45	angrily/fiercely	game
	tried with affliction	costedan	G63	fiercely/wickedly	gramlice
	began to afflict	ongunnon swecan	G22	angry-heartedly	gromheorte
	affliction	wyrgðu	G67	fierce/hostile/wicked	game
SIN	wickedness	inwit	G42	wicked	gramlic
	sins	fyrena	G80	wicked	gramra
	sins	gelta	G81	angryhearted/wicked	gramhegdig

Table 4.4 – Collocations of GRAM in poetry

4.3.1.3 Case Studies

An Angry Warrior in Battle

In poetry, warriors in a martial context are characterised with the use of *GRAM*-words, and often no distinction is made between protagonists and antagonists. It is often the heroes or protagonists who are described as angry, as in the following passage from the *Battle of Maldon*:

[Gv3]
Gegremod wearð se guðrinc; he mid gare stang
 wlanca wicing, þe him þa wunde forgeaf. (*Mald*, ll. 138-139)

[*The war-hero became angry/enraged. He pierced with his spear the proud Viking who had given him the wound.*]

In this case, Modern English *anger* is too limited to evoke the associations that *GRAM* has with HOSTILITY, WAR and FIERCENESS. The warrior in the *Battle of Maldon* becomes *gegremod*, which immediately enhances his battle prowess, as he is able to pierce the Viking attacker. Perhaps there are also echoes of VEXATION in the warrior's behaviour here, as the attack is provoked by a wound given to him by the spear.

It is not only individual warriors who are portrayed as angry, but also entire groups of people. In the passage below from *Judith*, the Hebrews are:

[Gv2] Sceotend wæron
 guðe **gegremede**, guman Ebrisce;
 þegnas on ða tid þearle gelyste
 gargewinnes. (*Jud.*, ll. 304b-7a)

[*Warriors were angered/incited with war, the Hebrew men. At that time the thanes eagerly awaited the battle.*]

Here war has causative powers and can be seen as enhancing or even inciting the feelings of anger, or as other translations would have it, 'fierceness'.

The Hostile Grip of Enemies

The substantive use of the adjective *gram* to denote enemies in battle is common in poetry. Gripping or grappling is an action particularly associated with those 'enemies', partially

due to alliteration. The hostile gripping is, of course, connected with martial actions as in this passage from *Andreas*:

[G11]

Du scealt þa fore geferan ond þin feorh beran
in **gramra** gripe, ðær þe guðgewinn
þurh hæðenra hildewoman,
beorna beaducræft, geboden <wyrðeð>. (*And.*, ll. 216-9)

[*You must go on the journey and give your life over into the grasp of enemies, where the toil of conflict through the heathen rush of battle, the battle-craft of warriors, is threatened]*

Here, the enemies are the antagonists of the poem, the Myrmedonians, into whose hands the saint has to journey. In *Beowulf* it is the hero himself who is denoted as the adversary of Grendel, when the monster ‘realised that his fingers’ power [was] in the grip of the enemy’ *wiste <his> fingra geweald on **grames** grapum* (*Beowulf*, l. 764). The use of *GRAM* in poetry most of the time is not an inherently negative or positive assessment, but rather a designation of a situational role. Though in poetry *GRAM*-words are used to refer specifically to devils (as enemies), this usage is nowhere near as common or apparent as in prose. The passage from *Juliana* is an instance of one such:

[G24]

Hæbbe ic me to hyhte heofonrices weard,
mildne mundboran, mæгна waldend,
se mec gescyldeð wið þinum scinlace
of **gromra** gripe, þe þu to godum tiohhast. (*Jul.*, ll. 212-5)

[*I have as my hope the high guardian of heaven, the merciful protector, the Ruler of hosts, who shields me against your sorcery, from the grasp of enemies/devils, whom you consider gods.*]

This is, naturally, reminiscent of the formulaic phrase in Ælfric that heathen gods are hostile/angry devils, as in ÆLS (George), *ealle þæra hæðenra godas synd **gramlice** deofla* [G125].

The enemies do not have to be presented in a military context or associated with gripping/grappling to be denoted with *GRAM*-words. The notion of HOSTILITY can be more abstract.

The *Paris Psalter* frequently uses *GRAM* to refer to enemies where the Latin *inimicus* is used. The speaker of the psalms often invokes God’s deliverance from enemies or his punishment on them. The adjective *gram* can be used attributively to modify a group

of enemies (e.g. *gramra feonda*, *grame feondas*, of *gramum folce* or even when the enemies are conceptualised as hunters: of *grames huntan*). It can be used predicatively (*þa me grame wæron*) or substantively (*Gif mine grame þenceað gast teorian...*).

The Wrath of God

Once again, there is a significant difference between various types of text, in that what is relatively frequent in prose, becomes quite rare in poetry. God's anger appears only four times, two of them being in the *Paris Psalter*, one in *Daniel* and one in *Genesis A*.

[G1]

Hete hæfde he æt his hearran gewunnen, hylde hæfde his ferlorene,
gram wearð him se goda on his mode. (*GenA*, ll. 301-2a)

[*He had won hate from his lord, had lost his [the lord's] favour, the good one became angry with him in his heart.*]

In *Genesis A*, Satan is the recipient of God's wrath, which is meted out because of Satan's pride and rebellion against God's rule. In *Daniel* Balthazar angers God with his sins, (oðþæt Baldazar þurh gylp **grome** godes <frasade>).

4.3.1.4 Conclusions

GRAM is rare in poetry and when it does occur, it is most often used in the context of God's anger or in descriptions of battle, particularly with regards to portrayal of enemies. It shows greatest affinity with HOSTILITY and a related concept: VIOLENCE. It also shows connections with INSULTS and AFFLICTION.

4.3.2 Prose

There are 269 occurrences of *GRAM* in 139 prose texts. The majority of words function as verbs (91 occ. either as the verb of the sentence or an inflected infinitive), followed closely by words which function as adjectives (85 occ, with 72 adjectives and 13 past participles). There are also 75 nouns and 14 adjectives used substantively and 4 adverbs.

The texts are mostly religious in nature, with some minor exceptions, and more than half of the occurrences are found in Ælfric's works (161 occ.). The texts represented cover homilies, sermons, lives of saints, the Old English version of the Heptateuch, and

various liturgical texts (see Table 4.5). The texts are sometimes a direct translation of a Latin source.

The most frequently attested source is the Old English version of the *Pastoral Care* (*Cura pastoralis*), with a total of 13 occurrences. Here the number of occurrences is almost entirely due to the repetitions of *grambære* as the subject in chapter 40. More interesting are the two other texts with a high number of *GRAM*-words, *ÆHom 21 (De populo Israhel)* (11 occ.) and Deuteronomy (9 occ.), as the occurrences are more varied (mostly verbs, but also nouns and adjectives). *Ælfric's Prayer of Moses*, can be treated together with those two texts, as it has a relatively high number of occurrences (5) and refers to the same Biblical events. All those texts deal with the same subject matter and concern themselves mainly with the discord among the Hebrews and God's anger at them. This will be discussed further in the latter sections of the report.

Text	no. of occ.	%
Homilies (Ælfric's, Wulfstan's, Other)	128	44.60%
Lives of Saints (Ælfric's, Other)	80	27.87%
Old Testament (Hexateuch)	20	6.97%
<i>Cura pastoralis</i>	16	5.57%
Rules	9	3.13%
New Testament	6	2.09%
Letters (Ælfric's and others)	5	1.74%
Gregory's <i>Dialogues</i>	4	1.39%
OE <i>Orosius</i>	4	1.39%
Chronicles	3	1.05%
Laws	3	1.05%
Medical and scientific	3	1.05%
Boethius	2	0.70%
Confessionals and penitentials	2	0.70%
PPs (prose)	1	0.35%
Writ of Thomas (Charter)	1	0.35%
	287	100.00%

Table 4.5 – Occurrences of *GRAM* word family in prose texts

4.3.2.1 Referents

The referents for *GRAM* in prose are most often supernatural beings and deities³⁵ or figures in position of power (kings, emperors, commanders, judges, elders, parents).³⁶ More rarely, the actors are oppressors or tormentors, women (widow, mother, nuns), children, groups of people (the Hebrews, the heathens, the Babylonians), and animals (elephants, ox/bull, lion

³⁵ This corresponds to the two categories of the HTOED: External World -> The Supernatural -> Supernatural Being and External World -> The Supernatural -> Deity or Deities.

³⁶ Admittedly, the supernatural beings often are also figures of power.

cubs). Sometimes, especially in didactic texts, personal pronouns are used in a general sense (e.g. *se þe, hē, hie*, etc.).

The most common referents are those within the supernatural category (132 occurrences), with God as a referent appearing 109 times in total. God, angels, devils, Satan and Antichrist, and false gods can be counted among this category, but also such characters as Goliath the Giant and the mythological Parcas (in Boethius), who might have been confused or conflated with the Furies. Quite common are also men of power (51 occ.), and most often those figures appear in *The Lives of Saints* as major foils and adversaries of the saints. Christ also appears as the referent for the verbs *gremman* and *(ge)gremman* (3 occ.), however this use is rare and anomalous. It renders the Latin *blasphemare* and its meaning is much closer to ‘provoke, insult’. In all three cases, Christ is not the subject of the verb, but the object. The focus of the sentence is on the subject, the first thief or the Jews, as they are attempting to provoke Christ, as in: *An of þam sceapum þe mid him hangode hine gremede & cwæþ, Gif þu Crist eart, gehæl þe sylfne & unc* ‘One of the criminals who hanged with him insulted /reproached him and said: If you are Christ, save yourself and us.’ (*Mk (WSCp)*).

The meanings suggested by DOE for these instances are specifically ‘to reproach, revile, insult’. These occurrences, therefore, differ from most of the other uses of the verb *(ge)gremman*³⁷ in that Christ is not presented as experiencing the emotion and the emphasis is on the actor who attempts to provoke Christ’s anger.

4.3.2.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Some of the most prevalent collocations for *GRAM*-words, especially for nouns and verbs, are modifiers of intensity (adjectives and adverbs), which occur 34 times. The most common intensifiers are *micel* ‘great’ (10 occ.) and *swīðe/swīðlic* ‘very great/exceedingly’ (10 occ.). Another such intensifier is *ormæte* (2 occ.). There are also modifiers, which have the meaning of ‘bitterly, severely’ *biterlice*, *þearle*, or ‘devilishly, wickedly’ *deoflice/deofollic*, *manfullice*. Particularly in the case of nouns, the phrase *mid x graman*, where x is the modifier, occurs 14 times. This suggests that the use of *GRAM* implies a strong emotion.

One of the more frequently occurring collocations in the corpus, particularly in prose, is *godes grama* (eg. in *ÆCHom I, 1* or *HomU 29.1*). Other variations occur as well

³⁷ This verb can also mean ‘irritate, provoke’ with the focus on the one who is causing the emotion, but most of the occurrences use it for ANGER.

(adjectives/verbs) such as *him God gram wæs* ‘God was angry with him’ in *ÆHom* 30 or *hig swa god gremiað* in *HomU* 40 (Nap 50).

Though in Old English these phrases refer most often to the Christian God, there are some parallels from other Germanic material. According to Cleasby-Vígfusson, in Old Norse the equivalent word family to the Old English *GRAM* is especially often used in reference to heathen gods, such as e.g. Óðinn or Freyr. The noun *gremi*, the adjective *gramr*, and the verb *gremja* are all used in those contexts, and in some cases transferred to the situations involving the Christian God as well. Particularly interesting is the appearance of a heathen oath formula, which contains the compound term *goða-gremi*, ‘wrath of the gods’, which can be seen as an equivalent of *godes gram*. Some of the examples in Old Norse are: *goða gremi legg ek við, lögbrot ok goða gremi ok griða rof* (Eg. 352) and *gremi Guðs*, Ísl. ii. 382 (Cleasby-Vígfusson). Unfortunately, there is no information in Cleasby-Vígfusson about the frequency of occurrence across the whole of the corpus, just a note that this phrase is more frequent in poetry. Another Germanic example of *GRAM* being associated with God or gods comes from Old Low German, where the phrase *godes gremi* appears in the Gospels of Luke and John (Galée 1903).

ANGER is frequently attributed to God or gods in all the Germanic sources and various word families can be used to express it. However, the use of *GRAM* and its cognates in several Germanic languages to refer to the wrath of a deity, as well as the alliterative properties of the phrases, may suggest a common Germanic origin. This is further strengthened by the association of deities with ANGER and THUNDER. However, the phrase appears in Old English poetry only once (*Dan*, 1.694), which makes it very rare indeed.

The adjectives and past participles occur in the predicative position with the verb *weorþan* ‘become’ and more rarely with *beon* ‘be’. The nouns are governed by the verb *niman* ‘take’ or appear with *weorþan* in a construction (mostly in *Ælfric*): *wearð mid gram* + adjective/past participle. Among those, the most common is *afylled* or *onfulled* ‘filled’ (4 occ.) which, in this case, would warrant the conceptualisation of BODY AS A CONTAINER for ANGER.³⁸

There is a high number of co-occurring SPEECH-verbs such as *hātan*, *bebōdan*, *ascian*, *befrignan*, *cweðan*, *wiðcweðan*, so ‘order, command’, ‘ask’, ‘say’ or ‘answer’ (around 35 occ.). Those verbs often follow or precede *GRAM*-words, either as part of the phrase or in a coordinated construction, as in: *wearð þa him gram and het* (*ÆLS* (Cecilia))

³⁸ The other adjectives and past participles occur only once and they are as follows: *astyred* ‘stirred’ (G92), *ontend* ‘kindled’ (G148), *yrre* ‘angry’ (G196), *geangsumod* (G100).

or *cwæð mid gramān* (ÆLS (Julian & Basilissa)). Those occur almost exclusively in the works of Ælfric (with one example from Numbers). Acts of speech are often a direct consequence of ANGER, especially with particular types of characters, such as figures of power or the tormentors of saints. The speech acts can also cause ANGER in the oppressor. This can be partly explained by the dialectic nature of most of the lives of saints. Incidentally, though those acts of speech (especially commands) often lead to physical violence, in Old English prose works it is the verbal response that is more frequently the immediate consequence of the event which caused anger, not the physical response (such as, e.g. gripping or violent actions which occur more often in poetry).

Another frequent co-occurring verb that points to consequences of ANGER is *wrecan* ‘avenge, punish’ (13 occ.). It often accompanies GRAM-words, although not in such close proximity and much less often than the SPEECH-verbs. Its presence stresses one of the composite parts of ANGER-scenarios, that is the act of punishment, vengeance of retribution that comes after the offending act.

GRAM co-occurs with several other ANGER-words in apposition or coordination. Those are YRRE (27 occ.), BELGAN (8 occ.) HĀTHEORT (5 occ.). GRAM also co-occurs with ANDA (8 occ.) and RĒPE (4 occ.). These are usually closely coordinated phrases (e.g. *Ic ondred soðlice his gramān & his yrre* ‘I truly fear his anger and his anger’ (Deut)). Occasionally, the ANGER-words appear in two different sentences, but are clearly referring to the same situation.

[Gv81]

hig **abulgon** þam ælmihtigan Gode...

hig (...) þone ælmihtigan God þearle **gegremedon** (Judg)

[*they angered the Almighty God...*

...they angered the Almighty God severely.]

In these cases GRAM has similar meaning to other ANGER-words. Passage [G210] is an interesting example of such emphatic double synonymy:

[G210]

...clænsige his heortan gehwa fram æghwīlcum **niðgramān** and **hetelican yrre** (HomU 30 (Nap 38))

[*And everyone should cleanse his heart from any hate-anger and hateful anger*]³⁹

³⁹ PDE *anger*, rather than *wrath*, *fury* or *rage*, is chosen here to render both GRAM and YRRE, so as not to suggest that one word family is more intense than the other.

Here, a uniquely occurring compound is formed from the elements *nīð* + *grama* and coordinated with a NP *hetelican yrre*. Just as *nīð* is synonymous with *hēte*, so *grama* corresponds to *yrre*.

However, it is not always as easy to determine synonymy between *GRAM* and other ANGER-words. Such expressions are less common than the above examples, but they do pose significant problems of definition. For instance, in the below examples when the verb (*ge*)*gremman* is used, it is more natural to translate it as ‘provoke to x’ with the noun x, being the other ANGER-word.⁴⁰ Similarly, the adjective *gramlice* in [G184] is far more naturally understood as an intensifier rendered with ‘fierce’.

[Gv53/G184]

gremiað to **gramlice yrsunge**, (ÆHomM 15 (Ass 9))

[*provoke to fierce anger*]

[Gv99]

gegremedon to **hatheortnysse**, (GD 2 (H))

[*provoked/angered to hot-heartedness/anger*]

[Gv105]

to **yrsunge gegremian**, (ThCap 2 (Sauer))

[*to provoke/incite to anger*]

Generally, when two ANGER-words belong to the same grammatical category, the dictionaries and translations tend to attribute a meaning from the same semantic field to them, but with a varied intensity (e.g. ‘angry and furious’). When two words belong to a different category, a different meaning is introduced (as in ‘to provoke/incite to anger’ or ‘fiercely angry’), presumably because of the potential tautology of: ‘angered to anger’ or ‘angrily angry’. When the noun *grama* is used, as in *yrre mid graman his folce* “angry with anger towards his people” (ÆLet 4 (SigewardZ)), there is no doubt that both those co-occurring words mean ANGER. Both coordinated synonymy and apposition show that in Old English words of a similar meaning can be used simultaneously for emphasis, when in Modern English they might seem like a tautology.

On the other hand, however, *GRAM* does appear with verbs that mean ‘provoke, vex, irritate’ (B-T), such as *tirgan*, *tyhtan*, and *tregian*. This meaning comes to the forefront in the medical use of (*ge*)*gremmian*, when it is used to refer to inducing vomiting, once

⁴⁰ The verb *irsian* also has the additional meaning of ‘provoke’ in B-T.

together with *tyhtan* and once alone, as in *hine mon scel tyhtan & gremian to spiwanne* ‘he must be irritated and provoked to vomit’ (Lch II (2)).

Relatively rarely *GRAM*-words appear in opposition to certain words and phrases which work as their antonyms, such as: *miltsung* or *mildheortnesse*, both meaning ‘mercy, pity, compassion’ (4 times).

4.3.2.3 Case Studies

The Wrath of God

God is one of the most frequently occurring referents of *GRAM*. Since many of the Old English prose works refer to Biblical stories, they often employ the same (or similar) image of a wrathful God as in the Old Testament. However, an angry God appears also in the context of homilies and sermons, where warnings are given as to which sins and misdeeds are most hateful to God. Therefore, the material can be divided into two categories: the narratives in which God becomes angry, and warnings against misconduct and recommendations for proper behaviour so as to avoid God’s anger. In some cases, those two types overlap. A narrative is often given as an example of misconduct to warn against, and recommendations as to the proper conduct are made afterwards.

In the latter category, different deeds are given as reasons for God’s anger, but the most commonly occurring are fornication, neglecting God’s commands, witchcraft and idol-worship, sowing discord among people, foolish or idle speech, and breaking fast. The way to avert God’s anger is to repent and make amends, for instance by giving alms. After repentance and making amends, it is equally important to refrain from committing the same sins, as this can anger God even further, as in *ÆLS* (Ash Wed):

[Gv23]

Se man þe æfter his dædbote his manfullan dæda geedniwað, se **gegremað** God, swa þæt he bið þam hunde gelic þe spywð and eft ytt þæt þæt he ær aspaw.
(*ÆLS* (Ash Wed))

[The man who, after his repentance, repeats his wicked deeds, he angers God, so that he is like a dog which vomits, and afterwards eats that which it has vomited.]

This example stresses the importance of abandoning sin and wicked practice so as not to be exposed to God’s wrath. It also shows how easily God can be angered when his commands are broken, whether it is in the context of Biblical narrative (e.g. the story of Sodom and Gomorrah) or prescriptive advice on everyday practice.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E, in the entry for the year 1104, uses the concept of God's anger, as expressed with *GRAM*, in a political commentary, lamenting the terrible afflictions that befell England after the Conquest:

[Gv109]

& æfre ealswa se cyng for, full hergung þurh his hired uppon his wreccea folc wæs & þær onmang foroft bærneta & manslihtas: eall þis wæs God mid **to gremienne** & þas arme leode mid to tregienne. (ChronE (Irvine))

[*And wherever else the king went, there was a total/full harrowing by his army upon his wretched people, and there very often among that arson and murders: all this was to anger God and to torment the wretched people.*]

Eleven occurrences of *GRAM* come from a single source, *ÆHom 21*, entitled *De populo Israhel*, and examples from other sources refer to the same story (e.g. in Deuteronomy, Judgement, Numbers, Moses Prayer). God is angry with the people of Israel for opposing Moses. The people accuse him of leaving Egypt unnecessarily; they grow discordant because of the many years of wandering in the wilderness and question his rule. The large number of occurrences of *GRAM* can be attributed to the fact that it is not only God, but also Dathan and Abiron, and the people of Israel, who are referred to with the use of this word family.

The situation quickly escalates, when the people of Israel, led by Chore, Dathan, Abiron, and Hon, murmur and complain against their duly appointed men of God: *Hi axodon ða mid **graman** þa Godes þegnas, Moysen and Aaron, Hwi wylle ge swa mycclum eow sylfe ahebban ofer ðysum folce?* (*ÆHom 21*), 'They asked God's servants, Moses and Aaron, with anger: Why do you wish to elevate yourselves so greatly over this people?'

God's wrath follows this display of unjustified and unrighteous anger on the part of the Israelites. It is destructive and dire in consequences, as heavenly fire comes to burn the people of Israel, not once, but twice. It is only after the intercession of Aaron that *se **grama** geswac* 'the anger ceased' (*ÆHom 21*) as did the fire. The emotion (caused by an offence) and its consequences (the punishment of that offence) are equated in this instance in metonymical use.

The conclusion to this narrative is that one should guard so as not to *gegremion* *god ælmihtigne nu mid urum yfelum þeawum, swa swa þæt ealde folc dyde on þam westene þa, wiðerrædlice to swyðe*, 'anger God Almighty with our evil habits, just as the ancient people did in the wilderness then, too greatly discordant'. The people of Israel, Dathan and Abiron in particular, have not only sinned against God by disobeying his laws, but they have caused discord and internal strife among God's people. This is deemed the greatest

offence. The motif of unnecessary, harmful, discordant dispute among the Israelites together with a *GRAM*-word, is repeated in another of Ælfric's work, the Prayer of Moses, where we read that: *Gode is swyðe lað on geleaffullum folce, þæt hi beon ungedwære and þwyre him betwynan* 'it is very hateful to God in the faithful people, that they be discordant and adverse between themselves'. The discord also appears in other texts, such as HomU 35.2: *geflit agen Moyses*.

The example of the strife between the Israelites and their quarrel with God proves that lexically there is no distinction between justified (God) or unjustified (Israelites) anger, as both are described using *GRAM*-words.

Saints in Oppression and Anger of Kings and Emperors

Perhaps even more typical than God's anger is the scenario found in the Saints' Lives, whereby a figure of power (an emperor, king, judge, commander, etc.) is incited to anger, usually by the steadfastness and unwavering faith of the saint or his or her immunity to torments. As a result, the oppressor immediately orders more torments to be wreaked upon the saint in what he sees as avenging the wrong that was caused him. The phrase *wearþ gram and het/cwæþ* 'became angry and ordered/said' appears 15 times in Ælfric's prose and seems to be one of the formulaic ways to represent the behaviour of the easily-angered oppressor. Passages [G148] and [G114] below show this formulaic pattern clearly, as they contain all three components: the anger (1), the speech/command (2), and avenging of a wrong (3). Sometimes the third component is only implied, but the first two appear very often:

[G148]

Pa ridon þa ærendracan raðe eft ongean and cyddon þam casere þæt þa Cristenan noldon his hæsum gehyrsumian to his hæþenscipe. Maximianus wearð þa mid micclum (1) **graman** ontend, and (2) **het** þa hæþenan faran and þa halgan ofslean, þæt men mihton geseon hu Maximianus (3) **gewræce** his agenne teonan, and eac his goda. (ÆLS (Maurice))

[Then, afterwards, the messengers rode quickly again and told the emperor that the Christians would not obey his order concerning his heathenry. Maximian was incited with a great anger, and ordered the heathens to go and kill the saints, so that men could see how Maximian avenged his own injury, and also that of his gods.]

[G114]

Git þa Martianus for his manfulnysse nolde on God gelyfan, ac wearð **mid (1) graman** afylled, and **(2) cwæð** þæt he wolde **(3) wreccan** his godas. (2) Het þa bewindan heora handa and fet mid gesmyredum flexe and fyr underbetan. (ÆLS (Julian & Basilissa))

[Then Martianus, in his wickedness, still did not wish to believe in God, but was filled with anger, and said that he wished to avenge his gods. He then ordered their hands and feet to be bound with greased flax and to set fire under it.]

Both Maximian and Martianus avenge not only their own perceived offence, but also that of their gods. Both rulers seem to hold the unwavering and firm conviction that they are right to seek retribution, even though they are clearly antagonists of the story, unrighteous and wicked. The immense anger of emperors and judges, often qualified by adverbials of degree (most of the modifiers of intensity mentioned in the previous section appear in the Lives of Saints to describe the oppressor), can be seen as intentionally exaggerated as in the Life of St Vincent, where Datianus' excessive, devilish anger leads him to beat his own people in a manner not befitting an emperor, so that they in turn torture St Vincent more:

[G165]

Datianus þa deofollice **yrsode**, <and><wæs><**gram**><on><his><mode>, and began to sleanne swiðe mid gyrðum his agene witneras, þe þone halgan witnodon, þæt hi swiðor sceolde hine geswæncan. Se halga wer þa cwæþ: Nu þu gewrecst on him ða witu þe ic þrowige for þinre wælhreownysse, swilce þu sylf wille gewrecen me on him. (ÆLS (Vincent))

[Datianus then was angered devilishly and was angry in his mind, and started hitting his own torturers with a staff very greatly, [those] who tortured the holy one, so that they would oppress him [the saint] more. The holy man then said: Now, because of your cruelty, you wreak on them the punishment which I should suffer, just as you yourself wish to avenge me on them.]

The verb *wreccan* appears in conjunction with *wite* 'punishment, torment', and though in this context it is more readily rendered in Modern English as 'wreak or work punishment', it still retains the connotations of avenging a wrong.

Anger and the Devil

In prose the devil is often considered to be the origin and the instigator of anger in men, as *Ælc gramfærnyſ cymð of deofle* ‘all anger comes from the devil’ (Conf 10.1 (Thorpe)).⁴¹ This emotion is perceived as one of the most harmful of sins, often conjoined with other vices such as pride, avarice or greed.

[G88]

Se wulf cymð to ðam ſceapum. & ſume he abit ſume he toſtencð. Þonne ſe reða deoful: tihð þa criſtenan men ſume to forlire: ſume he ontentd to gitsunge: Sume he arærð to modignyſſe: & ſume he þurh **graman** totwæmð: & mid miſlicum coſtnungum gaſtlice ofſlyhð. (ÆCHom I, 17)

[The wolf comes to the sheep. And ſome of them he bites, ſome he tears to pieces. Thus the fierce devil tempts ſome of the Chriſtian men to fornication, ſome he excites to avarice, ſome he raises to pride, and ſome he breaks/disjoins with/through anger, and attacks ſpiritually with various temptations/trials].

[G101]

Ac ſe ſwicola feond ſæwð ungedwærnyſſe betwux mancynne þurh miſlice intingan. and tyht oðerne mann to urum æhtum. and ure mod ontent mid micclum **graman** ongean ðæne oþerne. ðe ure ehtan wile; Þonne forleose we ðurh ða lytlan æhta ða soðan lufe þe is ſeloſt æhta; (ÆCHom II, 21)

[But the treacherous fiend ſows diſcord between mankind on various occasions and provokes/incites the other man to our property, and our mind/heart enkindles with a great anger against the other who wiſhes our poſſeſſions. Then we loſe (subj.), because of the ſmall poſſeſſions the true love which is the beſt poſſeſſion.]

ANGER is alſo metaphorically preſented as breaking or ſevering relations between people and is one of the many ways in which the devil can tempt people and deceive them. In ÆCHom II, 21 ANGER is alſo linked with GREED or AVARICE, but alſo ENVY, for it is the jealousy of other men’s poſſeſſions that leads to anger and diſcord (for comparison and a ſimilar uſe in *Pastoral Care*, ſee 11.2.5.2).

ÆCHom II, 2 details a narrative of a widow and alſo links ANGER with the devil. The widow, the mother of Saints Paul and Palladia from Cappadocia, is bitterly angry (*biterlice gegremod*) with one of her children, who has vexed her (*getirigde*), and ſo ſhe wiſhes to bind the child with curſes. On her way to the church ſhe meets the devil, who takes on the appearance of a man, and ſuggeſts that ſhe ſhould curſe all of her ten children, because they did not weep for her injury/hurt (*hi [...] teonan ne beſargodon*). Because of

⁴¹ This is equivalent to the Latin: *Omnis furor venit a diabolo* from *The Formulas and Directions for the Use of Confessors* (B-T)

the devil's teaching, she is stirred with a great fury, madness or frenzy (*mid maran wodnysse*) and she curses all her children with great anger (*mid micelre hatheortnysse*).

The initial offence results in the widow taking action to punish her son and avenge her own harm injury. The injury is referred to with the same word (*teona*) as in the case of Maximian above (G148), which shows how that injury is a precursor to anger even in non-protagonistic characters.

The devil is not shown as the cause of the emotion, but he only works to augment the widow's anger and to increase the punishment beyond measure. It is clear that *wodnyss* is a much stronger word than *GRAM*, both from this example (logically, there is an increase in anger) and as a word denoting primarily MADNESS and therefore *hatheortnys* might also be more intense than *GRAM*.

The attribution of ANGER to the devil can be seen in the common modifier for *GRAM*, that is *deofollic(e)* 'devilishly' in such examples as: *deoflice gram* [G116], *mid deofollicum graman* [G126] or *deoflice gram* [G128]. This syntactic relation is often turned around, whereby it is *GRAM* which modifies the devils, especially in the designation for the heathen gods as *gram deoflas* (9 occ.)

Similarly, in Ælfric's works, *gramlic* is a frequent epithet for the devil (*gramlic deofol*) as well as for other supernatural/mythological figures such as *gramlic Iouis*, or *gramlic ent Goliath*. While ANGER is of its nature devilish, the devils are also often angry. This bi-directional relation is already quite complex, but it can be taken a step further when taking into account the HOSTILITY meaning found for *GRAM*. The figures of power are also often described as *gramlic*, as in *gramlic heretoga* or *se gramlica Antiochus* and this use can be easily compared with and seen as synonymous to such phrases as *feondlice caesar* and *se feodlica dema*. The Devil is also seen as the fiend or enemy in the Christian faith. However, though in poetry the adjective *gram* is very often used substantively to denote enemies of various sorts, in prose it is used only three times and always means specifically devils.

There is an obvious overlap in meanings and the possible ANGER/HOSTILITY/DEVIL complex can be difficult to disentangle, but on the basis of the poetic use of *gram* in Old English to mean 'enemy', and the fact that its Old Norse cognate has an even broader range of 'enemy, warrior, king', it seems that originally *GRAM* could mean any enemy. By virtue of the armed hostilities between enemies and the mindset required for fighting, an enemy was also expected to be angry or enraged or fierce. The addition of the Christian understanding of Devil as causing anger and the designation of the Devil as the enemy in the Christian discourse, made it easier for all three meanings to become conflated in the

case of *GRAM*. At the same time, presumably other ANGER-words in Old English do not behave in a similar manner and this is unique for *GRAM*.

The Cause and Consequence of Anger – Injury and Punishment

As the above case studies show, the cause of anger is often a perceived injury, harm or slight, and its consequence is an action that ultimately leads to the punishment of or vengeance upon the offender, whether the one who is angered does so rightfully or not. God wreaking his own punishment on sinners is one of the most often appearing motifs as, for instance, in *ÆHomM* 11 (Ass 4), where it is clear that ‘he, who angers his Lord, it will be certainly avenged on him’ (*Se ðe his scyppend gremap, þæt hit bið gewrecen gewislice on him*). The above examples show that people in position of power, such as kings, emperors and rulers avenge their wrong. However, it may also be women who seek retribution.

In the Old English version of the Gospel of Luke *GRAM* appears together with *wrecan*, when the judge complains that he has to take action in the case of a certain widow, who is angry and keeps pestering him (*forþam þe ðeos wuduwe me is gram⁴² ic wrece hig* ‘because this widow is angry with me, I shall avenge her’). Her anger, therefore, is a direct result of her not receiving the rightful vengeance and punishment for the wrong-doers from the hands of the unrighteous judge (*se unrihtwisa dema*) that she feels entitled to.

Sometimes even the elements of the natural world can create an offence or cause anger that requires avenging. In Book 2 of *Orosius*, the river is personified in much the same way as any other offender would be, when one of Cyrus’ servants is taken by the current, the king grows angry and furious with the river (*grom wearð on his mode & wiþ þa ea gebolgen*) and he wishes to avenge his retainer (*he his þegn on hire swa gewrecan wolde*). Though this does correspond to the Latin *rex iratus ulcisci*, *GRAM* is used in Old English together with *wrecan*. Additionally, it is accompanied by a synonym (*gebolgen*) which emphasizes the meaning ‘anger’.

⁴² In the OE gospels the Latin *molestus* is often rendered with *GRAM*, so it remains a question whether construction *me is gram* should be understood as ‘is angry with me’ or rather ‘is irritating to me’ (‘vexes me’), as *me* can be either Dat or Acc, but even with the Dat construction it would be difficult in this case to say with any certainty.

Laws, Rules and Regulations – Anger in Everyday Life

The examples from this category point to actual recommendations, expectations, and rules that regulate behaviour among various social groups regarding ANGER. Texts represented by this usage are the Old English version of the *Pastoral Care*, canonical texts, regulations, sermons and homilies, and in one instance the Anglo-Saxon laws. Though in many ways the uses of *GRAM* in these texts overlap with those discussed above, they differ in their emphasis. The emphasis is not placed on the eternal consequences of sin and anger or its origin, but rather on prescriptive behaviour in everyday life. The recipients of these instructions are most commonly priests and monks, but laymen or people in general are frequently the intended audience as well. Sometimes, a given advice is directed more specifically at parents, children, or women, all of whom are warned against improper behaviour and reminded of the right Christian conduct: one must control one's anger, exert patience and temperance, be merciful and forgiving, and strive to achieve innocence and meekness.

Among those examples we find general advice, as well as mentions of specific situations, such as, for instance, the rule against going angry into a church (WHom 18).

In the Old English version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (CP (Cotton)), we read that:

[Gv96]

se wisa hilt his spræce & bitt timan, & ne wilnað na to hrædllice ðære wræce, ðeah he **gegremed** sie, ac wiscð ðæt hit him gehreowe, ðæt he hit mæge siððan forgifan

[*The wise one holds his speech and bides his time, and does not desire any vengeance too quickly, though he be angry, but wishes that it be repented to him, so that he may afterwards forgive it.*]

This passage exemplifies the scenario ANGER -> SPEECH-act -> PUNISHMENT, but subverts it and provides a different solution to resolve a situation in which one has been offended or angered. It is not vengeance or punishment that has to be sought, but rather repentance on the part of the offender and forgiveness from the one who has been offended. This kind of advice appears frequently in various contexts. For instance, in ÆCHom I, 19, Ælfric admonishes that 'we should be kind amongst ourselves... and forgive the little sins of the men who have angered us' (Gv11 *beon mildheorte us betwynan ... forgyfan ða lytlan gyltas. þæra manna þe us gegremodon*), because only then we will receive forgiveness from God for our own sins.

HomS 49 (Brot 2) is an example of how both parties in the conflict are given this advice. The one who has caused harm or anger (*se þe ær ænigne tionan oððe ænigne **graman** his neahstan gedyde*) must turn to penitence and ask for forgiveness from both God and the one whom he had angered (*æt þam þe he **æbylgðe** gedon hæbbe*), while at the same time the one who had been angered has a duty to grant forgiveness quickly (*hrædlice*). This can be partly traced back to the advice for forgiveness, as the one found in Lord's Prayer (*and forgyf us ure gyltas, swa swa we forgyfað urum gyltendum*).

Additionally, the proper conduct of men is compared to that of a *bilewite cild* 'innocent child' in ÆCHom I, 34. The short-lasting, innocent anger of a child is given as an example to be followed, since a child 'even when it is angered, does not hold the discord/quarrel long towards the one who had harmed it' (*þeah ðe hit beo gegremod, hit ne hylt langsume ungeþwærnyssse to þam ðe him derode*).

As Ælfric advises in ÆCHom II, 41, priests especially are expected to temper their own anger, and that of others by softening it with mildness (*ðurh his liðnesse heora **graman** gelipewæce*). Even if the priest himself is sometimes 'stirred [or: angered] with/against the reckless' (*þam receleasum styrð*), he must then 'temper his discipline with love, and not bring it to excess with cruelty' (*þonne sceal his steor beon mid lufe gemetegod. na mid wælhreawnyssse oferdon*). Similarly, a modest woman is told that she must, among other qualities, 'calm anger' (*gestilð **graman*** (ÆAbus (Mor))).

All these examples show that sometimes ANGER will occur naturally as a reaction to harm or injury, even in people who are thought of as mild or merciful. When it does occur, however, it should not be too powerful, nor long-lasting, nor should it cause harmful and cruel vengeance on others.

There are various attempts at resolving the well-known dichotomy of the Old and New Testament, of the wrathful and the merciful God, and applying it to the prescribed practice. On the one hand, the God of the Old Testament is often greatly angered and metes out cruel punishment, on the other Christ's example shows the importance of forgiveness and God is represented as a merciful father. In the Benedictine Rule, this image is expanded by stressing that, even though he may be seen as an *egeful hlaford* 'a fearsome lord', he is much more like a father who ultimately wishes the best for his children. And even though he is angry with people for their sins, his punishment is to separate people from his bliss or joy, "just as a father does to his children, when he is angry with them because of their misdeeds" (*swa swa fæder deþ his bearn, þonne he him for his gyltum **gram** bið*).

The situation is reversed in in ThCap 2 (Sauer), where parents are told not to anger their children: ‘you should not wish to anger/incite/provoke your children into anger’ (*Nellen ge to yrsunge gegremian eowre bearn*). However, daughters and sons should be taught obedience to their elders, just as people should be obedient to their heavenly father. In the same passage the appropriate conduct of parents towards their children is described in the following manner, with the use of *YRRE*:

Witodlice eac þæt him is to secganne þæt, gyf hy for gecyndlicre lufe arian willað on gyrðum hyra bearnum, na Drihten þa witeleaslice læt, buton of belimpe þæslic dædbot gegearwod sy, for þam þe leohtre is þam bearnum maga swingcela to geþolianne þonne Godes **yrre** on to beyrnne. (ThCap 2 (Sauer))

[Certainly also it is to be said to them, that if they wish to spare their children the rods because of love and according to nature, the Lord does (not) allow for it, but only in the case when repentance/alms would be prepared, because it is lighter for the children to suffer the lashings of kinsmen, then to run into God’s anger]

ChrodR 1 shows not only the prescribed and ideal behaviour, but also mentions the *improper* behaviour of priests:

[Gv103]

nan ne gedyrstlæce oðerne to beatanne ne to amansumigenne. <Sy> on ælcra preostgesamnunga <ælc> þrystnes forboden, þæt is þæt nan ne durre nanne his broðra amansumian oððe beatan, þeah hwa þristlice oðerne to þæm **gegremie**, for þam ne gedafenað him his **teonan to wrecene**, ne an worde ne an worce, ac cume to þam ealdre, and he þonne þa sace endebyrdlice gesibbie. And gif hwa of þisum do þristlice, sy he fram þam bisceope and fram þam ealdre þe under him is, þread.

[No one should dare beat, nor excommunicate the other. All boldness is forbidden in every community of priests, so that no one should dare excommunicate or beat his brothers, even if someone should boldly provoke/incite/anger another to this, because it is not fit for him to avenge his harm, not a single word, nor a single deed, but come to the elder, and he then should reconcile the guilty in order. And if someone does this boldly, then he should be reproached by the bishop and by the elder who is under the bishop.]

Here we gain an insight not into general advice given on anger, but into situations that might have occurred at a monastery. While in previous examples the kind of punishment meted out when a person became angered was not always specified, here it is immediately evident that avenging one’s wrong involves not only excommunication (presumably, in this case in part a speech act), but also violent physical action, and can be a result of either an offending word or deed. Such situations, where a brother would actually beat another brother, because of e.g. a verbal insult, probably did take place. In such case, an

intervention on the part of the elder or bishop would be required. The words *þristness* or *þriste* have both a positive and a negative meaning, with the negative sense given by B-T as ‘bold, presumptuous, audacious or shameless’.

Finally, *GRAM* appears three times in Anglo-Saxon laws. One occurrence is relevant to the discussion on the social regulations of ANGER. In some ways it parallels the themes of mercy and forgiveness. In LawIVEg it is said that when any tenant is late with payment, if the lord is merciful (*mildheort*), this negligence can be forgiven, so that only the due amount will be taken, but without punishment (*buton witnunge*). However, if the tenant proves to be dishonest and withholds the payment *wen is, þæt þæs hlaforðes grama to ðan swiðe weaxe, þæt he him ne unne naðer ne æhta ne lifes* ‘it may be, that the lord’s anger grows to a great measure, so that he will not allow him neither possessions, nor life.’ The punishment that follows is harsh and unyielding.

There are several different themes that interweave and sometimes oppose one another and their moral or ethical evaluation is not always clear. On the one hand, anger is characteristic of figures who are in power and it is their right to be angry and demand compensation for the slights or wrongs. As such, anger would then be permissible and expected. On the other hand, the Christian doctrine stresses the need for forgiveness and restraint, and stigmatises anger as a sin.

Anger on the Mind

The faculty of emotion and thought in Anglo-Saxon is located within the ‘heart/mind’ that is *mōd* (see primarily Godden 1985, Soon 1998 and Locket 2011) and, as has already been suggested, ANGER is caused by an unrestrained *mōd*. As such, it has negative influence on other faculties, such as memory and rational thinking. Mackenzie’s unpublished thesis (2014) discusses *mōd* comparatively in Old English and in Old Norse, but I have not had access to it yet.

In ÆCHom II, 19 emperor Maxentius orders a fake bridge to be built as a deception for his enemies, but filled by a great anger, he forgets about it and rides over the bridge to his death (*he ne gemunde ða for ðam micclum graman ðære leasan bricge. þe he alecgan het. ac rad him ana to. ormæte cafllice*). *GRAM* is used to describe anger of such proportions that it clouds reasoning and causes great forgetfulness. In this case, ANGER is seen as a destructive force working on the mind.

Several phrases and expressions point to the understanding of ANGER as being much more than just disruptive. As has been mentioned, the Devil is said to break or

disjoin through anger (*burh **graman** totwæmð* (ÆCHom I, 17)), and this can point to the presence of the conceptualisation of ANGER IS THE BREAKING OF THE MIND. Godden (1985) argues that ‘unrestrained *mōd*’ is often a cause for anger and murder. In LS 17.2, when the qualities of St Martin are expounded, *grammōd* is placed in an immediate opposition to *on anum mode* in the sentence: *ne hine nænig man yrne ne **grammodne** ne funde, ac he was a on anum mode* (‘nor did him any man find angry or angry-hearted, but he was always of one mind’). DOE cites this occurrence of *ān* as meaning ‘indicating continuity’, and by extension it could also be taken to mean ‘wholeness’.

4.3.3 Conclusions

There are significant differences between the use of *GRAM*-words in poetry and prose, not only with the different grammatical categories and their frequency, but with the meanings and most commonly occurring collocations, referents and types of scenarios.

As far as grammatical categories are concerned, substantive adjectives (most often with the meaning ‘enemy’) are used very frequently in poetry, but almost never in prose. The *Paris Psalter* has a large number of adverbs, which is unparalleled elsewhere. Conversely, verbs and nouns are used in prose very often, but are almost completely lacking in poetry. It seems that only adjectives and past participles, proportionally, are of the same frequency.

The meanings and scenarios which come to the forefront in prose, are those associated with anger caused by someone’s wrongdoing and the subsequent punishment, whether it be meted out by God or emperors, rightfully or unrightfully. The poetic uses of *GRAM*, however, are focused on the martial aspect of anger and on the concept of hostility and enmity. While there are almost no examples of *GRAM* used for warriors in the prose part of the corpus, they are commonplace in poetry. A parallel can be drawn with the Old Norse substantive use of *gram* as meaning ‘warrior, king’. This might reflect an archaic use of the word family, which was originally linked with war and enmity, but became narrowed down in Old English prose to mean the devil, via HOSTILITY/ENMITY and the portrayal of the Devil as Christianity’s ultimate fiend.

Despite the etymological associations of *GRAM* with ‘roaring’ or ‘noise’, there are few passages which provide contextual clues that would justify associating noise with

GRAM. Whether this connotation would be present or not for the users, remains an open issue, although there are rare instances where *GRAM* co-occurs with the notion of noise.

On the basis of co-occurrences with different words and the apparent synonymous or near-synonymous usage, there are several overlaps with other semantic fields, such as HATE, HOSTILITY, FIERCENESS, PROVOCATION/TROUBLE.

On the whole, the meaning of ANGER for *GRAM*-words seems to be the more common, but other meanings occur quite frequently as well, and as the assorted passages show, this word is polysemous to a large degree.

Chapter 5 *BELGAN*⁴³

5.1 Introduction

BELGAN is of average size compared to other word families used to express ANGER. There are 200 occurrences: 47 in poetry (23.5%), and 153 (76.5%) in prose, across 120 texts.⁴⁴ Different text types are well represented. Its occurrences appear throughout the Old English period in early or linguistically more archaic poetry (e.g. *Beowulf*) and early prose (*Orosius*), as well as in later compositions (e.g. *Apollonius of Tyre*). The word family survives, to some extent, into Middle English and Early Modern English.

5.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

5.2.1 *BELGAN* word family in Old English

Almost 80% of *BELGAN* occurrences in prose and poetry are verbs or past participles. Nouns and adjectives are not as numerous, and there are no adverbs (see Table 5.1). The distribution of word categories differs from prose to poetry, as almost 60% of occurrences in prose are conjugated verbs (not counting past participle used adjectivally), and the past participle used adjectivally accounts for more than 50% of occurrences in poetry (see Table 5.2). The derivational base is responsible for various lexemes with the prefixes *ā-*, *ge-*, *for-* and *on-*, though the latter two are found only once each. For most of the lexemes we have data from DOE, but B-T and Hall will also be consulted. The root vowel has many forms that are either inflectional or due to variations in spelling, and the dictionaries differ in their choice of whether to treat a given form as a variant or a separate headword, particularly as the verbs are inflected either weak (-y-) or strong (-e-). Additionally, some lexemes appear only in glosses and these have not been discussed here.⁴⁵

⁴³ In other word families the adjective or noun form were chosen, but in the case of this family, the verb is the main morphological and/or derivational base, which is why *belgan* has been chosen to represent the whole family.

⁴⁴ This is not taking into account the occurrences in glosses.

⁴⁵ These are: *ābolgennes*, *belgnes*, *inbelgan*. Additionally, DOE gives also *bylgedbrēost* in *Riddle 81*, a single occurrence, although the MS reads *by led breost*. The sense given is ‘puff-breasted, having a breast which is swollen (?with pride)’.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
<i>nouns</i>	7	14.89%	25	16.35%	32	16.00%
<i>subst. adj.</i>	0	0%	1	0.65%	1	0.50%
<i>subtotal</i>	7	14.89%	26	17.00%	32	16.00%
<i>adj.</i>	6	12.77%	2	1.30%	8	4.00%
<i>past part.</i>	24	51.06%	33	21.57%	57	28.50%
<i>subtotal</i>	30	63.83%	35	22.87%	65	32.50%
<i>v.</i>	10	21.28%	92	60.13%	102	51.00%
TOTAL:	47	100.00%	153	100.00%	200	100.00%

Table 5.1 – Distribution of word categories for *BELGAN*

LEXEME(s)	no of occ.	%
(GE)ĀBYLGAN/(GE)ĀBELGAN (v.)	87	43.50%
(GE)BELGAN/BYLGAN/BYLGEAN (v.)	70	35.00%
ĀBYLGP (n.)	13	6.50%
ĀBYLGNES (n.)	11	5.50%
BOLGENMÖD (adj.)	6	3.00%
(GE)BELG (n.)	5	2.50%
ĒAPBELGE (adj.)	3	1.50%
ĀBYLG (n.)	1	0.50%
ĒAPBYLG (n.)	1	0.50%
ĒAPBYLGNES (n.)	1	0.50%
FORBELGAN (v.)	1	0.50%
ONBELGAN (v.)	1	0.50%
	200	100%

Table 5.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for *BELGAN*

5.2.1.1 (GE)ĀBELGAN/(GE)ĀBYLGAN (v.) and (GE)ĀBOLGEN (past part.)

The two verbs and their variants with the prefix *ge-* are all given separate treatment in the DOE, with the *ābylgan* form much rarer (10 occ). Both *ābylgan* and *geābylgan* are defined as ‘to anger, offend, provoke’. The entry for *ābelgan*, on the other hand, emphasises the swelling component of the meaning (as in sense 1, with a question mark, ‘?to swell, make oneself larger’) and sense 2 is ‘to cause someone to swell up in anger, to provoke, to offend’ and also ‘to annoy’.

The definitions B-T provides for *ābelgan*⁴⁶ are almost the same: ‘to cause one to swell with anger, to anger, irritate, vex, incense’, and *ābylgan* ‘to offend, anger, vex’. Hall follows in a similar fashion ‘to make angry, irritate, offend’, but adds ‘to hurt, distress’. For *ābylgan* Hall gives ‘to make angry, offend’.

⁴⁶ There are also separate entries for *ābelgan* and for *ābilgan* (with alternative spelling *ābeligan*).

The absence of the ‘swelling’ meaning for *ābylgan* might be related to the small number of occurrences, but what seems to link both *ābelgan* and *ābylgan* is that they are used as causative verbs.⁴⁷

5.2.1.2 (GE)BELGAN/BYLGAN (v.) and GEBOLGEN (past part.)

The prefixed (*ge-*) and unprefixed variants are treated similarly in DOE, both having the meaning ‘to swell with anger, become angry’ either used as a reflexive (‘anger oneself’), or not (‘become angry with someone’). *Gebelgan* also has a causative use ‘to anger or enrage (someone)’. *Bylgan* (s.v. *bylgan*²) is given as ‘to anger, offend, provoke’ (only one occurrence) and separated from *bylgan*¹ ‘to bellow’. B-T marks *belgan* as either reflexive (‘to cause oneself to swell with anger, to make oneself angry, irritate oneself, enrage oneself’), or intransitive (‘to swell with anger, to be angry, to be enraged’). *Gebelgan* has three senses: reflexive (‘to make oneself angry, to become enraged’), transitive (‘to anger, incense’) and intransitive (‘to be angry’). Similarly to DOE, *bylgan* is given in its second sense as ‘to offend, anger, vex’. Finally, Hall has *belgan* as ‘to be or become angry’, but provides a rare meaning ‘to offend, provoke’. He mentions *bylgan* only with the meaning ‘to bellow’. The past participle of the verb, *gebolgen*, receives separate treatment in DOE and B-T as ‘swollen with anger, enraged’ (DOE) and ‘offended, angry’ (B-T). The difference between these verbs and the *ā-/ā̄-* verbs is that the former might be less likely to refer to OFFENCE, than to ANGER. This is also reflected in the section on nouns below.

5.2.1.3 FORBELGAN (v.) and ONBELGAN (v.)

Each verb occurs only once in the corpus. *Forbelgan* appears with a reflexive pronoun and DOE defines it as ‘to become angry, enraged, swell with rage’, B-T ‘to get angry, get in a rage’ and Hall ‘to be enraged’. *Onbelgan* is mentioned in the list of derivatives of *belgan* by DOE, but neither B-T nor Hall includes it. The prefixes *for-* and *on-* do not seem to change the meaning of the verb.

⁴⁷ The prefix *ā-* often has the sense of ‘away’ (Mitchell and Robinson 2008: 58) or ‘forth’ (Hall), but more often it does not change the meaning at all (Mitchell and Robinson 2008: 58) or is used simply as an intensifier (Hiltunen 1983: 48). It seems to have ‘little semantic content’ (Elenbaas 2007: 116). In this case, there is a difference in usage between *ābelgan* and *belgan* – the *ābelgan* being causative, and more often used to refer to ‘offence’.

5.2.1.4 *ĀBYLG* (n.), *ĀBYLGƆ* (n.) and *ĀBYLGNES* (n.)

According to DOE, the form *ābylg* occurs only twice, once in *GuthB* and once in glosses (*PsGlH*), and denotes ‘anger, indignation’. The form *ābylgƆ* is more widespread and denotes ‘anger, indignation, annoyance’ in the first sense, but also ‘offence’ in the second sense. *Ābylgnes* is similar: ‘anger, indignation, annoyance’ and ‘offence’. B-T has only ‘anger’ for *ābylg*, but the entries for both *ābylgƆ* and *ābylgnes* are more extensive, the former being ‘offence, fault, scandal, wrong, anger, wrath, indignation’ and the latter much the same: ‘offence, scandal, anger, wrath, indignation’. Hall is more concise, with ‘anger’ for *ābylgƆ* and ‘anger, offence’ for *ābylgnes*.

5.2.1.5 GEBELG (n.)

This noun occurs rarely and denotes ‘anger, outrage, indignation’ (DOE), ‘anger, offence’ (B-T). Hall does not have a separate entry for *gebelg*, but he does have *belg* ‘anger’, and, uniquely, ‘arrogance’.

5.2.1.6 BOLGENMŌD (adj.)

This compound adjective occurs six times (only in poetry) and DOE, B-T and Hall unanimously define it as ‘enraged’. The possible meaning ‘swollen in mind’ is absent in the dictionaries, even though DOE uses SWELLING extensively in other definitions for the *BELGAN* word family, particularly for the verb *belgan*, from which this compound is most likely derived (the past participle of the verb: (*ge*)*bolgen* + *mōd*).

5.2.1.7 *ĒAƆBYLGE* (adj.), *ĒAƆBYLG* (n.), *ĒAƆBYLGNES* (n.)

The first element of the compound *yƆ-* or *ēaƆ-* means ‘easily, quickly’, and the DOE gives the following senses: ‘easily roused to anger, irascible’ for *ēaƆbylge*, ‘quickness to anger’ for *ēaƆbylg* and ‘quickness to anger, irascibility’ for *ēaƆbylgnes*, the nouns each occurring only once. Both B-T and Hall provide similar definitions: *ēaƆbylgnes* ‘readiness to anger, irascibility’, *īƆbelig* ‘easily made angry’ in B-T and *ēaƆbylgnes* ‘irritability’ *ēaƆbylig* ‘easily irritated’ in Hall.

5.2.2 *BELGAN* word family in Middle English and Early Modern English

There are several possible surviving reflexes of the *BELGAN* family in Middle English, although their exact relationship to Old English words is often difficult to establish. There seem to be two main types of semantic change in those reflexes with three different outcomes. The meaning is either narrowed down to ANGER without any SWELLING component; the meaning is expanded to all types of SWELLING (including the one caused by anger); and the meaning is narrowed down to just physical SWELLING.

The verb *abelzen*, a reflex of OE *ābelgan*, is an example of the first development. It is given in the MED as ‘to anger or incense, to grow angry’, with the exemplary phrase *warþ/was abolwen* ‘became/was angry or incensed’, which mirrors similar constructions in Old English (see below). OED also gives simply ‘to anger, enrage; offend’ and ‘to become angry’.

The verb *bolnen* exemplifies the second development. This reflex extends the meaning, building up on ‘to swell’ or ‘swollen’, and is no longer used solely to denote anger. According to MED it has four distinct senses: 1. ‘to swell’ (from infection, poison, beating) 2. ‘(of the sea) to swell or heave upward; surge, rise’, 3. ‘to swell (with vanity or pride)’, 4. (a) ‘to swell (with anger, etc.); be aroused with strong emotion’; (b) ‘to be aroused sexually’. The senses cover a much wider range: from a strictly physical and externally visible phenomenon of the swelling of the body or the surging of the sea to the internal surge of emotions, such as desire, anger or pride. Similarly, the adjective *bolghen* is given by OED as ‘swollen with rage, angry, wrathful’ and ‘physically swollen’ (as in *Owl and Nightingale*, l. 145 *and sat toswolle and ibolze*).

The verb *bollen* exemplifies the third group, as it has a slightly narrower set of senses: 1. ‘to swell, to bulge’, 2. ‘to swell or puff up, as with pride or anger’, 3. ‘to make swell by delivering blows’. The adjective *bollen* is also given with the narrowed meaning of ‘swollen, inflated, puffed up’ (OED) and it survives into Early Modern English with this meaning.⁴⁸ There is one other verb in MED, that is *bellen*, defined as ‘to swell up, become puffed up or inflated’, which is connected with pride, but without any mention of anger.

There is some doubt as to the etymology of the Middle English verbs, particularly *bolnen*. Whilst OED derives it directly from OE *belgan*, MED suggests that these forms

⁴⁸ Other reflexes include *abaeile*, *abelghe*, *anbelghen*.

are derived from Old Norse, presumably *bólǵna*, which has the meaning ‘to swell’, though this is not explicitly stated in the MED.

DOE provides one other reflex for both *belgan* and *bylgan* in Middle English, that is *belwen*, with the senses ‘to become angry, be enraged, provoke’, ‘cry out in anger, rage, roar’ and ‘of animals: to roar, bellow’. The verb *bylgan* occurs only twice in the entire corpus, which gives little ground for firm conclusions. DOE provides two separate entries for each of the occurrences, the first with the sense ‘to anger, offend, provoke’ (HomU 1) and the second with the sense ‘to bellow’ (Mart 5). This is a unique occurrence where the verb of the *BELGAN* family is taken to refer to emitting loud noise, roaring, bellowing (not unlike the *GRAM*-family) and whilst such semantic development is not impossible (for instance, the action of the bellows, which inflate and swell with the air, then expel it with a loud sound), the development is unclear, since there is only a single occurrence of such usage. In fact, for its entry for *bellow*, v. OED states that: “The equation of Middle English *belwen* with the rare Old English *bylgian* suggests that the latter is late West Saxon for **bielgian*, Anglian **bēlgian*; but the origin of this is not evident, unless it be a parallel formation to the synonymous *bellan* (...) say from Germanic **balligôjan*.”⁴⁹

5.2.3 Etymology – Indo-European and Other Germanic Languages

The *BELGAN* word family is derived from the PIE root **bhelǵh* ‘to swell’ (IEW, LIV, EWAhD), which is an extension of **bhel-* ‘to swell’ (Watkins) or to ‘bloat, swell’ (EWAhD), and later from the Germanic **belzanan* (Orel).

Nominal formations are well distributed in various Indo-European language families. The root usually develops to mean easily expandable types of containers. Thus we have Av. *bar²ziš-* ‘pillow, cushion’, OI *bolg* ‘(leather) bag, bladder’, Welsh *bol*, *bola* ‘belly, bag’ (EWAhD), OPrus. *balsinis* ‘pillow’, and Slav. **bolzina* ‘pillow, beam’. Similarly, all Germanic languages (EWAhD) show cognates of OHG *balg* with OS *balg*, OE *bielg*, *byl(i)g*, ON *belgr*, meaning roughly ‘bag, sack, bellows’ (and from this root see also PDE *bellows* and *belly*).

⁴⁹ The PDE verb *bulge* derives from a noun *bulge*, which is in turn derived from Latin *bulga* ‘a leather bag, of Gaulish origin’ (OED), and though ultimately formed from the same PIE root, has nothing to do with *belgan*.

Whilst the nominal form is common in IE languages, verbal formations are rarer and most of them occur in Germanic languages.⁵⁰ EDPG distinguishes two Germanic verbs, one strong **belgan* ‘to swell’ (from I-E **b^hélg^h-e-*) and one weak and causative **balgjan* ‘to make swell, make angry’ (from I-E **b^holǵ^h-eie*). The former would have been evidenced in the following: OE ‘to swell with anger’, OFri. *for-bolgen* ‘angry’, OS *ar-belgan* ‘to move to anger’, EDu. *ver-bolgen* adj. ‘angered’, OHG *belgan* s.v. ‘to be or grow angry’, MHG *belgen* s.v. ‘to swell (up)’, refl. ‘to become angry’. According to EDPG, the latter can be seen in such Germanic verbs as: ON *belgia* ‘to inflate, OE *abelgan* ‘to anger, to irritate’, OS *belgian* ‘id.’, OHG *gí-belgen* ‘to irritate’.

The verbs develop ANGER as a meaning primarily in the West Germanic branch. Old Norse does have a cognate verb *bólgrna* ‘to swell, become swollen’, but it does not seem to have the meaning ‘to become angry’ (Cleasby-Vígfusson). On the other hand, a past part. *bólgrinn* of a lost strong verb (presumably, **belga* (de Vries)) is present in several texts, and it occasionally co-occurs with ANGER-words (as in *bólgrinn af reiði* or *reiði bólgrinn* ‘swollen with anger’,⁵¹ and also *bólgrinn ilsku* ‘swollen with rage, fury’.⁵² This does not prove that ANGER was in any way a component meaning of *bólgrinn* itself, but at the very least it shows an example of ANGER IS SWELLING conceptualisation in Old Norse that is linked to cognates of *BELGAN*. No verb survives in Gothic (EWAhD).

The OIr. *bolgaim* (v.) is sometimes given as a cognate of *belgan* (Holthausen), but it is apparently a secondary formation from the Old Irish noun, not a primary verb (Sadnik and Aitzetmüller 1955). Cognates of OE *ābylgan* are also found in other Germanic languages, for instance OHG *belgen* and *irbelgen* ‘to anger, provoke to anger, *provocare*’ (EWAhD).

Thus the PIE root with the meaning ‘to swell’ has developed in West Germanic languages to mean ‘swelling with anger’ or ‘becoming angry’, which can be tied to the cardiocentric hydraulic model of the mind.

⁵⁰ Some of the Slavonic languages did develop a verb from this root as well, as in the Church Slavonic *blazovati* ‘to inflate, be arrogant’ (EWAhD), which employs the concept of bloating/swelling in a mental or cognitive process, but assigns it to PRIDE rather than ANGER.

⁵¹ The former is used to describe the rage of King Harald in *Sturlaug's Saga Starfsama*, ch.19, the latter is found in *Prymlur* (I, stanza 26).

⁵² In *Marfu Saga*: “at med engri list fær hans bolgin illzka þar inn komiz”.

5.2.4 The Cardiocentric Hydraulic Model and ANGER IS SWELLING conceptualisation

Lockett's (2011) proposed cardiocentric hydraulic model of the mind is evidenced in various means of expression and lexical fields, and spans different domains. The *BELGAN* word family clearly demonstrates this model working within the domain of ANGER. SWELLING appears to be the main conceptual component of the *BELGAN*-group in expressing ANGER, but Lockett points out that it is not clear whether this etymology, especially in terms of spatial expansion in the region of the heart, would have been transparent to the Anglo-Saxons. She cautiously suggests that the frequent appearance of *BELGAN*-words in HEAT-related contexts may mean that the Anglo-Saxons could have been aware of the connection (Lockett 2011: 59-60). She goes on to say that the *belgan* group, in contrast to the more neutral *weallan* group, is of an "exclusively vicious" character.

It is not always easy to determine the extent to which the concept of swelling is present in the usage of the *BELGAN* word family, and whether it reflects a literal understanding of the working of the mind or a conceptualisation. Lockett offers two tentative options: the Anglo-Saxons were aware of the relation between ANGER, SWELLING and HEAT, or they were not, with the former option being more likely. Those examples where *BELGAN*-words are used with the sole meaning 'to swell' or in the context of cardiocentric heat reinforce the idea that SWELLING was a recognisable component meaning of this word family.⁵³ On the other hand, examples that do not show any overt indication of SWELLING do not demonstrate that the connotation was available. Neither do they demonstrate that it was *not* available. Gevaert gives three reasons for which *BELGAN* should be seen as a transparent representation of the ANGER AS SWELLING conceptualisation: a) the appearance of other expressions for ANGER that primarily denote swelling, where 'anger' is an incidental meaning (such as *þindan*), b) the *belg*-root referring to bellows and c) the *ge*- and *ā*- prefixes being productive enough to make the association between *belg*- (as bag, pouch, bellows) and *belgan* (to be angry) easy, with the early Middle English verbs *bellen* and *bollen* clearly referring to physical swelling (Gevaert 2007: 183). As we have seen previously, the etymology of the Middle English verbs is debatable (as Gevaert herself points out), and it may very well be that the

⁵³ Lockett illustrates this well with PDE *anger*, which is etymologically linked with constraint of the chest that is not transparent to modern users, and PDE *depression*, which still has a transparent spatial meaning (Lockett 2011: 60, n.24).

prominence of SWELLING for *BELGAN* reflexes in Middle English might have more to do with the influence of Old Norse. As to other SWELLING-verbs used to denote ANGER, Gevaert provides only three such occurrences in the entire corpus (*bindan* 1 occ. and *prutian* 2 occ.).⁵⁴ Gevaert's argument about the productivity of *ā-* and *ge-* and their associations with pouches and bags could also be countered. If *bylgean* means 'to bellow, roar' and the verb is very similar to *bellan* 'to roar' the concept of ROARING should be as inherent in *BELGAN* as SWELLING. Whilst both may be true to some extent, we cannot speak of a widespread trend for the entire period. Therefore, to assume as Gevaert does (2011:58), that *all* instances of *BELGAN* exemplify the conceptualisation of SWELLING, just because of its etymology, is hazardous. There would be a stronger case if we can find examples of *BELGAN* referring more overtly to swelling, whether external or internal, where ANGER is either an incidental meaning, or does not occur at all. Gevaert does not find such examples, but I discuss some possibilities later on in the chapter.

5.3 Discussion

5.3.1 Poetry

The distribution of this word family in the poetic corpus is fairly even, though the family appears in poetry only 46 times, with the largest number of occurrences found in *Beowulf* (10 occ.), followed by *Genesis A,B* and the *Paris Psalter* (6 occ., each) (See Table 5.3). Secular poetry, riddles, Biblical paraphrases and hagiographical poetry are all amongst the texts represented.

⁵⁴ For *prútian*, B-T gives 'swollen with anger or pride' and all the lexicographic material suggests that this word was used exclusively for 'swelling with emotion' rather than physical swelling. A parallel is found once again in ON where we have *reiði-prútinn* 'swollen with anger'.

Text Title	No of occ.	%
Beo	10	21.75%
GenA,B	6	13.04%
PPs	6	13.04%
GuthA,B	4	8.70%
Jul	4	8.70%
And	2	4.35%
El	2	4.35%
Res	2	4.35%
Riddles (20, 40)	2	4.35%
Seasons	2	4.35%
Dan	1	2.17%
LPr III	1	2.17%
Met	1	2.17%
Msol	1	2.17%
Sat	1	2.17%
Vain	1	2.17%
	46	100.00%

Table 5.3 – Occurrences of *BELGAN* in poetry

5.3.1.1 Referents

God is the most frequent referent for *BELGAN* (17 occ., 37%), followed by other authority figures (kings, judges, father: 7 occ., 15%), supernatural agents who are often enemies (devils, Grendel, Dragon, serpents: 6 occ., 13%), and warriors or heroes (Beowulf, Heremod, metonymically: ‘hand’ (of the warrior)). The *BELGAN*-words also refer to Myrmedonians, to a boar, to Elene and (presumably) to a sword.

Further analysis of the occurrences in context shows that the referents could be divided into two broad groups: a) where there is a transgression or offence to which the referent reacts (God, kings, Elene, the Dragon, etc.) or b) where there is a battle scenario during which the referent experiences the emotion (supernatural agents and warriors, such as Beowulf, Grendel, devils, Myrmedonians, etc.).

5.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Since this word family consists mostly of verbs, we should expect the most common collocations to be adverbs of intensity. Whilst there are several such instances, no pattern spans the entire poetic corpus. There are several other syntactic or phrasal patterns that do occur relatively often and could be considered formulaic.

The VP *ða he x wæs* (where x stands for a past participle form of one of the verbs from the *BELGAN*-family) occurs four times and once in an inverted form of *wæs ða x* in *Beowulf*. Elsewhere in poetry, the phrase occurs with the main verb of the clause *beon* ‘to

be' differently inflected (as in *beoð þa x* in *Guthlac*) or with *weorþan* 'to become' (*þa ... weorð x* in *Juliana*). This mirrors a similar syntactic pattern found in other word families (e.g. *GRAM*, *HĀTHEORT*).

Another phrase type that occurs six times in poetry is *x a/on/gebolgen*, where *x* is usually a noun in the dative or an adverb. These are: *yrre gebolgen*, *torne gebolgen*, *sare gebolgen*, *facne gebolgen* and *bitere abolgen*. *Yrre* and *facne* are nouns in Dative Singular, and *bitere* is clearly an adverb.⁵⁵ Both *torne* and *sare*, however, can be interpreted as either nouns in Dative Singular or adverbs. The interpretation of *gebolgen* in these phrases will be different depending on whether we treat these words as nouns or adverbs. If we treat both *torne* and *sare* as adverbs, then they would have the intensifying meaning of 'severely, grievously, greatly' and *ā/gebolgen* is better rendered with PDE 'offended, angered'. If, however, we treat *torne* and *sare* (or either of the two) as nouns, then *gebolgen* is better rendered with PDE 'swollen up with' + noun. This would also account for the seeming disparity in the semantic range of the first element of the phrase: *yrre* 'anger', *facen* 'treachery', *sār* 'pain, suffering' and *torn* 'a painful, violent emotion',⁵⁶ thus indicating that different things can cause the internal swelling of the mind, following the hydraulic model. It also helps avoid redundant and clumsy renditions of *yrre gebolgen* as 'angered with anger'. On the other hand, such redundant and emphatic constructions are not unknown in Old English, and there is evidence of such usage for ANGER as well. As previously mentioned, one of the problems with interpreting *BELGAN* is the continuum of meaning from SWELLING (without specifying its causes), through BEING SWOLLEN WITH ANGER, to ANGRY or OFFENDED. It is often difficult to establish how much of the SWELLING is present or intended in the use of *BELGAN*-words, and they may simply lie on a spectrum.

The adverb *bitere* occurs with *BELGAN* three times and there are two instances of the adj. *biter* being used similarly in alliteration. Of these, two are found in *Beowulf* (*bitere ond gebolgne* l.1431 and *bittre gebulge* l.2331) and the others come from *The Paris Psalter* (*æbyligðe on hi bitter and yrre* Ps. 77, l.136), *Resignation B* (*bittre abolgen* l.110) and *Seasons for Fasting* (*he him ærur hæfð / bitere onbolgen*, l.196b-197a). Apart from fulfilling alliterative purposes, *BITTER* also serves as an intensive modifier and when used

⁵⁵ DOE: *bitere* '1. bitterly; used as an intensifier with a wide range of verbs: 1.a. grievously, cruelly; 1.b. greatly; 1.c. bitterly'.

⁵⁶ Geveart uses both *TORN* and *SARE* as examples of the conceptualisation ANGER AS AFFLICTION.

as an adjective in conjunction, it appears to mean ANGER (hence, coordinated constructions with *gebolgne* and *yrre*).⁵⁷

BELGAN in poetry co-occurs most frequently with *YRRE* (13 occ.), followed by *WRĀĪP* and *TORN* (6 occ. each).⁵⁸

5.3.1.3 Case Studies

Offence and Transgression

This group is predominantly made up of the *ā*- forms, which in some cases may better be translated with PDE ‘offence’ or ‘offended’, rather than ‘angry’. There are 11 occurrences of this sort, and the most common referent is God (8 occ.) The non-prefixed forms are not as easily associated with OFFENCE, but they do exhibit a similar scenario where a law, contract or rule is broken and the referent reacts to this breach or transgression.

The following passages show the OFFENCE scenario, with a trespass or offence committed against God:

[Bp17] Gode ic hæbbe
abolgen, brego moncynnes (*ResB*, ll.9b-10a)

[I have offended/angered God, mankind’s prince]

[Bp6]
Pa reordade rodora waldend
wrað moncynne and þa worde cwæð:
"Ne syndon me on ferhðe freo from gewitene
cneorin Caines, ac me þæt cynn hafað
sare **abolgen**. (*GenA*, ll. 1253-7a)

[Then the Lord of Heavens spoke, angry with mankind and said those words: they have not been absent in my mind, the race of Cain, but this kind has sorely angered/offended me.]⁵⁹

These two passages could be rendered with either ‘angered’ and ‘offended’, particularly in [Bp6] where another ANGER-word is present in proximity. In both cases the underlying

⁵⁷ DOE assigns that meaning to *biter* as well, in sense 4. ‘characterized by hostility, anger, or malice: bitter’, but interestingly, see also sense 6. ‘of things which cause pain or suffering, physical or mental: grievous, painful, terrible’. Gevaert includes it in her conceptualisation ANGER AS BITTERNESS.

⁵⁸ Then *GRAM* (4 occ.), *WŌD* (1 occ.) and *HĀTHEORT* (1 occ.).

⁵⁹ Bradley (1987) translates the phrase as ‘sorely enraged’ (41).

scenario is that of an offence or trespass committed against God. This comes into even sharper relief when compared with *Lord's Prayer III*:

[Bp36]

Forgyf us, gumena weard, gyltas and synna,
and ure leahtras alet, lices wunda
and mandæda, swa we mildum wið ðe,
ælmihdigum gode, oft **abylgeað** (*LPrIII*, ll. 19-22)

[*Forgive us, Protector of mankind, wrongs and sins, and pardon our offences/crimes, the injuries of the body (?) and evil deeds, with which we often, merciful, almighty God, trespass against/offend you*]

In this case, the Latin *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra* is expanded and paraphrased. The verb *ābylgan* governs the PP *wið ðe* 'against you', and thus refers to committing wrongs, sins and crimes (*gyltas, synna, leahtras, mandæda*) as an offence against God. The emphasis is not on the internal experience of any emotion by God, but rather on the action of breaking the rules set out by God.

The noun *ābylgð* in the following passage of *Elene* is also best translated as 'offence', not 'anger'.

[Bp 31] ne we geara cunnon
þurh hwæt ðu ðus hearde, hlæfdige, us
eorre wurde. We ðæt **æbylgð** nyton
þe we gefremedon on þysse folcscere,
þeodenbealwa, wið þec æfre." (*El*, ll. 399-403)

[*We do not clearly understand why you have been so greatly angered with us, lady. We do not know the offence, the ?national crime which in this nation we have ever committed against you*]

Though *Elene* is portrayed as experiencing anger and showing it through verbal displays, the noun *ābylgð* denotes the offence which is the cause of that anger. Syntactically, this is emphasised with the compound noun in apposition, *þeodbealu*. B-T translates it as 'grievous wrong' and Hall as 'public calamity'. *Bealo* means 'harm, evil, mischief, wickedness, depravity' (B-T), so perhaps a 'wickedness committed by the people', an 'evil act', an 'offence'. As Judas explains several lines later, *Elene* is angry with the Jews for not recognising Christ as God and for crucifying him. Whilst ANGER and OFFENCE often seem to be two sides of the same coin, the focus in each of them is different.

Below are examples that show *BELGAN* as an emotion of ANGER, but caused by various acts of transgression:

[Bp2] Pa wearð se mihtiga **gebolgen**,
 hehsta heofones waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole. (*GenA.*, ll. 299b-300)

[*Then the powerful one was angered/enraged, the highest lord of heaven, cast him down from the high seat*]

[Bp43] þæt ðam godan wæs
 hreow on hreðre, hygesorga mæst;
 wende se wisa þæt he wealdende
 ofer ealde riht, ecean dryhtne,
 bitre **gebulge**. (*Beo*, ll. 2327b-31a)

[*This was a sorrow in the breast to the good-one, the greatest grief of the mind; the leader? thought that he had bitterly angered/offended the Ruler, the Eternal Lord, in breach of an old law*]

In two of these examples, [Bp2] and [Bp43] God has been angered and/or offended. In [Bp2] it is Satan's sin of pride that makes God cast him down into Hell. In [Bp43] Beowulf fears that he has offended or angered the Lord, though there is no clear indication as to what his crime could be. The destruction caused by the dragon is seen as a punishment from God for those unnamed transgressions.

It may be less obvious why example [Bp25] should be included in this section:

[Bp25]
 wæs ða **gebolgen** beorges hyrde,
 wolde se laða lige forgyldan
 drincfæt dyre (*Beo*, ll. 2304-6a)

[*Then the guardian of the mound was angered/enraged, the hateful-one wished to repay with fire the beloved/precious cup*]

However, the dragon's anger is directly related to the theft of the cup and the trespassing on his domain. The dragon's actions are meant to 'repay' (*forgyldan*) the offending act.

Savage Fury, Animalistic Rage, Anger in Battle

In poetry, and particularly in *Beowulf*, *BELGAN* is used to portray ANGER as a battle-frenzy – a powerful force that overcomes warriors or monsters, and often borders on the animalistic. Due to the SWELLING component, such uses have often been taken as proof of berserker-like transformations (van Zanten 2007) and compared either to the Scandinavian tradition (Pettitt 1976) or to the Irish battle rage, which overtakes “heroes before and

during battle” (Puhvel 1968: 47) and is both a mental state and a physical transformation. This state is often characterised by a loss of control, damage to the nearest environment, roaring and bellowing. Those who are *bolgenmōd* ‘of a swollen/enraged mind’, are simultaneously described as savage, fierce, cruel or bloodthirsty (as in examples below). In *Beowulf*, the *BELGAN*-words refer to Beowulf himself (ll. 709, 1539, 2401, 2550), to Grendel (l. 723), Heremod (l. 1713), creatures in the mere (l. 1431), the dragon (l. 2220, l. 2304), and God (l. 2331). This group consists of mostly supernatural or heroic agents.

The following four passages, two from *Beowulf* and two from *Juliana*, portray this violent form of anger:

[Bp23] Ne wearð Heremod swa
 eaforum Ecgwelan, Arscyldingum;
 ne geweoƿ he him to willan, ac to wælfæalle
 ond to deaðcwalum Deniga leodum;
 breat **bolgenmod** beodgeneatas,
 eaxlgesteallan, oþþæt he ana hwearf,
 mære þeoden, mondreamum from...

...
 hwæþere him on ferhþe greow
breosthord blodreow (*Beo.* ll. 1709-15; 1718b-9a)

[*Heremod was not like that to the sons of Ecgwela, to the honourable Scyldings. He did not grow up to bring joy, but slaughter and death to the Danish people. Enraged/swollen with anger, he killed the table-companions, comrades-in-arms, until he turned away from the joys of men, alone, the (in)famous prince... in his mind his heart grew bloodthirsty]*

[Bp27]
 Let ða of breostum, ða he **gebolgen** wæs,
 Wedergeata leod word ut faran,
 stearcheort styrnde; stefn in becom
 heaðotorht hlynnan under harne stan. (*Beo.* ll. 2550-2553)

[*He then let words go out from his breast, since he was enraged, the lord of the Weder-Geats, strong-hearted, roared/made great noise; the voice went in sounding clear and warlike under the grey stone.]*

[Bp13]

ða se æþeling wearð **yrre gebolgen,**
 firendædum fah, gehyrde þære fæmnan word,
 het ða gefetigan ferend snelle,
hreoh ond hygeblind, haligre fæder,
 recene to rune. Reord up astag,
 siþþan hy togædre garas hlændon,
 hildeþremman. (*Jul*, ll. 58-64a)

[Then the nobleman became swollen with anger/enraged with anger, stained with violent deeds, heard the words of the woman, savage and blind-in-heart/mind, he ordered then a quick messenger to fetch the saint's father, briskly for discussion. The voice went up after they, the warriors, leaned their spears together]

[Bp15]

Het þa ofestlice yrre **gebolgen**....

....

 þa se dema wearð
hreoh ond hygegrim, ongon his hrægl teran,
 swylce he grennade ond gristbitade,
wedde on gewitte swa wilde deor,
 grymetade gealmod ond his godu tælde, (*Jul* ll. 582; ll. 594b-8)

[He then ordered quickly, swollen with anger... Then the judge became savage and cruel of mind, began to tear at his clothes, just as he bared his teeth and ground them together, raging/mad in his countenance like a wild animal, roared gallows-minded and cursed his gods.]

In *Beowulf*, Heremod is portrayed as a negative exemplum of improper behaviour. His rage is not contained solely to battle with enemies, but takes place within the hall and against his companions, breaking social contracts and destroying the Danes from within. He is excessive in his thirst for blood and uncontrollable, not discerning friend from foe. Beowulf's rage, on the other hand, exhibited through roaring and clamouring, is directed at the threat to his own kingdom – the dragon.

In *Juliana*, Eleusius is described as *yrre gebolgen* ('swollen with rage/anger', ll. 58, 91) twice, and both occurrences are followed several lines later by the alliterative *hreoh ond hygeblind/-grim* 'savage and blind/cruel in mind'. His fury is also uncontrollable and cruel, and the compound *hygeblind* suggests that his cognitive powers are diminished or blocked because of those violent emotions. Further in lines 594-98 he is directly compared to a wild animal (*swa wilde deor*), where he tears at his clothes and bellows, emitting loud sounds, similarly to Beowulf.

A subset of violent anger comprises those examples when the *BELGAN* family refers to hostile wild animals. The following passage from *Beowulf* mentions various

creatures inhabiting the mere through which Beowulf needs to go in order to reach Grendel's mother:⁶⁰

[Bp20]

wyrmas ond wildeor; hie on weg hruron,
bitere ond **gebolgne**, bearhtm ongeaton,
 guðhorn galan. (*Beo*, ll.1430-2a)

[*Serpents and wild beasts; they dived away, bitter/hostile/angry and enraged, they recognised the noise, the call the war-horn*]

In subsequent passages they attack Beowulf ferociously, gripping him in their clutches, and their grasp is described as *eorres inwitfeng* 'malicious grasp of anger' (l.1447), which emphasises the ANGER (or RAGE) component of *BELGAN* in l. 1431. Their attacks are brutal and fierce, and for a moment Beowulf is overwhelmed.

Another example of animalistic anger can be found in *Riddle 40*:

[Bp16] ond efore eom æghwær cenra,
 þonne he **gebolgen** bidsteal giefed; (*Rid 40* ll. 18-19)

[*And I am in every way bolder/more courageous than a wild boar, when he, angered/enraged, makes a stand/takes up a fighting position*]

Since boars were considered highly martial animals, it is not surprising that a boar's final stand against the attack would be rendered in terms of the human idiom of battle, as a last courageous stand. The attribution of ANGER/RAGE to the boar can be bidirectional. Either human characteristics are transferred onto the boar, and therefore it is compared to a human warrior, exhibiting martial characteristics, or, conversely, whenever *BELGAN* is referring to a human warrior it endows him with animalistic features.

The above examples of *BELGAN* show it is used to refer to excessive or uncontrolled, violent anger. Occasionally, however, anger is represented in martial contexts without any indication of whether it is uncontrollable or not, although still potentially negative. For example the Myrmedonians in *Andreas* are referred to as *bolgenmōd* twice (l. 128, l. 1221). In both instances they are depicted as a warlike throng with appropriate martial attributes – spears and shields. The devils in *Guthlac A,B* are described as *gebolgen* in a similar martial depiction (l. 287). Several lines later, in l. 303, Guthlac is saying that he will not himself use the sword 'with an angry hand' (*mid*

⁶⁰ They are: *wyrmcynnnes fela* (l.1425) 'many of the serpent-race', *sædracan* (l.1426) 'sea-dragons', *nicras* '?water-monsters' (l. 1427), *wyrmas and wildeor* (l.1430) 'serpents and wild beasts'.

gebolgne hand), echoing the previous martial anger of his enemies and renouncing it as a valid method of combat.

Swelling? - Problematic Cases

Riddle 20 contains an example of *BELGAN*, which, on the surface, can be taken to represent the ANGER or OFFENCE use of the verb *ābelgan*:

[Bp37]
 Oft ic wirum dol wife **abelge**,
 wonie hyre willan; heo me wom spreceð,
 floceð hyre folmum, firenaþ mec wordum,
 ungod gæleð. (*Rid 20*, ll. 32-35a)

[*Often I, foolish in my filigree, enrage a woman, diminish her desire; she speaks me ill, claps her hands together, reviles me with words, shouts curses*] (Murphy 2011: 212-13)

The answer to the riddle has been variously proposed as ‘hawk’ or ‘sword’, with the latter being more likely (Murphy 2011: 214). Murphy reads the riddle as rich in erotic overtones. According to him, it contrasts the violence of the sword with the enjoyment of sexual intercourse, with two kinds of *wæpen* – the phallus and the sword – one causing the woman pleasure, and the other displeasure. He suggests that, considering other innuendos present in the riddle and taking the root meaning of *ābelgan* into consideration, the woman’s anger or displeasure “swells up in a way reminiscent of imagery we often encounter in OE sex riddles, with their emphasis on distended body parts.” (212) For this word play to be understood, the SWELLING component of *BELGAN* must have been transparent to Anglo-Saxon audiences.

Another example which emphasises SWELLING comes from *Resignation B*:

[Bp18] þæt ic eom mode **seoc**,
 bittre **abolgen**, is seo bot æt þe
 gelong æfter life. (*ResB*, ll. 40b-42a)

[*I am sick in mind, bitterly ?swollen up/distressed; the cure for that rests in you, to be attained after life*]

The meaning intended by *ābolgen* in this case is uncertain. ANGER and OFFENCE do not fit contextually, since the speaker is described as sad, distressed, grieving, not angry. Looking at the level of the sentence, it seems that *mode seoc* is in apposition to *bittre abolgen*, and

the remedy or cure for both is attained from God. The use of the notion of SICKNESS (*seoc*) together with the idea of a cure (*bōt* could mean a medical cure), suggests that the emotional state of the mind is akin to illness. Bliss and Frantzen (1976) propose translating *ābolgen* as ‘aggrieved’ (398). Malmberg (1979: 33), on the other hand, suggests ‘swollen up’ in his glossary. The latter seems more likely, since it does not deviate greatly from the etymology of *BELGAN*. It is also in line with the hydraulic model, whereby emotional upheaval is likened to a sickness that can well up or swell inside the mind/heart/breast. If this is the case, *ābolgen* in *ResB* would be the only instance of *BELGAN* in poetry, where the meaning ANGER is entirely absent and SWELLING takes precedence.

5.3.1.4 Conclusions

BELGAN in poetry is used most often in two distinct types of scenarios. In the first scenario there is some sort of transgression or offence, which arouses feelings of anger and requires retribution – in other words, the prototypical ANGER-scenario discussed elsewhere. In the second scenario, ANGER (represented by *BELGAN*) is a martial feature, and it is associated with uncontrolled and violent rage, characteristic of animals, monsters, enemies or sometimes heroes.

The visibility of the SWELLING component varies. Though it is less evident in the OFFENCE examples, I would suggest that in the VIOLENT ANGER scenario it could have been more transparent, as the savage and violent nature of *BELGAN* would be well explained by a sudden swelling of the mind within the breast.

5.3.2 Prose

With 153 occurrences, this word family is much better represented in prose than in poetry. However, more than half of these occurrences are the prefixed *ā*-forms. The word family appears most frequently in Ælfric’s writings (41 occ.), but if we take genre into account, then homiletic writings contain the majority of occurrences (54 occ.), accounting for 35% of all of them in prose (25 occ. in Ælfric’s homilies, 4 occ. in Wulfstan’s homilies and 25 occ. in other homiletic writings). For a more detailed break-down see Table 5.4. *BELGAN* occurs most frequently in homiletic writings and ecclesiastical texts, but it is not surprising, since they make up the majority of the prose corpus.

Text	No of occ.	%
Homilies (anonymous, Ælfric, Wulfstan)	54	35.29%
Saints' Lives (anonymous, Ælfric)	20	13.07%
Gregory's <i>Dialogues</i>	9	5.88%
Wulfstan's Writings (other)	8	5.23%
Confessionals and Penitentials	7	4.59%
OE New Testament	7	4.59%
OE Hexateuch	6	3.92%
OE <i>Orosius</i>	6	3.92%
Rules (Benedictine, Theodulf, Chrodegang)	5	3.27%
OE Bede	4	2.61%
<i>Cura pastoralis</i>	4	2.61%
Ælfric's Writings (other)	3	1.96%
Alcuin	3	1.96%
OE Boethius	3	1.96%
Laws	3	1.96%
KSB	2	1.31%
Augustine's Soliloquies	2	1.31%
Liturgical texts	2	1.31%
<i>Alexander's Letter to Aristotle</i>	1	0.65%
<i>Appolonius of Tyre</i>	1	0.65%
Charter (Ch 1462)	1	0.65%
PPs (prose)	1	0.65%
The OE Dicts of Cato	1	0.65%
	153	100,00%

Table 5.4 – Occurrences of BELGAN in prose

5.3.2.1 Referents

The most frequent referent in prose is God (37 occ., 24%).⁶¹ The second group comprises personal pronouns, where the audiences are either addressed directly ('we', 'you') or given examples of people exhibiting anger ('he', 'one'). Thus, this word family is used to refer to people in general who experience ANGER, most often the addressees of homiletic writings (25 occ., 16%). The third most numerous group comprises people in position of authority or power, such as kings or emperors (24 occ., 16%). The remaining referents are clergy (bishops, abbots, nuns, monks, men of God), groups of people referred to *en masse* (such as Babylonians, Jews or Christians) and named individuals in narratives, most notably Judas.

The frequency with which the 'God'-group and the 'king'-group appear is similar in both prose and poetry, but the most significant difference between prose and poetry is the strong appearance of the 'I, we, one'-group in prose (almost absent in poetry) and the appearance of the 'warrior/animal'-group in poetry (almost absent in prose). This, of

⁶¹ This number also includes one instance where Christ is the referent, but in the passage in question from *LawVIIIATR*, Christ and God are nearly equivalent.

course, could be dictated in part by the different thematic focus of prose and poetic compositions. The only reference to wild animals in a martial context is found in the prose life of St Guthlac where the animals are *gebolgene*. This difference in the make-up of the referent groups might suggest a change in the usage of this word family, as the prose could easily accommodate several examples of *BELGAN* being used in a martial or animalistic context. It seems that *BELGAN* became a word used more readily in a practical context of advice to both laymen and clergy detailing the appropriate behaviour with regard to anger.

5.3.2.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Since verbs constitute more than 60% of occurrences of *BELGAN* in prose, and past participles and adjectives a further 22%, the most common collocations we would expect to occur are adverbs. Indeed, the verbs (and occasionally past participles) of this family collocate with the intensifying adverb *swīþe* (17 occ.). The adverbs *þearle* and *sāre* occur once each. An anomalous collocation is the adverb *leohtlice* ‘lightly, mildly’ (occurring only once in the Old English *Bede*).⁶²

In terms of phrasal patterns, we can discern the SPEECH-scenario (familiar from *GRAM*, for instance), whereby the angered person follows with a speech or command in such phrases as: [Bpr107] *Ða gebealh hine se casere, and cwæð...* ‘then the emperor became angry, and said...’ or [Bpr106] *se casere þa hine gebealh & het...* ‘the emperor then became angry and ordered...’. These types of phrases, again, occur most often in Ælfric’s prose, more specifically in various saints’ lives. There are no examples of the *x gebolgen* phrase in prose.

One construction which occurs in prose and is absent in poetry is the reflexive use of the verb *belgan* with the personal pronoun in the accusative (20 occ., in all cases it is *hine*) as in the passages quoted above and, even more emphatically in [Bpr113]: *Ða gebealh se cyning Nabochodonosor hine sylfne...* Present-Day English cannot adequately represent this use, since it does not have reflexive verbs for ANGER and the only way to render the auto-causative aspect of this reflexive verb would be to use such periphrastic expressions as: ‘worked himself into anger’, ‘caused himself to be angry’ or ‘initiated anger within himself’, all of which sound contrived.⁶³ When the verb *belgan* is used without the reflexive pronoun, there is an external offending event which is causing the agent (Instigator) to react with anger. The use of the reflexive, on the other hand, highlights

⁶² It renders the Latin phrase *levita indignata* (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*).

⁶³ Though English may have lost a reflexive verb for ANGER, other Indo-European languages, for instance Slavic, are quite productive with that use. See Pol. *złościć się, gniewać się*, or Rus. *сердиться*.

internal causation. The reflexive verb occurs mostly in Ælfric, but also in *Boethius*, *Exodus*, *Luke* and *Gregory's Dialogues*.

BELGAN co-occurs with other ANGER-words, most frequently with *YRRE* (17 occ.), followed by *HĀTHEORT* (7 occ.) and *GRAM* (3 occ.).⁶⁴ Another noticeable trend is the appearance of antonyms, such as *MILTSIAN* 'to show mercy or pity' (7 occ.), *MILDHEORT* 'kindhearted, merciful' (3 occ.) and *GEGLADIAN* 'to gladden' (2 occ.).

5.3.2.3 Case Studies

God's Anger and Offences against Him

BELGAN is often used to refer to God's anger or offences committed against God in a variety of text types (37 occ.). OFFENCE is a common meaning for *ā*-verbs, but not exclusively so, and in most cases ANGER is an equally possible translation. God is portrayed as being angry or offended due to various trespasses in literary texts or narratives, in homiletic advice, liturgy and even in legal writings.

The examples of narrative usage of *BELGAN* range from Biblical material through translations of other texts to relatively contemporary accounts. For example, in LS 26 (MildredCockayne), King Egbert of Wessex listens to the advice given to him by his councilor Thunor and has his two young nephews murdered. With this deed, he is said to greatly anger God [Bpr13] *he gode **abolgen** hæfde swyþor*. In Gregory's *Dialogues* (GDPref and 3) the husbandmen choose death rather than take part in pagan sacrifice, which the Lombards wish to force them to perform, because [Bpr62] *þa þa hi noldon **abelgan** heora scyppend* 'they did not wish to offend their lord'. In the prose Genesis Moses implores God to not be angry with him for speaking [Bpr54] *ic bidde þæt ðu þe ne **belge** wið me gyf ic sprece*.

Even more often, God is offended by the actions of men in the context of everyday practice, discussed in various homiletic writings. Offence against God is committed through sins, crimes, misdeeds, sometimes unwittingly:

[Bpr88]
we hine ær mid synnum **abulgan** (HomS 32 (Baz-Cr))

[*we angered/offended him previously with sins*]

⁶⁴ The remaining ones are: *WŌD* (2 occ.) and *WĒAMŌD* (1 occ.).

[Bpr76]

he forgifep eall swa hwæt swa þes middangeard ær wiþ hine **æbyligða** geworhte
(HomU 18 (BlHom 1))

*[he forgives all that, with which this earth/world has previously worked offence
against him]*

[Bpr46]

...þeah ðe ure yfelnys him oft **abelge** (ÆHom 2)

[...though our evil often angers/offends him]

[Bpr100]

Forgif me.... eall þæt ic æfre mid mines heafdes gewælde þe þurh ænig þinc
abulge (Lit 4.3.3 (Hallander))

*[Forgive me all that, with which I have ever with my head's power(?), through
anything, angered/offended you.]*

These examples are used in conjunctions with the image of the merciful God who forgives all trespasses. Whilst *BELGAN* can occasionally be used in the context of a wrathful Old Testament God, it occurs more frequently in passages where God is merciful and forgiving.

Another text-type in which we find *BELGAN* with reference to God are legal writings. There, the duty of avenging any offence committed against God rests with a Christian king. At the same time, God's authority and power is extended down to the king and legitimises his rule. There are three occurrences of such a phrase, one in LawIICn and two in LawVIIIatr. Since these are very likely drafted by Wulfstan, these occurrences should probably be included amongst his writings when a quantitative analysis is performed.

[Bpr44]

Cristenan kyningce gebyrað swyðe rihte, þæt he Godes **æbylgðe** wrece swyðe
deope (LawIICn)

*[A Christian king is furnished with a powerful right/law, that he very deeply
avenges offences made against God]*

[Bpr141]

Forðam Cristen cyning is Cristes gespelia on Cristenre þeode; and he sceal Cristes **abilgðe** wrecan swiðe georne. (LawVIIIAttr)

[*Because a Christian king is Christ's deputy to Christian people; and he must avenge offences made against Christ very eagerly.*]

Angry Rulers and Enraged Bishops

Another commonly occurring pattern for *BELGAN* is when a person in position of power, such as a king, emperor or governor, is angered. In most cases this is a scenario from saints' lives, where the king is usually portrayed as evil and savage, and working against the heroic saint. This entails the usage of the reflexive verb *belgan* and the SPEECH-scenario, where threats are made and orders given to execute punishment on the offending saint or perpetrator. This pattern is also found in other writings, such as *Gregory's Dialogues* or *Cura pastoralis*.

In Ælfric's life of St Basil, we read:

[Bpr107]

Pa **gebealh** hine se casere and cwæð mid gebeote, þonne ic eft gecyrre sigefæste fram fyrde, Ic aweste þinne buruh and gewyrce to yrðlande. (ÆLS (Basil))

[*Then the emperor grew furious/became angry and said with a threat, when I will have returned victorious from camp, I will lay waste to your city and turn it into arable land.*]

In ÆCHom I, 29 the pattern is quite similar:

[Bpr152]

Se wælhreowa cwellere mid **gebolgenum** mode. cwæð to his heahgereuan ualeriane: gif þes bealdwyrda biscop acweald ne bið. syððan ne bið ure ege ondrædendlic. (ÆCHom I, 29)

[*The bloodthirsty killer, with a swollen/enraged mind, said to his high-reeve Valerianus: if this bishop, bold in speech, is not/will not be killed, afterwards our terror will not be to be feared*]

The characterisation of the evil rulers resembles the passages from *Beowulf* and *Juliana* discussed in section 3.1.3.2, as they are described as easily angered and excessive in their cruelty, although their manifestations are not as physically violent as the ones found in

poetry. The evil rulers usually delegate torture and physical abuse to their underlings and their threats are purely verbal.

We do, however, have an example of an excessive act of physical violence in Gregory's *Dialogues* in [Bpr24], where the bishop Honoratus takes up a footstool and beats the monk Libertin on the head until he turns black and blue. The passage with the *BELGAN*-word is as follows: *he wearð gebolgen mid mycelre hatheortnyssse* 'he became swollen/enraged with a great hot-heartedness/anger/fury'. This is one of the clearest examples where a cardiocentric hydraulic model can be identified. The anger (heat around the heart) swells up and results in excessive violence.

Offence and Anger in Personal Relations

The second most prominent group of referents comprises personal pronouns and this coincides with a distinct trend for *BELGAN* to be used when discussing proper and improper behaviour of men in homiletic writings, confessionals, penitentials and canonical rules. These examples are intertwined with the doctrine of forgiveness and good deeds, and *BELGAN*-words appear in juxtaposition to words denoting mercy, mildness and forgiveness. Forgiving one's enemies or those who have sinned against you or offended you, is one of the basic tenets of Christianity as it is a good deed which falls under *imitatio Christi*, and is often necessary for one's own repentance. In the homily on Ash Wednesday Ælfric writes:

[Bpr8]

he sceal don þonne forgifnyssse eallum þam mannum þe him ær **abulgon**, swa swa hit stent on þam paternostre, and swa swa Crist cwæð on his godspelle
(ÆLS (Ash Wed))

[he must then give forgiveness to all the men who have previously offended/angered him, as it stands in the Paternoster, and as Christ said in his gospel]

Here, Ælfric relies on the authority of the Scripture and the Lord's Prayer (cf. *Lord's Prayer III*, where *ābelgan* is used in a similar fashion) to underscore that one should follow the example of the Merciful Christ and not be angry or offended for too long and always forgive if one wishes to be forgiven.

The homilies also admonish that we are naturally inclined to anger and offence:

[Bpr33]

Us is eac to geþencenne hu mycel Godes geþyld is, & hu mycel ure ungeþyld is; & gif us hwa **abylgþ**, þonne beo we sona yrre, & willaþ þæt gewrecan gif we magon, beah we beotiaþ to (HomS 10 (BIHom 3))

[We should also think on how great God's patience is, and how great our impatience is. And if someone angers us/offends us, then we immediately become angry and wish to avenge it, if we can, and [if we can't] we threaten/menace.]

As could be seen in other examples of dealing with ANGER or OFFENCE, the two most common courses of action are either to avenge the wrong by inflicting punishment or to threaten with such retribution, which are unacceptable under the Christian doctrine. We find further advice on how to deal with offence in the Canonical Rules:

[Bpr68]

wyð nanne man nan yrre næbbe ofer sunnan setlgong ac ælcum þara þe wyð hne **abelge** ær sunnan setlgange he hyt on his mode forgife. (ThCap 1 (Sauer))

[Do not hold any anger against any man after the setting of the sun, but to all those who have committed offence against you/angered you he should forgive in his mind before the setting of the sun.]

This can be traced back to a passage from Ephesians 4:26 ('Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath'), where despite feeling anger, one should not act upon it and let it go after the day has finished.

There is also more detailed advice on ANGER and OFFENCE which regulates behaviour between children and parents, between members of the monastery or between bishops. In Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, for instance, the bishops are given this advice:

[Bpr72]

Bisceopum gebyrað, gif ænig oðrum **abelge**, þæt man geþyldige oð geferena some, butan heom sylfe geweorðan mæge (WPol 2.3 (Jost))

[It befits the bishops, that if any angers/offends the other, then it must be suffered until some fellow-cleric, who is not himself, can arrange some agreement]

Here, a third person – a mediator – is needed to help with some sort of agreement, so that bishops do not do so in anger themselves. One final example comes from *Conf 5*, where forgiveness for offence is regulated by having the offender personally ask for it:

[Bpr44]

and se ðe stale deð, and he to bote gecyrreð symle, he sceal þingian wið þone, þe he **abylgð** (Conf 5 (Mone))

[and he who steals, and he turns to recompense, he must ask favour from/plead with the one whom he had offended/angered]

The above examples are exclusively verbs or nouns with the *ā*-prefix. This prefix consistently shifts the meaning from ANGER closer to OFFENCE, although it is still within the semantic range of ANGER. The focus, however, is not so much on the internal emotional state, but rather on the social bonds between two parties, the offender and the offended, and the means to reconcile or repair those bonds. In this group, there are no examples of *ā*-prefixed words which would give any indication of the SWELLING component.

Nature of ANGER. Are BELGAN-words Always ‘Anger’?

The prose writings are also concerned with the notion of ANGER AS SIN, its place or rank among other sins and the consequences of eternal damnation caused by anger.

[Bpr131]

Se feorða leahtor is **weamet**. þæt se man nage his modes geweald. ac buton ælcere foresceawunge. his **yrsunge** gefremað; Of ðam leahtre cymð. hream. and **æbilignys**. dyslic dyrstignys. and mansliht; (ÆCHom II, 12.2)

[The fourth sin is anger/rage, when a man does not have power over his mind, but his anger prospers without any consideration; from this sin come uproar and anger/offence, foolish arrogance and murder]

This example is relevant, because syntactically and logically *æbilignys* is not equal to *weamet* or *yrsung* (both denoting ‘anger’); it is dependent on them, and it results from them. It is on the same level of hierarchy as uproar, rashness and murder. In this case, *weamet* and *yrsung* could be considered internal states, emotions (requiring only the one who experiences them), whilst *æbilignys* might be the external consequence of those emotions, which results in some offending or wrongful act (requiring two parties).

Ælfric uses *æbilignys* as a consequence of a different sin. In [Bpr132] *æbilignys* results from *gylp* ‘vainglory, pride’, and is coordinated with *pryte* ‘haughtiness’, *ungeðwærny* ‘discord, quarrel’, *hywung* ‘pretence’ and *lustfullung leasre herunge* ‘delight in false praise’. Again, it seems likely that *æbilignys* should be understood in a social dimension of ‘offence’, particularly being coordinated with *ungeðwærny*.

This is echoed in HomS38 (ScraggVerc 20):

[Bpr34]

Ponne ys se fifta heafodleahter gecweden yrre, þurh þæt ne mæg nan mann habban fullþungennesse hys geþeahtes. Of ðam sprytt modes toðundennes & saca & teonan & æbylgð & yfelsacung & blodes agotenes & mannsliht & grædignes teonan to wyrçanne

[The fifth capital sin is called anger, because of which no man can have a full development of his thoughts. From this spring: the swelling of the mind [either literal or with pride/arrogance] and strife and trouble and offence and blasphemy and pouring forth of blood and manslaughter and eagerness to cause harm.]

Here, ANGER has both internal (swelling, eagerness) and external (manslaughter, blood) consequences, so it is more difficult to establish where *æbylgð* fits within the spectrum. Even so, it is placed immediately after *saca* and *teonan*, which both have similar meaning that could be rendered as ‘unrest, strife, trouble’, etc. In this case the offence – understood as contention between people – would fit well with the two.

A slightly different approach is found in the Old English translation of Boethius’ *Consolatio* where the dangers and consequences of excessive pleasures are discussed:

[Bpr23]

þonne weaxað eac þa ofermetta & ungeþwærnes; & þonne hi weorðað **gebolgen**, þonne wyrð þæt mod beswungen mid þam welme þære **hætheortnesse**, oððæt hi weorþað geræpte mid þære unrotnesse, & swa gehæfte (Bo)

[Then also grows pride and discord; and then they become angry/swollen, when the mind is lashed with the surge of passion/anger, until they are caught by the trouble/sorrow/sadness and so bound]

This passage presents difficulties, and two interpretations are possible. The first assumes that both *gebolgen* and *hætheortnesse* denote ANGER, or SWELLING WITH ANGER. However, in the context of indulging in earthly pleasure this seems unlikely, and there are no other indications of possible ANGER-scenarios. The second interpretation takes *gebolgen* literally as ‘swollen’ – which is further substantiated by *wilm* ‘that which wells, surges or boils’. In this case *hætheortnesse* could be understood as passion or a surge of powerful emotions (a likely meaning – see Chapter 8), from a heated breast. This interpretation would then be a direct example of the cardiocentric hydraulic model, but without any associations with ANGER. It would also belong in the category described below.

Swelling, Uncertain Meanings, Other

In *Cura pastoralis* we find another example of *BELGAN* which can be taken as ‘swollen’ or ‘swelling’:

[Bpr57]

ðylæs ðæt aðundne mod for ðissum hwilendlicum anwalde hit **gebelge** wið ðone ðe him cit. (CP)

[...so that the mind swollen because of this temporal power, it swells up/surges/angers? against the one who reproved him]

Whilst the exact meaning of *gebelgan* could be disputed, the co-occurrence of *BELGAN* with *aðundne mod* suggests (as Gevaert (2007) believes), that SWELLING was transparent in this instance. *Gebelgan* is used to translate Latin *tumidus*, which means ‘swelling’ literally (Lewis & Short) (See 11.2.4). Perhaps the addition of the phrase *aðundne mod* was introduced by the translator to clarify and emphasise the SWELLING component of *BELGAN*, as left on its own *gebelgan* may not have been enough to convey the meaning of the Latin.

Another uncertain example comes from the prose version of the prose *Paris Psalter*:

[Bpr18]

Wið me sylfne wæs min sawl and min mod **gebolgen** and gedrefed; (PPs (prose))

[My soul and my heart is ?swollen and troubled against/at/with myself]

This is used to translate the Latin *me ipsum anima mea conturbata est* (‘my soul is troubled within myself’). Here, *gebolgen* seems to be placed in apposition to *gedrefed* which means ‘vexed, troubled, disturbed’. In this sense, *gebolgen* could mean ‘in a state of emotional upheaval’ and parallel the use in *Resignation B*, where there is no indication of any potential offending event, nor reasons for experiencing anger, but what is felt is an inner *swelling* of the mind, that is painful, disturbing and vexing.

Finally, it is worth mentioning an example in the prose life of St Guthlac where *BELGAN* refers to wild animals, since this is the only occurrence in prose that mirrors such use in poetry.

[Bpr12]

Ærest he geseah leon ansyne, and he mid his blodigum tuxum to him beotode;
swylce eac fearres gelicnysse, and beran ansyne, þonne hi **gebolgene** beoð.
(LS 10.1 (Guth))

*[First he saw the likeness of a lion, and he threatened him with his bloody fangs;
after that also a likeness of a bull, and a bear, then they were enraged.]*

As Damon (2003: 80) notes, “martial epithet links the wild beasts’ attacks to the military theme developed in this section. Like Beowulf in the famous Anglo-Saxon poem, Guthlac draws on his heroic qualities to face down a host of demonic monsters”. Part of this ‘martial epithet’ is the use of the word *gebolgen* to refer to animalistic or supernatural frenzy of attack which we could see in the boar of the Riddles and in the mere-creatures from *Beowulf*.

5.3.2.4 Conclusions

BELGAN is much more frequent in prose. However, because *ā*-forms account for more than half of these occurrences, a significant number of examples are concerned with OFFENCE rather than ANGER, both in terms of transgression against God and against fellow human beings. This is immediately juxtaposed with the concept of merciful and forgiving God and the spiritual value of forgiveness.

The narrative prose works continue the trend observed in other ANGER word families with the use of non-prefixed, often reflexive forms of *BELGAN*, particularly in Ælfric, and occasionally the non-prefixed words are used to refer to ANGER as well.

Some examples exhibit a potential for literal meaning of SWELLING, particularly when they co-occur with other words for which this meaning is primary, but the distinction is not always clear-cut.

5.3.3 Conclusions

BELGAN is a complex family and the lexicographic and etymological data does not reflect this complexity fully. There appear to be several different patterns of meaning emerging from the data. Even though it was suggested initially that the prefix *ā-* would not change the meaning of the verb *belgan*, there is a marked difference in usage between the prefixed and non-prefixed words. The former relate to OFFENCE or ANGER caused by a transgression more often and show little or no indication of the SWELLING component. Occasionally, it is doubtful whether the meaning ANGER, understood as an internal emotion, could be attributed to them at all. The non-prefixed words are found in contexts of internal states (particularly with the reflexive), martial, animalistic displays of ANGER and excessive amounts of violence, where *mōd* is overwhelmed by feelings and both rational thought and social constrictions no longer apply. The SWELLING component is often implied in the use of non-prefixed words, if not stated explicitly. In both prose and poetry there are singular examples that show that *BELGAN* can be used to refer to an internal swelling of the mind that is *not* caused by ANGER.

In the end, it is difficult to pinpoint precisely whether the SWELLING component would be transparent to Anglo-Saxon audiences, and the examples show a great range of possibilities. On the one hand we have such words as the secondary-derived noun *æbylgþ*, where swelling, though etymologically present, would be completely obscure, on the other there is *gebolgen*, which could be transparent, especially when it co-occurs with other words denoting SWELLING.

Chapter 6 *WRĀP*

6.1 Introduction

WRĀP is of medium size in comparison with other ANGER word families. There are 154 occurrences throughout the corpus, 121 in poetry, and 33 in prose, across 51 texts.⁶⁵ Different text types are fairly well represented throughout, including secular and religious poetry, riddles, lives of saints, homilies, historical chronicles and charters. However, the occurrences of this word family are much more common in poetry (78.1% of occurrences), than in prose (21.9%). It seems quite stable throughout the Old English period, as it appears in early or linguistically more archaic poetry (such as *Beowulf*) and early prose (*Orosius*), as well as in later compositions (the Chronicle entries dated for the first part of the eleventh century). This word also survives throughout Middle English and into Present-Day English.

6.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

6.2.1 *WRĀP* word family in Old English

The corpus has been searched for words with the root *-wrað-* with alternative spellings taken into consideration.⁶⁶ This word family comprises the following 11 lexemes: *andwrað* (adj.), *wraþu* (n.), *wraþ* (n.), *wraþ* (adj.), *wraðe* (adv.), *wraðian/wraþan* (v.), *wraðlic* (adj.), *wraðlice* (adv.), *wraðmōd* (adj.), *wraðscraef* (n.). Table 6.1 shows the frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories across different types of texts and Table 6.2 shows the frequency of occurrence of each of these lexemes across the whole corpus. The simplex adjective and adverb are the most commonly occurring in the entire corpus. The remaining lexemes are less frequently observed. Some adjectives are used in a substantive fashion, but this happens exclusively in poetry. Adverbs are also more common in poetry, with the majority of them found in the *Paris Psalter*. Conversely, the noun appears more often in prose, while it is almost unobserved in poetry, and the only two occurrences of the verb are found in prose.

⁶⁵ This does not take glosses into account (47 occurrences), bringing the total number of occurrences to around 202.

⁶⁶ These were fragmentary searches for: *-wrað-*, *-wraþ-*, *-wrað-* and *-wraþ-*, which would also account for the doubling of the final consonant.

This reflects very closely the proportions of various grammatical categories in prose and poetry observed in the *GRAM* word family where substantive adjectives and adverbs were much more common in verse (with adverbs predominant in the *Paris Psalter*), nouns and verbs more common in prose and adjectives spread evenly throughout.

	Prose	%	Verse	%	TOTAL	%
<i>nouns</i>	12	36.36%	7	5.79%	19	12.34%
<i>subst. adj.</i>	0	0.00%	23	19.01%	23	14.93%
<i>subtotal</i>	12	36.36%	29	23.97%	41	26.62%
<i>adj.</i>	12	36.36%	60	49.59%	72	46.75%
<i>adv.</i>	7	21.21%	31	25.61%	38	24.68%
<i>v.</i>	2	6.07%	0	0.00%	2	1.30%
TOTAL:	33	100.00%	121	100.00%	154	100.00%

Table 6.1 – Distribution of word categories for WRĀþ

LEXEME	no. of occ.	%
WRĀÐ (adj.)	90	58.44%
WRĀÐE (adv.)	37	24.02%
WRĒþU (n.)	11	7.14%
WRĀþ (n.)	7	4.55%
WRĀÐIAN/WRĒþAN (v.)	2	1.30%
WRĀÐLĪC (adj.)	2	1.30%
WRĀÐMÖD (adj.)	2	1.30%
ANDWRĀÐ (adj.)	1	0.65%
WRĀÐLĪCE (adv.)	1	0.65%
WRĀÐSCRÆF (n.)	1	0.65%
	154	100.00%

Table 6.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for WRĀþ

B-T and Hall were consulted for the meanings of this word family, with the exception of *andwrāð* where data were available from DOE. One of the problems encountered in the lexicographic analysis is that there are several variant forms of words occurring throughout the corpus. Sometimes these are treated as separate lexemes by the dictionaries, and sometimes simply as variant spellings. Whenever a spelling has received such treatment in a given dictionary, or a separate headword is justified, this will be appropriately indicated. I shall discuss the simplex nouns first, then the two adverbs, then the simplex adjective with the remaining adjectives, and finally the verbs.

6.2.1.1 WRĀȒȒU (n.) and WRĀȒ (n.)

B-T provides three different headwords for the noun: *wrāȒȒu*,⁶⁷ *wrāȒȒȒu*, and *wrāȒ* – and gives slightly different senses for them. Hall distinguishes only two, *wrāȒ* and *wrāȒȒu*. These two differ in their grammatical gender, as *wrāȒȒu* is feminine and *wrāȒ* neuter. Both B-T and Hall, give ‘wrath’, ‘anger’ for *wrāȒȒ(Ȓ)u*, with the former having also ‘injury’ and the latter ‘indignation’ in the set. *WrāȒ* is treated as a separate noun, according to Hall related to the adjective and does not have the meaning ‘anger’. Hall defines it as ‘cruelty’ and ‘hardship’, while B-T distinguishes two separate senses: ‘cruelty’ and ‘what is grievous, the painful’. There seems to be a net of relations between those meanings, that could be represented in a following (though not necessarily unidirectional) sequence: CRUELTY – HARSHIP – INJURY – OFFENCE – INDIGNATION – ANGER. The meanings of ‘injury’ and ‘pain’ on the one hand, and ‘anger’ and ‘offence’ on the other, do not seem to be very far away from each other in Old English (see, e.g. Chapter 7).

6.2.1.2 WRĀȒȒE (adv.) and WRĀȒȒLICE (adv.)

The adverbs, on the basis of the dictionary definitions, have a wide range of meaning. For *wrāȒȒe* B-T distinguishes four subsets of meanings: 1. ‘angrily’, ‘with anger’, ‘with indignation’, 2. ‘fiercely, cruelly, grievously, bitterly’, 3. ‘evilly, perversely, wickedly’. The fourth is a descriptive definition, ‘used to qualify an unfavourable idea with an intensive force’. *WrāȒȒlice* falls within the second subset of meanings and is defined as ‘cruelly, direly, bitterly’. Hall does not provide separate entries for the adverbs, but subsumes them under the respective adjectives from which they are derived (see 6.2.1.3). As with the noun, the adverb has several different uses, but its most important function is that of a negative modifier, not just a word denoting an emotional state.

6.2.1.3 WRĀȒ (adj.), WRĀȒȒLĪC (adj.), WRĀȒȒMŌD (adj.), and ANDWRĀȒ (adj.)

WrāȒ, according to B-T, has two subset meanings that mirror the meaning for the adverb *wrāȒȒe*. However, while in the entry for adverb FIERCENESS was separated from CRUELTY, both meanings are merged for the adjective. The senses given are: 1. ‘wroth, angry,

⁶⁷ There is a similar noun, but with a short vowel, that is *wrāȒȒu*, meaning ‘prop, help, support’, but all occurrences have, of course, been checked to avoid this confusion.

incensed’ and 2. ‘fierce, cruel, grievous, hostile, bitter, fell, evil, malignant’. Hall provides similar meanings, but also has ‘furious, terrible, horrible, harsh’.

Wrāðlic is narrowed down to ‘cruel, dire, bitter’ (B-T) and ‘grievous, severe’ (Hall), but Hall points out that it is a rare word (it appears only twice, see Table 6.1).

Wrāðmōd is also rare and the dictionaries give it as ‘angry-hearted, incensed’ (B-T) and ‘angry’ (Hall), which suggests that an ANGER-word coupled with *-mōd*, disambiguates the meaning to ANGER in favour of other meanings.

Finally, there is *andwrāþ*, on which the three available sources differ slightly, with B-T providing the meaning ‘hostile’, DOE giving ‘hostile, antagonistic’ as well, and only Hall providing also the meaning ‘enraged’.

While the dictionary definitions may suggest that there is a significant difference in the use of these adjectives (some of them with a distinct or narrowed down meaning), apart from *wrāþ*, all other adjectives are rare (one or two occurrences), so it is likely that they could have had a similar range of meanings to *wrāþ* that is simply unrecorded.

6.2.1.4 WRĀPIAN (v.) and WRÆPAN (v.)

These two verbs are given separate entries because of their morphology and paradigms, as they belong to two different classes (Wk 1 and 2). Meaning-wise they appear to be more or less synonymous. B-T gives ‘to be angry’ for *wrāþian*, although he makes a note that it may also mean ‘to anger (someone)’, and for *wræpan* he has ‘be angry, get angry’. Hall further distinguishes between them by marking *wrāþian* as reflexive and OED also points out that *wræpan* is reflexive. Aside from that, both verbs are given as ‘to be angry’, ‘to be enraged’ by Hall.

6.2.1.5 WRĀPSCRÆF (n.)

The compound *wrāðscræf* occurs only once and Hall defines it as ‘a wretched hole, pit of misery, hell’ and B-T as ‘an evil cave, a den’. As the first element of the compound appears to be an adjective, both dictionaries employ one of the ‘negative’ meanings from the second or third subcategories in the definition for *wrāð*.

WRĀP has a relatively broad range of meanings which are interrelated. The cursory glance at the dictionary definitions already shows that this family may in some ways mirror *GRAM*, which is also used for expressing the notions of HOSTILITY and FIERCENESS.

6.2.2 WRĀþ word family in Middle English, Early Modern English and Present-Day English

6.2.2.1 Middle English

In Middle English, some of the members of this word family have become obsolete, while others have been formed from the same root. There are eleven lexemes in total.⁶⁸ An analysis of the diachronic changes in meaning could be helpful in understanding the family in Old English.

In the definitions MED provides for the lexemes, ANGER appears as a primary meaning (e.g. ‘anger’, ‘rage’, ‘fury’, ‘to be angry’, ‘easily enraged’, etc.). Sometimes it is explicitly associated with the wrath of a deity (whether Christian or Pagan). HOSTILITY appears frequently as well (‘hostility’, ‘animosity’), but is still linked with ANGER, and also with DISTRESS, as in ‘vexation, distress’, ‘to become troubled, vexed’. Occasionally, this word family seems to have associations with PUNISHMENT (presumably through the links with the wrath of God and divine punishment), as in ‘retribution’, ‘punishment’.

The meanings that formed an important part of the entire semantic range of this family in Old English (e.g. ‘cruelty’, ‘fierce’, ‘grievous’, ‘evil’, etc.) have been lost or became narrowed down to ANGER, particularly that of God, with some traces of DISTRESS.

6.2.2.2 Early Modern English and Present-Day English

Most of the material in this section is from OED, which accounts for both obsolete and current words. There are ten entries for this word family: *wrath* (n.), *wrethe* (n.), *wrath* (adj.), *wroth* (adj.), *wrath* (v.) and *wrethe* (v.), *wrathful* (adj.), *wrathfully* (adv.), *wrothful* (adj.), *wrethful* (adj.). They all have ANGER in common, and it is often qualified as violent and strong, exhibited by people, deities, animals and forces of nature.

Most of these words have separate senses that are marked as both obsolete and rare. For example, the noun *wrethe* has the rare meanings of ‘injury, hurt, harm’, and the adjective *wroth* also has the meaning of ‘evil, grievous, perverse’ (with the range of dates for this from c. 1000 to 1400) and ‘displeased, sorrowful, sad’ (c. 1450). *Wrath* (n.) has also ‘ardour of passion’ (in Shakespeare). These are marginal and time-specific. Violent

⁶⁸ These are: *wratthe* (adj.), *wratthen* (v.), *wratther* (n.), *wratthful* (adj.), *wratthfulli* (adv.), *wratthfulness* (n.), *wratthhede* (n.), *wratthi* (adj.), *wratthnesse* (n.)

anger, especially that of divinity, is a meaning that seems both predominant, and at the same time quite stable temporally from Early Modern English to Present-Day English.

There has been a change in the range of meanings from Old English into Middle English and Present-Day English. Certain meanings present in Old English have disappeared almost entirely as early as in the Middle English period, while with time ANGER became the primary meaning for this word family, almost to the exclusion of all others.

6.2.3 Etymology – Indo-European and Other Germanic Languages

The *WRĀP* family derives from the conventional PIE base *wer- ‘to twist, bend’ (alternately represented as *uer-), and more specifically from the root *wreit/ureit- ‘to turn’ (Watkins 2000), which is found, however, only in Germanic and Baltic (LIV, EDPG). This root was responsible for such OE words as *wriþa* ‘band’ or *wriþan* ‘to twist, torture’, but also the Lith. *riečiù, riēsti* ‘to twist, roll’ (LIV, Orel) or ‘to bend, curve, warp’ (EDPG), as well as the Latv. *riest* ‘to fall off, shed, shoot, sprout’ (EDPG). Watkins gives OE *wrāþ* ‘angry’ as derived from the previous meaning ‘twisted, tormented’ (Watkins 2000).

The above OE words are all descended from the Gmc. root *wriþ-, *wraith- (Watkins). Orel reconstructs the Germanic antecedents and shows how the strong Gmc. verb *wriþanan ‘to turn, twist’ developed into the adjective *wraiþaz (responsible for both the OE *wrāþ* ‘angry’ and the OHG *reid* ‘frizzy, curly’). Further processes led to the development of the Gmc. noun *wraiþjò (ON *reiði* ‘wrath’, OE *wræðu* id., MLG *wrede*) from this adjective and also the weak verb *wraiþjanan (ON *reiða* ‘to anger’, OS *wrēthian* ‘to become angry’, OHG *reiden* ‘to make curly’). In both Germanic and Baltic the meaning also developed into ‘to squirm’ (cf. WPhal. *vrissen* ‘worm’ < *wriþ-man- and Lith. *rieteti* ‘to hatch’, EDPG)

In Old Norse in particular there are several lexemes that developed from this Gmc. root (such as, for instance *reiði* (n.), *reiðast* (v.), *reiðr* (adj.)), and judging from the dictionary definitions (both Zoëga and Cleasby-Vígfusson), they seem to mean exclusively ‘anger’. The deverbal nouns mean ANGER in various North Germanic languages as well (ON, Icel., Far. *reiði*, OSw. *vrēþe*, Elfd. *rwieðe* m. ‘anger’ < *wraiþan- (EDPG).

When de Vries gives cognates from other Germanic languages, he provides the following meanings for the OS *wrēð* ‘sorrowful, angry, hostile’ and OFris. *wreth* ‘evil, bad’. These seem to correspond to some of the uses in Old English, so it would be interesting to compare the Old Saxon and Old Frisian usage.

This hypothetical pattern of semantic development shows a greater affinity of meaning between the Ingvaeonic group of West Germanic languages. Based on the existing evidence (which is, of course, limited), the Proto-Germanic meaning of ‘twisting, bending’ developed slightly differently in various branches of the Germanic family, with the Ingvaeonic group retaining a greater flexibility and range of meaning, but transferring the ‘twisting, bending’ to the domain of mental states (the twisting being, presumably, painful), Old Norse using it only for ANGER, and Old High German narrowing down the meaning of ‘twisting’ solely to curling (as in, hair) and not retaining any associations with emotions or mental attributes. This once again shows, however, that Old English or Germanic ANGER-words seem to be motivated by various physical or physiological experiences underlying this emotion, as can be seen in *TORN*, *GRAM*, and *HĀTHEORT*.

In this light, it is strange that Gevaert chooses *wrāþ* as an example of ANGER IS FIERCENESS conceptualisation. While ‘fiercely’ may well be one of the possible meanings for the adjective (among others, such as ‘grievously’, ‘painfully’, etc.), the underlying semantic motivation – disregarding for a moment the question of transparency – is quite different.

6.3 Discussion

6.3.1 Poetry

Several text types are represented among the occurrences of this word family, ranging from secular poetry (*Beowulf*, *The Wanderer*), vernacular religious poetry (*Dream of the Rood*), poetic renditions of the Biblical material (*Genesis A,B*, *Exodus*, *Christ*), saints’ lives (*Andreas*, *Guthlac*, *Elene*), translations of the Psalms (*Paris Psalter*), Riddles, etc. (see Table 6.3). There is a large disproportion in those occurrences, as more than 50% of them are limited to just two texts (*Paris Psalter* and *Genesis A,B*), which together number 63 of the 121 verse occurrences. Similarly, in *GRAM* almost half of the poetic occurrences could also be found in the *Paris Psalter*. It could be attributed to the subject matter as God is consistently represented as wrathful in the psalms. However, such frequent use of ANGER-words could make for a case study in how the *Paris Psalter* distinguishes between the different word families.

Text Title	No of occ.	%
PPs	40	33.05%
GenA,B	23	19%
ChristA,B,C	8	6.6%
Beo	6	4.96%
Met	6	4.96%
El	5	4.13%
Riddles (14, 40, 71)	5	4.13%
And	4	3.3%
Jul	4	3.3%
Sat	3	2.48%
GuthA,B	2	1.65%
MPs	2	1.65%
Dream	1	0.83%
Ex	1	0.83%
MCharm 2	1	0.83%
MSol	1	0.83%
Pan	1	0.83%
Pha	1	0.83%
PsFr	1	0.83%
Res	1	0.83%
Rim	1	0.83%
Wan	1	0.83%
Whale	1	0.83%
Wid	1	0.83%
Wife	1	0.83%
	121	100%

Table 6.3 – Occurrences of WRĀP in poetry

6.3.1.1 Referents

The referents for *WRĀP* are most often supernatural beings (28 occ.) and this correlates with the high prominence of words of this family in *PP* and *GenA,B*. God is referred to 16 times (seven times in *GenA,B* and four in *PP*), Satan and/or devils 11 times (three in *Gen*), and Grendel and ‘spirits’ once. The second prominent group is the one where the adjective *wrāp* is used substantively to denote various types of enemies (23 occ.). Contextually, we often know which enemies are meant in a given passage, though sometimes the referent remains vague. Such enemies include: the Myrmedonians, the Egyptians, the Huns or simply unknown enemies. Quite often these are enemies in the martial sense and this is also reflected in the occasional use of *WRĀP* for warriors, such as named heroes (Eormanric in *Widsith* or Beowulf in *Beowulf*) or general bands of warriors (in *Beowulf* or in *Genesis A,B*).⁶⁹ The representatives of the natural world are also referred to with this

⁶⁹ Again, this is reminiscent of *GRAM*.

word family, such as poison, wind or serpents, but those are marginal uses.⁷⁰ Another small group constitutes Biblical figures, such as Abraham and Sara in *GenA,B*.

Referents of *WRĀÐ* often belong to inanimate or abstract categories, which is mostly caused by the frequent use of adverbs and adjectives. Sometimes, it is therefore difficult to determine actors or any scenario.

6.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

There are a few consistent patterns of co-occurrence in poetry, but they are not widespread. The two most common, especially in coordinated or emphatic constructions, are ANGER and ENMITY. *WRĀÐ*-words co-occur with other ANGER-words in 14 passages – these are *YRRE* (10 occ.), *BELGAN* (6 occ.), *GRAM* (3 occ.). The majority of those co-occurrences come from *GenA,B* and *PPs*, but *Beo* and *Guth* have one each as well. *WRĀÐ* co-occurs a little less commonly with ENMITY-words, mostly with *feond* (8 passages, of which 3 occ. in *PPs*), but this corroborates the understanding of the adjective *wrāþ* used substantively as ‘enemy’.

WRĀÐ-words alliterate often and some of those alliterations repeat, but usually they are contained within one text, two or three at the most. For instance, *WRĀÐ*-words alliterate with *wite* ‘torment, punishment’ 5 times (three in *Christ*, and once in *Gen* and *Jul*), with *waldend* ‘Lord’ four times (three in *GenA,B* and once in *Guth*), with *wrecan* ‘avenge’ four times (twice in *Christ*, once in *Gen* and *PP*), *geweald* ‘power’ 3 times (2 in *And*, 1 in *Ex*) and *wærloga* ‘oath-breaker’ 3 times (twice in *And*, once in *Wid*).

The most common alliteration with *wite* shows also that the adjective is used to modify TORMENT/AFFLICTION (*wite*, *hearmstaf*). Some other collocations for the adjective are SIN/WICKED DEED (*fyren*, *bealo*, *bealocraft*, also in the phrase *wraþan wegas*), INSULTS (*wroht*, *word*) and ‘sword’ *sweord*. This shows relatively strong connotations of something violent, painful, and often morally wrong. For translating *WRĀÐ* in those phrases the PDE ‘fierce, bitter, severe, cruel, etc.’ are used. The phrase *wrāþ on mode* occurs 5 times and in those cases seems to mean quite unambiguously ‘angry’.

The adverb *wrāþe* shows some consistency in modifying verbs. Most occurrences of the adverb are from the *Paris Psalter*, with several occurrences in *Meters of Boethius* and marginal appearances in other texts. The adverb is used most often to modify verbs that have the meaning ‘to scatter, destroy’ (*aweorpan*, *forniman*, *tolysan*, *tostencan*,

⁷⁰ The natural world in Old English is often opposed to the human world and often portrayed negatively (Neville 1999) – as such, wind or poison or serpents, in a way, belong to the same ‘world’ that Grendel does.

toweorpan) or ‘to insult, curse’ (*bysmorian, wyrgian*) or ‘speak’, but usually in a negative context (*asprecan, sprecan, tellan*), all of these indicating either violent action or violent intent (hence the dictionary definitions of ‘fiercely, bitterly’). *WRĀÐ*-words do co-occur also with words that have the meaning ‘fierce, cruel, harsh, etc.’, particularly with *heard*.

6.3.1.3 Case Studies

The Wrath of God

As expected, the wrath of God forms a distinct group of occurrences, and apart from *PP* and *Gen*, these can be found in *Christ and Satan*, *Resignation*, *GuthlacA,B* and *The Panther*. Although it is the most recognisable group of occurrences with a clear correlation with ANGER, it is still not large in terms of overall proportions.

[Wp1] þa wearð **yrre** god
and þam werode **wrað** þe he ær wurðode
wlite and wuldre (*GenA*, 34b-6a)

[*Then God became angry and angry with the multitude whom he had earlier distinguished with beautiful appearance and glory*]

[Wp25] Him wæs hælend god
wrað geworden for womcwidum. (*Sat* 280b-1)

[*The God and Saviour became angry with them for evil speaking*]

[Wp98]
Gehweorf us hraðe, hælend drihten,
and þin **yrre** fram us eac oncyrrre,
þæt ðu us ne weorðe **wrað** on mode.
Ne wrec þu þin **yrre** **wraðe** mode; (*PP: Psalm 84*, 8-11)

[*Convert us quickly Saviour Lord and also turn away your anger from us so that you are not angry in the mind/heart with us. Do not wreak your anger with an angry mind*]

The above passages follow the scenario of God being angry with someone for their transgressions, with a promise of retribution or punishment for said transgressions. Most often, God is angry with the rebellious angels, Adam and Eve, or, in the case of psalms, people in general. *Wrāð* tends to co-occur with *yrre* in such passages, although as we can see in passage [Wp25], this is not always the case. This set of occurrences is probably

responsible for the phrase ‘wrath of God’ at later stages of language development, but it is not widespread in Old English poetry – for 121 occurrences of WRĀÐ-words in poetry only 16 examples show the wrath of God. Occasionally, it is quite difficult to distinguish the ‘anger’ sense of *wrāð* (adj.), as the adjective can mean ‘severe, fierce, cruel’.

Cruelty and Fierceness

Probably more common than the “wrath of God” scenario are those situations where WRĀÐ-words, or more specifically adjectives and adverbs from this word family, are used as negative modifiers for various hardships. One example of such usage can be found in *The Dream of the Rood* (passage [Wp32]) where the Cross speaks:

[Wp32]
 Feala ic on þam beorge gebiden hæbbe
wraðra wyrda (*Dream*, 50-1a)

[*I have experienced many cruel/harsh events/fates on the mountain*]

This refers to the Cross’ sufferings during Christ’s crucifixion, which is a violent and painful event. Similarly, the speaker in *The Wanderer* is mindful of [Wp64] **wraþra wælsleahta** (l. 8), the ‘cruel slaughters’. And in *Genesis A,B* a similar experience of torture, although for quite different reasons is portrayed when Satan is tormented in hell:

[Wp25] Weoll him on innan
 hyge ymb his heortan, hat wæs him utan
wraðlic wite. (*GenAB*, 353b-5a)

[*Inside, his mind⁷¹ surged around his breast, outside the cruel/harsh/severe torment was hot to him*]

This is an interesting passage as it plays on the hydraulic model by juxtaposing the inner state of the mind, which is welling and surging, with the hot and painful outside forces, which cause pain. Satan’s inner emotional state is not described precisely at this point, but because of WELLING and comparisons with other similar passages elsewhere, we can infer some measure of inner HEAT which mirrors the outer hotness (*hat wæs him utan*). Several lines earlier he is referred to as being *sorgiende* (l. 347), so ‘saddened’ or ‘sorrowful’ and

⁷¹ S.A.J. Bradley translates this as ‘ambition’ (Bradley, 1982: 32), but Old English does not really justify such a precise translation; if we are to ascribe *any* emotion to this inner welling it would be some sort of GRIEF.

maybe the ‘welling’ emotion is related to grief and pain he experiences at being cast out of Heaven. In contrast to this, *wraðlic* is used to describe external forces, not internal feelings and this association with external causes or events may be one of the defining features of the *WRĀÐ*-word family.

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between ANGER and FIERCENESS with any certainty. The passage from *Genesis A* below shows such ambiguity in some uses of *WRĀÐ*. Abraham’s wife, Sara, is initially described as sad (*modes sorge*, l. 2245) at the preferential treatment her slave Hagar receives from Abraham (as Hagar carries his child). Sara decides to not tolerate this situation any longer and starts mistreating Hagar:

[Wp21]

ða wearð unbliðe Abrahames cwen,
 hire worcþeowe **wrað** on mode,
heard and hreðe, higeteonan spræc
fræcne on fæmnan. (*GenA*, ll. 2261-4a)

[*Then Abraham’s queen became displeased, angry in mind with her slave, harsh and cruel, fiercely spoke insults against the woman*]

SADNESS and ANGER are sometimes distinguished from one another on the basis of whether a certain course of action is taken up to alleviate the offending event or not (see the problems with distinctions between SADNESS/GRIEF and ANGER, in 7.3.1.2 and in Chapter 7 in general). Here, we could read *wrað* as ‘angry’, especially as from initial sadness, Sara moves to ANGER by committing acts of violence on Hagar. Her actions are directed at a specific person who has caused (directly or indirectly) the offence. However, there are words in close proximity that suggest FIERCENESS, SEVERITY or even CRUELTY: *heard*, *hreðe* and *freccen*, which colour the use of *wrað*. In this case, a translation ‘she became fierce in her mind’ is equally viable.

This is paralleled elsewhere in *Genesis B*, where God is described as *yrre* ‘angry’ (*Unc wearð god yrre*, l.740) with the rebellious angels, but several lines later we read:

[Wp9]

unc waldend wearð **wrað** on mode
 on hyge **hearde** (*GenB*, ll. 745-6a)

[*The Lord became angry/cruel in mind, harsh in the heart with us*]

Hyge and *mōd* are presented in variation in these two phrases, and as the two words are interchangeable, perhaps similarly *heard* and *wrað* can be seen as synonymous to some

extent. However, the syntactic repetition of the phrase *unc wearð God/waldend x*, introduces variation that suggests it is *yrre* and *wrāð* that are synonymous. All three lexemes share common characteristics. Reading *wrāð* as both ‘angry’ and ‘cruel/severe’ is possible in this passage.

While there are cases where *WRĀÐ* can be unambiguously used for situations that require PDE ‘fierce, cruel’, in those two passage ANGER and FIERCENESS feed into each other and the word can be read as meaning both, blended together.

The Multitude of Enemies, the Throng of Devils

As with *GRAM*, adjectives from this word family can be used substantively to refer to enemies or groups of enemies (particularly in the martial context) and, by extension, to devils either in singular or in plural, as chief enemies in the Christian theology. They are also used to qualify or modify nouns that denote a variety of enemies, troops or bands of warriors. Such usage is widespread throughout poetry and is one of the central features of this word family.

With regard to substantive adjectives, in *Beowulf* Hrothgar asks the hero to: [Wp48] *waca wið wraþum* (l. 660), ‘Keep watch against the enemy’, where the enemy is understood to be Grendel. In *Genesis A* the kings wish to [Wp18] *Sodome burh wraðum werian* ‘defend the city of Sodom from enemies’. Finally, an example of the substantive usage can be found in the following passage from *Elene*:

[Wp36/7]

.... æt sæcce mid þy oferswiðan mæge
feonda gehwylcne, þonne fyrdhwate
on twa healfe tohtan secaþ,
sweordgeniðlan, þær hie ymb sige winnað,
wrað wið wraðum (*El.* ll. 1177-81a)

[...with this [the nails] he will be able to overcome each of the enemies, when [those] bold in warfare, from both sides, go into battle, sword-armed foes, where they strive for victory, enemy against enemy]

This passage shows how both sides of the martial conflict are described in a reflexive fashion as enemies of one another. The passage contains two other words for ‘enemy’, that is *fēond* and *sweord-genīðla*. This justifies the reading of *wrāð* as ‘enemy’, although it might have a different set of associations than the remaining two words.

The adjective can also modify the noun. While FIERCENESS or CRUELTY can be seen as first choice in translation of the adjective, reading *wrāð* as ‘hostile’ or having connotations of being an adversary in battle is equally probable. Some examples of this include the one in *Fragments of Psalms* [Wp78] *wige beluc **wraðum** feondum* (*PsFr: Psalm 34*, 1.6) ‘protect by battle against cruel/hostile enemies’ or in *Beowulf*: [Wp47] *wið **wrað werod** wearde healdan* (l. 319) ‘keep watch against the hostile/cruel troop’.

The substantive adjective can be used to denote devils specifically. This can be seen for instance in *ChristABC*, in the phrase for Hell as *wraþra wic* (l. 1534), literally ‘a dwelling of the hostile- or cruel-ones’. The place is also referred to, in variation, as *deaðsele <deofles>* (l.1536) ‘the death hall of the devil’, which justifies the connection between the two words. Similarly, Satan is described in *Genesis B* as *wrāðmōd* ‘angry- or cruel-hearted’ (l.547).

Other Cases – Insults, Bitterness, Temptation

There are several less frequent cases which throw light on the usage of *WRĀÐ*-words in poetry. They could be subsumed under CRUELTY or HOSTILITY, but they appear in the context of insults and harmful speech.

In the *Paris Psalter*, the adverb is sometimes used for modifying speech verbs, where insults or quarrels are intended. This is the case in passage [Wp92] *spracon me wraðe, þa þe win druncon*. (*Psalm 68*, l. 39) ‘they speak against me cruelly/harshly, those who drink wine’ and in a slightly longer passage [Wp111] from *Psalm 118*:

[Wp111] Ac nu ealdormenn ealle ætgædere
sæton on seldum, swyþe spræcon,
and wið me **wraðum** wordum scirdan (*PPs*: 118, ll. 62-4)

[*But now all princes have gathered, sat down on thrones, greatly spoke, and hurt me with cruel/hostile/insulting/angry words*]

The words spoken by the drunken men or princes are meant to cause pain and discomfort, which ties in with the uses of *WRĀÐ*-words in section 3.1.3.2.

WRĀÐ-words are sometimes used to refer to things that are literally or figuratively bitter. In Riddle 40, the adjective suggests literal bitterness in the phrase [Wp44] *ic eom wraþre þonne wermod sy* (l.60) ‘I am more bitter/harsher than wormwood’. In [Wp83] in the *Paris Psalter* tears are described as *wrāþ* (*Psalm 55*, l. 39). Finally, in the *Nine Herbs Charm* [Wp79] *wrāð* occurs in a construction that employs variation where it is

synonymous with poison. The cure *wreced heo wraðan, weorped ut attor* (*MCharm2*, 1.18) ‘expels hostile/cruel things, drives out poison’.

In the above cases the association of *WRĀÐ* with PAIN and HOSTILITY allows for a selection of PDE equivalents in translating this sentence. The poison from the charm may be seen as a ‘hostile thing’ or ‘something causing pain’, but it is still in line with the more broadly observed uses of *WRĀÐ*.

Finally, one of the more puzzling occurrences of *WRĀÐ* comes from [Wp80] and [Wp104], Psalm 94 in the *Paris Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalms*, where the Latin phrase *diem temptationis in deserto* relating to Christ’s days of temptation and trial in the wilderness, are rendered in Old English as *on þam wraðan dæge*. The choice of adjective may be justified by the need for alliteration with *westenne* ‘desert, wilderness’, but the use of *wrað* is surprising. The Latin *temptatio* means ‘attempt, trial’, but also ‘attack’ (Lewis). Perhaps Christ’s trial is seen here as something taxing, hostile, even painful – which is why the PDE equivalents of ‘severe’, ‘harsh’ could potentially be chosen.

6.3.1.4 Conclusions

WRĀÐ in poetry does not show many unambiguous occurrences which could be classified as ANGER. Whenever ANGER is a possibility, it refers most often to God, although there are rare cases when it is used to describe human actions. Instead, the family shows a wide range of uses that may be indirectly related to ANGER (at least, as Present-Day English understands it). This word family is more often found in situations where something is painful or difficult to withstand, related to torture, punishment or cruelty, and it also features prominently in situations of martial enmity, where ANGER (in its battle guise), HOSTILITY and CRUELTY are prominent themes.

6.3.2 Prose

WRĀÐ is not well represented in prose, with just 33 out of 154 occurrences. However, different text types are represented and the occurrences are spread evenly. The word family is most common in charters (6 occ.) and in different versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (5 occ.), (see Table 6.4).

Text Type	No. of occ.	%
Homilies (Anonymous, Ælfric's)	6	18.18%
Lives of Saints (Anonymous, Ælfric's)	6	18.18%
Charters	6	18.18%
Chronicles	5	15.16%
OE Boethius	2	6.06%
Gen	2	6.06%
BenRW	2	6.06%
WCan 1.2 (Torkar)	2	6.06%
OE <i>Orosius</i>	1	3.03%
Vindicta Salvatoris (Cross)	1	3.03%
	33	100.00%

Table 6.4 – Occurrences of WRĀP in prose

6.3.2.1 Referents

The referents or actors for *WRĀP* in prose differ from poetic occurrences, as they no longer refer to supernatural beings so prominently. The referents are most often figures in position of authority (bishops, earls, kings) or saints. God occurs as the referent only three times and Christ once. There are no occurrences referring to devils. Occasionally, the words from this family refer to women (4 times).

As in poetry, some of the occurrences are modifiers (adjectives or adverbs), that do not refer to animate nouns, in which case it is difficult to ascribe an ‘actor’ to them.

6.3.2.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

There are no recurrent patterns of collocations or co-occurrences apart from the phrase *þa wearð/was [he/heo/se cing] x*, which occurs five times in different texts. This phrase is commonly found with other ANGER-words, especially *GRAM*, *BELGAN* and *YRRE*, but in case of *WRĀP* it only begins to appear in late prose texts (for instance, later entries from the Chronicles). Another such collocation is the adverb *swīðe* ‘greatly’, which appears six times, often, but not always within the phrase above. This also parallels the large number of intensifying adverbs used in the case of *GRAM*-word family.

The adjectives or adverbs are used as modifiers, with the possible meaning of ‘fierce(ly), cruel(ly) or severe(ly)’ only 8 times, for instance with the verb *geswencan* ‘afflict, oppress’ or with the noun *wyrde* (cf. 6.3.1.3 on *Dream of the Rood*). In two cases, *WRĀP* co-occurs with *YRRE*, both appearing in Ælfric.

6.3.2.3 Case Studies

The Angry Emperor, King, Earl or Bishop

In the Chronicle entries for years 1050, 1051 1066, and 1070 earls or kings are portrayed as angry with the use of *WRĀÐ*-words. The phrasing is consistent and the following passage from 1050, from *ChronF* is a representative example:

[Wpr18]

Ða was Eustatius swyðe **wrað** & wearð upan his horse ... & se cing wearð swiðe **wrað** & ofsende Godwine eorl...

[*Then was Eustace greatly angered and got up on his horse ... and the king became greatly angered and sent earl Godwin...*]

The townspeople of Dover begin a dispute with Earl Eustace, who then becomes angry with them and kills them. Upon hearing of the misconduct of the inhabitants of Dover the king also becomes angry – which justifies Earl Eustace’s action and legitimises his own anger. The construction mirrors those found for other ANGER-words in earlier texts, but *WRĀÐ* is used in this context almost exclusively in the Chronicles. This suggests that already towards the end of the Old English period *WRĀÐ* was beginning to function in contexts formerly reserved for *GRAM* or *YRRE*.

A counterargument to this proposition can be seen in an earlier use of *WRĀÐ* in *Orosius*, where *wrað* can be read as ‘angry’:

[Wpr10]

Ða wearð Tiberius Romanum swa **wrað** & swa heard, swa he him ær wæs milde & iepe ...

[*Then Tiberius became as angry/cruel and harsh to the Romans, as he was earlier gentle and mild with them*]

On closer inspection, the use of *WRĀÐ* resembles poetic usage, because of coordination with *heard* and the juxtaposition with words denoting mildness or kindness. The emphasis is on his violent and cruel actions, as he does not leave any senator alive.

Charter Formulas

A set phrase or a formula appears in several charters and usually takes the form of an ‘if’ clause that introduces a prohibited action, followed by invocation of God, Christ or saints whose retribution will be upon those who perform such an action. For example, in Rec 8.3.1 (Birch 1254), several people who have been freed from servitude are named. The list is followed with [Wpr14] *hwa þe heom þises bereafie God ælmihtig sie heom **wrað** & sanctæ Cuðberh* ‘whosoever deprives them of this [i.e. freedom], God Almighty and St Cuthbert will be angry with them’ (or, in more idiomatic PDE ‘God’s wrath be upon them’). These formulas alternate from charter to charter, using either adjectives or nouns, as in: *Godes curs and **wræþpe** ealra halgena* ‘God’s curse and the anger of all saints’.

This begins to resemble the phrase ‘God’s wrath’, which is found at later stages of development of English, but at this point is still quite rare. ANGER as a meaning is unambiguous.

Angry Women

Examples of both laudable and deplorable conduct can be found in this category. In prose Genesis, Joseph’s Egyptian mistress gets angry with him, because he does not want to lie with her [Wpr20] *þæt wif wearþ **wraþ** þam geongum cnapan*. (‘the woman became angry with the young man’). Conversely, in LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N), it is said of the Virgin Mary that [Wpr3] *nan mon ne seah hire **wrað*** ‘no-one has ever seen her angry’. This is paralleled by the advice to abbesses in the Benedictine Rule that they should not be prone to anger ([Wpr27] *Wræððe næng fulfille*). The proper thing for a woman to do is to abstain from ANGER.

6.3.2.4 Conclusions

Prose usage visibly lacks meanings and connotations which have been prominent in poetry. CRUELTY and FIERCENESS have become rare occurrences, and there is almost no trace of HOSTILITY. Conversely, ANGER has become more central. In later texts, WRĀP takes on some of the functions of GRAM, and the meaning of PDE *wrath* begins to emerge, especially in phrases denoting the wrath of God, although the majority of referents are still humans in position of authority. In the light of the later prominence of *wrath* in Middle English and later, it is peculiar that this word family is so rare in prose and so common in

poetry. The meanings found in prose correspond more closely to those retained at later stages of language development.

6.3.3 Conclusions

There is a significant disparity between the uses of *WRĀḐ* in prose and in poetry that may reflect semantic development over time. Initially, the words of this family would have retained a strong association with its etymology of ‘twist, bend’ > ‘cause pain’. These associations can be seen when negative modifiers show the intent of the referent to cause harm or describe outer forces or things that are causing pain. They are also present when substantive adjectives refer to enemies, who cause harm by their very nature, *WRĀḐ* possesses that association initially even when it is used to mean ANGER. This is shown particularly by co-occurrences with other words. As opposed to *TORN*, which stresses the experience of an inner pain at an unwanted event, *WRĀḐ*, when experienced as an emotion, places emphasis on the pain caused or on the intent of such pain or harm. The link with ANGER, as shown through occurrences in Genesis, lies primarily in the retribution, which is such an integral part of the ANGER-scenarios. In prose, earlier meanings lose in prominence and ANGER moves to the forefront, used in fixed phrases and expressions that have been heretofore more commonly associated with other ANGER-words.

Chapter 7 *TORN*

7.1 Introduction

TORN is a relatively small family, both in terms of the number of occurrences and the individual lemmas. The total number of occurrences is just 47 across 17 texts and the words are almost exclusively confined to poetry, with one occurrence in prose, none in glosses and 1 in a runic inscription. The corpus was searched for words with the root *-torn-* and the results predominantly comprise nouns (35 occ.) and adjectives (7 occ.). There is a single instance of a verb and 4 adverbs.

The disproportion in occurrences shows that this word family was used in poetic style, which is usually more archaic. Additionally, the word *torn* appears in the runic inscription on the Auzon Casket, which can be dated to c. 700 AD (Page 1999: 25). It does not, however, survive into Middle English.

7.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

Most of the material in this section comes from Germanic languages as other Germanic cognates seem to be better attested and more numerous than their Old English counterparts, particularly in Old High German. Additionally, the semantic developments of the Indo-European root in other, non-Germanic languages throw light on the possible evolution of that word in Germanic, West Germanic, and subsequently Old English.

7.2.1 *TORN* word family in Old English

The most frequent member of this family is the noun *torn*, followed by the simplex adjective *torn* and adverb *torne*. Several compounds (both nouns and adjectives) also exist, but they do not occur more than once or twice. (see Table 7.1) The simplex noun *torn*, the adjectives *torn* and *tornlic*, and the adverb *torne* are treated separately, and the final section is devoted to the compounds.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
nouns	35	76.09%	0	0.00%	35	74.47%
adj.	7	15.22%	0	0.00%	7	14.89%
v.	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	1	2.13%
adv.	4	8.69%	0	0.00%	4	8.51%
TOTAL:	46	100.00%	1	100.00%	47	100.00%

Table 7.1 – Distribution of word categories for *TORN*

LEXEME(s)	no. of occ.	%
TORN (n.)	24	51.06%
TORN (adj.)	5	10.64%
TORNE (adv.)	4	8.51%
TORNGENĪPLA (n.)	3	6.38%
TORNCWIDE (n.)	2	4.26%
GĀRTORN (n.)	1	2.13%
LIGETORN (n.)	1	2.13%
TORNGEMÖT (n.)	1	2.13%
TORNLIC (adj.)	1	2.13%
TORNMÖD (adj.)	1	2.13%
TORNSORH (n.)	1	2.13%
TORNWORD (n.)	1	2.13%
TORNWRACU (n.)	1	2.13%
TORNWYRDAN (v.)	1	2.13%
	47	100%

Table 7.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for *TORN*

7.2.1.1 TORN (n.)

In both dictionaries this neuter noun is given two separate sets of meanings. The first is within the domain of ANGER, and Present-Day English equivalents of ‘anger, indignation’ (B-T, Hall) and ‘wrath’ (B-T) are provided. B-T further distinguishes between anger with ‘just cause’ and ‘unrighteous anger, rage’. It is not clear why B-T provides such a distinction, nor on what basis it is made. Presumably, righteous anger is ascribed to God, while unrighteous anger to the devils, but there is no explicit justification for this distinction.

The second set of meanings can be assigned to the category of GRIEF with the PDE equivalents: ‘grief, misery, suffering pain’ (Hall). It is distinguished from ANGER with numbered subsections. The GRIEF meaning is also present in the B-T definition, but it is further expanded with the use of PDE ‘affliction, trouble, distress’. The two sets of meanings are made distinct in the dictionaries.

7.2.1.2 TORN (adj.) and TORNLIC (adj.)

The adjectives cover a wider range of meanings than the ‘anger’ and ‘grief’ senses assigned to the noun. Hall defines *torn* (adj.) as ‘bitter, cruel, grievous’, while B-T gives ‘causing violent emotions of grief or anger, grievous, distressing, bitter’. Similarly *tornlic* (adj.) is ‘sorrowful, grievous’ (Hall) and ‘grievous, bitter’ (B-T). Hall gives ‘sorrowful’ for *tornlic*, but not for *torn* (adj.). B-T on the other hand has ‘caused by grief’ for *torn*, but not for *tornlic*. These adjectives are used as negative intensifiers, therefore their relation to emotional states might not be entirely clear. The noun *grief* and the adjective *grievous* in Present-Day English⁷² might have diverged in meaning in a fashion similar to *torn* (n.) and *torn* (adj.), but these modern equivalents can occlude how the OE *torn* really functions.

7.2.1.3 TORNE (adv.)

B-T defines this adverb as ‘in a way that causes grief or distress, grievously, distressingly’, while Hall has ‘indignantly, insultingly, bitterly’, indicating that the word is infrequent. There seems to be some confusion with the B-T definition and examples. Occasionally, it is difficult to determine whether the word is an adverb, an adjective or even a noun, since the *-e* ending appears for all three and the grammatical context can be ambiguous. Formally, *torne* can either be an adverb modifying the verb, a strong feminine adjective in the accusative or a noun in the dative singular. B-T gives excerpts from *Juliana* and *Guthlac* that exemplify the adverb, but they can be interpreted differently as adjectives or nouns.

7.2.1.4 COMPOUNDS (nouns, adjectives and a verb)

Ten compounds employ the *TORN* element in their morphology. On eight occasions *torn* is the first element of the compound and modifies the base. Two nouns are exceptions to this: *lygetorn* in *Beowulf* (l. 1943) and *gārtorn* in *Salomon and Saturn* (l. 151). Both dictionaries interpret the *-torn* element in *lygetorn* as ‘anger or grief’.⁷³ However, B-T queries the definition ‘grief(?)’ and chooses ‘anger’ for his translation of this word in an example from *Beowulf*. For *gārtorn*, Hall gives ‘fighting rage’, DOE ‘rage of battle’, and B-T more

⁷² That is to say, *grievous* does not mean ‘full of grief’ and does not denote the emotion of ‘grief’.

⁷³ The full definition is ‘feigned anger or grief’.

literally ‘spear-anger’, ‘rage of darts’. All three definitions choose PDE ‘rage’, instead of ‘anger’: primarily, one presumes, on the basis of the martial context. On the basis of the lexicographic evidence only, in these rare compounds the base noun seems to correspond to PDE ‘anger’.

In the remaining eight compounds *torn-* is the modifying element.⁷⁴ These do not occur more than once or twice (see Table 7.1). For all of them, B-T provides a more extensive and descriptive definition, while Hall resorts to a short Present-Day English equivalent. It is difficult to ascertain whether the *torn-* part of the compound is an adjective or a noun, and as a result, both dictionaries differ in their interpretations of the compound, either choosing the ‘anger’ sense of the noun or the ‘grievous, offensive’ sense of the adjective.

The instances of these compounds will be analysed in the discussion section. However, the second element of the compound can be examined briefly to see whether there are any discernible patterns in terms of relations between *torn-* and the second element of the compound. The *torn-* compounds can be divided into three broad categories, depending on the base: INSULTS, HOSTILITY/WAR, EMOTION.

The first category comprises *torncwide*, *tornwyrðan* and *tornword*, all of which seem to refer to a harmful or offensive act of speech. In both B-T and Hall the nouns *tornword* and *torncwide* are treated as synonyms, although the latter dictionary gives ‘offensive speech’ and the former ‘speech that causes grief, distress’ for both. The dictionaries differ more significantly when it comes to the word *tornwyrðan*. Hall has ‘to be incensed[?]’, while B-T has ‘to address abusive words to, to vituperate’. The differences in those definitions lie in their focus – an internal focus on the emotional state (‘to be incensed’), or an external focus on the actions that might result from such a state (‘to vituperate’). It is more likely that *tornwyrðan* refers to ‘quarrelling or insulting’ as – *wyrðan* is a SPEECH word according to both dictionaries.

The second group of compounds is situated within the context of martial conflict. This may be why the meaning ‘anger’ or ‘angry’ is more readily adopted by the dictionaries for these compounds. The compounds are: *torngemōt*, *torngeniþla* and arguably *tornwracu*. *Torngemōt* is treated by Hall as a kenning for ‘battle’, but B-T defines it as ‘a meeting intended to cause trouble or molestation, an attack upon an enemy’. The word *torngeniþla* is rendered as ‘angry’ (Hall) or ‘grievous, fierce’ (B-T) enemy, while *tornwracu* is rendered as simply ‘revenge’ or ‘grievous revenge’.

⁷⁴ These compounds are: *torncwide* (n.), *torngemōt* (n.), *torngeniþla* (n.), *tornmod* (adj.), *tornsorh* (n.), *tornword* (n.), *tornwracu* (n.), *tornwyrðan* (v.).

Finally, the two remaining compounds that are more directly related to the field of EMOTION are *tornsorh* (n.) and *tornmōd* (adj.). While the adjective *torn* covers a wider range of meanings, *tornmōd* (with the *-mōd* ‘mind/heart’ head), seems to refer specifically to ANGER, and is given as ‘angry’ (Hall) or ‘having the mind excited to anger’ (B-T). It mirrors other ANGER-words that form similar compounds, such as *yrremōd*, *bolgenmōd*, *grammōd* and *wrāþmōd*, as well as the OHG cognate *zornmuot* (Köbler 2003). Possibly, if the first element of the compound is polysemous, or has a wider range of meanings, the *mōd* base in the compounded adjective disambiguates it and necessitates the reading ‘angry’.

Tornsorh is treated as a redundant poetic compound where *torn* possesses the same or similar meaning as the second element. The base means ‘grief, care, anxiety’ and *torn-* is interpreted by Hall as ‘sorrow, care’. B-T on the other hand gives ‘anxious care’, which is not idiomatic in Present-Day English.

The dictionaries attribute a wide range of meanings to this word family. They do not always agree on the precise choice of PDE equivalents. This is either because the meaning of the word is not stable in Old English, or the conceptual system of Present-Day English is ill-suited for mirroring that of Old English. The frequency of those different meanings may shed light on whether this apparent disparity is present throughout the corpus, or whether it may be attributed to anomalous occurrences. It is, however, a small word family, so any discussion on patterns of regular or deviant use is constrained by the limited data sample.

7.2.2 Etymology – Indo-European and Other Germanic Languages

7.2.2.1 PIE and I-E Languages

OE *torn* is descended from the fairly productive PIE root **der-* ‘skin, flay, split’ (Lehmann 1986, IEW) or ‘break, burst’ (LIV). Cognates in most Indo-European languages mean physically rending something, or separating it with force, whether it is ToAB *tsär-* ‘to be separated, to separate’, Skt. *dr̥ṇāti* ‘to burst, to tear’, or Gr. *δέρω* ‘to flay’ (Lehmann 1986; Orel 2003). Cognates in Avestan, Lithuanian, Armenian, and Old Slavic also share this meaning (Orel 2003). However, in some cases cognates refer to mental states, such as Lith. *durnas* (adj.) ‘mad’ and *durnūti* (v.) ‘to rage’ (Kluge and Seebold 2002), Latv. *durna* (adj.) ‘confused’ or Slavic *durnyj* (adj.) ‘mad’ (Lehmann 1986). There are also examples with a

more figurative use, the breaking of relations between people, as in OIr. *drenn* (v.) ‘to quarrel’ (Lehmann 1986) or OHG (v.) *zeran* ‘to quarrel’ (Orel 2003).

7.2.2.2 Old English and other Germanic Languages

Cognates of OE *torn* are attested only within the West Germanic branch of Germanic languages. For the adjective, there is OS. *torn* ‘bitter, painful’, MHG *Zorn(e)* ‘angry, furious’ (Orel 2003), and OFris. *tornig* ‘angry’ (FFT). For the noun there is OHG *Zorn* ‘anger, bitterness, wrath, indignation’, earliest recorded in the ninth century (Pfeifer 1989),⁷⁵ OS *torn* ‘indignation’ (Kluge and Seebold 2002), MLG *torn*, *tarn* and MDu. *Torn*, *tarn*, *torn* ‘anger’.

Although there is evidence for a reflex of the PIE root **der-* in the North Germanic languages,⁷⁶ there is no actual cognate for OE *torn* in Old Norse. There is a related verb **dis-tairan* ‘to tear asunder’ or ‘tear apart’ (Orel 2003, Lehmann 1986) and *gatairan* ‘destroy’ (OED), ‘tear down, remove’ (Lehmann 1986) in Gothic, but no attested noun or adjective. Pfeifer suggests that the development proceeded from a Proto-Germanic verb meaning ‘to tear asunder’ (**teranan* (Orel 2003) or **teran* (OED)), also responsible for OE *teran* ‘to tear’. From this verb an old participial form with the *-no-/-nā-* suffix was created, then an adjective, and this adjective was in turn nominalised (Pfeifer 1989). Pfeifer considers here the etymology of the Modern German noun *Zorn* ‘anger, wrath’. His discussion could also be applied to Old English. The morphological development he proposes could explain, at least in part, the semantic development. The adjective, as an earlier form, has a wider range of meanings and the noun, as a derivative, has a more specialised meaning. Pfeifer further suggests that the older meaning of the adjective was ‘torn, split’ and of the noun ‘quarrel, strife’, which can be substantiated by evidence from other Indo-European languages. The meaning ‘quarrel’ could be figurative, as in the breaking or tearing apart of good relations. The occurrence in Old English of the compounds that mean ‘insults, verbal quarrels’ seems to substantiate this. The meaning could readily have progressed from ‘torn, split’ to ‘painful, bitter, grievous’ for the adjective. In the case of the noun the progression from ‘quarrel’ to ‘anger’ is not as obvious, as any proposed development will also have to account for the ‘grief’ meaning.

⁷⁵ The MHG word, according to the dictionaries, widens the meaning to ‘fight, affray’ (DWB: 90-91).

⁷⁶ The ON. *tjorn* ‘small sea, water hole’ (IEW).

Old Saxon and Old English have a greater range of meanings in common with each other. They seem to correspond closely, although Old English has broader usage than Old Saxon. Old High German, on the other hand, already narrows *zorn* to ‘anger’ or ‘angry’. The *ZORN* family has 115 occurrences in Old High German (Köbler 2006). Although we need to be mindful of the differences in size between the extant Old English and Old High German corpora and their relative proportions, *Zorn* seems better rooted in the Old High German lexicon than *torn* is in Old English. The first attestation of OE *torn* appears quite early (mid-eighth century) and the word is present in poetry as possibly archaic. Old English might have therefore preserved an earlier range of meanings present either in Proto-Germanic or in the Ingvaemonic group. ANGER would simply have been one of the many available meanings. In Old High German, on the other hand, the earliest attestation of *zorn* is from the ninth century and it means only ‘anger, angry’. The word goes on to become one of the central words of the lexical field of ANGER.

This leads to several questions. How transparent are the earlier meanings related to ‘tearing, breaking apart’ and/or ‘quarrelling’ in the usage of the *TORN* word family in Old English? Why did Old English abandon this word family in favour of other ANGER-words, if Old High German kept it as one of the main representatives of this semantic field? Can we take the usage of *torn* as a figurative/metaphorical extension of the earlier meaning of ‘breaking’, with the violent emotion of anger or grief causing the mind to ‘break apart’ or has this connection already become obsolete?

In order to answer these questions, a more detailed contextual analysis of occurrences of *TORN* in the Old English corpus is required.

7.3 Discussion

7.3.1 Poetry and Prose

The *TORN* word family occurrences are evenly distributed among different types of poetic texts. The largest number of occurrences are found in *GuthA,B*, and then in *Beowulf* and *GenA,B* (Table 7.3). The poetic texts range from secular (e.g. *Beowulf*, *The Wanderer*) through poetic retellings of Biblical stories (*GenAB*, *Christ ABC*, *Judith*), to stories of saints (*Elene*, *Andreas*) and translations of psalms (*PPs*). Seven occurrences are found in the signed Cynewulfian poems. The only example in a prose text is from the Old English *Orosius*, a relatively early prose text, dating from the late ninth century (Bately 1980:

lxxxvi-xciii). This attestation is also the only occurrence of the verb *tornwyrðan*, the only verb in this word family.

Text Title	No. of occ.	%
GuthA,B	9	19.15%
Beo	7	14.88%
GenA,B	7	14.88%
PPs	5	10.63%
El	3	6.38%
ChristA,B,C	2	4.26%
Jud	2	4.26%
Jul	2	4.26%
MSol	2	4.26%
And	1	2.13%
JDay II	1	2.13%
Max I	1	2.13%
Wan	1	2.13%
Prec	1	2.13%
Rim	1	2.13%
RuneAuzon	1	2.13%
Or 1	1	2.13%
	47	100.00%

Table 7.3 – Occurrences of *TORN* in poetry and prose

7.3.1.1 Referents

TORN may have animate actors or referents, but it is more often used for abstract ideas or as modifiers of inanimate nouns. As with other ANGER-words, supernatural beings are occasionally the referents (God and devils). *TORN* is used to refer to God's anger, but all five occurrences are found in *Genesis A,B* only. Similarly, the only five occurrences referring to devils are all found in *Guthlac A,B*.

Among other referents are Myrmedonians in *Andreas* and Assyrians in *Judith*. They could be grouped together with *Guthlac*'s devils as enemies *en masse*, which does correspond to such usages for other ANGER-words. Women are referred to three times, in both positive and negative contexts. Other referents include Cain, Abraham, Hrothgar, Beowulf, and the nameless father from *Precepts*.

Analysis of referents/actors for *TORN* does not provide satisfactory conclusions. It only shows that *TORN* does not follow the patterns that other ANGER word families do. There are several poetic texts that could have well accommodated using *TORN* to refer to God, since those texts already use other ANGER-words in such a way, namely *Christ and Satan*, *ChristA,B,C* and the *Paris Psalter*. It is the lack of those occurrences which may be

significant, suggesting that other, more suitable ANGER-words were used in those contexts and that *TORN* might not have been a good word choice for expressing the wrath of God. Later comparative evidence shows that the German cognate *Zorn* is used in Martin Luther's Bible as one of the most frequent equivalents for Latin *ira Dei* (Durst 2001: 136).

7.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

The analysis of collocations and often co-occurring words provides more substantial data for this word family. The main assumption is that if a given word consistently co-occurs with other groups of words in emphatic constructions, then those groups of words are likely to share meaning(s) or be conceptually related. However, the emotions of GRIEF/SADNESS and ANGER are often very closely related and the differences between them are "less fundamental than current taxonomies suggest" (Diller 2012a: 109). As is clear from the lexicographic summary, *TORN* is not monosemous and it will co-occur with words belonging to different semantic fields.

The collocations and co-occurrences have been grouped into superordinate conceptual categories: ANGER, GRIEF/SADNESS, SUFFERING/ENDURING, HARM/TORMENT, TEARS/WEEPING, INSULTS/BLASPHEMY, HEAT and VENGEANCE (Table 7.4). Total numbers and percentages have not been shown as there is no one-to-one correspondence – in several cases a passage has more than one ANGER or GRIEF word in its immediate surroundings. The passage number and the source text is provided to illustrate the distribution of various co-occurrences among different texts. Within the individual categories the occurrences have been grouped by text and passage, with possible PDE equivalents.

Category	Colloc./co- occurr.	Pass.	Text	TORN-word /PDE equivalent
ANGER	gegremed	T1	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger/offence/injury'
	gebolgen	T1	GenA,B	⊖
	wraðe	T1	GenA,B	⊖
	yrre	T1	GenA,B	⊖
	yrre	T2	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
	abolgen	T3	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
	wrað	T3	GenA,B	⊖
	gebolgne	T15	GuthA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
	gebolgen	T35	Beo	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
	yrsað	T39	PPs	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
SORROW/ GRIEF	hygesorg	T4	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'injury'? (unclear)
	sorg	T4	GenA,B	⊖
	sorga	T29	Beo	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery/pain'
	weana	T29	Beo	⊖
	inwidsorge	T30	Beo	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery/pain'
	hreowa	T33	Beo	<i>torn(ost)</i> , adj. 'saddest/most painful/grievous'
	hrehmod	T33	Beo	⊖
	sorga	T12	ChristA,B,C	<i>tornword</i> , n. 'speech causing grief/injury/distress'
	sarcwida	T12	ChristA,B,C	⊖
	geomormod	T12	ChristA,B,C	⊖
	geomormode	T13	ChristA,B,C	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief'
	orwenness 'despair'	T19	GuthA,B	<i>torncwide</i> , n. 'word causing distress?' / 'insult'
	modsorge	T21	GuthA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief'?
	geomrende	T21	GuthA,B	⊖
	hreowcearig	T21	GuthA,B	⊖
	geomurne	T22	GuthA,B	<i>torne</i> , adv.
	modceare	T22	GuthA,B	⊖
	geocran	T27	Max I	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery'
	grorn (?)	T28	Rim	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery'
	sorgum	T36	Jud	<i>torne</i> , adv. 'sorrowfully/painfully' or 'angrily'?
geomor	T36	Jud	⊖	
sorga	T47	RuneAuzon	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief' or 'anger' (See below)	
SUFFERING/ ENDURING	þrowigean	T5	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger/offence/injury'
	gepolode	T29	Beo	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery' (?)
	þolian	T30	Beo	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery' (?)
	druge	T18	GuthA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'affliction/misery'
	þoligende	T37	Jud	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
	þolað	T39	PPs	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'

HARM/ TORMENT	hearmes	T12	ChristA,B,C	<i>tornword</i> , n. 'word causing distress' / 'insult'
	teon	T20	GuthA,B	<i>tornmod</i> , adj. 'angry'
	tintregu	T20	GuthA,B	⊔
	teonsmiðas	T14	Guth,AB	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger'
	hearme	T41	PPs	<i>torncwide</i> , n. 'insults'
	teonan	T42	PPs	<i>torne</i> , adv. 'bitterly/grievously/painfully'
TEARS/ WEEPING	wopes hring	T10	El	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief/sorrow/misery'
	wopes hring	T13	ChristA,B,C	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief'
	tearas	T21	GuthA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief'?
	tearum	T40	PPs	<i>tornlic</i> , adj. 'painful/bitter/sorrowful'
	teara	T45	JDay II	<i>torn</i> , adj. 'painful/bitter' (modifying sins)
INSULTS/ BLASPHEMY	hosp	T12	ChristA,B,C	<i>tornword</i> , n. 'insult, blasphemy'
	teoncwidum	T17	GuthA,B	<i>torn</i> , adj. 'insulting/angry/grievous?'
	fraceðu	T23	Jul	<i>torne</i> , adv. 'insultingly'
	tæle	T23	Jul	⊔
	teoncwide	T24	Jul	<i>torn</i> , adj. 'insulting/angry/grievous?'
	tælness	T38	PPs	<i>torn</i> , adj. 'insulting/angry/grievous?'
AVENGING	wreca	T6	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger/offence/injury'
	wreca	T7	GenA,B	<i>torn</i> , n. 'anger/offence/injury'
	wrecca	T31	Beo	<i>torngemot</i> , n. 'battle' / 'meeting avenging wrath'?
	gynwræce	T31	Beo	⊔
	gewrec	T36	Jud	<i>torne</i>
HEAT	hat heafodwylm	T10	El	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief'
	hat æt heortan	T13	ChristA,B,C	<i>torn</i> , n. 'grief'
	hate on hreðre	T36	Jud	<i>torn</i> , n. 'sorrow/misery'?
	hate	T21	GuthA,B	<i>torn</i>

Table 7.4 – Collocations and co-occurrences of *TORN* and their conceptual categories

TORN-words occur with both ANGER and GRIEF-words in roughly similar proportions, with a slight predominance of the ‘grief’ group (5 texts as opposed to 8). The correlation of *TORN* with ANGER-words is strongest in *Genesis A,B*, and with GRIEF-words in *Guthlac A,B*, although both texts show examples of other usages. *Beowulf* contains examples of both patterns of co-occurrence, with a predominance of GRIEF-words. The meaning ANGER can be attributed to just several occurrences. At the same time, these three texts contain the largest number of occurrences of *TORN* (Table 7.1). The only text in which *TORN* occurs alongside ANGER-words, but not GRIEF-words is the *Paris Psalter*. Conversely, there are three texts containing only GRIEF-words, but no ANGER-words: the *Riming Poem*, *Maxims I* and the runic inscription on the Auzon Casket. *Judith* contains GRIEF and INSULTS, but arguably no ANGER. This suggests that ANGER for *TORN* is unusual, and may constitute a later innovation or a non-prototypical usage.

Regardless of whether we interpret *TORN* as ANGER or GRIEF, the third group of collocations shows it is something harmful which has to be endured. The emotion or internal state denoted by *TORN* is often accompanied by some physical (or physiological) manifestations, such as heat, tears or weeping.

The PDE equivalents do not exhaust all potential translations for *TORN* in the passages mentioned, but they show that *TORN* is used in a wide range of situations.

7.3.1.3 Case Studies

Case studies for *TORN* differ from those for other ANGER word families. There are no fully representative examples as almost every occurrence of *TORN* is in some way unique. Below is a selection of relevant cases.

Anger, Offence

TORN is sometimes used as the equivalent of ‘anger’ or ‘angry’. The most pertinent examples can be found in *Genesis A,B* ([T1] and [T2]), and *Beowulf* ([T35] and [T23]), but they are not the only instances in the corpus where ‘anger’ as a meaning is possible. Only those four passages are examined and compared in order to identify any shared characteristics.

The two passages in *Genesis A* correlate highly with other ANGER-words and have already been mentioned in Section 3.2. These passages describe God’s anger at Satan

The passage from *Genesis A* below uses the noun *torn* in a situation where both ANGER and OFFENCE are the driving force behind the event. Cain can be both angered and offended that God accepts Abel's sacrifice and yet rejects his own:

[T2] Brego engla beseah
 on Abeles gield eagum sinum,
 cyning eallwihta, Caines ne wolde
 tiber sceawian. þæt wæs **torn** were
hefig æt heortan. **Hygewælm asteah**
 beorne on breostum, blatende **nið**,
yrre for æfstum. (*GenA*. ll. 976-82)

[*The Prince of angels, looked with his own eyes upon Abel's sacrifice, the king of all creatures, [but] did not wish to see Cain's sacrifice. This was an anger/injury/offence to the man, heavy on the heart. The surge of the heart rose up in the breast of the man, darkening/livid? hate, anger caused by envy.*]

This passage illustrates Lockett's (2011) hydraulic model of the mind in the Anglo-Saxon folk psychology, where the surging is related to the movements inside the chest cavity. *Torn* denotes an emotion that is 'heavy or oppressive at/on the heart' and as it co-occurs with *yrre* 'anger', we could potentially classify it as ANGER. It is also coupled with other strong emotions, such as HATE and ENVY. Though *TORN* does not co-occur with other words meaning HATE or ENVY, these emotions are violent and overpowering and that could be the common ground between them and *TORN*.

In *Beowulf* there are two occurrences which show ANGER and/or OFFENCE. One of them describes Beowulf's state of mind. Upon hearing of the destruction caused by the dragon, Beowulf wishes to act and engage in a battle with the creature:

[T35]
 Gewat þa XIIa sum **torne gebolgen**
 dryhten Geata dracon sceawian (*Beo* ll. 2401-2)

[*Then he went, one of twelve, the Lord of the Geats, swollen/enraged with anger to see the dragon*]

This example echoes another phrase which combines *gebolgen* with an ANGER-word, that is *yrre gebolgen*, which is an emphatic, but semantically redundant construction.⁷⁹ Since *gebolgen* does not occur with any non-ANGER words in this construction, the reading of *torn* as synonymous with *yrre* is likely. The situation exemplified in the passage could call

⁷⁹ If *gebolgen* is understood as 'swollen', the construction would not be redundant, but would emphasise the physiological feelings accompanying ANGER.

for that reading as well, since Beowulf is more likely to be angered than other characters in the poem. He exhibits such behaviour often, most prominently during his fights with Grendel and Grendel's mother. In this passage, however, he learns of the breadth of destruction caused by the dragon, which could be seen as a cause for grief or pain. As we shall see later, Hrothgar is also referred to as suffering *torn*. His mode of action, however, is quite different from Beowulf's and no physical retribution follows the offending event, partly because of Hrothgar's inability to defeat either Grendel or Grendel's mother. In Hrothgar's case, the word seems to be much closer to GRIEF or SADNESS (see section 3.3.2.). However, even [T35] is not an unambiguous example of ANGER as *gebolgen* could potentially mean literally 'swollen'.

A different parallel, closer in meaning to ANGER or OFFENCE in the same text, comes within the description of the queen who is berated for her misdemeanour. Passage [T23] is the only occurrence of the compound *lygetorne* in the corpus:

[T23] Ne bið swylc cwenlic þeaw
 idese to efnanne, þeah ðe hio ænlicu sy,
 þætte freoðuwebbe feores onsæce
 æfter **ligetorne** leofne mannan, (*Beo*, ll. 1940b-3).

[*Such queenly manner is not for a lady to perform, even if she be without match, that a peace-weaver deprives of life the beloved man because of a false offence.*]

This compound could be translated as 'a false/pretended cause for anger' or 'a made-up offence' (B-T). There seems to have been a false offending event for which the queen decides to punish the man. Presumably, she follows the perceived slight with an act of retribution. This seems to mirror the already-mentioned ANGER-scenarios well, and is probably one of the least ambiguous uses of *TORN* for ANGER and/or OFFENCE, although it could also be translated as 'injury'.

A Variation on Offence - Insults and Blasphemies

Another important group of *TORN*-words is linked exclusively with OFFENCE. These are the instances where *TORN*-words are used to refer to verbal insults and blasphemies, mostly the compounds (*tornword*, *tornwide* and *tornwyrðan*). Occasionally, the simple adjective modifies speech nouns.

In passage [T23], Juliana has asked Eleusius to worship a 'false' God and not to consummate the marriage and he says:

[T23] ... Me þa fracedu sind
 on modsefan mæste weorce
 þæt heo mec swa **torne** tæle gerahte (*Jul.* ll. 71b-3)

[*Those insults are a great pain to my mind, since she has told me such a bitter/painful insult.*]

The insults or blasphemies cause affliction of the mind; they are felt as painful. A little later in the poem, Eleusius is portrayed as growing furious and enraged, but so far there is no indication of anger in his behaviour.

This is mirrored in the use of the compounds as in *Christ I*, where Joseph addresses Mary, confronting her about her apparent uncleanness:

[T12] "Ic lungre eam
 deope gedrefed, dome bereafod,
 forðon ic worn for þe worde hæbbe
sidra sorga ond **sarcwida**,
hearmes gehyred, ond me **hosp** sprecað,
tornworda fela. Ic tearas sceal
 geotan **geomormod**. (*Christ I*, ll. 167-173)

[*I am suddenly deeply offended, deprived of honour, because I have heard on your account a great many words of countless afflictions and reproach, and harm, and they have told me insults, many painful words/insults. I must shed tears, sad at heart.*]

Crucially, this passage emphasises that the insults and reproaches are so painful to Joseph that they cause him to cry tears of sadness, but there is no visible anger or need to avenge his injury (unlike in the case of Eleusius), which might be worth investigating further as a wronged husband was legally entitled to demand recompense or vengeance for this offence.

Grief, Sorrow, Pain and Mental Suffering

Some passages are more clearly associated with the notions of GRIEF or SUFFERING than ANGER or OFFENCE. This is determined by collocations and co-occurrences, and contextual clues. They can either be a) when a person endures *torn* (n.) and the scenario is more associated with grief; b) when *TORN*-words are accompanied by external manifestations of emotions, such as weeping; c) general statements, mostly gnomic, that relate to this emotion.

Passage [T36] from *Judith* exemplifies the first category:

[T36] Gewrec nu, mihtig dryhten,
torhtmod tires brytta, þæt me ys þus **torne** on mode,
hate on hreðre minum. (*Jud.* ll. 92b-4a)

[Avenge now, mighty Lord, illustrious Prince of glory, that which is so sorrowful/painful to me in my mind, and so hot in my breast.]

Judith prays to God asking for help in avenging her *torn* and guiding her sword to kill Holofernes. While *gewrecan* could help classify this instance as ANGER or OFFENCE, several lines earlier Judith's emotional state is described clearly enough to dispel any doubts:

þearle ys me nu ða
heorte onhæted ond hige **geomor**,
swyðe mid **sorgum** gedrefed. (*Jud.* ll. 86b-8)

[The heart is now in me severely heated up and my mind sad, greatly troubled with sorrows.]

The repetition in both passages of the state of the heart/breast as heating up under the influence of emotions allows for a link between *torne on mode* and *hige geomor*. Judith does not seem to be experiencing anger – there are no other lexical or contextual clues in the passage to warrant that – but simply a very painful emotion. She distances herself from the act of punishment by asking God to avenge her sorrows in her stead and thus is not capable of performing the deed on her own. She cuts off Holofernes' head only after being inspired with courage (*mid elne*, l. 95) by God.

Similarly, in passage [T29] in *Beowulf* Hrothgar cannot personally defeat Grendel, who has been visiting Heorot for a period of twelve years.

[T29] Wæs seo hwil micel;
XII wintra tid **torn gepolode**
wine Scyldinga, **weana** gehwelcne,
sidra **sorga**. (*Beo.* ll. 146b-9a)

[The time was long. For the period of twelve winters the lord and friend of the Scyldings suffered/endured the misery/pain, each of the woes/afflictions, the immense miseries.]

Not only does Hrothgar 'suffer' or 'endure' (*geþolian*) *torn* for a long period of time, but the association with PAIN and AFFLICTION is further strengthened by the use of *wēa* and

sorh, both belonging to the category of MENTAL PAIN OR SUFFERING (HTOED). Another instance, this time a superlative adjective, is found in passage [T33] where Beowulf is describing Hrothgar's emotions after the death of Æschere:

[T33]
 þæt wæs Hroðgare **hreowa tornost**
 þara þe leodfruman lange begeate. (*Beo*, ll. 2129-30)

[*That was to Hrothgar the most painful/grievous of sorrows which the lord of the people had received for a long time*]

The loss of the most trusted and faithful of advisors is the source of grief (*hreow*), which is described as *tornost* 'the most painful or grievous'. Here, the term cannot be linked to ANGER as Present-Day English understands it.

The second category of passages portrays physical or physiological reactions. Such is, for instance, the passage [T13] from *Christ II*:

[T13] þær wæs **wopes hring**,
torne bitolden; wæs seo treowlufu
hat æt heortan, **hreðer** innan weoll,
 beorn breostsefa. (*Christ II*, ll. 533b-540a)

[*There was the sound/ringing of weeping, overwhelmed with grief/misery. The true love was hot at/around the heart, the mind welled up within, the mind-in-the-breast of the men*]

Here, the apostles witness Christ's ascension into heaven and are overwhelmed by *torn*. The hydraulic model is evidently at work here, and this emotion wells up in the heart and is accompanied by weeping (Lockett 2011: 61, 64). Several lines earlier the cause for this emotion is provided:

Him wæs **geomor** sefa
hat æt heortan, hyge **murnende**,
 þæs þe hi swa leofne leng ne mostun
 geseon under swegle. (*ChristA,B,C*, ll. 499b-502a)

[*To them was their mind sad, hot at heart, the spirit mourning, because of the fact that they would not be able to see the one they loved so under the sky/sun any longer*]

The apostles grieve because Christ is departing from this world and they will no longer be able to enjoy his company, but at the same time many others rejoice at this occasion.

TORN is probably associated primarily with the GRIEF-group. This is further substantiated by the inscription on the Auzon Casket, the earliest attestation of *TORN*.

[T47]

5. Her hos sitaþ on **harmberga**,
 <agl> drigiþ swa hiri Ertae gisgraf,
 sarden **sorga** and sefa **torna** (RuneAuzon)

[*Here Hos sits on the sorrow-mound; she suffers affliction?*⁸⁰ *in that Ertae had ordained for her a painful den of sorrows and sufferings of the mind*]

Page translates *torna* as ‘torments’ (1999: 179) and both ‘sufferings’ and ‘torments’ seem to be an appropriate translation here. The woman’s sufferings are further compared by Gameson and Gameson (1996: 466) to the sorrows of the woman in the *Wife’s Lament* and the emotional displays in both may share some common characteristics. Regardless of the various textual influences and possible origins of this passage, it is clear that *torn* relates to the sufferings of the mind and to mental anguish. This meaning is therefore earlier and/or more stable in Old English than ANGER.

Another set of examples can be associated with the GRIEF-group, though not through contextual analysis of scenarios or co-occurrences. These are found in *Maxims I* and *The Wanderer*. As they are more gnomic in nature, both interpretations – of GRIEF and ANGER – could be considered, but in both cases ANGER is unlikely.

In *Maxims I*, we read that a good game of *tæfl* will help in chasing away *torn*. The two players will have *gomen on borde* (‘joy on the board’, l. 181b) and forget about their *geocran gesceafta* (‘cruel/harsh/sad fortunes’ l.181a). Regardless of the nature of those fortunes (which could cause either ANGER or SADNESS), the game has the ability to calm down and alleviate those feelings and exchange them for something pleasant. In case of *The Wanderer*, it is said that a man should never reveal *torn* (l.112) too quickly from his breast, unless he already knows the remedy (*bote*, l. 113) for it. *Bōt* is used in Old English as a literal remedy or cure for ailments and diseases, and more figuratively as repair and relief, but also as ‘compensation (made for infraction of the law or received for injury)’ (DOE). The use of this word strengthens the connotations of *TORN* as something that is painfully endured and perhaps also a legally-perceived offence.

Borderline Cases – Between ANGER and GRIEF

⁸⁰ DOE is uncertain about the form and meaning of that word, but gives the translation as ‘she suffers affliction / distress’ or ‘affliction / distress is active’/

Occasionally, it is difficult to disambiguate the meaning of *TORN*. In *Guthlac A*, in passage [T25] the devils (*teonsmiðas* ‘those who cause injury’) are described as *tornes fulle* (l. 205). Since the devils are often described as being ‘angry’ or ‘hostile’ with the use of other ANGER-words, it can be translated as ‘full of anger’. The devil who speaks for them is referred to as ‘raging’ or ‘being angry’ (*yrsade* l.200), which supports this interpretation. However, the devils are also said to have suffered shame (*scome* l. 204). Apart from God himself, no one has caused them more miseries (*earfeþa* l. 207) than Guthlac. At this point in the text the devils are also described as wretched (*earme* l. 210). They have been able to enjoy the quiet (*row*, l. 213) for a little while and this has been taken away from them. The emphasis is clearly placed on enduring hardships. It would be therefore unwise to choose one interpretation over the other.

A similarly ambiguous case comes from the same text where in passage [T20] the saint describes the devils as *tornmode* (l. 649). Though the passage stresses the cruelty of the devils by calling them murderers and harm-doers (*myrðran ond man-sceapan*), there are no ANGER-words in close proximity, nor any contextual clues that would favour this interpretation. The saint says to the devils: *ge mec mid niþum næfre motan **tornmode** teon in tintregu* (‘you will never be able to draw me into torments, *tornmode*, with hate’, l. 649). In this case, the translation of ‘angry-hearted’ is partly justified as other ANGER-words are often used in similar contexts. However, despite the lexicographic data, ANGER might not be the intended meaning. The emphasis could be placed on the connotations of torment and pain. Bradley’s translation of this word as ‘cruel-minded’ (Bradley 1987: 265) may be more accurate as it is the devils’ intentions (hence *-mōd*) that are important; they wish to cause Guthlac pain. The compound *torngeniþla*, often rendered as ‘angry’ or ‘fierce enemy’ is similar. It could be alternatively read as ‘the enemy who is causing/intending pain or suffering’. Here, the *torn-* element would not be referring to the ‘enemy’ himself undergoing a given emotion, but rather as *causing* this emotion in others.

Thus, it is difficult to justify the reading of the compound *gārtorn* in *Solomon and Saturn* as ‘rage of darts’. The sentence reads: *gārtorn geotað gifrum deofle* (‘they shall pour the rage? of darts on the greedy devil’ l. 151). This meaning is given by all three dictionaries, presumably on the basis of the battle context. Considering that *torn* is rarely used for ANGER, maybe a PDE word closer to ‘injury’ or ‘pain’ would be more suitable.

7.3.2 An NSM explication

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage could be helpful in illustrating the different uses of *TORN*. While the analyses of emotion terms which use NSM seem to suggest there is just one possible scenario for a given word, there might be two (or more) competing models. This is particularly the case with OE *torn*. I propose the following two models, the first one [1] corresponding to the ANGER-group, the second [2] to the GRIEF-group.

[1] *Torn*

- (a) X felt something because X thought something
- (b) Sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “Something bad happened because someone did something
- (d) I know that something bad happened
- (e) I didn’t want this to happen
- (f) I can’t think like this: I will do something because of it now
- (g) I want to do something bad to someone”
- (h) When this person thinks like this, this person feels something very bad
- (i) X feels something like this

[2] *Torn*

- (a) X felt something because X thought something
- (b) Sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “Something bad happened because someone did something
- (d) I know that something bad happened
- (e) I didn’t want this to happen
- (f) I can’t think like this: I will do something because of it now
- (g) I know that I can’t do anything”
- (h) When this person thinks like this, this person feels something very bad **for some time**
- (i) X feels something like this.

The two models differ primarily in what happens after the emotion is felt (in bold). *Torn* is clearly ‘something bad’ that is felt as a result of someone else’s actions. In case [1] God, Beowulf or the queen do something about it (thus the verb *wrecan*). In case [2], however, Hrothgar, the Apostles, Guthlac’s servant, and even Judith know that they cannot do much about the event that has caused *torn*, apart from expressing it in a physical display of emotions (e.g. tears – something which cannot be easily accounted for in the NSM model). While these models are, out of design, simplifications, they highlight the important

distinction between the competing groups of meaning (ANGER and GRIEF) for *TORN* in Old English.

7.3.3 Conclusions

The dictionary definitions for *TORN* propose ANGER with a high degree of certainty and distinguish it from GRIEF. The above analysis shows, however, that these clear-cut distinctions are not justified. The most unambiguous instances of ANGER appear in one text only, i.e. *Genesis A*. Even there it is unclear whether they refer to ANGER, OFFENCE or INJURY. Occasionally, the meaning ANGER can be supported by the presence of other ANGER-words, by the scenario and cognates in other Germanic languages, but it is rare.

The meaning ANGER for *Zorn* is so well-established in Old High German and in later stages of the language that it is easy to assume that Old English shared that range of meaning to some extent. According to the dictionaries, the more closely related language, Old Saxon, also provides evidence for ANGER. A more extensive comparison with the Old Saxon material might help determine how well established this meaning was for *TORN* in a closely related language.⁸¹ Judging from the Proto-Indo-European and even Proto-Germanic reconstructed meanings, it may well be that the initial stage of meaning for this root denoted a strong negative emotion that figuratively ‘split’ or ‘broke’ the mind. While other Germanic languages have narrowed the meaning to ANGER, or, as in the case of Lithuanian, to MADNESS, Old English has retained the broadened sense of a negative, strong and painful or distressing emotion. This word would be applied to both GRIEF (more common) and ANGER (less common) scenarios in our modern understanding. The ANGER meaning seems to have never had a strong position in Old English and never developed fully. This is most likely because Old English had other, stronger contenders for this semantics space in the available lexicon, such as *YRRE* or *GRAM*. The term might also have become redundant as a PAIN/SUFFERING word and therefore did not survive.

ANGER and GRIEF are close to each other on the emotional continuum. *TORN* might be viewed as a superordinate category that blends the two. However, the analysis above shows that the kernel meaning of *TORN* is much more concerned with the physical suffering or experience of mental pain that is caused by outward events. These events can

⁸¹ There is an instance in the *Heliand* of *wrēðan werk wópu kúmian, tornon trahnon*, Hél. 5525, *torn* is glossed in Latin as *ira*, and the adj. *torn* corresponds to the Latin *lacrymis indignabundis amaris*. (Schmeller 1830).

range from the departure or death of a loved lord, through insults and offences, being overlooked in favour of another, or a dragon ravaging one's kingdom.

If Lockett's argument (2011) that the hydraulic model as a folk psychology model widespread in Old English is correct, then emotions are not so much a mental, but a *physical* sensation – localised in the breast and evidenced by various physiological phenomena. *TORN* can therefore be seen as a *physical* pain or suffering. It is, after all, often the heat, the weeping, the gnashing of the teeth that is stressed in those passages.⁸²

TORN belongs to poetic stock vocabulary. It also appears to be an unstable word family characterised by limited use and timeframe, showing a disconnection from how other cognate languages have developed the Proto-Indo-European root. While its occurrences may be artificially divided into ANGER or GRIEF scenarios, it might be more helpful to see this word family as primarily concerned with the notion of acute mental suffering that causes physiological reactions. The occurrences of *TORN* in *Genesis A* which follow the pattern of ANGER-words could be explained by linking the concept of ANGER with OFFENCE, and the OFFENCE in turn to INJURY and therefore PAIN.

⁸² In this light, we cannot say that *TORN* is an example of ANGER AS AFFLICTION conceptualisation, as Gevaert would have it, as it might not even be a conceptualisation at all. Gevaert gives only eight occurrences of *TORN* for ANGER, but without looking at the entire word family and its various uses and co-occurrences, it is difficult to say if even those eight are entirely correct.

Chapter 8 *HĀTHEORT*

8.1 Introduction

HĀTHEORT is disproportionately more frequent in prose than in poetry, as of the 104 occurrences in 62 different texts, only three appear in poetry. There are a further 168 occurrences (predominantly of the word *hātheortness*) in the glosses. The contrast is all the more striking when one considers that one of the poetic occurrences is a poetic rendition of the prose text (*Meters of Boethius* and OE *Boethius*), and another is the *Paris Psalter* which has a Latin source. The family also appears in Middle English.

8.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

8.2.1 *HĀTHEORT* word family in Old English

Nouns are the most common word category for *HĀTHEORT*, accounting for more than 60% of all occurrences. Adjectives are the second most common group, but they are represented by only twelve occurrences, which is a little over 12% (see Table 8.1). The word family consists of only five lexemes (see Table 8.2), which makes it one of the least productive of all ANGER word families, with the exception of *WĒAMŌD*.

The lexicographical data for *HĀTHEORT* is limited, with just B-T and Hall available for the Old English lemmata, as DOE has currently released data only up to the letter ‘G’. However, with the kind permission of Prof. Antonette di Paolo Healey, I will be citing draft entries for *HĀTHEORT* which she made available in private communication.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
nouns	2	66.67%	67	66.34%	69	66.34%
subst. adj.	0	0.00%	5	4.95%	5	4.81%
subtotal	2	66.67%	72	71.29%	74	71.15%
adj.	1	33.33%	11	10.89%	12	11.54%
past part.	0	0.00%	10	9.90%	10	9.62%
subtotal	1	33.33%	21	20.79%	22	21.16%
v.	0	0.00%	5	4.95%	5	4.81%
adv.	0	0.00%	3	2.97%	3	2.88%
TOTAL:	3	100.00%	101	100.00%	104	100.00%

Table 8.1 – Distribution of word categories for HÄTHEORT

LEXEME(s)	no. of occ.	%
HÄTHEORTNES (n.)	67	64.42%
HÄTHEORT (adj.)	17	16.35%
(GE)HÄTHIRTAN (v.)	15	14.43%
HÄTHEORTLICE (adv.)	3	2.88%
HÄTHEORTE (n)	1	0.96%
HÄTHYGE (n.)	1	0.96%
	104	100.00%

Table 8.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for HÄTHEORT

8.2.1.1 HÄTHEORTNES (n.)

Hätheortnes, a secondary derivation with the nominal suffix *-ness*, has a broader range of meanings than the other two nouns in this family. DOE provides two relevant sets of senses: 1. ‘anger, fury, rage’ (with two subsets for the plural form appearing in the glosses to render Latin *furiae*, meaning either ‘demonstrations of rage, fury, frenzy’ or ‘avenging goddesses, the Furies’). 2. ‘frenzy, madness, passion, fervour (of desire gen.); zeal’.⁸³ B-T and Hall provide similar senses (without the DOE’s distinction into two sets) and add ‘wrath’ and ‘mania’ respectively.

Hätheortness can either mean ANGER, presumably of high intensity, or denotes a generally strong emotion such as MADNESS or PASSION.

⁸³ It also gives a third sense, which is anomalous: ‘3. glossing (PsGall) *fel* ‘gall’, here a transferred gloss of PsRom variant *furor* ‘wrath, fury’.

8.2.1.2 HĀTHEORTE (n.) and HĀTHYGE (n.)

Both B-T and Hall define *hātheorte* as ‘anger, rage’, with B-T expanding it to ‘fury’ and ‘wrath’.⁸⁴ The first noun can be found in both a neuter (*hātheort*) and a feminine form (*hātheorte*). DOE provides separate entries for the neuter and feminine nouns and defines *hātheort* as ‘fury, rage’ and *hātheorte* as ‘anger, fury, rage’.

Hāthyge has been included in the analysis, because *heort* and *hyge* as words for ‘heart, mind’ are often interchangeable in Old English. *Hāthyge* is rendered as ‘anger’ in both B-T and Hall, with the additional ‘fury, wrath’ in B-T.

8.2.1.3 HĀTHEORT (adj.) and HĀTHEORTLICE (adv.)

The adjective *hātheort* is defined similarly to *hātheortness* (but not *hātheorte* (n.)) and its senses cover both ANGER and the wider domain of the strong and passionate feeling. While both B-T and Hall give ‘furious’, ‘passionate’, ‘ardent’, the remaining senses differ slightly. The former dictionary has the additional ‘angry, irascible’ while the latter uses ‘wrathful’ and ‘whole-hearted’. Hall’s peculiar definition of ‘whole-hearted’ is annotated as being found in Ælfric and the *Pastoral Care*, but without any specific quotations. The definitions provided by DOE contain primarily ANGER (e.g. ‘a) hot-tempered, irascible; angry, furious’ or ‘b) raging used as substantive: the hot-tempered, the angry’). However, DOE ascribes a figurative use to *hātheort* as relating to sexual desire and meaning ‘passionate’.

The adverb, formed with the adverbial suffix *-lice*, is not given separate treatment in Hall. B-T defines it as ‘furiously, ardently, fervently’, and DOE separates its senses into two sets: ‘1 furiously, savagely’ and ‘2 *hātheortlice lufian* ‘to love (something) ardently / passionately’.

8.2.1.4 HĀTHI(E)RTAN (v.)

B-T treats the verb as causative ‘to make angry’, whilst Hall defines it as more of a reflexive ‘to become angry’. The definition in DOE ‘to become angry or vexed, rage’ is closer to Hall. The verb appears in the corpus 15 times, but 10 occurrences are past

⁸⁴ This is not done consistently. Where Hall equates the feminine form of the noun with the neuter one, B-T leaves the meanings ‘anger, fury’ in both entries, but additionally gives ‘wrath’ in neuter and ‘rage’ in feminine.

participles, so there is not enough data to determine whether only causative or reflexive meaning is possible.

8.2.2 HĀTHEORT word family in Middle English

The family does not appear very frequently in Middle English and is evidenced by two lexemes, both denoting ANGER or a quick temper in general, but not PASSION. For *hotherte* MED gives the sense ‘anger’ and cites three occurrences as examples, all from the thirteenth century. *Hatheortnesse* is similarly treated as ‘anger’ with some twelfth-century examples.

The later sixteenth- or seventeenth-century formations such as *hotheaded* or *hot-brained* (OED) can be seen as evidence of the same conceptual framework at play, which ascribes the origins of ANGER to the HEAT in the MIND. It also shows how the locus of the mind switched from heart or breast to the brain or head.

8.2.3 Etymology – Old English and Other Germanic Languages

Both the adjective and the noun are compounds composed of the adjectival prefix *hāt-* ‘hot’ and the nominal *-heort* ‘heart, mind, soul’. It represents a productive word-formation pattern in Old English, which combines an adjective with the nominal suffix *-heort*. As Gevaert (2007) points out, this pattern is quite common in words denoting emotions. The *-heort* suffix can sometimes be replaced by *-hyge* and *-mōd*. All three locate the emotion in the heart or mind. The adjective *+mōd* compounding is the ‘more basic model’ of them all (Gevaert 2007: 234-37), and gives us such adjectives as *yrremōd* or *grammōd*. Gevaert further notes that the adjectives used in such compounds can either be literal (as in *wōdheort* ‘mad’) or metaphorical (as in *rumheort* ‘generous’, with *rum-* meaning ‘spacious’). The first element of the compound gives its core meaning (whether literal or metaphorical) to the entire word, and *-heort*, *-hyge* or *-mōd* specify it as an emotion or mental attitude. For HĀTHEORT it is the HEAT element (*hāt*) that is the semantic focus. Lockett (2011) observes that “*hatheort* is not the same as being *hat aet heortan*” (95) and this has been demonstrated below.

According to B-T, the adjective *hāt*, apart from its primary meaning of ‘hot, fervent, fierce, communicating heat’, could be used as an intensifier when relating to emotions to mean ‘severe, violent’. It can also denote ‘feelings of affection’ or ‘[being]

excited with anger, wrathful, fierce’. Lockett points out that HEAT in general accompanies ‘anger, and grief’, but also ‘intense love, longing for God and desire for wisdom or learning’ (57) and she discusses cardiocentric heat at length in various contexts and variations (57-62, 95-99). I will not consider here all lexical representations of heat when describing emotions, but I would like to concentrate on the prepositional phrase which employs HEAT together with a HEART/MIND location, such as *heort*, *mōd*, *hyge* or *hreðer*. This is done in order to determine whether it was at all a potential precursor to *HĀTHEORT*.

The *Supplement* to B-T gives some examples of ANGER or FIERCENESS usage from the *Paris Psalter*, *Beowulf*, and *Christ and Satan*. On closer inspection, however, all seem difficult to connect unquestionably with ANGER.

The most likely example is the one found in the *Paris Psalter* where *yrre* ‘anger’ is in close proximity to *hāt*:

Is nu onbærned biter þin **yrre**
on ðinum folce fyre **hatre**. (PPs, Psalm 78, ll. 17-18)

[*Now is your bitter wrath kindled against your people with a hot fire.*]

However, in this case *hāt* does not modify *yrre* directly, but it appears with *fȳr* ‘fire’ in a dative singular noun phrase *fyre hatre*. This conceptualisation can be represented as ANGER AS FIRE, which is not necessarily equivalent to ANGER AS HEAT. Though naturally fire is a kind of heat, not all heat comes from fire.

The other examples B-T gives also do not provide substantial evidence for ANGER being associated with *hāt*. They refer to the dragon in *Beowulf* twice (*hat and hreohmod*, l. 2296 and *hat and headogrim*, l. 2691), and the dragons at hell’s door in *Christ and Satan* (*dracan eardigað hate on [h]reðre*, ll. 97b-98a⁸⁵).

The first two instances do refer to mental states (alongside *hrēohmōd* ‘savage, fierce of mind’ and *headogrim* ‘very fierce, cruel’), so they could mean ‘angry’. However, FIERCENESS is probably more likely. *Hāt* could be referring to experiencing an intense or fierce emotion or passion, or even actual physical heat. There are no other ANGER-words in proximity, which makes disambiguation more difficult.

In poetry there are several attestations of phrases which combine *hāt* with the prepositional phrase pointing to its location within the heart/breast/mind, as in *on hreðre* or

⁸⁵ B-T provides the initial h-, but the text is actually *on reðre*. Due to other attestations in poetry of the phrase *hat on hreðre*, however, this is likely a scribal omission.

æt heortan. The phrases **hāt æt/on mōde* and **hāt on/at hyge* do not appear in the corpus at all.

Hat on hreðre / hat at heortan

The phrase *hat on hreðre* appears in poetry in *Beowulf*, *Judith*, *GuthA,B*, and *The Ruin*, either metaphorically denoting an emotion or describing literal heat. *Hreðer* may mean ‘breast’ or ‘bosom’ (B-T) or ‘heart, mind, thought, womb’ (Hall), so it is both a physical part of the body and the location of the mind. It appears in compounds denoting emotional or mental attitudes, such as *hreðerbealo* ‘care to the mind, grief’ (B-T) or *hreðerglēaw* ‘prudent of mind’. Sometimes, it can refer more broadly to something that is inside or within.

For *Judith* and *GuthA,B* the context and co-occurring phrases disambiguate the type of emotion presented in these poems as not ANGER, but rather SADNESS/GRIEF or ANXIETY. In *Guthlac B*, the saint’s young servant is expressing worry and sorrow at his master’s illness (see also 7.3.1.3 on how *TORN* is used in the same way):

þæt me sorgna is
hatost on hreþre, ær þu hyge minne
 ferð afrefre. (*GuthB*, ll. 1019b-21a)

[*That will be the hottest of sorrows to me in the breast, until you console my mind and spirit.*]

This worry is described as being the hottest in the chest or breast, and is placed by B-T in sense V for *hāt* as that, which ‘excites strong feeling’, and more specifically ‘2. unfavourable, causing pain, suffering, &c., severe, violent, intense’. It can, however, be a literal expression of physiological heat in the breast. It is also a painful emotion and the occurrence of *sorh* makes ANGER as a meaning implausible, especially, since as Lockett notes, heat can occur in such a variety of mental states, “clarity demanded that a poet specify the contents and condition of the mind along with each reference to cardiocentric heat” (57). In *Judith*, the passage is more ambiguous, as it contains the word *torn*, which could potentially mean ANGER.

Gewrec nu, mihtig dryhten,
 torhtmod tires brytta, þæt me ys þus **torne** on mode,
hate on hreðre minum. (*Jud.* ll. 92b-94a)

[*Avenge now, mighty Lord, illustrious Prince of glory, that which is so sorrowful/painful to me in my mind, and so hot in my breast.*]

However, as has been discussed in 7.3.1.3, several lines earlier Judith is described as having a heated heart and a sad mind (*heorte onhæted ond hige geomor*, l. 87), which makes it clear that it is not ANGER, but a painful emotion, some sort of SADNESS or ANXIETY that is experienced together with the HEAT IN THE BREAST.

In *Beowulf*, the phrase in question appears in the description of Beowulf's funeral pyre and the fire (*bælfyra mæst*) that breaks apart his body.

oðþæt he ða banhus gebrocen hæfde,
hat on hreðre. (*Beo*, ll. 3147-8a)

[*until it (fire) had broken apart the house of bones, hot at the heart.*]

This phrase is literally referring to the fire that is breaking Beowulf's body and surrounds his heart. However, the entire description is rich in emotional vocabulary that evokes feelings of grief and sadness. The smoke from the fire is entwined with weeping (*wope bewunden*, l. 3146), the retainers lament their grief with despairing hearts (*higum unrote / modceare mændon* l. 3418b-9a), and the Geatish woman sings a dirge (*giomorgyd*, l. 3150). Perhaps, *hat on hreðre* is deliberately ambiguous here and meant to evoke GRIEF as well as literal associations with HEAT.

In one other instance, in *The Ruin*, the phrase is used literally, without any indication of emotional states, when referring to the Roman baths being 'hot to the centre' (*þær þa baþu wæron, hat on hreþre*, ll.40b-41a).

The example from the *Ruin* shows that the phrase *hat on hreðre* can refer to a literal heat located inside something. Following from that, the citation from *Christ and Satan*, which the *Supplement* gives as an example of ANGER usage for *hāt*, can be seen in a different light. The dragons dwelling at the door of hell could be portrayed as having a literal fire within their breasts, just like the fire-spewing dragon of *Beowulf*. In fact, in the entry for *hreðer*, B-T translates exactly the same phrase as 'dragons that send fire from within', with no indication of an emotion. Similarly, the use of *hāt* in *Beowulf* to refer to the dragon, even though it does refer to mental states, may intentionally evoke associations with its fire-breathing nature.

It is not only *hat on hreþre*, however, that is used metaphorically for SADNESS or GRIEF in Old English poetry. The phrase *hat æt heortan* (occurring seven times in poetry) often denotes EMOTION. Of these occurrences, five clearly accompany intense SADNESS:⁸⁶

- (1) Ða ic lædan gefrægn leoda weorode
 leofne lareow to lides stefnan,
 mæcgas **modgeomre**. Þær manegum wæs
hat æt heortan hyge weallende. (*And.* ll.1706-9)

[Then I heard tell that the sad-hearted men led the beloved teacher with a crowd of people to the ship's prow. In many [who were] there, the mind was welling, hot at the heart.]

- (2) him wæs **geomor sefa**,
hat æt heortan (*El.* ll. 627b-8a)

[His mind was sad, hot at the heart]

- (3) Him wæs **geomor sefa**
hat æt heortan, hyge murnende (*Christ II*, ll. 499a-500)

[His mind was sad, hot at the heart, a mourning mind.]

- (4) Oft mec **geomor sefa** **gehþa** gemanode,
hat æt heortan, hyge **gnornende** (*GuthB*, ll. 1208-9)

[The sad mind often reminded me of sorrows, hot at heart, a mourning mind]

- (5) **Gnornsorge** wæg
hate æt heortan, hyge **geomurne** (*GuthB*, ll. 1335b-6)

[[He] felt grief, hot at heart, a sad mind.]

The above passages are similar enough that they could be treated as formulas. Additionally, both *Elene* and *Christ II* are thought to have been composed by Cynewulf, and *Guthlac B* shares a lot of affinity with the signed Cynewulfian poems (Drout 2013). The two *GuthB* passages, (4) and (5), are remarkably similar to (3) in *Christ II*. They both use the phrase *hat æt heortan* to refer to a distressing mental state. Both also use a construction which combines *hyge* with a present part. of a verb denoting SADNESS (*hyge* + *murnende*, *gnornende*, *geomurne*). The PP also alliterates with *hyge*. *Hāt æt heortan* in

⁸⁶ The phrase is in bold typeface, the evidence for SADNESS is italicised.

Andreas follows a similar pattern, but the present participle is *weallende*. *Andreas* is stylistically quite similar to other poems from the Cynewulf canon, and this is one example of the similarity. The poem itself, however, is different enough in other aspects to throw doubt on Cynewulf's authorship (Fulk 1996). Though not directly denoting SADNESS, the verb *weallan* often refers to a mind in a state of emotional upheaval (Lockett 2011). The phrase *geomor sefa* appears in the preceding lines in *Elene* and *Christ II*, and also in *Guthlac B*. *Hāt æt heortan* may be part of the typically Cynewulfian phrasing, whether found in signed Cynewulfian poems, or in poems that simply share stylistic affinities with the Cynewulfian canon, and it is usually placed in the context of other phrases denoting mourning, grief, anxiety and sadness.⁸⁷

Another instance of *hāt* and *heort*, but in a different prepositional phrase, governed by *ymb* 'around', can be found in the *Seafarer*. In this poem, the emotion that is causing the HEAT around the heart is SADNESS (*þær þa ceare seofedun hat ymb heortan*, 'there the sorrows lamented, hot around the heart' (*Sea*, ll.10b-11a)).

Additionally, two examples of *hat æt heortan* are associated to some extent with PASSION or LOVE (more specifically towards God or Christ) as in *The Phoenix* and again, in *Christ*.

There is evidence in poetry of emotional states, particularly SADNESS and PASSION, being referred to with a phrase that contains *hāt* as the first element, and the MIND as the second element (be it *heort* or *hreþer* or *hyge*). The lack of *mōd* or *sefa* could be explained by the constraints of alliteration, but there may be other reasons for their absence. The two elements co-occur together in poetry to denote some emotions, but there is no solid evidence to indicate that ANGER is present. It is unclear how this meaning became primary for *HĀTHEORT*.

HĀTHEORT in Other Germanic Languages

Since *hātheort* appears to be a relatively late compound, formed out of two very common elements and based on a common theme of cardiocentric heat, it is not necessary to provide PIE roots for them. Only similar compounds in other Germanic languages will be analysed to see if this compound is common to Germanic, or characteristic only of Old English.

The evidence for Germanic cognates of *hātheort* is scarce. Widening the search to include compounds with equivalents to *heort* (e.g. *-mōd* or *-hyge*) still does not yield

⁸⁷ Other similarities between the use of SADNESS/GRIEF vocabulary in signed Cynewulfian poems and in *Guthlac B* are discussed in the chapter on *TORN* (7.3.1.3).

substantially more results. While in Old Norse the adjective *heitr* ‘hot’ is used metaphorically to mean ‘angry’, as in *göra sik heitan* ‘make oneself hot/angry’, or *verða h. við e-n* ‘become hot/angry with someone’ (Cleasby-Vígfusson), a compound corresponding to OE *hātheort* cannot be found. No cognates have yet been found in the languages related more closely to Old English (such as Old Saxon and Old Frisian).

Only in Old High German is there a directly corresponding noun *heizherzî* ‘rage, fury; *furor*’, found in translations and glosses from Latin and rendering *furor* (EWAhD). Broadening the search to near equivalents yields several Old High German lexemes: *heizmuot*, *heizmuoti*, ‘anger, rage’, the adjectives *heizmuotî* and *heizmuotîg* ‘angry, furious, passionate, zealous’ and the adverb *heizmuoto* ‘angry, zealous’ (EWAhD). These would correspond to an unattested OE **hātmōd*, with *-mōd* as the second element of the compound. Cognate lexemes can be found Old Low Franconian as well: *heitmuot* (n.) and *heitmuodi* (adj.).

Just as in Old English, most of the occurrences of the word family in Old High German appear in glosses and translations. The family is used in Old High German as early as the eighth century, and definitely from the beginning of the ninth (EWAhD).

In Old English the only attestation of *hātheort* meaning ‘anger’ before 850, according to Gevaert (2007), is in the Old English translation of the Letter of St Boniface to Eadburga. However, Lockett (2011) points out there are considerable issues with this statement. The original Latin letter was written in c. 716/717, but the translation survives in an eleventh-century manuscript. Sisam (1953) claims that the manuscript is not the translation’s original (207), but even so the issue of dating is far from solved. I have outlined several issues with dating Old English material and making hard claims as to diachronic development in 2.2.2). Therefore, we cannot say for certain when *HĀTHEORT* first appears in Old English. However, the word family was used prominently in early Old English prose associated with King Alfred’s revival and translations attributed to him, so it is likely that the usage in Old English and Old High German coincided to some extent.

The word *hātheort* also appears in *The Wanderer* l. 66. It is placed in opposition to being ‘patient’ (*geþyldig*) and directly before ‘hasty of speech’ (*hrædwyrde*), and its meaning is probably closer to ‘passionate, impatient’ than to ‘angry’. The form in the manuscript appears to be *hat heort*, but it is common to write out compound words separately and syntactically it is most likely an adjective.

It could be evidence of an intermediary stage between the phrase *hāt æt heortan* and the compound *hātheort*, exhibiting the meaning of the former, but the morphological form of the latter, not ANGER. On the other hand, perhaps the use in *The Wanderer* has

been influenced by the rare prose uses of *HĀTHEORT* as *PASSION* (see below, section 8.3.1.3).

There seems to be a link between this word family in Old English and its equivalents in Old High German and Old Low Franconian, in terms of time scale and usage, as both appear in glosses to render *furor*. Section 11.2.1 of this thesis shows that there is some possibility that John the Saxon may have influenced the language of the *Pastoral Care* with borrowings from Old High German, and *HĀTHEORT* appears in the earlier Old English prose much more prominently than in later compositions.

There are several potential ways of development of this word family, though a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis. I would like to outline a potential avenue for future research in tracing the origins of *HĀTHEORT* in Old English.

Both OE *hātheort* and OHG *heizmuot* are used to translate the same Latin words: *furor*, *zelus* (DOE additionally gives *ira* and *iracundia* for *hātheort* and EWAhD gives *ignis* for *heizmuotî*), even though *furor* does not seem to have any connotations with *HEAT*. It is less likely that Old English, Old High German developed the correlation between *furor* and *hātheort* completely independently. The word may have first appeared in Old High German sometime in the late eighth century to gloss Latin *furor* (as both *heitmuoti* and *heizherzi* appear in the eighth-century Old High German glosses (AhDW)). The word was then borrowed into Old English through contacts with the learned clergy. Old English already had the expression *hat on heorte* to denote *SADNESS* and other strong emotions. The change of meaning from *SADNESS* to *ANGER* is not implausible, especially as *TORN* shows that the two meanings can co-exist.

Gevaert argues that it is the use of *HEAT*-conceptualisations in Latin texts which is responsible for the conceptualisation of *ANGER IS HEAT* in the case of Old English *HĀTHEORT*, although *HĀTHEORT* in glosses and/or translations most frequently renders Latin *furor* (Gevaert 2007: 227-8).

While Gevaert's hypothesis that the Latin *HEAT*-conceptualisations indirectly and *en masse* led to the formation of *HĀTHEORT* might be plausible in Old English alone (and even then, tentatively), it is difficult to see such indirect influence of those conceptualisations working in all three languages simultaneously. The question for further research is: why did the Latin *furor* come to be translated as *hatheort* and *heitmuoti*, if it does not have connotations with *HEAT*? Perhaps clues can be found in the co-occurrences of Latin *furor* with *fervor*, which is definitely associated with heat. In Ælfric's Grammar *fervor* is glossed as *wylm*, and *wylm* and *hātheortness* are interchangeable in glosses. In

PsGIE (Harsley) it is *furor*, not *fervor* that is glossed as *wylme // hatheortnysse*. Additionally, *wylm* is used eight times in glosses to refer to *furor*.

Gevaert treats *HĀTHEORT* as representative only of ANGER AS HEAT conceptualisation due to its etymology and does not assign any other conceptualisations to it. However, *HĀTHEORT* is strongly influenced by Latin *furor* and association with Furies, and could also be subsumed under ANGER AS MADNESS conceptualisation, or ANGER AS STRONG EMOTION.

Regardless of the actual etymology, transmission and influences between OE, OHG and Latin, it remains clear that, although the occurrence of *HĀTHEORT* was by no means limited solely to Old English, it was not widespread throughout the Germanic-speaking world. The extent and nature of Latin influence on the use and formation of this word still needs to be determined, although there is no doubt that *HĀTHEORT* appears primarily (though not exclusively), in the context of Latin source texts, whether in translation or as glosses.

8.3 Discussion

8.3.1 Poetry and Prose

Prose and poetry will be treated together, as there are not enough examples from poetry to discuss them separately. The texts represented are mostly religious in nature, with some minor exceptions. *HĀTHEORT* is distributed fairly evenly in prose without visible predominance of one author or text over others (in contrast to the proportionately higher occurrences of other word families in Ælfric). The texts range from homilies, sermons, lives of saints, through the Old English version of the Heptateuch or Gospels, various canonical texts, laws, confessionals, etc. (Table 8.3).

Some of the most frequently attested sources are: homilies (26 occ), Gregory's *Dialogues* (17 occ.), the *Pastoral Care* (14 occ.), various Lives of Saints (20 occ.) and confessional writings (7 occ.).

The high number of occurrences from GD can be explained by double occurrences from two different manuscript versions, GD (C) and GD (H). However, though in absolute terms this family is most frequent in Ælfric's writings (25 occ.), in terms of proportion it is not very frequent. Other word families in prose exhibit a significant number of occurrences in Ælfric because his works account for a large proportion of the entire prose corpus. In the

case of *HĀTHEORT*, the number of occurrences in Ælfric on the one hand, and Gregory's *Dialogues* and *Pastoral Care* on the other hand, is similar. This may suggest that this word family was more popular in earlier Old English prose, perhaps indicative of translation efforts during and after the reign of King Alfred.

Text	no of occ.	%
Homilies (Anonymous and Ælfric's)	26	25.01%
Lives of Saints (Anonymous and Ælfric's)	20	19.24%
Gregory's <i>Dialogues</i>	17	16.35%
<i>Cura pastoralis</i>	14	13.46%
Confessionals	7	6.73%
PPs (prose)	3	2.89%
OE Bede	2	1.92%
BenR	2	1.92%
ÆGram	2	1.92%
Old Testament (Josh and Deut)	2	1.92%
OE Boethius	1	0.96%
Lawludex	1	0.96%
Let 1 (Sisam)	1	0.96%
Lit 4.3.5 (Logeman)	1	0.96%
<i>Meters of Boethius</i>	1	0.96%
Mk (WSCp)	1	0.96%
<i>Paris Psalter</i>	1	0.96%
VSa1 1 (Cross)	1	0.96%
<i>Wan</i>	1	0.96%
	104	100.00%

Table 8.3 – Occurrences of *HĀTHEORT* in poetry and prose

8.3.1.1 Referents

The referents for *HĀTHEORT* are most often figures in position of power, both in the secular and in the church hierarchy, such as emperors, kings, commanders, judges, abbots, bishops, lords and superiors (27 occ.) Often, they appear in the 'oppressed saint'-scenario. Another common group of referents comprises people in general who are the target of admonitions and exhortations (either personal pronouns or 'person', 'men' – 17 occ). *HĀTHEORT* is often used to refer to people of the religious order (16 occ., including the 'abbots' from the first group). Some other, minor referents include God, Christ, larger groups of people (heathens, Jews, Romans), and devils.

One of the most conspicuous features of *HĀTHEORT* is that it is used in prose primarily in relation to men, not supernatural beings. Although there are examples of the

use of this word family with supernatural agents as referents, they number only 14 in total (of which God appears 10 times, the devils 3, Christ once).⁸⁸

8.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Collocations

Intensifying adjectives and adverbs are used to modify *HĀTHEORT* 17 times, for instance: *þearle* ‘severely’ (adv.), *deoflice* ‘devilishly’ (adv.), *swiþlice* ‘greatly’ (adv.), *swiþe* (adv.), *micel* ‘great’ (adj.), *ungefyllidlic* ‘insatiable’ (adj.), *eall* ‘total, absolute’ (adj.).

The nouns and past participles from the *HĀTHEORT* word family co-occur twelve times with the verbs *wēorþan* ‘to become’ and *bēon* ‘to be’ either in the VP *wearð/wæs gehathyrt* or VP *wearð/wæs mid hatheortnesse* + (past participle of another verb). It is a syntactical pattern that has been noticed for other word families, especially in Ælfric.

This passage from Gregory’s *Dialogues* illustrates simultaneously a verbal construction, an intensifier and the co-occurrence of another ANGER-word:

[H86]

wearð mid mycelre **hatheortnesse** þearle **gebolgen**

[/he] was greatly severely angered/swollen with a great anger/passion]

Two intensifiers, *mycelre* and *þearle*, and two ANGER-words are used here for emphasis.

The past participles of other verbs which usually occur with the PP *mid hatheortnesse* are: *geyrsod* (1 occ.), *gebolgen* (2 occ.), *gegremed* (1 occ.), all three meaning ‘angered’, but also *astyred/onstyred* ‘moved, aroused, angered’⁸⁹ (3 occ.), *onæled* ‘kindled’ (3 occ.), and *gefylled* ‘filled’ (1 occ.). Though not very numerous, they do reveal semantic and conceptual links which can be further substantiated with words of similar meanings, co-occurring in the larger context of the passage, not only the level of the phrase.

Examples of the SPEECH-scenario can also be found, where a speech act follows immediately after an outburst of anger. SPEECH-verbs, such as: *hātan* ‘order’, *cweðan* ‘say’, or *clīpian* ‘cry out’, occur 16 times, either in a coordinated construction with the use of the conjunction *and*, as in: *Pa wearð se arleasa gehathyrt, and het* (ÆLS (Agatha),

⁸⁸ These proportions may be quite different in the glosses.

⁸⁹ DOE gives many different meanings for *āstyrian*, with the general senses of ‘moving, setting in motion, being moved, also in the sense of being moved emotionally by various emotions.’

H18), or with the use of a gerund, as in: *He wearð ða **gehathyrt** (...)þus **cweþende*** (ÆCHom I, 29).

One other commonly co-occurring verb is *(ge)stillan* ‘cease, restrain, still, stop, stay, calm’ (B-T), used either to say that someone’s anger abated or, on the contrary, that it was not yet stilled. There are eight examples of this verb, four of which come from the *GD*, three from Ælfric, and one from *CP*. The verb *forhabban*, which has a similar meaning of ‘refraining, abstaining, holding back’, occurs once. In these cases, ANGER is conceptualised as a powerful force that needs to be restrained and the theme of control of anger emerges for *HĀTHEORT*.

Co-occurrences, Synonyms, Antonyms

HĀTHEORT co-occurs with other ANGER-words, most commonly with *YRRE* (27 occ.), *BELGAN* (8 occ.), *GRAM* (6 occ.), but also with *WŌD* and *WĒAMŌD* (3 occ. each). *YRRE* emerges as a very frequent co-occurrence, which may be explained partially by the fact that both *YRRE* and *HĀTHEORT* are used together in glosses to render the Latin co-occurrence of *ira* and *furor*. This is particularly evident in examples that use *YRRE* and *HĀTHEORT* in a coordinated noun phrase (e.g. *mid eorre & mid **hatheortnesse***, or *ne on þinum yrre, ne on þinre **hatheortnesse***). *HĀTHEORT* also co-occurs with *RĒPE* (5 occ.) and *ANDA* (4 occ.)

HĀTHEORT and another ANGER-word can show several syntactic patterns in either coordinate constructions or on the level of the same phrase. In the examples below, both ANGER-words belong to the same word category and can be treated as more or less synonymous:

[H34]

Þa wæs se niþfulla diofol on helle mid **eorre** & mid **hatheortnesse** astyred (LS 6 (InventCrossMor))

[Then the hateful devil in hell was stirred/roused with anger and anger.]

[H38]

Ða wæs heora sum **reðra** & **hatheortra** ðonne þa oþre (LS 17.1 (MartinMor))

[Then was a certain one of them more angry and more furious/angry than the other(s)?]

[H40]

Nu is gefylled þæt mycclle **hatheort** & þæt mycclle **yrre** þyses ealdermannes
(LS 20 (AssumptMor))

[*Now the great anger and the great anger of this commander is finished/complete*]

[H48]

Sumu stræl byð geworht ... of **gebelge** & of **hatheortnesse**
(HomU 9 (ScraggVerc 4))

[*Some arrows are made ... from anger and from anger*]

[H55]

ne þrea þu me on þinum **yrre**, ne on þinre **hatheortnesse** ne swenc me
(PPs (prose))

[*do not reproach me in your anger, nor rebuke me in your anger*]

Below are some examples of *HĀTHEORT* entering into a NP, PP or a VP with other ANGER-words:

[H6]

mid swyþlicere **hatheortnyse** **geyrsod** (ÆCHom I, 29)

[*angered with a great anger*]

[H43]

hie wæron to þon **hatheortlice yrre** (LS 32 (Peter & Paul))

[*because of this they were angrily angry*]

[H75]

gebolgen mid mycelre **hatheortnyse** (GD 1 (C))

[*angered with a great anger*]

[H85]

mid **hatheortnesse gegremed** (GDPref and 3 (C))

[*angered with anger*]

Rarely, other nouns are coordinated with *HĀTHEORT*, which point to a broader range of meanings for this word family: *hrædwilnes* ‘haste, precipitancy’ (2 occ.) (B-T), *gedyrstigness* ‘presumption, arrogance, rashness’ (1 occ.), (DOE), *unstillness* ‘restlessness,

disquietude' (1 occ.), *strangmod* 'violent' (1 occ),⁹⁰ all of which suggest that this emotion is quick to appear and may be difficult to control.

HĀTHEORT is representative of the ANGER AS HEAT conceptualisation (Gevaert 2007), and it sometimes occurs with other words denoting FIRE or HEAT, such as *onǣlan* 'to kindle', *byrnan* 'to burn', *fȳr* 'fire', but also the more ambiguous *wilm* 'surge, wave, flame'. There are different types of HEAT that can be represented in a conceptualisation. ANGER AS FIRE will be different from ANGER AS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The former seems to be more common in Latin-based texts (Gevaert 2007), and the latter is perhaps a more native conceptualisation (Lockett 2011).

As with *weallan* discussed above, the core meaning of *wilm* is something, which wells (B-T). It can be applied in a variety of contexts, for the violent movement of either fluid (sea, waves, fount, stream, blood, etc.) or of fire or heat (fire, flames), but also for several emotions (fervour, ardour, heat, fury, rage, passion, etc.).

Wilm occurs *HĀTHEORT* more often than with *fȳr* (4 occ. for the former and 1 for the latter), and is sometimes interchangeable with *hātheortness* in the glosses. It has already been observed by Potter (1988) and Lockett (2011) that welling and seething is crucial in portraying psychological distress (particularly in *Beowulf*). Despite some occurrences of FIRE, the *hāt* in *HĀTHEORT* should probably be understood as LIQUID HEAT rather than FLAMES, especially since the conceptualisation FIRE IS LIQUID is attested in the definitions for *wilm* and *weallan* and can be substantiated by occurrences from the corpus.

8.3.1.3 Case Studies

God's Anger and Fury

HĀTHEORT appears infrequently with reference to God in prose and poetry (8 occ.), but in glosses it is one of the family's most common usages. The prevalence in glosses and the scarcity of this word family in prose merits future investigation.

Three times out of eight *HĀTHEORT* is used in direct translations of variants of a Latin phrase (also present in the glosses 15 times), which utilises two ANGER-words, *ira* and *furor*. In these translations *furor* is consistently rendered as *hātheortness*. This Latin phrase comes from the beginning of Psalm 6 and is an imploration to God to cease his

⁹⁰ B-T gives this as 'of a strong mind, confident, resolute', but since *strang-* can also mean 'severe, fierce, violent', these may be the more likely meanings.

anger and not punish the transgressors for their vices. Its precise wording is as follows: *Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripas me* (Bible Gateway 2014) ‘Lord, do not reproach us in your anger, nor rebuke us in your anger/fury’. While the translations presented below differ slightly, the Latin ANGER-words (*ira* and *furor*) are consistently translated as *yrre* and *hātheortness* respectively.

[H52]

Drihten, ne þrea þu us in þinum **yrre**, ne þu us ne steor in þinre **hatheortnyse**.
(Let 1 (Sisam))

[H55]

Drihten, ne þrea þu me on þinum **yrre**, ne on þinre **hatheortnesse** ne swenc me. (PPs (prose))

[H57]

Drihten, ne þrea þu me, ne ne þrafa, on þinum **yrre**; ne on þinre **hatheortnesse**, ne witna ðu me. (PPs (prose))⁹¹

There is also one example of *hātheortness* in an imploration to not provoke (*getihten*) God to anger in [H45] from HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) and an example of a translation of Deuteronomy’s *Ignis succensus est in furore meo et ardebit* as [H53] *Fyr onæled is on hatheortnyse mire & byrnð* (Deut), which evokes associations with FIRE and HEAT.

The contexts for portraying God’s wrath with *HĀTHEORT* are almost exclusively Latin in origin and often constitute a direct translation. This makes them much more similar to glosses than to other text types, which is likely why God appears as a referent in these instances.

Angry Kings and Emperors – Saints’ Lives and other texts

HĀTHEORT, like other ANGER word families, can be used in the context of the saint’s martyrdom. The saint usually persists in his or her faith, and the figure of authority is angered, and forced either to issue a command, to reply with words or to take actions. The only minor difference in the use of *HĀTHEORT* is that although often such a command is followed with a punishing or retributory action, at no point does a word denoting avenging a wrong appear (as it did in *GRAM*). The other difference is that the pattern is as common in Ælfric as it is in other types of text (CP, GD, LS).

⁹¹ The three passages in Old English are close enough to the Latin original that I have decided not to translate the Old English text.

The phrase *wearþ/wæs x and het/cwæþ* ‘became angry and ordered/said’ (where x is one of the words of the *HĀTHEORT* family) appears eight times, though once it is used in a situation where King Salomon gets angry with his workers and not with a saint. The verbal action is variously represented as *þus cwepende* or other verbs, such as *clipian*, *sendan*, *gan*, *betācan*, etc.

There are a total of 15 instances of *HĀTHEORT* used in the context of an exchange between saints and figures of power. Passages [H9], [H18] and [H42] below show all three components of the SPEECH-scenario pattern: (1) anger, (2) speech/command, (3) a retributory action or a threat of such an action.

In the first two examples below a figure in authority is angered by the words of the saint. In [H9] it is Emperor Julianus who is offended by the words of St Basil and promises to destroy the city of Cappadocia, razing it to the ground. This is part of a larger verbal exchange between the two, with a promise of further action.

[H9]

Se godes wiþersaca hine ða (1) **gehathyrt** & (2) **cwæð**. Ðonne ic fram fyrde gecyrre. ic (3) **towurpe þas burh**. & hi gesmeþie. & to yrðlande awende: swa þæt heo bið cornbære swiþor ðonne manbære (ÆCHom I, 30)

[*The enemy of God then angered himself (caused himself to be angry/worked himself into a fury) and said: When I will return from the army/expedition, I will destroy the city and smooth it and turn it into arable land: so that it will be more greatly corn-bearing than productive of men.*]

In [H18], again the words of a saint are the offending event. When St Agatha implores judge Quintianus to abandon false gods and turn to the true God, he immediately orders her to be put to torture.

[H18]

Agathes andwyrde anfealdlice and cwæð, Wiðsac ðu þine godas, þe synd stænene and treowene, and gebide þe to þinum scyppende, þe soðlice aleofað; gif ðu hine forsiht, þu scealt on ecum witungum ðrowian. Þa wearð se arleasa (1) **gehathyrt**, and (2) **het** hi (3) **on hencgene astreccan**, and ðrawan swa swa wiððan wælhreowlice. (ÆLS (Agatha))

[*Agatha answered straightforwardly and said: You should abandon your gods, who are (out of/originate from) stones and trees, and you should worship your lord, who lives truly; if you scorn him, you shall suffer in eternal torments. Then the wicked one became angry and ordered her to be stretched on the *instrument of torture^{*92} and twisted/turned just as a cord, cruelly.*]

⁹² It is not quite clear whether this is a gibbet, cross or gallows, or some other instrument of torture. (B-T)

In the final example, it is not a speech act that angers the emperor, but a miracle associated with the saint. Emperor Maximian reacts violently to the news that the lions did not devour St Pantaleon, but rather started licking his feet.

[H42]

And þa se casere þis geherde, þa wæs he gefylled mid ealre (1) **hatheortnyse**, & he (2) **het** (3) **ofslean** an þusend manna of þam folce, & he bebed þæt mon þa wildeor acwealde. (LS 30 (Pantaleon))

[And when the emperor had heard this, [then] he was filled with absolute anger and he ordered one thousand men from that people to be killed, and he ordered that the wild animals be killed.]

The same pattern is followed, with the offending event, anger at the offence, and a command to kill people and beasts.

There are also occurrences when kings and emperors are angered by saints or bishops or their own underlings, which do not follow the formulaic pattern described above. The men in position of power abuse that power through their eagerness to exhibit ANGER, via the use of *HĀTHEORT*.

While angry kings and emperors are generally portrayed in a negative fashion, there are two examples where a king's anger can be potentially justified.

[H24]

þa ablicgde Aman unbliþum andwlitan and ne mihte na acuman þæs cyninges graman, ne he ne dorste beseon to his ansyne. And se cyning aras hraþe **gehathyrt** and eode him sona ut binnon his æppeltun (ÆHomM 14 (Ass 8))

[Then Aman was astonished, with an unhappy countenance, and could not bear the king's anger, nor did he dare to look at his face. And the king arose quickly, angered and went immediately out into his applegarden.]

In the Book of Esther, the source of this passage, King Ahasuerus is angry at Aman (or Haman) for a good reason in that the man tried to trick him into killing all the Jews in Persia (Esther 7:7). The plan is foiled by Queen Esther herself.

In the second example King Salomon exhibits anger:

[H33]

Ða he ða ðæt iseah þa wearð he mid swiðlicere **hatheortnyse** astured & cwæð þæt heo deaþe scyldige wæraen þæt heo hine mid heoræ leasungæ on ðon ibroht hæfden. (LS 5 (InventCrossNap))

[Then when he saw it, he was moved with a great anger and said that their lives were forfeit because they had brought him to this with their lying.]

The reason for King Solomon's anger is that he feels his workers had lied to him about the length of a beam for his hall. The workers are innocent as the changes in length happened miraculously – the beam lengthens and shortens due to divine intervention – but King Solomon seems to have just cause for his anger, for he believes his workers are disloyal to him.

The Angry Abbot and the Peaceful Priest

HĀTHEORT is used more often in the context of ANGER displayed by men of religious order: abbots, holy men, monks, priests. These representations, however, are not necessarily shown in a negative light. Most often, there is no moral stigma associated with this behavior, but sometimes, HĀTHEORT is used in a negation, in a construction which highlights that it is a virtue that some holy men are not angry in their disposition.

The ANGER of abbots can be portrayed as excessive and accompanied with several different outward displays of that emotion.

[H75]

Hit gelamp sume dæge, þæt se abbud, se æfter þæs arwurðan Honorates forðfore heold & hæfde þone ræcenddom & hlaforddom þæs mynstres, þæt he wearð **gebolgen** mid mycelre **hatheortnysse** wið þone æfæstan wer Libertinum swa swiðe, þæt he hine mid his handum forbeah. & þa forþon þe he næfde gyrde hine mid to sleanne, þa gefeng he þone fotsceamol æt his reste foran & beot Libertinum on þæt heafod & on þa onsyne, oþ þæt he gedyde, þæt eall his andwlita awannode & asweoll. (GD 1 (C))

[It happened on a certain day that the abbot who ruled after the venerable Honoratus had died, and had the governance and jurisdiction of the monastery, became angered/enraged/swollen with a great anger against the most devout man Libertine, so greatly, that he attacked him with his hands. And because he did not have a staff with which to beat him, he then took the footstool from in front of his bed and beat Libertine on the head and on the face, until all of his countenance blackened and swelled.]

This passage, which is found in both the C and H versions of Gregory's *Dialogues*, shows how an enraged abbot resorts to physical violence directed at a man who is his inferior in the church hierarchy. This is one of several examples from GD where an abbot is portrayed as prone to anger and violence.

Conversely, priests are often presented as examples of model behaviour, embodying the virtues of patience or resignation. They acquiesce to the anger and violence

of the abbots and stand in stark contrast to them. The emphasis is placed on the praiseworthy submission, and not on whether the deeds of the abbots are to be condemned. The various texts seem to be at odds in the assessment displays of ANGER by the members of the clergy. On the one hand, anger and violence in men of religious order should not be allowed or tolerated; on the other, sometimes the anger of holy men is equated with God's anger. In both the male and female version of the Benedictine Rule (passages [H93] and [H94]) it is forbidden to strike and physically punish someone in anger (when *yrsað* and *gehatheortað*), but it is possible if an express permission from the Abbot or Abbess is issued. In passage [H78], holy men are described as being God's temples (*syndon Godes templu*), and thus to be feared and revered. To provoke them to anger (*getogen to hatheortnysse*), especially by vice or transgressions, is in fact to anger God or Christ himself, and this anger is specifically described as being the anger of righteous men (*rihtwisra manna yrre*). ANGER can occasionally be exhibited and enacted upon, but only if it has the force of righteousness or the Church hierarchy behind it.

The example of priest Constantius, also from *Dialogues*, shows that ANGER is often associated with other vices. Constantius is a priest who hopes to become a bishop. He is therefore not placed high in the hierarchy, but exhibits ambition and greed, not humility and charity. The highly negative portrayal of an angered priest perhaps condemns not ANGER itself, but rather its inappropriate causes. The passage is too long to cite in full, but worth summarising. Constantius sells a horse, hides the money in his coffer and leaves for an errand. While he is away, the bishop breaks into his coffer to take the money and distribute it to the poor in an act of charity. When Constantius comes back and finds his money gone, he flies into a fury. The description is intense, as the priest begins to shout and roar in a great voice (*Pa ongan he mid mycelre stefne hlydan & mid <swyðlicre> hatheortnysse clypian*, GD 1 (C)). To appease Constantius, the bishop goes into the church, prays and miraculously receives the money from God. Though Constantius now has his money back, he is warned that he will not become the bishop after the present one has died. It is clear, however, that it is not because of his anger, but because of avarice (*for þinre gitsunge*).

Even though abbots and bishops are portrayed as having violent tempers (particularly in GD), other sources, especially the Lives of Saints, extol the laudable qualities in holy men of high order who do not succumb to ANGER. One such example is St Chad:

[H32]

ac he wið eallum earfodnissum & teonum nam geþyldu (...) na geseah hine mon efre forðon **eorne** ne mid **hatheortnesse** onstýredne ne nenig man hine geseah swiðe hlahendne ne nenig man hine geseah swiðe gorniende. (LS 3 (Chad))

[...but he was patient against all torments and miseries (...) because of this he was never seen angry, nor incited with anger, nor any man could see him greatly laughing, nor any man could see him greatly mourning.]

St Chad is particularly praised not only because he refrains from ANGER, but from other strong emotions as well, namely HAPPINESS and SADNESS, and it is his patience that is the highest virtue. In this case, *HĀTHEORT* is in close correlation with *YRRE*, and in opposition to patience.

Anger as Vice – dangers, recommendations and laws

HĀTHEORT is often seen in the context of either advice and recommendation (to laymen, monks, parents, teachers or leaders), or condemnation (as a vice and sin), with due warning not to be influenced by ANGER. Negative consequences of angry behaviour are often underlined, whether in this world or the next.

ANGER is regarded as one of the cardinal sins, numbered among other vices and juxtaposed with Christian virtues. Those who display anger are at risk of eternal damnation. The agency of devils or demons in causing ANGER is not as prominent in the case of *HĀTHEORT* as in, for instance *GRAM*, but the association is made nonetheless on several occasions.

In HomM 5 (Willard), hell is described as being occupied by all manner of sinners, such as robbers (*þa struderás*) and thieves (*þa ðeofás*), liars (*þa logeras*) and sorcerers (*þa lyblæccan*), and all the evil ones. The collection consists of several types of people who exhibit wicked behavior, among them the angry-hearted or prone to anger, that is both *þa gramheortan* and *þa hatheortan*.

Similarly, in HomU 9 (ScraggVerc 4), a variety of sins and vices are listed, among them ANGER. These are compared to arrows that are shot out of the ‘bow made of excess’ (*boga ... geworht of ofermettum*). The arrows are made of hate (*of niðe*) and envy (*of æfste*), of thievery (*of þeofunga*), oathbreaking (*of æwbryce*) and sorcery (*of lyblace*). Three words are used for ANGER. The arrows are made *of gebelge*, *of hatheortnesse*, and *of yrre*, creating emphasis through repetition.

In Conf 1.2 and Conf 3.1.1 one is also advised to shield against theft, pride, envy, sorcery, and, more importantly, *hatheortness*. These examples follow the pattern of enumeration of vices. In both cases *HĀTHEORT* is the only word family used for ANGER within the passage.

Another rhetorical device is to set ANGER against contrasting qualities and behaviour:

[H47]

Se gesibsuma man soðlice byð oncnawen þurh his modes blisse and on glædum andwlitan and se niðfulla wer wyrð eac geswutelod þurh his **hatheortnysse** on hetolum andwlitan. Se gesibsuma mann hæfð him sylf gemanan mid þam halgum englum and se niðfulla byð deofla gefera fordon <þurh>. (ÆAdmon 1)

[The peaceful man truly is known through the joy/peace of his mind and from a glad/joyful countenance, and the hateful man is also is declared/known through his anger, from a countenance that is full of hate. The peaceful man himself holds companionship with the holy angels, and the hateful is killed through/by the company of devils.]

The two men, the peaceful and the hateful – the one who seeks concord and the one who looks for strife – are juxtaposed and compared on several different levels: the physical displays and facial expressions, the internal state of mind and the relation to supernatural agents. The peaceful man is associated with angels, and the hateful with devils, one has a joyful countenance, the other's countenance is hateful. Finally, the peaceful man is of a calm, serene, unperturbed mind (*his modes blisse*), while the hateful man is known by his *hatheortnysse*. In this case, a serene mind is juxtaposed with an angry one.

The Virtues of Restraint

A peaceful and calm attitude is sometimes contrasted with *HĀTHEORT*. Even if one is angered (*Gif þu hwilon yrsie...*), the best course of action is to 'quickly drive out the anger from one's soul' (*adræf þa hatheortnysse fram þinre sawle hraðe...*), and do so before the setting of the sun (as has already been mentioned, the idea of getting rid of anger before sunset is found in Ephesians 4:26). A peaceful heart or mind prepares a 'dwelling for Christ' (*gearcað Criste wununge on his mode*) (ÆAdmon 1).

Restraint and patience should always be practised and anger should be stilled even if it is a task not without difficulty (*buton earfoðnysse*), as in ÆCHom I, 25. The phrase

used in this homily is: *hwa gestilð **hatheortnysse** his modes mid geþylde* and once again emphasises the need for patience and calming of the mind/heart.

Similarly, restraint of anger is extolled in a passage in HomM13 (ScraggVerc 21), where various virtues of the soul are listed and the seventh is that one should *forhæbbe fram yrre & fram **hatheortnesse*** ‘restrain oneself from anger and anger’. This pair of words is indicative of the possible Latin origin in the form of *ira* and *furor*. The eighth virtue calls for loving *sybb* ‘peace’ and detesting *hatung* ‘hatred’, and evokes previous juxtapositions between a peaceful and a hating man in Ælfric.

Conf 3.1.1 (Raith Y) expresses clearly that if a man ‘be angry and strong-minded/violent’ (***hatheort** sy & strangmod*), he should be excommunicated when he refuses to make peace (*sibbe fon nelle*) with those who have sinned against him.

Anger seems to be deplorable not only in the spiritual dimension, because of its long-lasting consequences for the soul. It also has a negative influence on carrying out judgment and meting out punishment. The angry judge (*se **hatheorta** dema*) should not pass sentences, as he cannot see the brightness of truth (*ðas rihtes beorhtnesse*) because of the darkness of anger (*ðæs yrres dimnesse*) (LawIudex). ANGER clouds and obscures judgment and clear thinking.

Bede 1 states that while there are those who will require a harder or a stronger punishment and correction, it should never be given out of anger or fury (*nales of **welme** ne of **hatheortnesse***), but out of love (*of lufan to donne*). Love is the only way to correct someone’s behaviour and save their soul from eternal damnation. While this example does treat of the spiritual dimension, the advice given clearly relates to punishments given out in this world.

Passion, Madness, Lust, Zeal, Ardour

The use of *HĀTHEORT* usually corresponds to the situations where PDE *angry* (or its synonyms) could be used. There are, however, some examples that suggest a wider range of meanings for this word family in Old English. There are also some examples in which the context does not allow for disambiguation and several meanings are possible.

In most cases, these other uses of *HĀTHEORT* fall under the category of strong, intense emotions, and could be rendered with PDE *lust*, *zeal*, *ardour*, or *passion*. I start with those examples where ANGER cannot be justified within the context.

The adverb *hātheortlic* occurs only three times, and two of those occurrences can be found in HomS 17 (BIHom 5) where it is used as an intensifier to modify the verb *lufian*

‘to love’. From the context and its syntactical relations, it seems most likely that this word could be rendered with ‘passionately’ or ‘ardently’.

HĀTHEORT is used in a passage in LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) in the sentence: *ic wæs swiðe onæled mid þære hatheortnysse þæs synlustes* ‘I was greatly ignited with the passion of the sinful desire’. It is primarily the association of *HĀTHEORT* with HEAT and FLAMES that is exploited in this passage, especially when *hatheortnysse þæs synlustes* is compared to *bryne forligeres* ‘flame of adultery’, which occurs slightly earlier, and also due to the verb *onælan*. *Hātheortness* can be translated as ‘lust’ or ‘passion’ in this sentence, but it may also refer to a more literal meaning of *hātheortness* that is ‘heat in the heart’. This would be in line with the cardiocentric model and evoke the understanding of EMOTION AS HEAT.

Rare examples of *HĀTHEORT* co-occur with MADNESS-words. However, on closer inspection, most of these words belong in the *WŌD* family, whose meaning covers ANGER as well. An example of this is found in *Pastoral Care* when the passionate or angry-hearted are raging (*ða hatheortan... wedende*), but the context evokes both MADNESS and ANGER at the same time. Once, however, in a highly anomalous usage, *HĀTHEORT* denotes exclusively MADNESS. In Mk (WSCp), Christ invites a large number of people into his house and is said to be *on hatheortnesse gewend*. His relatives consider the action to be madness, as there is not enough food to feed the guests, nor room enough to house them. Christ’s mental faculties and ability to reason are doubted here and *HĀTHEORT* is best translated as ‘loss of senses’, ‘foolishness’, or ‘madness’. The Latin word used in the *Gospel of Mark* is *furor*, for which Lewis and Short give the senses ‘rage, madness, folly, fury’. Since *HĀTHEORT* often glosses *furor* in Old English, it may have been an automatic choice of equivalence on the part of the translator.

HĀTHEORT and *WŌD* are often used similarly when referring to ANGER. *WŌD*’s primary meaning, however, is that of MADNESS. The choice of *HĀTHEORT* in the *Gospel of Mark* may have been an ill-chosen translation based on the high correlation between *furor* and *HĀTHEORT* in glosses and translations,⁹³ and on the relative closeness of *HĀTHEORT* and *WŌD* to denote intense, violent emotion. But while *HĀTHEORT* does have some associations with *WŌD*, *HĀTHEORT* rarely entails MADNESS.

Another example that is difficult to disambiguate can be found in a passage from Lit 4.3.5 (Logeman). The speaker confesses that he has taken ‘the evil council of useless pleasures/joys’ (*yfelre rædnesse unnyttra blissa*) and further admits that: *Ic ondette hatheortnesse & sleacornesse, slapornesse & unnytte wæccean, feondscipe &*

⁹³ Interestingly, in the Wycliffe Bible this particular instance of *furor* in Mark is given as *woodnesse*.

feowunge modes & muðes & dæda ‘I confess *hātheortness*, slackness and sleepiness/laziness and useless vigils, enmity and rejoicing of mind/hearth, mouth and deed.’

Though translating *hātheortness* as ‘anger’ cannot be entirely discredited in this case, a different meaning is far more likely. Emotions and attitudes with no direct ties to ANGER (such as pleasure, joy, laziness, sleepiness, and slackness) are used in the immediate surroundings. The only word which may be associated in some way with ANGER is *feondscipe* ‘enmity’ or ‘hostility’. Pleasures and joys could potentially be linked with PASSION and LUST, but the entire list lacks the usual intensity associated with *HĀTHEORT*.

Particularly in *Cura pastoralis*, *HĀTHEORT* can mean both anger and passion (that is a greater, heightened more unrestrained emotion). One of the pieces of advice given is how to moderate one’s passion/ardour/zeal in speaking to the greatest effect (as in the subheading: *Hu gesceadwis se reccere sceal bion on his ðreaunga & on his oleccunga, & eac on his **hatheortnesse** & on his monðwærnesse* ‘How cautious/prudent the speaker must be in his reproves/rebukes and in his soothings, and also in his hot-heartedness/passion and in his gentleness’). This is especially evident in how St Paul approaches his disciples, Titus and Timothy.

[H65]

Hwæt mænde sanctus Paulus, ða he his lare sua cræftelice toscead, & ðone oðerne lærde ðæt he him anwald ontuge, oðerne he lærde geðyld, buton ðæt he ongeat Titum hwene monðwærran & geðyldigran ðonne he sceolde, & Timotheus he ongeat **hatheortran** ðonne he sceolde? Titum he wolde onælan mid ryhtwislicum **andan**, Timotheum he wolde gemetgian. (CP)

[*What St Paul intended when he so skilfully separated/distinguished his teaching, he taught the first one how to be set free from power, the other one he taught patience, but that he saw how Titus was more meek and patient than he should be, and he saw that Timothy was more hot-hearted/passionate than he should be? He wished to enkindle Titus with a righteous anger/passion, and he wished to calm Timothy down.*]

This shows that it is more the intensity of feeling or the ardour of admonishment, rather than the typical offending ANGER-scenario that is the key focus here. The passages from Ch. 40 of the *Pastoral Care* are discussed further in section 11.2.5.1.

8.3.2 Conclusions

HĀTHEORT does not appear frequently in the corpus, nor is it distributed evenly across the entire period of Old English. Its origins are not entirely clear and its presence in Old English could potentially be explained by influence of Old High German.

It is predominant in glosses and translations, and as such linked with the Latin word *furor* and the concept of ANGER AS HEAT. The family is also used in the contexts of ANGER, PASSION, HEAT and even MADNESS. But whilst these connotations are present to a varying degree, *HĀTHEORT* appears most often in ANGER-scenarios and co-occurs strongly with other ANGER-words.

The other significant feature of the uses of *HĀTHEORT* in prose is the relative rareness of supernatural referents (particularly God). It is quite surprising, not only because the wrath of God is a commonly occurring motif, and a high number of such occurrences could be expected, but also because *HĀTHEORT* fulfils that very same function in the glosses. Instead, it seems that *HĀTHEORT* is attributed either to men of power (especially of the religious order) or to a general and unspecified we/us/person, not to God, and the lack of correspondence between prose and glosses should be investigated further.

The contextual descriptions of how people experiencing *HĀTHEORT* behave (e.g. shouting, violent beating), the intensifiers that are used to modify words of this family, and the Latin correspondence with *furor* (which itself is a strong word) show that *HĀTHEORT* exhibits high levels of intensity. This could be further substantiated by the co-occurrence with words denoting RASHNESS and QUICKNESS, and also the juxtaposition of *HĀTHEORT* with words denoting 'patience, restraint, mildness, peace'. Frequent implorations to still one's anger and refrain from it also add to the impression of *HĀTHEORT* as violent and intense. Indeed, the theme of a strong, violent, and unrestrained emotion runs through a number of occurrences of *HĀTHEORT*, and would also account for the more rare uses of the word in non-anger-scenarios. Future research could explore the relations between *HĀTHEORT* and *furor*, and look for similarities and differences in their usage in Old English and Latin texts.

Chapter 9 *WĒAMŌD*

9.1 Introduction

WĒAMŌD is the smallest of all the word families analysed, both in terms of the number of occurrences in the corpus (just 31, appearing in 18 prose texts) and the number of lexemes belonging to this family. There is one occurrence in poetry of the phrase *wēa in mode* which may have been a precursor to the forming of the compound *wēamōd*. There are also three occurrences of the word family in the glosses, not analysed here. On the whole, *WĒAMŌD* is of very limited usage, appearing most prominently in works authored by Ælfric and it is likely to have been coined during the Old English period and not inherited from earlier stages of language development.

9.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

9.2.1 *WĒAMŌD* word family in Old English

The family in Old English consists of only three lexemes, which include one adjective (*wēamōd*) and two nouns (*wēamōdness* and *wēamet*). Both *wēamōd* and *wēamōdness* show a similar number of occurrences, whilst *wēamēt* is much rarer.

	Prose/TOTAL	%
nouns	18	58.06%
adj.	13	41.94%
TOTAL:	31	100.00%

Table 9.1 – Distribution of word categories for *WĒAMŌD*

	no of occ.	%
WĒAMŌDNESS (n.)	14	45.16%
WĒAMŌD (adj.)	13	41.94%
WĒAMĒT(TU) (n.)	4	12.90%
	31	100.00%

Table 9.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for *WĒAMŌD*

9.2.1.1 WĒAMŌD (adj.)

B-T defines this adjective as ‘angry, wrathful, choleric, passionate’, whilst Hall has ‘ill-humoured, angry’.

9.2.1.2 WĒAMŌDNES (n.)

For this noun, B-T has ‘anger, passionateness (*sic!*), irascibility’ and Hall ‘anger, passion, impatience’.

9.2.1.3 WĒAMĒT / WĒAMĒTTU (n.)

B-T provides ‘anger, wrath, passion, irascibility’ for this noun, whilst Hall defines it as ‘passion, anger’.

The consensus in both dictionaries is to assign ANGER as a primary meaning to this word family, with PASSION being the second choice. The choice of ‘choleric’, ‘irascibility’ and ‘impatience’ might suggest a definition which stresses the susceptibility to and predisposition towards anger.

9.2.2 WĒAMŌD word family in Middle English

The WĒAMŌD word family survives into Middle English and is used throughout the period, with quotations from the MED dating from early Middle English (1200s) to later Middle English (1400s). The two reflexes, *wēmōd* and *wēmōdnesse*, correspond to the two most frequent Old English lexemes, but OE *wēamēt* disappears. One new adjective is formed in this period, *wēmōdī*, which follows the rules for adjectival formation of *-mōd* adjectives with the *-i(g)* suffix.

The meaning for this word family in Middle English follows closely its Old English counterparts. MED assigns the following senses to the adjective *wēmōd*: ‘given to violence, angry, irascible, dominated by vehement emotion, impassioned’. A further semantic development is recorded by the MED, as the adjective can also mean ‘ill-humored, disagreeable’. OED suggests ‘passionate, angry’ for the same adjective. *Wēmōdī*, on the other hand, is defined by the MED solely as ‘discontented, ill-humored’, without any suggestion of ANGER, and a quotation from *Ancrene Riwle* is given:

Dauid spekeþ of onelich men and wymmen þat bitter ben and **waymody** of hert.
(a1400 Ancr.(Pep 2498))

Wēmōdī is complemented here by *bitter*, which can mean ‘ill-tempered, disagreeable’, and describes the disposition of men and women. The noun *wēmōdnesse* is defined in MED as ‘wrath, ire’, and the examples often show it in the context of one of the cardinal sins.

Though ANGER is the primary meaning for this word family, the definition for *wēmōd* puts emphasis on an inclination or predisposition to anger, which parallels the suggested meanings for this adjective in Old English. The sense ‘ill-humoured’ or ‘disagreeable’ is new in Middle English, suggesting a semantic weakening took place.

9.2.3 Etymology – Other Germanic Languages

The adjective *wēamōd* is the most likely base form for this word family and it is a compound formed from two nouns: *wēa* and *mōd*.

The suffix *-mōd* appears commonly in adjectives denoting mental states and is often found in ANGER-words (such as *bolgen-*, *gram-yrre-*, *torn-*, *wrāð-*). *Wēa* is given two separate senses in B-T, that is I. ‘woe, misery, evil, affliction, trouble’, and II. ‘evil, wickedness, malice’. Hall distinguishes three: I. ‘misfortune, evil, harm, trouble’, II. ‘grief, woe, misery’, and III. ‘sin, wickedness’.

The substantive *wēa* is closely related to the Old English interjection *wā* (and the reduplicative *wāwā*), which in turn has many cognates in Indo-European languages as a general exclamation of lament or pain (DOE s.v. woe). Some examples include the Av. *vayōi* and *avōi*, Latin *vae*, Middle Irish *fāe*, or Lithuanian *vaĩ*. In the Germanic branch there are several examples as well, developed from the PGmc. **wai*, that is OHG, MHG *wē*, Middle Dutch, Du. *wee*, ON *vei*, Swedish *ve*, and Gothic *wai* (Pfeifer 1989).

There are several examples in the Germanic languages of compounds that appear to be cognate with OE *wēamōd*, such as MLG *wēmōt* ‘anger, pain, sadness’ (n.), and *wēmōdich* (adj.) ‘annoyed, full of pain, cowardly, timid’ (Pfeifer) or MHG *wê-muot*, which occurs only once glossing *vecordia* (‘senselessness, madness’) or *dementia, furor*, though the translation itself is thought of as incorrect due to the prefix *ve-* (BMZ).

Though attested later, German *Wehmut* ‘melancholy, sadness’, Swedish *Vemod* ‘melancholy’, and Dutch *weemoed* ‘melancholy, deep sorrow’ are probably related, and

Schröder (1980) points out in his etymology for Du. *weemoed* that in Middle Dutch the senses were ‘anger, angry mood’, but also ‘deep sorrow’.⁹⁴

These examples suggest the use of *wĕamōd* cognates in other Germanic families with the meaning ‘anger’. However, it is surprising that all these cognates are only recorded much later. In this case, they may not actually be related etymologically, but rather coined later. There are no examples of cognates from Old Saxon, Old Low German, Old High German or Old Norse. Although van Wijk (1936) links Du. *weemoed* and OE *weamod*, more recent etymological dictionaries date *weemoed* to the Middle Dutch period, with no earlier stages recorded. It is possible that cognates of the OE *weamod* existed in other Germanic languages at earlier stages of language development, but that they are simply not recorded, as our data is fragmentary for those periods. However, it is equally likely that the lexemes we find in Middle Dutch, German or Swedish were formed independently at a later stage in language history, as the compounding of adjective+*mōd* seems very productive in Germanic languages.

For Old English OED suggests that the noun *wĕa* is the ‘properly substantive form’ of the interjection, which entered into compounds with the sense ‘grievous, evil, bad’. The other compounds that are formed with the suffix *wĕa-* and found in B-T are *wĕa-cwānian* ‘to lament’, *wĕa-dāed* ‘ill-deed’, *wĕa-gesīþ* ‘a companion in misery/wickedness’, *wĕa-lāf* ‘survivor of calamity’, *wĕa-lic* ‘miserable’, *wĕa-spell* ‘tale of woe’, *wĕa-tācn* ‘a sign of misery’, *wĕa-þearf* ‘grievous need’. Not one of them gives any indication of ANGER, but they all share the general senses of MISERY, PAIN, AFFLICTION, and EVIL. This is presumably why Gevaert (2007) assigns AFFLICTION as the main conceptualisation for *WĒAMŌD*. However, the compounds above are related not only to AFFLICTION, but also to MISERY and EVIL, which extends the conceptual links much beyond just AFFLICTION.

If, however, we accept AFFLICTION as one of the main conceptual contributors to the meaning of *WĒAMŌD*, we still need decide who or what is being afflicted. Is the *mōd* afflicted by ANGER? Or is having *wĕa* in one’s *mōd* the cause of affliction and misery for others? Is being angry the misery of the mind, or is *WĒAMŌD* a state of mind to be lamented?

The phrase *wĕa ... on mode* is found once in the corpus, in the *Homiletic Fragment I*, in the context of the discussion of deceptive and false men who lead others astray with their tongues and commit sins.

⁹⁴ “In het Middelnederlands betekende weemoed: toorn, boze stemming, maar ook: diepe smart.”

Wea bið in mode,
 siofa synnum fah, sare geblonden,
 gefylled mid facne, þeah he fæger word
 utan ætywe. (*HomFrI.* ll. 15b-18a)

Randle (2009) translates it as:

There shall be woe in his mind, a heart stained with sins, mixed with pain, filled with malice, though he shows fair words on the outside. (192)

Wēa, here, is linked with *fah*, *sare*, and *facen* – words denoting both WICKEDNESS and AFFLICTION – but the nature of connection is still not clear. The Present-Day English *woe* used in the translation is a reflex of *wē* and *wēa*, but it does not have quite the same connotations as the Old English words.

Whilst the German *Wehmut* and its cognates developed the meaning of a ‘sad mind = melancholy’ from *weh+mut*, it might be better to understand *wēa+mōd* as a ‘troubled/afflicted/wicked/lamentable mind = anger’. The progression from this combination of meanings to ANGER is not entirely transparent, but made more clear in the light of usage of *WĒAMŌD*, which will be discussed below.

9.3 Discussion

9.3.1 Prose

WĒAMŌD shows a restricted usage in prose and is unevenly distributed across different texts. Most prominently, it is found in Ælfric’s writings, with 12 occurrences, and whilst at first glance the texts are varied, the context of usage is the same, even in the lives of saints. This word family is also found in the Old English version of the *Rule of Chrodegang*, in various confessionals, in the Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care*, and in Wulfstan’s writings (homilies and *Institutes of Polity*). Finally, one occurrence is found in the OE Dicts of Cato. The prose text with the largest number of occurrences per text (5 occ.) is the *Rule of Chrodegang*. The Latin provenance of some of these texts is immediately obvious (Dicts, CP, Rule), and they are all firmly rooted in Latin traditions and ecclesiastical writings of the Church. Chronologically, most of these texts are situated within the later Old English period, with the exception of the *Pastoral Care*, which is probably the earliest example of the use of this family, and at the same time quite isolated

temporally. The *Rule of Chrodegang* is most likely post-Alfredian (Drout 2004), and the *Dicts of Cato* have possibly been translated no earlier than the eleventh century (Treharne 2003), although some scholars are in favour of a slightly earlier, tenth century, dating (Hollis and Wright 1992).

Text	no. of occ.	%
Homilies (Ælfric's and Wulfstan's)	14	45.16%
<i>Rule of Chrodegang</i>	5	16.13%
Confessionals	4	12.90%
<i>Cura Pastoralis</i>	4	12.90%
Ælfric's (Lives of Saints)	2	6.45%
ÆLet 3 (Wulfstan 2)	1	3.23%
OE <i>Dicts of Cato</i>	1	3.23%
TOTAL	31	100%

Table 9.3 – Occurrences of WĒAMŌD in prose

9.3.1.1 Referents

The main referents for this word family are people in general (with the use of various personal pronouns), as well as teachers, women, stewards, rulers, and the soul or the mind. The word family is occasionally used to describe bishops in a positive fashion, by highlighting that they are not prone to anger.

WĒAMŌD is restricted in usage solely to human referents. Referents found frequently for other ANGER word families, such as God, supernatural beings or animals, do not appear at all. Named protagonists or antagonists of various narratives, such as saints or heroes are also not present. Therefore, one of the defining features of this word family is its exclusivity of referents. This is in part dictated by the nature of texts in which *WĒAMŌD* appears. Most often, these are texts that either discuss ANGER in abstract terms or in the context of homiletic advice.

9.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Other ANGER word families occasionally co-occur with *WĒAMŌD*, though examples are few. Those are: *YRRE* (3 occ.), *GRAM* (2 occ.), *HĀTHEORT* and *WŌD* (1 occ. each). There are also rare co-occurrences with *ANDA* and *RĒPE* (1 occ. each).

This word family is also juxtaposed with PATIENCE (4 times), with the use of such words as *geðylde*, *gepyldig* and *þolmodnysse*.

With just 31 occurrences, it is difficult to speak of any patterns of usage. *WĒAMŌD* does not seem to enter into any relevant collocation patterns either. The nouns from this word family are most often used in the subject position and not modified or qualified and the adjective is not modified either.

9.3.1.3 Case Studies

One of the Cardinal Sins

WĒAMŌD is most often used to refer to ANGER as a cardinal sin, especially in lists that enumerate them, or in texts that discuss the sins in detail one after another. Almost all these examples appear in Ælfric. *WĒAMŌD* is presented in all these texts in similar terms and with similar phrasing.

Below is an example of an enumerative list of sins, where *wēamet* is listed as the fourth:

[Wm1]

Se forma heafod-leahter is gyfernyss, se oðer is galnyss, ðridda gytsung, feorða **weamet**, fifta unrotnys, sixta asolcennys oððe æmelnyss; seofoda ydel gylp, eahteoda modignys. Þas eahta heafod-leahtras fordoð and geniðeriað þa unwæran into helle wite. (ÆCHom II, 12.2) (Thorpe 1844-1846: 218)

[*The first cardinal sin is greed. The second is lust. Third avarice, fourth wrath, fifth sadness, sixth sloth, or falsehood, seventh vainglory, eighth pride. These eight cardinal sins destroy and condemn the unwary into the torment of hell.*]

[Wm15]

Ðæt is gitsung & gifernes, galnes & **weamodnys**, unrotnys & asolcennys, gylpgeornys & ofermodignys. (WHom 10c)

[*That is avarice and greed, lust and wrath, sadness and sloth, vainglory and pride.*]

Such lists are often accompanied by a description of the effects that a given sin has on the person who commits it. In the homily for Mid-Lent, Secunda sententia (ÆCHom II, 12) we find further commentary:

[Wm2]

Se feorða leahtor is **weamet**. þæt se man nage his modes geweald. ac buton ælcere foresceawunge. his **yrsume** gefremað; (ÆCHom II, 12.2)

[*The fourth sin is wrath, when a man does not have the power over his mind, but without any consideration acts upon his anger;*]

This passage has already been discussed in the chapters on *YRRE* and *BELGAN* (3.3.2.3. and 5.3.2.3. respectively). To reiterate, *WĒAMŌD* is referring to the sin itself in a more abstract, internal way than *YRRE*. It is linked with the inability to control one's mind and it affects the *mōd* specifically.

Another important link for this family is that *WĒAMŌD* is used as a direct equivalent of the Latin *ira*.

[Wm4]

Se feorða leahtor is *ira*, þæt is on Englisc **weamodnyss**. Seo deð þæt se man nah his modes geweald, and macað manslihtas, and mycele yfelu.
(ÆLS (Memory of Saints))

[*The fourth sin is ira, which is in English 'wrath'. It causes a man to not have control over his mind and commit murder and do much evil.*]

This passage is echoed in the Pseudo-Egbert Confessional, where again *wēamōdness* is used to render Latin *ira*, though the numbering of the sins is slightly different:

[Wm27]

Se fifta is Ira, þæt is **weamodniss**, þæt se mann ne mæge his mod gewildan, ac butan ælcum wisdom e waclice **irsað** and mannslihtas gefremað and fela reþnissa.
(Conf 1.4 (Logeman))

[*The fifth one is Ira, that is 'wrath', so that a man cannot control his mind, but without any wisdom is angered in his feeble mind and commits murders and many other cruel things.*]

In all these passages, *WĒAMŌD* is an internal force that causes a person to lose control over his mind and give in to the feelings of anger. This results in murder and cruelty and other forms of violent behaviour. It could be represented by the following scenario: *WĒAMŌD* > lack of control of one's mind > (external) anger > violence.

The theme of *WĒAMŌD* as one of the sins is also present in other contexts, particularly in the various confessional writings. The depiction of *WĒAMŌD* in the confessionals are similar to those in the homilies.

[Wm28/29]

Ic þurh **weamodnysse** worhte fela yfela & þurh manslihtas me scyldigne dyde wið þe min hælend þa þa ic þin handgeweorc unwyrcean dorste & deaðe betæcan. Nu synd mine handa þurh þone hefian gylt mid manna blodum þe ic þurh gebeot oft &

þurh **hathortnyse** her on life ageat yfele befylede & fæste gebundene swarum gyltum þurh þa sylfan **weamodnyse**. (Conf 9.3.2 (Logeman))

[I have committed many evils because of anger, and because of murders have made myself guilty against you, my Saviour, when I dared destroy your handiwork and deliver death. Now are my hands, because of the dire transgression, evilly befouled with men's blood, which I had often shed here in life through threatening and through anger; and [they are] bound fast with dark sins through that same anger.]

ANGER is once again the primary cause of violence and murder and its consequences extend beyond the mortal life. Because of *WĒAMŌD*, the hands of the speaker are not only physically 'stained with men's blood' (*mid manna blodum... befylde*), but also metaphorically 'bound with dark sins' (*gebundene swarum gyltum*). The sins committed under the influence of anger are heavy and darken the soul.

Anger in People

Other texts use *WĒAMŌD* to refer to ANGER or PASSION in the context of human behaviour. However, apart from discussing from discussing ANGER, these texts do not share very much in common. Since they cannot be grouped into any meaningful categories, I shall simply discuss several examples one by one.

The *Rule of Chrodegang* deals with the figure of an angry teacher in a short chapter, discussing how ANGER affects teaching abilities:

[Wm24/25/26]

Be þam weamodan [*iracundis*]⁹⁵ lareowum.

Weamode [*iracundi*] lareowas þurh **hetolnyse** [*rabiem*] heora **reðscipes** [*furoris*] gehwyrfað þære lare gemet to ungefoge þære wælhreownysse, and þanon hi heora underpeoddan mihton gebetan, þanon hi wundiað hi. For þi se **weamoda** [*iracundus*] lareow <wyrceð> þa gyltas butan gemete, for þam his heorte bið tobroden ymbe woroldcara, and ne bið gesamnod an lufe þære anlican godcundnyse.

[About the angry teacher.

Angry teachers through the violence of their fury turn the manner of their teaching towards immoderate cruelty, and rather than being able to improve their students, they do them harm. Because the angry teacher commits sins/crimes without measure, because his heart is pulled to pieces by the cares of this world, and there is not there together one love of the one divinity.]

⁹⁵ The Latin equivalents are taken from Napier's edition of the Old English Rule of Chrodegang which provides both the Latin original and the Old English Text (1916: 70).

The heart of a person given to anger is *tobroden* ‘pulled to pieces, separated, dispersed’, and juxtaposed with oneness and integrity that comes from following the divine example. An angry and cruel teacher also fails in his primary duty of improving his own students, instead leading them astray through the manner of his teaching, and presumably providing a bad example.

We see another side of the coin in the *Pastoral Care* where it is the teachers who are informed about how to admonish the passionate. *WĒAMŌD* appears several times in Chapter 40, which deals with that issue in particular (See 11.2.5.1). In Ch. 40 of the *Pastoral Care*, *WĒAMŌD* appears alongside *YRRE*, *GRAM*, *HĀTHEORT*, *WŌD* and *ANDA*, and all these words are used more or less interchangeably to refer to passionate people who are often driven to anger. In Chapter 40 several examples are used to portray the way in which passionate people should be taught and moderated by the teacher. The part in which *WĒAMŌD* is used most prominently talks of the altercation between Asahel and Abner (2 Sam. 2: 23). Asahel pursued Abner and even though Abner warned him to stop, Asahel persisted in following and threatened him with violence. Abner defended himself by thrusting the butt-end of his spear into Asahel’s belly, thus killing him.

[Wm20/21]

Ðæt is ðonne ðæt mon mid hindewearde scaefte ðone ðyde ðe him oferfylge, ðæt mon ðone **weamodan** liðelice mid sumum ðingum gehrine, suelce he hine wandigende ofersuiðe. Sua sua Assael suiðe hrædllice gefeol, sua ðæt ahrerede mod, ðonne hit ongiet ðæt him mon birgð mid ðære gesceadlican andsuare, hit bið getæsed on ðæt ingeðonc, & mid ðære liðelican manunga to ðam aredod ðæt hit sceal suiðe hrædllice afeallan of ðære **weamodnesse** ðe hit ær on ahæfen wæs.

[*Piercing the pursuer with the butt-end of the shaft is gently touching the angry man in some things, as if one hesitated to overcome him. As Asahel very quickly fell, so when the excited mind perceives that it is preserved by the gentle answer, its thoughts are soothed, and with the gentle admonition it is made ready to fall very quickly from the passion to which it was raised before.*] (Sweet 1871: 296-7).

There does not appear to be any significant difference between using the adjectives: *grambære*, *hātheort* and *wēamōd* in this part of the *Pastoral Care*, so we cannot deduce any specific features of the *WĒAMŌD* word family in this context. However, in the above example *WĒAMŌD* is associated with excessive violence and lack of control, which results in dire consequences for the one who is angry.

WĒAMŌD as SORROW?

Considering the morphological formation of *WĒAMŌD*, its developments in Middle English and cognates in other Germanic families, we should expect to see at least some indication that this word family can denote SADNESS or MENTAL ANGUISH in Old English. However, it is difficult to find such examples among the 31 occurrences of *WĒAMŌD* in prose.

Though glossatory material is not analysed in this thesis, in this case, a look at how *WĒAMŌD* is used in glosses could help with finding evidence of the meaning SADNESS for this word family. *WĒAMŌD* occurs three times in glosses and glossaries and out of those three only one occurrence glosses an ANGER-word, the Latin *iracunda* (OccGl 89.3 (Ker)). In contrast, in PrudGl 1 (Meritt) Latin *turbulentis* is glossed as ‘of **weamodum**’, whilst in MonCa 3 (Korhammer) again *turbulentus* is glossed as ‘sorhfull oððe **weamod**’, and it is also accompanied by *tristis* / ‘unrot’. *Sorhfull* and *unrot* are used in Old English to express SADNESS or GRIEF, which implies that *WĒAMŌD* could denote these emotions as well. However, Lewis and Short defines *turbulentus* as ‘restless, agitated, confused, disturbed, boisterous, stormy, tempestuous’. The meaning of the first element of the compound *wĒa*-comes more into focus here. Perhaps in this case *WĒAMŌD* is best understood as mental discomfort or a violent state of mind, rather than taken in the more narrow sense of ANGER or SADNESS as an emotion.

One example in prose, in the *Dicts of Cato* could be interpreted similarly:

[Wm17]

Ne rec ðu **weamodes** wifes worda, for þam ðe heo þe wile oft mid wope beswican. (Prov 1 (Cox))

[Do not fear the words of a ? woman/wife, because she often wishes to deceive you with tears.]

Though ultimately deceitful, the tears suggest a painful emotion that could potentially be called SADNESS. However, the Latin original has *coniugis iratae* ‘angry wife’ (Cox 1972: 11). Thus, the woman’s reaction is probably a violent outburst of angry or passionate tears, rather than sadness, and thus mirrors the uses found elsewhere in prose. Unless, of course, we assume that the conceptual field of SADNESS (as an emotion) in Old English inherently possesses to some degree a violent component that is not found in the Modern English *sadness*. Perhaps in Old English SADNESS and ANGER are conceptually much closer to each other. Evidence for it can be found not only in the *WĒAMŌD* family, but also in the case of

TORN. Additionally, *wēamod* might also have been selected for alliterative purposes with *wifes worda*.

9.4 Conclusions

WĒAMŌD is likely the only ANGER word family with such a strong and equivocal condemnation of the emotion in question. This word family is never used to refer to God and it is consistently portrayed as a deplorable emotion, often in the context of morality. From the analysis of its etymology we can conclude that it is a ‘lamentable’ predisposition of the mind, resulting in violence, cruelty and injuries. The moral dimension of *WĒAMŌD* is strengthened by its continued use in the context of the cardinal sins. *WĒAMŌD* is at the same time a more abstract concept and a more internal state of mind than, for instance, *YRRE*. *YRRE* often occurs as an intermediary stage between the experience of *WĒAMŌD* and the violent actions. It is also a word family characterised by very limited usage and unclear development, not frequent in either Old or Middle English.

Finally, *WĒAMŌD* can be linked with other turbulent and painful internal emotions that are not confined to either ANGER or SADNESS, which shows that the line between the two in Old English may have been blurred.

Chapter 10 *WŌD*

10.1 Introduction

WŌD is a medium-sized family in comparison to other ANGER word families, comprising 265 occurrences: 10 in poetry (just 3.77%) and 255 in prose (96.23%), across 114 texts.⁹⁶ There is a disproportion in types of texts represented, with a distinct predominance for prose texts, particularly texts authored by Ælfric (both homilies and the lives of saints). The word family survives into Middle English and Early Modern English, and attestations can be found as late as the nineteenth century.

10.2 Lexicographic Data and Etymology

10.2.1 *WŌD* word family in Old English

The corpus has been searched for words with the root *-wōd-* (the adjectival root) and *-wēd-* (the verbal root) with variant spellings taken into consideration.⁹⁷ The family is very productive and varied in terms of its member lexemes. As evidenced in prose and poetry, it comprises 20 or, alternatively, 21 lexemes:⁹⁸ *wōd/wōda* (adj./n.), *wōdfrec* (adj.), *ellenwōd* (n. & adj.), *ellenwōdnes* (n.), *wōdlīc* (adj.), *wōdlīce* (adv.) *wōdnes* (n.), *wōdþrag* (n.), *wōdhēortnes* (n.), *āwēdan* (v.), *wēdan* (v.), *wōdsēoc* (adj.), *wēdensēoc* (adj.), *wēdenhēort* (n. & adj.), *wēdenhēortnes* (n.), *gewēd* (n.), *wēde* (adj.), *wēdehund* (n.).⁹⁹ These are all represented in Table 10.2, which shows the frequency of occurrence of particular lexemes. The lexemes are well distributed, with the simplex adjective (often used substantively) occurring most frequently. Some compounds occur only once or twice in the corpus.

Table 10.1 shows the frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories across different types of texts. Adjectives (when taking into account both present and past participles), predominate slightly over nouns (40% of occurrences), but not by much (including adjectives used substantively, it is 35.47%). Verbs and adverbs, whilst they do appear, are infrequent in comparison. Due to the small number of

⁹⁶ There are around 85 further occurrences in the glosses.

⁹⁷ This search had to exclude a large number of conjugated verbs with the ending *-wod*, as well as the word *wōdnesdæg* ‘Wednesday’. These words, though etymologically related, are not immediately relevant for the analysis of the word family.

⁹⁸ The difference between 20 and 21 is elaborated upon in the discussion on *wōd* (adj.) below.

⁹⁹ There are further 9 lexemes attested only in the glosses and these are: *wōdendrēam* (n.), *wōddrēam* (n.), *wōdscinn* (n.), *wōdscipe* (n.), *wōdsēocnes* (n.), *wēdeberge* (n.), *wōd* (n.), *ellenwōdian* (v.), *wōdewistle* (n.).

occurrences in poetry, little can be said about differences of proportions of grammatical categories in prose and poetry.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
<i>nouns</i>	4	40%	65	25.50%	69	26.04%
<i>subst adj.</i>	0	0%	25	9.80%	25	9.43%
<i>subtotal</i>	4	40%	90	35.30%	94	35.47%
<i>adj.</i>	2	20%	73	28.63%	75	28.30%
<i>past part.</i>	0	0%	8	3.14%	8	3.03%
<i>pres. part.</i>	2	20%	21	8.23%	23	8.68%
<i>subtotal</i>	4	40%	102	40.00%	106	40.01%
<i>v.</i>	2	20%	42	16.47%	44	16.60%
<i>adv.</i>	0	0%	21	8.23%	21	7.92%
TOTAL:	10	100%	255	100.00%	265	100.00%

Table 10.1 – Distribution of word categories for WŌD

LEXEME(S)	no. of occ.	%
WŌD / WŌDA (adj./n.)	81	30.57%
WĒDAN (v.)	45	16.98%
WŌDNES (n.)	34	12.83%
ĀWĒDAN (v.)	30	11.32%
WŌDLĪCE (adv.)	21	7.92%
WĒDEHUND (n.)	11	4.15%
WĒDENHĒORTNES (n.)	8	3.02%
WĒDE (adj.)	7	2.64%
WŌDLĪC (adj.)	6	2.26%
WĒDENHĒORT (n.)	5	1.89%
WŌDPRAG (n.)	4	1.51%
GEWĒD (n.)	3	1.13%
ELLENWŌDNES (n.)	2	0.75%
WŌDFREC (adj.)	2	0.75%
WĒDENHĒORT (adj.)	1	0.38%
WĒDENSĒOC (adj.)	1	0.38%
WŌDSĒOC (adj.)	1	0.38%
WŌDHĒORTNES (n.)	1	0.38%
ELLENWŌD (adj.)	1	0.38%
ELLENWŌD (n.)	1	0.38%
	265	100.00%

Table 10.2 – Frequency of lexeme occurrences for WŌD

For the meanings of this word family, both B-T and Hall were consulted, with the exception of *ellenwōd* (adj.), *ellenwōdnes* (n.) and *āwēdan* (v.), for which DOE also has entries. One of the difficulties encountered in the corpus analysis was how to distinguish between the adjective *wōd* and the derived noun *wōda*, which appears as a separate entry in both B-T and Hall. Due to almost identical inflectional patterns of the weak noun *wōda* and

the adjective *wōd* when declined weak (particularly masculine), it is very difficult to distinguish whether the word is meant to be an adjective used substantively or a noun in the texts. For the purposes of quantitative analysis, I have therefore treated all occurrences of *wōd* which serve the function of a noun in the sentence as substantive adjectives.

10.2.1.1 WŌD (adj.) and WŌDA (n.)

The adjective *wōd* is defined by B-T primarily as ‘mad, raging, furious’, with Toller’s *Supplement* adding the senses ‘mad with anger, enraged’. B-T also provides the Latin equivalents as *rabidus vel insanus*, and marks that the sense ‘raging’ can be applied to persons, animals and things. Hall’s definition is similar, but he has ‘senseless’ and ‘blasphemous’ as additional senses.

Both dictionaries have separate entries for the noun *wōda*. In Hall the noun is defined as ‘madman’. In B-T the definition is more elaborate and includes the senses ‘an insane person’, ‘one possessed’, and ‘epileptic’. There is one occurrence of the noun *wōda* in the corpus which warrants a separate sense in both dictionaries, though both are queried. B-T provides ‘danger’, whilst Hall has ‘storm, flood, danger’. The word in question appears in Ch 1467 (Rob 91), where a protective embankment is mentioned: ... *anne hwerf wið þone wōdan to werianne*, ‘an embankment to guard/protect against the ‘rage’’. *Wōda* here clearly refers to some sort of danger from the flood or water and one possible explanation for the use of this word is that natural forces, particularly storms and seas, can be described as raging with the use of *wōd*. The substantive use of the adjective would therefore obliquely refer to the flood or water as ‘the raging’ or ‘the rage’. Indeed, one finds parallel usage in the English noun *rage* which is sometimes used to denote ‘a flood, a high tide, a swell; a sudden rising of the sea’ either with the genitive phrase (‘of the sea’) or without it, as in this sixteenth-century phrase: “The olde water lying vnder the leuell of the Sea, wyll not out agayne, except a greater rage come in” (OED, s.v. *rage*). OED even provides some cross-linguistic and cross-cultural evidence from A. Brassy (1885): “These apparently unaccountable risings of the waves are called by the natives [of the Bahamas] ‘rages’.”

10.2.1.2 WŌDLĪC (adj.) and WŌDLĪCE (adv.)

The adjective formed with the suffix *-līc* is similar in meaning to the simplex adjective, that is ‘mad, furious’ (both B-T and Hall), and possibly ‘frantic’ (B-T). The adverb mirrors

the meanings for the adjective (‘madly, furiously, frantically’), but both dictionaries also have ‘blasphemously’.

10.2.1.3 WŌDNES (n.), WŌDHĒORTNES (n.) and WŌDPRAG (n.)

According to Hall, the noun *wōdnes* means ‘madness, frenzy, folly’, and according to B-T it is ‘madness, fury, frenzy, rage; blasphemy’. In addition to the notion of blasphemy (found also for the adverb *wōdlīce*), we have an additional sense of ‘folly’, linking MADNESS with FOOLISHNESS.

The compound *wōdhēortnes* is not substantially different in meaning, and *-hēortnes* does not seem to contribute to the general sense of the noun. Hall defines this noun as ‘madness’ and B-T as ‘madness, frenzy, rage’.

The second element of the compound *wōdprag* provides some additional meaning to those contributed by the first element (i.e. ‘madness, fury, rage’). The noun *prag* in its general sense means ‘time, season’ (B-T). When compounded with *wōd* it seems to mean ‘a mad fit or time’ (B-T) or ‘paroxysm’ (Hall). It may, therefore, refer to an instance of madness or insanity, and exhibition of insane behaviour localised temporally.

10.2.1.4 ELLENWŌD (n. & adj.) and ELLENWŌDNES (n.)

These compounds take as their first element the noun *ellen*, ‘courage, strength, fervour, indignation’ (DOE) and they occur infrequently in the entire corpus (13 occ., including glosses).¹⁰⁰ At first glance, the first element of the compound should have positive connotations and might potentially change the generally negative meaning of *wōd*.

However, for the adjective *ellenwōd* DOE distinguishes two different senses a ‘strong negative emotion’ and a ‘strong positive emotion’. The English equivalents are given as ‘very angry, furious’ for the negative emotion, or ‘fervent, jealous, righteously indignant’, for the positive one. Neither B-T nor Hall provide such a distinction, though Hall has ‘furious’ separated from ‘zealous, earnest’, whilst B-T limits the definition to ‘raging, furious’. The distinction between positive or negative emotion presumably rests on the assessment of the actor who is experiencing that emotion. The ‘negative’ sense is attested only once and appears in *Juliana* (see discussion in section 10.3.1.3), but whether this word would have such clearly distinctive positive and negative connotations to the Anglo-Saxon audiences is not clear, especially since it is so rare.

¹⁰⁰ With a further two occurrences of the verb *ellenwōdian* (which is found only in the glosses).

A similar distinction is seen in the definition for the noun *ellenwōdnes* in DOE, with the ‘strong positive emotion’ being rendered as ‘great fervour, (righteous) indignation’, and the ‘strong negative emotion’ as ‘anger, wrath’. Again, B-T and Hall do not provide this distinction at all. Hall simply defines this noun as ‘zeal’, whilst B-T has ‘zeal, envy, emulation, ardour’. The negative sense once again seems to be a singular occurrence (in PsCaE), and it co-occurs with *YRRE*.

The noun *ellenwōd* occurs only once in prose and renders Latin *zelus* ‘fervour, jealousy’ (DOE) or zeal (B-T, Hall).

10.2.1.5 WŌDSĒOC (adj.), WĒDEN(D)SĒOC (adj.) and WŌDFREC (adj.)

The compound adjectives occur rarely (see Table 10.2). *Wōdsēoc* and *wēden(d)sēoc* utilise the adjective *sēoc* ‘sick, ill’, both in terms of physical and spiritual disease (B-T) as the second element of the compound, associating MADNESS with DISEASE. Both adjectives mean ‘mad’ (Hall, B-T) and ‘insane, lunatic’ (B-T). For *wēdensēoc* B-T also provides the meaning ‘possessed by a devil’.

The adjective *wōdfrec* is defined by Hall as ‘madly ravenous’ and by B-T as ‘furiously greedy, raging, ravening’. It combines *wōd* with *frec*, an adjective meaning ‘greedy, voracious, gluttonous’ (DOE). The word occurs twice in *Wulfstan*.

10.2.1.6 WĒDAN (v.)

Hall defines *wēdan* as ‘to be mad, rage’. B-T, on the other hand, gives a general definition as ‘to be mad or furious, to rage, rave’ and then distinguishes between two senses, (1) ‘to be mad, out of one’s senses’ and (2) ‘to act with violence, be furious, rage’, particularly ‘of persons, animals, things’. These two senses correspond roughly to the conceptualisation of *WŌD* as MADNESS, INSANITY or LACK OF REASON on the one hand and ANGER or RAGE on the other.

10.2.1.7 ĀWĒDAN (v.)

Judging solely by the lexicographic material, the prefix *ā-* does not change the meaning of the verb to a noticeable degree. Hall defines the verb as ‘to be or become mad, rage’ and B-T has a longer list of senses, with ‘to be mad, to rage, to be angry, to go or wax mad, revolt, apostatize’. DOE separates the first sense of the entry ‘to be or become mad or insane, to rage, rave, to be raving mad’ into 1a ‘specifically as a result of possession by

evil spirits or devils’ and 1b ‘figurative, of pestilence: to rage’. The second sense is ‘glossing *apostatare* ‘to break faith’, perhaps here in the sense ‘to act madly’.

Out of these definitions it is B-T who has the most varied selection of senses, but the general approach takes *āwēdan* to mean ‘to be/become mad (particularly through possession), to rage’.

10.2.1.8 WĒDENHĒORT (n. & adj.) and WĒDENHĒORTNES (n.)

The meaning of these compounds is not greatly changed by *-hēort*, and its relevance lies in attributing the location for MADNESS as in the heart. Hall defines the adjective *wēdenhēort* (adj.) as ‘mad, insane’ and the noun as ‘madness’. B-T has ‘mad, frenzied, furious’ for the adjective, and ‘madness, frenzy, fury’ for the noun. The noun *wēdenhēortnes* is similarly defined as ‘madness, frenzy’ (Hall, B-T) and ‘fury (also of an animal)’ (B-T only).

10.2.1.9 (GE)WĒD (n.)

This deverbial noun is defined by B-T as ‘a raging, madness’, but also as ‘foolishness’ in the *Supplement*. In Hall an entry can be found under *wēd* (not *gewēd*) and is defined as ‘fury, rage, madness’.

10.2.1.10 WĒDE (adj.)

This deverbial adjective is rare and B-T defines it as ‘furious, in a rage, mad, fierce’. Hall has ‘raging, mad’ for the adjective, but also provides an entry for a noun of the same form which means ‘fury, rage, madness’.

10.2.1.11 WĒDEHUND (n.)

A *wēdehund*, which often appears in the corpus as a separate NP *wēde hund*, means ‘a mad dog’ (both Hall and B-T).

10.2.1.12 WŌDDRĒAM (n.) and WŌDENDRĒAM (n.)

These compound nouns occur only in glosses, but since there are several instances of the phrase *wōd* (adj.) + *drēam* (n.) in prose and poetry, the lexicographic evidence will be examined for comparative purposes.

The noun *wōddrēam* is defined as ‘madness’ in both B-T and Hall, and B-T also provides ‘fury’. For the noun *wōdendrēam*, whose morphology retains *-en-* and thus shows a more obvious association with *Wōdan* or *Wōden*, the Latin gloss *daemonium* is given by both dictionaries.

Drēam can have a range of meanings and DOE suggests three main senses. The first one is ‘joy, bliss, revelry, mirth, celebration’. The second one is ‘frenzy, delirium, madness, demonic possession’, but it seems to have that meaning only when combined in a phrase with *wōd*. The third sense is ‘sound, music, noise’.

Both the first and the third sense are to some degree associated with noise. Perhaps, there is a link here between NOISE or SOUND (perhaps inherent to *drēam*) and the cognates of *WŌD* in other Germanic languages, which also express this concept (see below in 10.2.3). There may also be a relation between *WŌD* and a different expression of the Germanic root in Old English, that is *wōþ* ‘sound, cry, noise, speech’. Noise, clamour or crying out can be easily associated with RAGE and MADNESS.

10.2.2 *WŌD* word family in Middle English and Early Modern English

The *WŌD* word family survives well into Middle English and Early Modern English and it can also be traced to some extent in Northern dialects of Present-Day English and in Scots. As with *WŌD* in Old English, there is a significant lexical variety and a large number of lexemes constitute the word family. Most are reflexes from Old English, with some rising in prominence, but there are also a few new lexemes formed on the basis of the same root. Those which continue from Old English are: *wōden-drēm* (n.), *wōdlī*, (adj. & adv.), *wōdnesse* (n.), *wōdshipe* (n.), *wōde* (n. & adj.), *āwēden* (v), *wēden* (v). The new lexemes are: *wōde-wōsen* (v.), *wōdhēd(e)* (n.), *wōdish* (adj.), *wōde* (adv.), *horn-wōd* (adj.), *over-wōd* (adj.), *wōden* (v., derived from *wōde* (adj.)), and the phrase *o wōdī wise*. The definitions for each of the lexemes can be found in MED. Below is a brief overview of the changes in range and meaning for this word family in Middle English as compared to Old English.

In general, the meanings remain fairly stable. The conceptual categories that were strongly present in Old English, that is MADNESS/LACK OF REASON, RAGE, VIOLENCE, RABIES continue in Middle English with the same force. PASSION, though observed to a small extent in Old English, gains more prominence in Middle English. For instance *wōdlī*

can mean ‘passionately, hotly’, *wēden* can mean ‘to behave passionately, indecently’, and *wōdnesse* can be defined as ‘unbridled desire, fervor, passion’. There is a general drive towards extending *WŌD* to other emotions, such as SADNESS/GRIEF (which was not present in Old English). *Wōdnesse* can be ‘a severe emotional distress or agitation; mental agony; despair’ or ‘a fit or state of grief or despair’, *wēden* can mean ‘to rage’, but specifically ‘with sorrow’, and *horn-wōd* can mean ‘mad with sorrow’. The adjective can also mean ‘eager, desirous’.

There is also a visible increase in using *WŌD* to refer to FOOLISHNESS, which was only marginally present in Old English. Some of the senses MED gives for *wōdnesse* are ‘foolishness, folly;’ and ‘an act of folly’; *wōdshipe* is similarly ‘an act of folly’, *āwēden* can mean ‘to behave foolishly’, and the adjective *wōde*, when modifying wisdom or judgement can be rendered as ‘unreasonable, foolish’. The sense of FOOLISHNESS is sometimes further extended to RECKLESSNESS.

The association of *WŌD* with CONFUSION appears clearly for the first time in Middle English. The Old English lexicographic material does not provide any evidence for that sense, though there might be some more opaque contextual links between *WŌD* and CONFUSION in Old English. In Middle English, the noun *wōdnesse* can refer to ‘mental confusion, disorientation, bewilderment’, to ‘a confusing, trackless place’ or ‘a distracting spectacle; an illusion,’ which is a weakening of the meaning *WŌD* generally has.

Similarly, the medical and physiological associations of *WŌD* come into play a bit more than in Old English. Whilst *wōdnesse* can refer to ‘any of several mental or nervous disorders,’ it is also extended to mean ‘virulence (of an aposteme, pus, etc.)’, as well as ‘inflammation or pain accompanying inflammation; a pathological condition (of a part of the body), sickness’. Additionally, the adjective *wōde* is used to modify ‘a bodily humor or fluid’ to mean ‘evil, malign, pathological’. In contrast to this, MED does not give any definition for *WŌD* that would refer to demonic possession, which was one of the primary uses of this family in Old English. A closer look at the select quotations, however, shows that *WŌD* still retains that usage. Without a much more detailed analysis it is difficult to say whether there has been a substantial change in the frequency of usage for disease and for possession, but the dictionary definitions may reflect a change in medical knowledge and the reclassification of MADNESS AS DISEASE rather than POSSESSION.

A significant change happens with regards to the range of usage of ANGER/RAGE meaning for *WŌD*. In Middle English *WŌD* can often be used to refer to the wrath or anger of God, which was not at all the case in Old English. For instance *wōdnesse* can be ‘the wrath of God, divine anger’, *wōdshipe* ‘the divine wrath’, and the adjective *wōde* can

refer to God, and means ‘enraged, furious, wrathful, etc.’. Presumably, this is related to the fact that *WŌD* is freed from associations with devils and demons, when MADNESS is no longer attributed to evil spirits to the same extent.

Finally, ZEAL as a meaning no longer survives into Middle English, since this sense is attributed only to *ellenwōd(nes)*, and no reflexes for these words are found in Middle English. BLASPHEMY is also not found, although there are some related senses linked with WICKEDNESS and EVIL.

To conclude, whilst *WŌD* retains many of its former meanings, particularly MADNESS and RAGE, it becomes a much more versatile word family in Middle English and its range of meanings is much extended.

WŌD still appears in Early Modern and Present-Day English, though it is not as productive and versatile as in Middle English. OED gives seven lexemes and for most of these the latest quotations come from the nineteenth century. The lexemes are: *wood* (adj, n. and adv.) (up until the nineteenth century), *wood-like* (adj.) (until the sixteenth century), *widdendream* (in Scots, until the nineteenth century), *brain-wood* (Scots and northern English, fourteenth to nineteenth century), *red-wood* (Scots, until the twentieth century), *weding* (until the sixteenth century), and *woodman* (until the sixteenth century).

10.2.3 Etymology – Indo-European and Other Germanic Languages

The Old English adjective *wōd* is descended from the Gmc. **wōđ-*, which derives from PIE **wāt-* ‘mentally animated’ (IEW) or ‘excited or inspired’ (DOE). EDPG provides a reconstructed root for Western European languages as **uoh₂-tó-*, taking into account the laryngeal theory. Some of the possible cognates in other Indo-European languages include Lat. *vātēs* ‘seer, poet’, OIr. *faith* ‘poet’, Gaul. *ováτεις* ‘those performing sacred rites and investigating natural causes’. EDPG considers the Latin word as a Celtic loanword. Some cognates can potentially be found in Sanskrit and Avestan as in, for instance Skt. *apí-vátati* ‘blow on, inspire’ (Pfeifer, Lehmann). This would link it with the concept of a DIVINE BREATH AS INSPIRATION.

The cognates are present in all the Germanic branches – East, West and North – and associations can be found for both mental or emotional agitation (often induced by supernatural agents) and poetry (again, potentially divinely inspired). Some of the cognates are Goth. *wōđs* ‘possessed by demons’ (Lehmann), ON *óðr* ‘mad, frantic, furious’, OHG

wuot (n.) ‘thrill, violent agitation’ (from 800 according to Pfeifer), OS *wōdian* ‘to rage’ (Orel) and even NHG *Wut* ‘Fury’ (Pfeifer, Durst (2001)), but also ON *óðr* ‘song, poetry’ and OE *wōð* ‘song, sound’. Thus *WŌD* can be seen as divine inspiration, excitement, and both poetic and battle fury. It is also cognate with the name Wōden/Óðinn, a god of the Germanic pantheon, whose one of the main domains was poetry. Rübekel (2003) considers the name of the Germanic deity to be derived from Celtic and not cognate to the NHG *Wut*. However, there is enough evidence in Germanic languages for ‘poetry, song and sound’ for lexemes derived from the Germanic root that the name does not need to be Celtic. The association between the god and the excitement he inspires could have been transparent to some Germanic speakers as can be seen in the famous quotation from Adam of Bremen:

Alter Wodan, id est **furor**, bella gerit, hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos. (Lappenberg 1876)

[*The other is Wodan, that is fury, he wages war and gives man courage against enemies.*]

Perhaps the etymological relation of Wōden, the deity to OE *wōd* was to some extent transparent in Old English and in other Germanic languages. This would explain why the word gained such a strong association with demonic possession (in Old English and Gothic, for instance), since pagan gods were perceived as demons in the Christian tradition. Initially, maybe *wōd* would have been seen as an inspiration by the deity, which was occasionally violent, but ultimately positive (inspiring either with courage or with song).¹⁰¹ In this case, strong violent emotions could also be seen as an extension of a divine inspiration, particularly when battle rage would be concerned.

10.3 Discussion

¹⁰¹ This is discussed by Pfeifer (1989) as: Als Ausgangsbedeutung ist vielleicht ein, durch übermenschliche Kräfte‘ (Dämonen, Götter?) verursachter Zustand des Außersichseins, übermächtiger Erregung‘ anzunehmen. In älterer Sprache bezeichnet das Substantiv unterschiedliche Gemütsregung wie Raserei, Wahnsinn, Verzückerung, zügellose Erregung, rasenden Zorn.

10.3.1 Prose and Poetry

WŌD is not common in poetry, with only 10 occurrences out of the total 265, therefore both prose and poetry have been treated together in this section. Whilst the texts represented show some variety, and the word family is found both in poetry and in prose, in secular and religious texts, the majority of occurrences can be found either in Ælfric's homilies (82 occ.) or in his Lives of Saints (79 occ.). This comprises a significant 164 occurrences, which is more than 60% of the total number of occurrences. This can be partially explained by the fact that the majority of surviving prose texts are Ælfric's, but given differing proportions for other ANGER word families, *WŌD* seems to be favoured in his writings, and relatively rare in other text types. When genre is taken into consideration, then homiletic writings in general are the most common (95 occ., 35.85%), followed very closely by lives of saints (82 occ., 31%).

On the other hand, the non-Ælfrician texts in which *WŌD* can be found range from the earlier prose, such as *Orosius* or the *Pastoral Care*, through canonical laws, prognostics, medical texts and a charter, to the New Testament. However, there is a distinct lack of Biblical prose, in particular Old Testament texts, and even the occurrences from New Testament are rare. They can be found in two corresponding passages from John and Mark which relate the same event, the Jews accusing Christ of being insane.

Two texts which contain the largest number of *WŌD* occurrences per text are Ælfric's Life of St Martin (with 13 occ.) and Ælfric's homilies for the Fifth Sunday in Lent and Bartholomew (8 occ. each).

Text / Text type	no. of occ.	%
Homilies (Ælfric's, Wulfstan's and Anonymous)	95	35.90%
Lives of Saints (Ælfric's, Anonymous)	82	30.95%

Medical texts	22	8.30%
Gregory's <i>Dialogues</i>	12	4.53%
OE Bede	9	3.40%
New Testament (John and Mark)	6	2.26%
Ælfric's Letters	5	1.89%
<i>Cura pastoralis</i>	5	1.89%
Ælfric's Grammar	4	1.51%
OE Boethius	3	1.13%
Met	3	1.13%
OE <i>Orosius</i>	3	1.13%
Ælfric's Glossary	2	0.75%
Ælfric's Interrogationes Sigeuulfi	2	0.75%
Jul	2	0.75%
Canonical laws	2	0.75%
Ch 1467 (Rob 91)	1	0.38%
GuthA,B	1	0.38%
Dan	1	0.38%
El	1	0.38%
Ex	1	0.38%
PPs	1	0.38%
Prognostics	1	0.38%
Soliloquies	1	0.38%
	265	100%

Table 10.3 – Occurrences of WŌD in poetry and prose

10.3.1.1 Referents

The most frequent referent for WŌD are ordinary people, at 101 occurrences (38%). This group includes men, often unnamed, sometimes specified as laymen, workmen, etc. (73 occurrences, 28%),¹⁰² as well as women (women, daughters, maidens, wives) with 22 occ. (8%), and children (boy, son) with 6 occ. (2%). The second most numerous group comprises authority figures or people in position of secular power (kings, judges, commanders, officials: 31 occ., 11.7%). The third largest group comprises different animals, but the high number of occurrences can be attributed to cures for bites of rabid dogs in various medical texts. Animals are referred to with WŌD-words a total of 31 times (12%), and apart from dogs, these are wolves, cows, horses, snakes, birds, lions, elephants, oxen and animals in general. There are also references to powerful natural forces, such as the sea or wind or pestilence (a further 5 occ., 2%). Groups of people, often as enemies or heathen, are the fourth most numerous group (23 occ., 9%) and include Vikings, Chaldeans, Israelites, Franks, etc. Finally, a large number of occurrences is attributed to supernatural agents of evil (such as devils, demons and the Antichrist) with 15 occ. (6%).

¹⁰² There are also some named figures, mostly from the Old Testament.

In general, *WŌD* afflicts ordinary men and women, by themselves or as a group, as well as kings and authority figures. It is also exhibited by animals and natural forces, often harmful. There are some references to bishops, monks and saints, but they are rare. When Christ is referred to as being *wōd*, it is how others perceive him to be, not as he is, and therefore these occurrences could be included in the ‘ordinary man’ category. God is never referred to with *WŌD*, indicating that this word family has highly negative connotations.

10.3.1.2 Collocations, Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Collocations

For the adjectives in the *WŌD* word family, as well as past participles and present participles used adjectivally, the most common constructions are when the adjective modifies a noun and in predicative constructions with the verbs *bēon/wesan* ‘to be’ or *wēorþan* ‘or to become’, as in the phrases: *ne eom ic wōd* or *hi wōdan wæron*. The nouns, which are modified by the adjectives have been discussed partially in the referent section 10.3.1.1 (for instance, *x man* appears 24 times, and there’s also a number of *x hund* occurrences, nine in total, as well as other animal referents).

Two noun phrases, *x þrag* and *x drēam*, parallel the existing compound nouns discussed in the lexicography section. Additionally, mouth (*mūþ* – 3 occ.), bites (*bite* – 1 occ.) and voice (*stefn* – 1 occ.) can all be described as *wōd* or *wēdende*, showing that external manifestations of violent mental upheaval, not only the internal state, can be referred to with *WŌD*. Occasionally, the adjectives are modified by an adverb of degree or intensity (*þearle* (3 occ.)) and also *wunderlīce* ‘wondrously’, *egeslīce* ‘terribly’, or *færlīce* ‘suddenly’.

Though rare, the adverb *wōdlīce* modifies verbs more frequently than adjectives. Most often it is found with verbs that denote some sort of physical violence (*bēatan* ‘to beat, strike’, *slēan* ‘to strike’, *oftorfian* ‘to stone to death’, *derian* ‘injure, hurt’). It also modifies immoderate activities such as *drincan* ‘to drink’ or *wilnian* ‘to desire’. The present participle can also have adverbial usage in such phrases as *wēdende ēode* ‘went raging’. It modifies a verb of violence once (*ofslēan* ‘to kill’), but more often it is attached to verbs of movement (such as *gān* ‘to go’, *ingān* ‘to go in’, *yrnan* ‘to run’, *folgian* ‘to run after’, *fāran* ‘to go’). Finally, the adverb can modify adjectives, most often those that denote ANGER (*yrre*, *geyrsod*, *gebolgen*, *astyrod*, *geancsumod*).

WŌD verbs are occasionally modified by intensifying adverbs such as *þearle* (3 occ.), *egeslīce* (2 occ.), *swiðe*, but also *dēofolīce*, *hreowlīce*, and *wundorlīce*. These adverbs are similar to those modifying the WŌD adjectives. In the Old English Martyrology, sentences often start with *And/ond Y x...*, where Y denotes a person, and x is either the verb *wēdan* or *āwēdan*, as in: *Ond Decius se kasere awedde...* or *ond ealle ða hæþenan bisceopas aweddon*.

Both verbs and present participles occur with comparative constructions that compare the experience of WŌD to either the raging of a wild animal or a heathen. Some of these are: *swyðe wedende swa swa hi wæron hæþene* ‘greatly raging as if they were heathen’ (ÆLS (Martin)), & *wedende swa þa strudendan & þa bitendan wulfas* ‘and raging as the ravaging and biting wolves’ (WCan 1.2 (Torkar)), and *wedde on gewitte swa wilde deor* ‘raged in his mind like a wild animal’ (*Jul*). Other examples of comparative phrases for WŌD can also be found. Someone can be like a rabid dog (*wedehunde wuhta gelicost*) or like a madman (*woda gelicost*, *wodum men gelic*).

Finally, the nouns and substantive adjectives show the highest collocational variability. This is, in part, dictated by a wider semantic range of the nouns, which can mean anything from ‘madness’ (such as *wōdnes* or *wōdhēort*), through ‘madman’ (*wōda*) to ‘rabid dog’ (*wēdehund*). Since *wēdehund* does not enter into any significant syntactical patterns, I shall only concentrate on the nouns denoting MADNESS.

The most prominent group of collocations features ways in which madness oppresses or harms the one who experiences it. One can be tormented (*swencan*, *gedreccan*, *þryccan*) or vexed by it (*tirgan*), as in: *his wif wæs mid wodnysse gedreht* ‘his wife was oppressed/tormented by madness’. Sometimes it is the devil directly who subjects the madman to this torment (*hine se awyrgeda feond swa swyþe swencte mid þære wodnysse...* ‘the cursed fiend so greatly tormented him with madness...’).

Often a saint will cure someone’s madness, and thus it is usually stilled or diminished in some way (*gestillan*, *gemetegan*, *alecgan*), or healed (*gehælan*), but can also be destroyed or broken (*tōbrītan*). The madman is then liberated from it (*ahreddan*, 4 occ.), and the madness is turned away (*ācyrran*, *āwendan*). Madness can also be known and recognised by external or internal observation (*cūþan*, *gecyddan*, *tocnawan*).

These nouns are occasionally modified with adjectives of intensity or extent, where MADNESS is referred to as *micel* ‘great’ (4 occ. and *māre* ‘greater’ 2 occ.), *ormet* ‘excessive’ and *egeslīc* ‘terrible’. These nouns also form noun phrases with another noun in the genitive (e.g. *wælhreowes x*, *modes x*, *Saules x*, or *ðæs ungewitfullan monnes x*).

The most common collocations for the substantive adjective (or noun) *wōda*, are related to healing or bringing back to sanity. A *wōda* can be given his mind back (*sellan gewit*), he can be brought back to his senses (*on (ge)witte gebrohte* – 3 occ.), he can be healed (*gehælan* – 2 occ.) or simply become sane again (*beoð gewittige*). Often this healing is done through driving the devil out (*adræfan deoflu of ðam wodum* – 2 occ., *gewat se deofol of ðam wodum*). One feature of the *wōda* is that he traverses the land, wandering or going away (*awendan aweg, dwoligende geondirnan*). The adjective *earm* ‘wretched’ modifies *wōda* twice, and the past participle *gedreht* (from the already mentioned verb *gedreccan*) once.

Co-occurrences, Synonyms and Antonyms

Though members of *WŌD* do co-occur with ANGER-words, this does not constitute the most common group of co-occurrences. These word families are: *YRRE* (5 occ.), *ĀSTYRIAN* (4 occ.), *HĀTHĒORT* (3 occ.), *BELGAN* (2 occ.), *GRAM* (2 occ.), *RABBIAN* (1 occ.) and *WĒAMŌD* (1 occ.).

In fact, it is much more common for *WŌD* to co-occur with other words and phrases. Most often it occurs with a group of words that have associations with possession by devils and demons (33 occ.), where phrases such as *fulan gaste deoflice afylled* ‘filled devilishly with a foul spirit’ or *deofol on him hæfde* ‘[they] had the devil in them’, or the adjective *deofolsēoc* ‘sick with/through the devil’ are used roughly synonymously with words from the *WŌD* family. There are 33 occurrences of direct referencing of the devil in such a manner (the devil can be referred to as *dēofol*, *gāst*, *fēond*).

Another common group comprises MIND-related words with the root *-wit-*. These can either occur as near synonyms of *WŌD* (8 occ.), as in, for instance *gewitlēas* or *ungewitfull* ‘without one’s senses’ or to the contrary, as antonyms, as in *gewittig*, *wittig*, *on gewitte* ‘in one’s senses’ (18 occ.).

The third most common group refers to CRUELTY and FIERCENESS, with the most common word families being *RĒPE* (16 occ.) and *HRĒOH* (4 occ.), as well as the adjective *ferhþgrim* (1 occ.).

There are also some associations with ILLNESS/DISEASE. *WŌD* co-occurs with *-sēoc* compounds (such as *monað-*, *dēofol-*, *fēond-*, *gewitt-*, etc.) ten times. Particularly *monaðsēoc* ‘lunatic, lit. moon-sick’ is used as a synonym, as the sentence *þa sylfan wōdan* ‘the same madmen’ refers to the lunatics later. There are a further three occurrences each

with *UNTRUM* and *HĀL* (as antonyms). Additionally, *WŌD* is often placed in lists together with blind (*blind*), dumb (*dumb*) and leprous (*hrēoflig*).

10.3.1.3 Case Studies

Possession by Evil Spirits and the Saint's Healing Intervention

WŌD is most commonly used to refer to MADNESS, particularly in scenarios involving demonic possession. It often appears in the narratives on saints' lives, where the saints work miracles. One of these miracles is to drive the devils out of a madman and thus heal him.

This madness is presented in various ways, sometimes without much detail. It is simply stated that a person was suffering madness and was healed. Sometimes it is presented in a much more vivid and descriptive fashion. The focus can variously be on the saint, the madman and the act of healing, on the saint conversing with the devils, with the madman being just a vessel for foul spirits, and the saint driving the spirit out. Some commonly occurring features of the more detailed descriptions of madness involve aimless wandering, particularly away from human habitation, intense violence against oneself or others, sometimes thrashing and writhing (as in an epileptic fit), and sometimes the person afflicted by madness simply lies in bed.

The following passage from *ÆCHom* II, 11 is an example of the healing powers of a saint even when he is not himself physically present, and of the madman's (in this case madwoman's) aimless wandering:

[W190]

Witodlice sum gemyndleas wif ferde worigende geond wudas. and feldas. and ðær gelæg þær hi seo teorung gelette; Ða beeode heo sume dæge þurh nytenysse into ðam scræfe þæs eadigan benedictes. and þær hi gereste. and aras ðæs on merigen swa gewittig. swilce heo næfre on nanre **wodnysse** nære. and swa siððan symle ðurhwunode; (*ÆCHom* II, 11)

[Truly, a certain mad woman went wandering across the woods and fields, and slept/lay down where exhaustion stopped her. Then on a certain day in ignorance she came into the cave of Holy Benedict and she rested there, and arose out of the cave on the morning so sane/in possession of her senses, as if she had never been in any madness and she thereafter continued in this state.]

The miraculous healing power of St Benedict is transferred to his cave (more on this below), and works to heal the woman. Her madness is evident not only in her wandering, but also in her ignorance, and the fact that she sleeps wherever she falls from exhaustion as if she did not have control over what she was doing.

An even more common representation is where a madman or madwoman are experiencing fits of uncontrollable violence and cruelty and cannot be contained by other people. In the prose *Life of St Guthlac* there is an intensely descriptive passage of the behaviour of a madman, which I quote in full:

[W208, 209, 210]

Wæs on Eastenglalande sum man æpeles cynnes, þæs nama wæs Hwætred. Mid þy he þa dæghwamlice mid arfæstnysse his ealderum underþeoded wæs, hit gelamp sume siðe, þa he æt his fæder hame wæs, <þæt> se awyrgeda gast him on eode, þæt he of his gewitte wearð, and hine se awyrgeda feond swa swyþe swencte mid þære **wodnysse**, þæt he hys agene lichama mid irene ge eac mid his toþum blodgode and wundode. And nalæs þæt an þæt he hine sylfne swa mid þam wælhreowum toþum wundode, ac eac swa hwylcne swa he mihte, þæt he swa gelice tær. Ða gelamp sume siþe, þæt þær wæs mycel menigo manna gegaderod his maga and eac oþra his nehfreonda, þæt hi hine woldon gebindan and don hine gewyldne: he þa genam sum twibil, and mid þan þry men to deaðe ofsloh, and oþre manige mid gesarode. Wæs þa feowor gear, þæt he swa wæs mid þære **wodnysse** swiðe geswenced. Þa wæs he æt nextan genumen fram his magum and to halgum mynstre gelæd, to þon þæt hine mæssepreostas and bisceopas wið þa **wodnysse** þwean and clænsian sceoldon. (LS 10.1 (Guth))

[There was a certain man of noble birth in East Anglia, whose name was Hwætred. And when he was daily subject to his elders with honour/honesty, it came to pass at a certain time that, when he was in his father's house/home, a cursed spirit went into him, so that he became out of his senses, and the cursed fiend so greatly tormented him with madness, that he wounded and bloodied his own body with iron and also with his teeth. And it wasn't only himself that he wounded so with cruel teeth, but he also tore at anyone else at whom he could in a similar fashion. Then it happened on a certain occasion that a great multitude of his kinsmen and also others of his near friends gathered there, and they wished to bind him and take his power: then he took a two-edged axe and killed three men with it, and he wounded many others. In such a way, he was greatly tormented with madness for four years. After that, he was taken from his people and brought to a holy monastery, so that the priests and bishops would wash away and clean his madness.]

Madness is the cause of self-mutilation, where the possessed man bites and hurts himself, but it is also directed outwards, towards other people. Even though previously he was an honourable man, Hwætred is now completely out of control and overcome with the need to effect violence in whatever shape or form, driven onwards by the evil spirit who possesses him. This passage also introduces another association for MADNESS, which appears from time to time, that is UNCLEANLINESS. Here it is directly shown with the verbs *þwean* and

clænsian, but it is also evidenced when the possessing spirits and devils are described as *fūl*, that is ‘dirty, impure, unclean’.

A similar depiction of violence in madmen can be found in ÆCHom I, 31, when a king implores the apostle to cure his daughter:

[W183]

Min dohter is hreowlice **awed**: nu bidde ic þe ðæt ðu hi on gewitte gebringe. swa swa þu dydest seustium se þe for manegum gearum mid egeslicre **wodnyse** gedreht wæs. Ða þa se apostol þæt mæden geseah mid heardum racenteagum gebundene for þan ðe heo bat & totær ælcne þe heo geræcan mihte & hire nan man genealæcan ne dorste. þa het he hi unbindan. (ÆCHom I, 31)

[My daughter is grievously mad/possessed: now I ask you that you bring her back to her senses, just as you did with Seustius who for many years was tormented with terrible madness. When the apostle saw the maiden, bound with sturdy chains, because she bit and tore to pieces anyone whom she could get hold of and no man dared approach her, then he ordered to unbind her.]

The princess’ madness is so great that she needs to be physically restrained from hurting others. Once again, it is a man of God, this time an apostle, who is the only one able to heal her and drive the evil spirit out.

Often, the insane or possessed person is less important in the whole scenario, and it is the conversation that the saint has with the devil that is the focus of a narrative.

[W255]

Efne ða se bisceop eode to his huse, and an wifman wæs ðær **wod** on his huse, and se deofol clypode and cwæð þurh þone **wodan** to ðam halgan bisceope, ic gedo þæt man gebint ðe, handum and fotum, and heonon ðe swa tihð of þysre byrig; and se bisceop andwyrde, Adumba ðu deofol, and of hire gewit, and ne spræc þu næfre eft þurh ænigne mann. Þa gewat se deofol of ðam **wodan** sona, (ÆLS (Apollinaris))

[Likewise, when the bishop went to his [a man’s] house, and there was a woman there in his house who was insane/possessed, and the devil shouted and spoke through the madwoman to the holy bishop: I shall make it so that you shall be bound, hand and feet, and they will drag you hence from this town; and the bishop answered, Be silent you devil, and [go] out of her mind, and never speak again through any person. Then the devil quickly went out of the mad one.]

It is quite common to find the madmen referred to as *ān wīfman* or *sum man*, and their identity is not specified. They are important only insofar as they provide the grounds for a confrontation between the devil and the holy man, and help show the malignancy of evil and the ultimate victory of good. This lack of agency of possessed men and women is also seen in the following passage:

[W37]

Nis hit na geleaflic þæt se wyrm þurh his agen andgit Euan bepæhte, ac se deofol spræc ðurh þa næddran swa swa he deð þurh **wodne** man. & heo ne undergeat þe ma þe se **woda** deð.

[It is not to be believed that the serpent through his own understanding/intellect deceived Eve, but the devil spoke through the snake just as he does through possessed/insane men and the snake does not understand any more than the madman does.]

The possession by devil means that the person or animal who is being possessed is not only unaware of his, her or its actions, but also not responsible for them. The blame does not rest with the serpent for deceiving Eve, but in the Devil. Similarly, when mad or insane people perform their violent acts or the devil speaks through them, they are absolved of responsibility.

St Martin in particular seems to be associated with the healing of madmen and driving out the devil from the possessed. Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* has the greatest number of occurrences of *WŌD* per text, as well as a large number of distinct stories about madmen or madwomen.

[W165]

Þa dyde Martinus on muð þam **wodan** his agenne fingras, and het hine fretan gif he ænige mihte hæfde, ac he wiðbræd þa ceafas fram þære halgan handa, swilce fram hatan isene. Ða adræfde se halga wer þone hetolan deofol of þam gedrehton menn, ac he ne moste faran þurh þone muð ut þe Martinus hrepode, ac fullice ferde þurh his forðgang ut.

[Then Martin placed his own fingers on the mouth of the madman and ordered him to bite if he had any power, but withdrew his jaws from the hand of the holy man, as if it were hot iron. Then, the holy man drove out the hateful devil of the tormented man, but he could not go through the mouth, which Martin had touched, but foully he went out through his anus.]

Again, the madman is predisposed to violent biting, but Martin's power stops the devil in his tracks, and his touch is so holy that the mouth cannot be once again befouled by an unclean spirit. MADNESS and POSSESSION are once again linked with UNCLEANLINESS and driving out the devil in this passage is likened to the evacuation of bowels from unclean matter.

It is not only men and women who are afflicted by demonic possession and madness. Domestic animals can also be afflicted, and their behaviour is much like the

behaviour of madmen. The remedy, in the guise of a helpful saint or bishop, is also the same.

[W143]

Eft on sumne sæl þær Martinus siðode mid his geferum, þa com þær færlice yrnan an þearle **wod** **cu**, and þa þe hyre fyligdon clypodon to þam halgan were þæt he hine warnian sceolde, forþanþe heo hnat yfele ælcne þe heo gemette. Heo com þa yrnende mid egeslicum eagum, ac se halga wer sona het hi ætstandan, and heo þærrichte gehyrsumode his hæse and stod. Ða geseah se halga wer þæt þær sæt an deofol on þære cu hrycge, and cwæð to þam scuccan, Gewit þu wælhreowa aweg of þam nytene and þis unscæððige hryper geswic to dreccenne.

[Afterwards, when, on a certain occasion, Martin journeyed with his companions, there came quickly running a much maddened cow, and those who followed her shouted to the holy man that they must warn him, because the cow strikes everyone she meets. She then came running, with terrible eyes, but the holy man immediately ordered her to stop, and she straightaway listened to his command and stopped. Then the holy man saw that a devil sat on the cow's back, and he said to the demon: Go away, you cruel one, from the animal and cease tormenting this innocent cow.]

In this case, once again, the cow is innocent (*unscæððig*) and not responsible for its actions. However, it is only the saint who can see the devil somewhat comically riding on the cow's back and driving her onwards. Ordinary men are unaware of the true reasons for the cow's behaviour. The cow is violent, and though it does not bite, it strikes and rushes into people, presumably trampling them down in her mad run. There are also examples of animals biting and tearing at people much like the examples of Hwætred and the princess above. In GD 1 (C) a horse belonging to a soldier is *gecyrrred in mycclre reðnysse* 'is changed with a great fierceness/savagery' so that *hit slat & wundode heora limu mid <bitum>* 'it tore and wounded [people's] limbs with bites'. Once the sign of the cross is made on the horse's forehead, it stops being savage and fierce and is still [W46] *þonne hit was ær þære wedenheortnysse* 'as if it were not previously [affected by] madness'.

We find another mention of a horse afflicted by madness in the Life of St Oswald (ÆLS (Oswald)). The horse [W227] *sona þær feol, wealwigende geond ða eorðan wodum gelicost* 'immediately fell there, rolling on the ground like a madman/a man possessed'. This shows that one of the features of madness was also thrashing or rolling on the ground like an epileptic and that a horse could also be similarly afflicted. The horse is cured when it falls in the same place where King Oswald fell in battle, which echoes the healing properties of the cave of St Benedict from the example above.

In fact, the healing of madmen can happen through a variety of means. It can be done with the sign of the cross (*mid tacne þære halgan rode* [W66]), by laying one's hands

or fingers on the afflicted person (*he his hand him on sette* [W134], *sette martinus his handa him onuppon* [W132]), by driving the devil out with a verbal command (*Aga, yrming, ut of ðysum mæn* [W6]). It can also happen by coming into contact with something that the saint owned or a place where his body lay – this naturally falls under a larger theme of the miraculous properties of the dead bodies of saints. In case of madness, tying the saint's bedstraw to someone or drinking water which had washed the saint's bones can cure insanity (*his bedstrewen man band on anne wodne* [W168]). Finally, in narratives in which madness is a divine punishment to those who torment saints, conversion and confession can also have a healing effect

The healing powers of the saint, apostle or bishop all come from Christ and his healing powers. And it is not only madness which is healed this way, but also other diseases and afflictions of the body:

[W230]

Ærest crist þurh hine sylfne dumbe & deafe. healte & blinde. **wode** & hreoflige gehælde. & þa deadan to life arærde. & syððan þurh his apostolas & oþre halige men ðas ylcan wundra geworhte (ÆCHom I, 20)

[*First Christ through his own self healed the dumb and the deaf, the lame and the blind, the mad and the lepers, and he raised the dead back to life, and afterwards through his apostles and other holy men worked the same miracles.*]

Many of the occurrences of *WŌD* are contained in the lists that include the sick, the lepers, the blind and all the other afflicted – they are then healed either by Christ or by his proxies. Similarly, as the divine powers can heal, so the demonic powers can cause diseases. The Devil can not only cause madness, but also blindness and dumbness:

[W253]

þa wearð him gebroht to sum witseoc man, wundorlice gedreht; him wæs soðlice benæmed his gesihð and spræc, and he swa dumb and ablend deoflice **wedde**. Hwæt þa se mildheorta Crist þurh his godcundan mihte þone mann gehælde, and ðone hetelan deofol him fram adræfde þe hine drehte oð ðæt, and he þa, gewittig, wel spræc and gehyrde (ÆHom 4)

[*Then a certain insane/possessed man, wondrously afflicted was brought to him [Christ]; Truly, his sight and his speech was taken from him, and so dumb and blind, he raged/went devilishly mad. Then the gentle Christ through his divine power healed the man and drove out the hateful devil who had tormented him until them, and he then, fully in his senses, spoke and heard well.*]

In the above examples *WŌD* shows an interdependence of demonic possession, madness, disease, violence and lack of control. Madness is both a possession by the devil and a

disease inspired by him, as it can be healed. Its outward manifestation involves excessive violence both to oneself and others, but the madman is not morally responsible for his actions when he is under the influence of the evil force.

The Raging Devils

Several occurrences of *WŌD* show the devil as raging, angry or mad, and the passages below show the diversity of meanings of *WŌD*, even when applied to the same referent. These occurrences are almost exclusively verbs.

Particularly, the verb *wēdan* features prominently in Wulfstan's and Ælfric's homilies when they discuss the actions of the Devil or the Antichrist at the end of days when he is set loose on mankind.

[W115]

þonne Antecrist **wedeð** & ealle woruld bregeð (WHom 3)

[*Then the Antichrist will rage and terrify all the world.*]

[W244]

And, þonne he þus **wett**, þonne cumað up of helle egeslice mycele deor, swylce swa næfre ær gesawene næron oð ðone timan. (HomU 34 (Nap 42))

[*And when he will rage so, then terrifyingly big beasts will come up from hell, which were never before seen until this time.*]

The verbs used here have a continuous, active, imperfective nature. The devil is exhibiting a violent, oppressive behaviour that is continuous and repetitive. Perhaps the verbs are used here to heighten the sense of terror at the inescapable and continuing torment that is foretold.

Devils often express frustration when their plans are thwarted by the work of saints, and they do so by shouting, clamouring or becoming hostile and violent. In the three passages below their anger and rage are expressed with *WŌD*:

[W60]

Pa ne mihte se ealda deofol þas dæda mid swigan forberan. ac mid openlicere gesihðe hine æteowode ðam halgan were on atelicum hiwe. mid byrnendum muðe. and ligenum eagum **wedende** him togeanes. and mid micclum hreame his sið bemænde (ÆCHom II, 11)

[Then the old devil could not bear these deeds in silence, but in open sight appeared to the holy man in a horrid shape, with a burning mouth and fiery eyes, raging against him, and with a great cry bemoaned his lot.]

The devil is so angry with St Benedict that he appears in front of the saint in his own terrifying form. This is because St Benedict had ordered a Christian church to be built in honour of St Martin over an old temple of Apollo. The devil tries to protect an old idol buried under the floor of the temple. Here, the devil is actively raging against what he perceives to be a persecution (he asks Benedict: *hwæt wilst ðu me? hwy ehtst ðu min?* ‘why do you torment me? Why do you provoke me?’) and, ironically, reacting with rage to the wrongs done against him.

In *Guthlac* the devils try hard to oppress the saint, but they grow more and more restless and irritated because they cannot harm him.

[W57]

Hwilum **wedende** swa wilde deor
cirmdon on corðre, hwilum cyrdon
eft minne mansceapan on mennisc hiw
breahtma mæste (*GuthA,B*, ll. 907-10a)

[Sometimes raging like mad animals [they] cried out in unison, sometimes the vile and wicked ones turned back into the shapes of humans with a great clamour.]

In this passage the devils are raging like wild animals, which coincides with the meanings for *WŌD* when used to describe animals. Their violence and anger are born out of frustration at the inability to finalise their goals. Crying and clamouring accompanies their raging.

Finally, devils themselves can go insane and in this case the madness is divinely inspired. When a saint drives out the devils and places them in the bodies of swine:

[W106]

hi ealle **aweddān**, and urnon to ðære sæ and sona adruncon. (*ÆLS* (Auguries))

[They all went insane and ran to the sea and immediately drowned.]

Here madness can be equated with irrationality and loss of reason.

The Fury of the Elements and Animals

The natural world and natural disasters, as well as wild animals, are often portrayed as raging, when they are violent and powerful. Some of the natural elements that can be characterised with *WŌD* are pestilence, ocean, and wind.

[W120]

to ðam swiðe **awedde** se foresæda cwealm. þæt hundeahtatig manna on ðære anre tide feallende of life gewiton (*ÆCHom II*, 9)

[The aforementioned pestilence raged to such a degree, that 80 men fell to the ground at the same time, departed from life.]

This is marked in the DOE as a metaphoric use of *āwēdan*. The pestilence is given characteristics of a live being, presumably wild animal, and it strikes with great force and with no restraint.

A similar metaphoric usage can be found in the descriptions of the sea:

[W248]

Garsecg **wedde**,
up ateah, on sleap. Egesan stodon,
weollon wælbenna. (*Ex*, 490b-2a)

[The ocean raged, heaved itself up, came down on [them]. The terrible fears rose, the wounds welled up.]

In this powerful poetic passage from *Exodus* the ocean is a terrible and terrifying force that smashes men. The use of the verb *wēdan* expresses well the immensity, power and unrestraint of the sea. The ocean, particularly when agitated by a storm, is characterised in such a way not only in poetry, but also in prose.

[W109]

Ond sona ærest, þæs þe heo in scip eodon & ut leton, þætte astigon wiðorwearde windas, & þa yða weollon & **weddon** þæs sæs. (*Bede* 3)

[And immediately after they came aboard the ship and set out, then contrary winds arose and the waves of the sea welled up and raged.]

When Priest Utta attempts to go home on a ship, he is warned against a great storm and tempest (*micel storm & hreonis*) by Bishop Aidan. The raging of the sea is therefore associated with a powerful and violent weather.

The wind can also be raging:

[W56] winde geliccost,
þonne he for hæleðum hlud astigeð,
wæðeð be wolcnum, **wedende** færeð (*El*, ll. 1274b-6)

[...like the wind, when it arises loud before the warriors, passes under clouds, rushes raging...]

In this case, earthly wealth is likened to the wind which passes quickly and first rushes forward, later to be stilled and confined. Here, *wēdan* can be seen as both RAGE and MADNESS, in the sense of aimless and violent wandering across the lands.

Whilst the domestic animals above, such as horse or cow, become afflicted by *WŌD* only due to external agency of the devil,¹⁰³ wild animals are more likely to be inherently violent and raging (as when the devils in the *Guthlac* poem rage ‘like wild animals’ (*swa wilde deor*) and Eleusius does the same in *Juliana* (**wedde** on gewitte swa wilde deor). This is not to say that all wild animals are the agents of the devil, as they can very well be the instrument of punishment in the hands of God.

[W68-69]
ic sende ofer eow **wedende** wulfas and **wedende** hundas, þe etað eowerne lichaman to deaðes tocyme. (*HomU* 36 (Nap 45))

[I shall send over you raging wolves and raging dogs, which will eat your body until death approaches.]

[W70]
And gif ge nellað þyssum gewritum gelefan, ic sende ofer eow wyrmas and fuhlas **wedende**, and þa fordoð eowre blæde... (*HomU* 36 (Nap 45))

[And if you will not believe in this writing, I shall send over you raging serpents and birds, and they will destroy your life...]

However, wolves, serpents and birds are wild animals that are more likely to be dangerous to humans. Though dogs are domestic animals, they are much more likely than other domesticated animals to contract rabies and run wild. The fear of death by wild animals is exploited in the above passage, and the use of *WŌD* heightens that fear, because it emphasises the savagery and unrestraint of their behaviour. That a fear of rabid animals

¹⁰³ Additionally, the war-elephants in *Orosius* are enraged and maddened by sharp nails and fiery sticks with which the enemy provokes them so that they turn on their own army. [W72] The external agency of the enemy turns the otherwise domesticated animals into dangerous beasts.

would be a part of daily life in Anglo-Saxon England and could be exploited is partially evidenced by the large amount of cures for the bite of a rabid dog in Anglo-Saxon medical texts, which shall be discussed separately.

When men are characterised as acting like mad animals, it is their savagery that is stressed and the fact that they do not control their actions. In the *Metres of Boethius* proud and unjust kings are criticized and compared to a rabid hound.

[W79]

and se hlaforð ne scrifð, ðe ðæm here waldeð,
 freonde ne feonde, feore ne æhtum,
 ac he reðigmod ræst on gehwlcne,
wedehunde wuhta gelicost;
 bið to up ahæfen inne on mode
 for ðæm anwalde (*Met*, ll. 15- 20a)

[...and the lord does not care, who the army rules over, whether friend, or foe, life or possessions, but savage in mind he assaults/rushes onto all, like a mad dog.]

It is this lack of discernment that is most terrifying in a rabid dog and the fact that it can turn both on friend and foe alike, just like a raging storm or sea.

Violent Oppressors and their Eventual Madness

VIOLENCE as a component meaning of *WŌD* comes into focus in those narratives where saints and Christians are oppressed by enemies and heathens. In some ways, it echoes the previous section, where it was the savagery of natural forces and wild animals that warranted the use of *WŌD*. In the passages below the cruelty of the persecutors and their unyielding desire to kill Christians are underscored:

[W64]

Æfter þysum wordum seo **wedende** meniu ofslogon þone Uictor þæt he feallende sweolt (*ÆLS* (Maurice))

[After these words the raging multitude slaughtered Victor, so that he died falling down.]

[W19]

þa hæþenan ... slogon þa Cristenan, swa swa se casere het, **wodlice** mid wæpnum, swa swa mann wudu hywð (*ÆLS* (Maurice))

[The heathen... killed the Christians, just as the emperor had ordered, in a raging fashion/madly with weapons, just as one would hew wood.]

[W26]

...þæt he moste acwellan þa cristenan <men> mid witum, for þam þe hi begen wæron mid bealowe afyllede, <Criste> wiðerwinnan mid **wodlicre** reðnysse (ÆLS (Vincent))

[...that he [Datianus] could destroy the Christian men with torments, because they were both filled with evil, and fought against Christ with a mad/raging/furious savagery/cruelty.]

In the final passage, the emperor and his official Datianus both exhibit a ‘furious cruelty’ in the persecution of Christians and it is directly associated with evil. As such, though not explicitly, they are also the instruments of the devil.

WŌD is used in *Juliana* to refer to the fury of Juliana’s father when she does not obey him:

[W100]

Ða wæs **ellenwod**, **yrre** ond **reþe**,
frecne ond ferðgrim, fæder wið dehter.

[Then the father was furious, angry and fierce, eager and savage-minded, with the daughter.]

Though *yrre* appears here as an ANGER-word, the other adjectives strengthen the overall impression of cruelty, savagery and unrestrained violence, and it is in this context that *ellenwōd* should be considered.¹⁰⁴

There are no clear examples of *WŌD* being used to refer to angry kings or oppressors in the way that is so characteristic of other ANGER word families, that is, as a verbal reaction to the saint’s endurance (referred to as a SPEECH-scenario). Potentially, such use can be found in *ÆLS* (Agnes), when the judge responds to the saint’s obstinacy by ordering her clothes to be torn off. However, the passage uses a noun phrase with the adjective in an attributive position (*se woda dema*) rather than in a predicative construction (e.g. **Ða wearþ wōd*). *Wōd* is used to characterise the oppressor in general terms (for instance as: mad, insane, possessed, evil, violent, etc.), rather than angry as a reaction to the saint’s behaviour, especially since there is no temporal/causative marker (*þā*).

More often the heathen kings, emperors and oppressors fall to *WŌD*, understood in terms of a divinely-inspired madness which serves as punishment. For their transgressions

¹⁰⁴ This is an unusual use for *ellenwōd*, as in other sources it seems to denote a fervent, zealous, but ultimately positive attitude ascribed to protagonists (see below under *Zeal*). This choice might have been motivated by the constraints of alliteration, but it is still a peculiar one.

and cruelty against martyrs, the oppressors themselves feel as if they were tormented by these same martyrs:

[W118]

Witodlice decius egeslice **awedde** & binnon þrim dagum mid feondlicere stemne singallice hrymde: ic halsie þe laurentius. ablin hwæthwega þæra tintregena. (ÆCHom I, 29)

[Truly Decius went terribly insane and for three days with a fiendish voice constantly cried: I beseech you Laurentius, cease your torments a little.]

Often, it is not the oppressors, but their sons who are afflicted with madness:

[W127]

Ond ða sona æfter Matheus þrowunge þa forborn ðæs cyninges heall mid eallum his spedum, ond his sunu **awedde** (Mart 5 (Kotzor))

[And immediately after Matthew's martyrdom the king's hall burnt down with all his wealth, and his son went insane.]

This is the case in several saints' lives, and the son's madness is usually accompanied by the death of his father. An exception is when the persecutor wants to redeem himself:

[W62]

And Terrentianes sunu, mid sweartum deofle afylled, arn to heora byrgenum, **egeslice wedende**, and se fæder sona gesohte þa byrigena, anddette his synne þæt he ofsloh ða halgan, and wearð gefullod, and his suna wittig (ÆLS (Agnes))

[And Terrentian's son, filled with the black devil, ran to their graves terribly raving, and the father immediately went to the graves, confessed his sin that he killed the holy men, and was baptised, and his son came back to his senses.]

Madness can be a punishment not only for the persecution of saints, but also for not believing in holy miracles. In Ælfric's *Life of St Edmund* Leofstan is punished for not believing in the sanctity of the saint's body.

[W123]

ac swa hraðe swa he geseah þæs sanctes lichaman, þa **awedde** he sona and wælhreowlice grymetede, and earmlice geendode yfelum deaðe. (ÆLS (Edmund))

[...but as soon as he saw the body of the saint, then immediately he went insane, and roared savagely, and wretchedly ended with an evil death.]

Even though the lack of belief is on the surface a far less dire crime than tormenting and killing saints, it is punished in the same fashion. In this case Ælfric is presumably wishing to strengthen and build up the legend of a native martyr and therefore likens the unbeliever, Leofstan, to the evil persecutors such as Datianus or Decius. The madness is all the more powerful since Leofstan roars like a savage animal. God does punish those of weak faith, particularly the Israelites when they start doubting in the wilderness, complaining and turning to heathen idols, and this may also be the intended parallel here (see W199 below from ÆHom 21).

Foolishness, Drunkenness, Heresy and Heathenry

WŌD also refers to behaviour which can be likened to that of a madman, though it does not share the same violent characteristics. Rather, the comparison is based on folly, foolishness, or doing things that go against reason. This can be understood in the spiritual sense, where not following Christian teachings by either being heathen, blaspheming or by committing sins (particularly immoderation), is seen as foolish, because it prevents one from achieving immortal life. It can also be understood in a doctrinal sense, where following a given doctrine is illogical or wicked, or both. Below are two examples of such usage; [W141] referring to idol-worship and [W151] to not believing God is eternal:

[W141]

Wod bið se ðe bit æt blindum stanum ænigne fultum on his frecednyssum.
(ÆLS (Sebastian))

[*He who asks blind stones for any help in danger is insane.*]

[W151]

Ða cwæð ic: hwa is swa **wod** þæt he dyrre <cweðan> þæt god ne se æce? (Solil 1)

[*Then I say: who is so insane that he would dare say that God is not eternal?*]

In another example the heretical semi-Arian doctrine is referred to as ‘madness’:

[W51]

ond in Constantinopoli wæron gesomnade hundteontig & fiftig biscopa wið **wedenheortnisse** <Macedones> & Eodoxæ & heora lare (Bede 4)

[*And in Constantinople a hundred and fifty bishops gathered against the madness of Macedonius and Eudoxius and their teachings.*]

Immoderation in food and drink is particularly stigmatised with the use of *WŌD*, perhaps because it is associated with lack of control and unrestraint.

[W229]

Oferfyll bið þære sawle feond and þæs lichaman unhæl. Se ðe his to fela nymð, he bið **wodum** men gelic; (HomU 37 (Nap 46))

[Excess is the enemy of the soul and the sickness of the body. He who takes too much for himself is like a madman.]

Drinking is also mad, because it interferes with reason and leads to foolishness:

[W32]

...buton þam unðeawfæstum, ðe **wodlice** drincað and heora gewitt amyrrað, swa þæt hi dwæsiað for heora druncennyssum. (ÆLet 6 (Wulfgeat))

[except those who have bad habits, who madly drink and corrupt their reason, so that they become foolish because of their drunkenness.]

Finally, lack of belief is also equated with madness or foolishness, and punished accordingly:

[W199]

ac Gode ne licode na heora geleafleast, ne heora ceorung, ac asende him to fyr of heofonum, and forbærnde sona sumne dæl þæs werodes for heora **wodnysse**. (ÆHom 21)

[God was not pleased by their lack of faith, nor by their complaining, but sent to them a fire from heaven and immediately burnt down a portion of the people for their madness.]

Cures, Remedies and Mad Dogs

Anglo-Saxon medical texts, more specifically Lch II (3), contain a cure for madness, showing that in some ways it was considered a disease and attempts were made at curing it. However, the remedy ([W55]*Leoht drenc wip **wedenheorte***) is a combination of a herbal infusion with a magico-religious ritual which involves, among other things, singing the litany, creed and pater noster over the herb.

The remedies for the bite of a mad dog can be divided into two types. The one found in Lch I (Herb) seem much more practical and rooted in herbal lore. Several different herbs are mentioned (mostly betony), together with the instructions for their

preparation (pounding, grinding, boiling, etc.). The herbal remedy is to be put on the wound and thus the man is cured.¹⁰⁵

On the other hand Med 1.1 (de Vriend) contains several different ways of dealing with the bite of a mad dog that work within the rules of contagious magic. Specific parts of the mad dog are required for the remedy to work.

[W88]

Wid **wedehundes** slite, **hundes heafod** gebærned to acxan & þæron gedon, eall þæt attor & þa fulnysse hyt ut awyrpeð & þa **wedendan** bitas gehæleþ.
(Med 1.1 (de Vriend))

[For the bite of a mad dog, the dog's head burned to ash and when applied, all the poison and foulness shall be driven out and the rabid bites healed.]

Cameron suggests that, at least in the remedy for headaches, when the ashes from the hound's head are used, it is not necessarily an actual dog's head that is meant, but potentially a herb called snapdragon (1993: 136) and that the remedy may not be magical, but practical. In [W88] *hundes heafod* could potentially be seen as the herb rather than the head of a rabid dog, though the passage still operates within the constraints of contagious magic: by destroying the head of the animal that bit the patient, the negative effect of the bites is erased. However, the following passage, which continues the remedy, leaves no doubt that, at least further along in the process, actual animal parts are required:

[W89]

Eft, **wedehundes** heafod & his lifer gesoden & geseald to etanne þam þe tosliten bið, wundorlice hyt hyne gehæleþ. (Med 1.1 (de Vriend))

[Afterwards, the mad dog's head and his liver boiled and given to eat to the one who had been bitten, and it shall wondrously heal him.]

It may very well be that both a dog's head (the herb) and a dog's head (the body part) are used to strengthen the remedy.

Another example of a remedy that potentially uses a dog's body parts is found in that for *cynelice adle* (which B-T explains as *morbus regius*, that is the King's Evil). In the Anglo-Saxon period it could be variously interpreted as jaundice (following the classical sources) or leprosy (following the patristic teachings) (Barlow, 1983:25). Here, what is

¹⁰⁵ The botanical and herbal aspects of the remedies are discussed in more detail in Bierbaumer (1976).

interesting is that the remedy does not call for a dog's head, it calls specifically for a *mad* dog's head:

[W87]

Wið cynelice adle, **wedehundes** heafod gecnucud & mid wine gemenged to drence, hyt hæleþ.

[*Against the royal disease, the mad dog's head pounded and mixed with wine to drink, and it will heal*]

There are two potential solutions. The first one is that a herb, the hound's head, is meant (which would be likely seeing as it needs to be *gecnucud* 'pounded', a word found, for instance, in the herbal remedies for the rabid bites above), and the addition of *wede-* is just a scribal error, since the remedies immediately following and preceding (for swelling and canker) ask for a dog's head (*hundes heafod*). The second solution requires the mad dog's head to be mashed in, which would presumably be a far more messy process. The problem with the second interpretation is that there are no obvious links between a mad dog and the royal disease. There are some potential links of madness with leprosy, but they seem tenuous in this case. The remedy does not seem to follow the rules of contagious magic.

It is likely that *hundes heafod* meant both 'snapdragon' and 'a dog's head' depending on the remedy and situation.

Zeal

Finally, there are two instances of the use of the noun *ellenwōdnes* in prose, which have a very positive meaning, unlike other *WŌD* words. Both of them can be found in Bede. The first one occurs in the description of St Aidan:

[W102]

...Aidan wæs haten micelre monþwærnesse & arfæstnisse & gemetfæstnisse monn; & he hæfde Godes **ellenwodnisse** & his lufan micle. (Bede 3)

[*..he was named Aidan, a man of a great gentleness and goodness and modesty. And he had a great zeal and love for God.*]

The second deals with St Caedmon:

[W103]

Ond wið þæm þa ðe in oðre wisan don woldon, he wæs mid welme micelre **ellenwodnisse** onbærned. (Bede 4)

[*And towards those who would act in a different fashion, he was kindled with the fire of great zeal/feravour.*]

These two examples may show the remnants of a more positive meaning for *WŌD* as ‘divine inspiration’, for particularly Caedmon is inspired through the divine powers to compose songs. However, it might be that just the first element of the compound *ellen-* ‘courage, fervour’ is enough to lessen the negative connotations of *wōd*.

10.3.2 Conclusions

Out of all the word families discussed this one departs perhaps the most from what would be expected of a typical ANGER-word family (if such a thing exists at all). At its core meanings *WŌD* is clearly a word family associated with MADNESS seen as a demonic possession, a disease, and as fierce violence exhibited most often by wild animals. It has various ties with VIOLENCE, FOOLISHNESS, and UNCLEANLINESS. ANGER is only a tangential meaning for this word family, but where the two coincide, it is the unrestraint, savagery and cruelty of ANGER as an emotion that are brought to the forefront. When *WŌD* is used to describe ANGER, it brings associations of rabid animals that cannot discern friend from foe, the fury of natural forces, madmen who thrash about inflicting harm or even death, and evil and cruel devils who take control over a man’s body.

WŌD is almost universally negative, especially since it can never be used to characterise God. We see an important shift in how this family is used in Middle English, as it broadens its meanings (e.g. ‘confused’) and widens the range of applications for the meanings that carry on from Old English (e.g. ANGER ascribed to God), presumably due to the changing attitudes to MADNESS. Similarly, its ancient roots suggest positive associations with divinely inspired poetry and MADNESS seen as INSPIRATION that do not survive in the Old English period.

Chapter 11 ANGER in Individual Texts and in the *Pastoral Care*

11.1 Introduction

ANGER-words occur in a total of 357 poetic and prose texts, as delineated by the DOE corpus. The distribution and frequency of occurrence of those words aligns with the asymptotic hyperbolic curve (Figure 11-1), or what Kretzschmar (2009) calls the A-curve.

However, any analysis of the distribution of ANGER-words in the corpus from the point of view of usage in texts is based on certain underlying assumptions about textual unity and the nature of ‘text’. These decisions often result in an arbitrary division that does not reflect the interrelationship between different works. For the purpose of this study the DOE categorisation of texts has been chosen, but it is certainly not the only way to divide the corpus data. The weakness of the DOE text-division is that it is not applied consistently. Some texts, which comprise several parts or books, have been divided into separate ‘texts’ – for instance the OE Bede features in the corpus as five separate entries (Bede 1, Bede 2, Bede 3, Bede 4 and Bede 5). This reflects different chapters of the OE *Historia Ecclesiastica* rather than the existence of separate texts. On the other hand, King Alfred’s translation of the *Regula pastoralis* (which consists of four different books in the Latin original) is treated in the DOE as one text. This lack of consistency in the DOE text division is evidenced both in prose and poetry. The *Paris Psalter*, which shows the highest absolute number of occurrences of ANGER-words, is treated as one text even though it consists of around a hundred different psalms, whereas each riddle from the Exeter Book is treated as a separate text. Likewise, each saint’s life in Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* is a separate text, but the entire OE *Martyrology* is treated as one text. There are, of course, problems with such a division, especially when a quantitative analysis of frequency is the main goal of the study. If we keep the text division imposed by the DOE then the *Paris Psalter* as a single text contains the largest number of ANGER-words in the corpus (138 occ.). If, however, Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* were to be treated as one text, the total number of occurrences of ANGER-words in this ‘text’ would be significantly greater than in the *Paris Psalter* (200 occ.). The DOE text division serves a different set of purposes that do not always align with the needs of an analysis such as this.

Dealing with such a large amount of data necessitates choices that may not be useful or justifiable when texts are analysed in close detail and questions of authorship,

translation, composition and text unity are brought to the fore. However, a division has to be made, so to avoid introducing additional confusion or justifying each choice separately, the DOE text-division has been retained for the purpose of this chapter. The only minor change was to conflate into one entry these texts which are clearly marked as having chapters or book divisions.¹⁰⁶ All these texts are translations originating from a similar time period and milieu. They comprise Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Bede 1 to 5), the Old English *Orosius* (Or 1 to 6 and OrHead), the *Regula pastoralis* (CP, CP (Cotton) and CPHead), and Gregory's *Dialogues* (GD 1, GD 2, GDHead, GDPref and 3, GDPref and 4, but with the differentiation into manuscripts C and H). Riddles have also been treated *en masse*.

Table 11.1 presents texts with eleven or more occurrences of ANGER-words.

Text	Total no. of occ.
PPs	138
CP	100
GenA,B	53
GD (C)	48
Beo	41
Bede	27
PPs (prose)	26
ÆLS (Martin)	22
Jul	22
Deut	21
GuthA,B	21
Or	21
Bo	19
GD (H)	19
ÆHom 21	17
Met	17
El	16
And	15
ChristA,B,C	15
Gen	15
WPol	15
ThCap (Sauer)	14
Num	13
ÆAbus (Mor)	12
ÆCHom I, 29	12
Lch I (Herb)	12
Mart 5 (Kotzor)	12
ÆAbus (Warn)	11
ÆGram	11
ÆLS (Maccabees)	11
Exod	11

Table 11.1 – Texts with eleven or more ANGER-words occurrences

¹⁰⁶ These are the texts in the DOE, where the short title is the same, but a number is added after it.

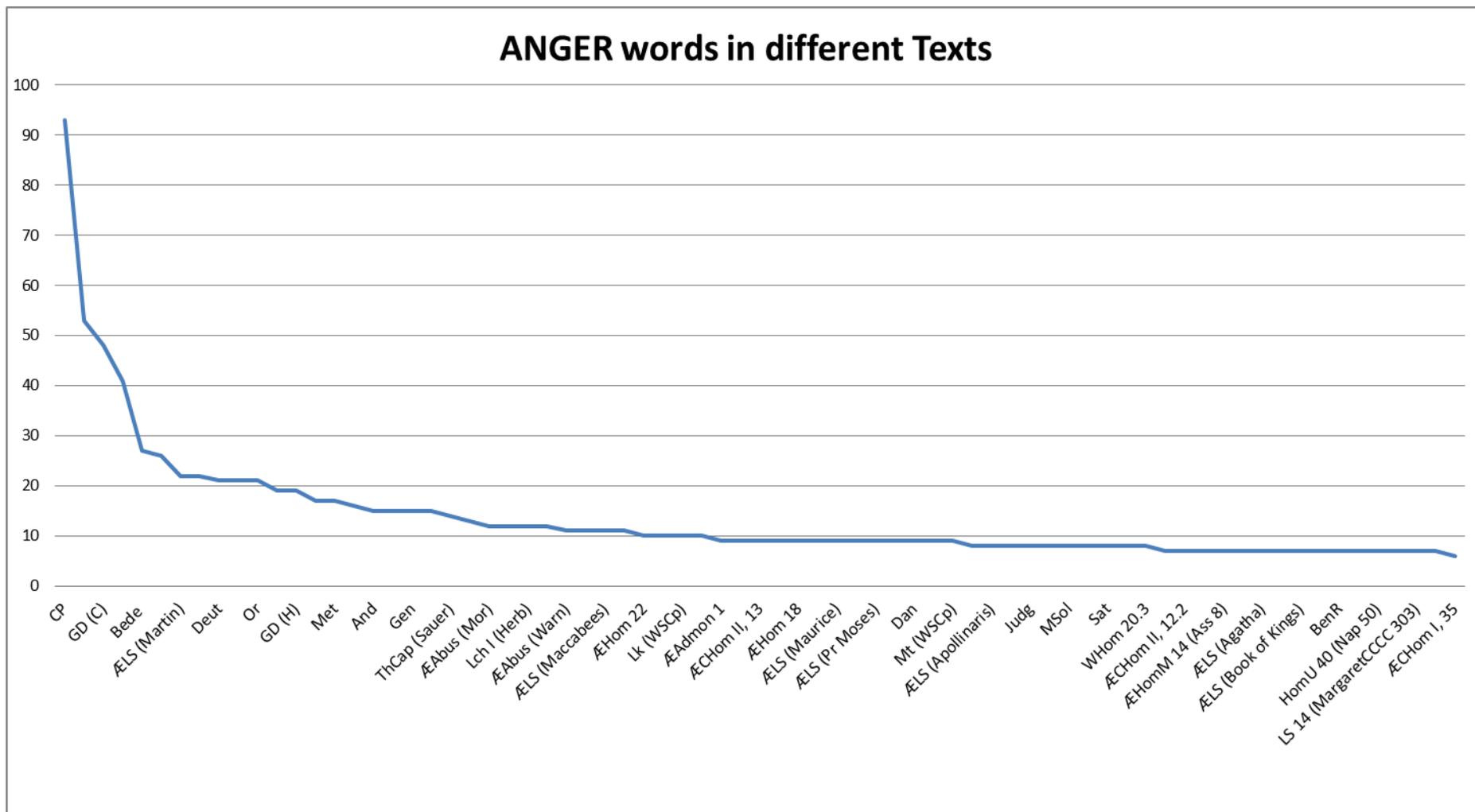


Figure 11-1 – Distribution of ANGER-words in individual texts

The frequencies that form the basis of Figure 11-1 and are presented in Table 11.1 are absolute frequencies, that is the total number of ANGER-words in a given text. This means that often the number of occurrences is not proportionate to the length of the text. For instance, there are 53 occurrences of ANGER-words in *Genesis A,B* and 41 occurrences in *Beowulf*, which makes them the top two poetic texts when it comes to the total number of ANGER-words. However, both *Beowulf* and *Genesis A,B* are long texts with 3182 and 2936 lines respectively, which means that the ratio of ANGER-words per line is 0.018 in *Genesis A,B* and 0.0128 in *Beowulf*. In comparison, *Juliana*, which shows 22 occurrences of ANGER-words, is only 732 lines long and so the ratio in this poem is much higher, that is 0.03.

The method of counting the density of ANGER-words could show the preoccupation of a given text with ANGER as, hypothetically, the more ANGER-words per line of text, the more visible the notion of ANGER is in that text and the more emphasis is put on this type of emotion. This can be calculated easily for poetry, where the number of lines is readily accessible and provides relatively non-arbitrary data. The results of such calculations have been presented in Table 11.2. In case of prose this method would require altering by substituting the number of lines with the total number of words in a text and would require a more complex computational analysis. It may be beneficial to perform such an analysis in the future.

Longer texts often deal with more complex issues or a larger variety of themes. They are more difficult to compare to short poems with a more localised focus. These two methods of computing the frequency of occurrence of ANGER-words yield different results, but are complementary. The *Paris Psalter*, *Genesis A,B*, and *Beowulf* are long texts that show a wider scope of interest. The large number of ANGER-words means that these works should be selected, if the interest of the analysis lies in the general use of ANGER vocabulary in poetry, in lexical variation and in isolated portrayals of ANGER within a larger context of the poem as a whole. (Table 11.3, a shortened version of Table 11.1, with only poetic texts represented shows this ranking clearly). The texts that are placed high in Table 11.3, however, are of a different nature: *Resignation*, *Precepts*, and *The Wanderer* are more concerned with human emotions and behaviour in general, they are more internally focused and share common traits. *Precepts* and *The Wanderer* share some features of wisdom poetry, whilst *Resignation* and *The Wanderer* both portray emotional distress. *Juliana* is the only poem which features high in both these rankings (4th and 3rd place respectively). It correlates with the frequent use of ANGER-words in the prose saints' lives. The poem also features intense, animalistic imagery of ANGER similar to that found in *Beowulf*.

Text	no. of total occ.
PPs	138
GenA,B	53
Beo	41
Jul	22
GuthA,B	21
El	16
And	15
ChristA,B,C	15
Dan	9
Sat	8
Jud	6
Mald	6
Ex	4
JDay II	4
Res	4
Prec	3
Seasons	3
Wan	3
Max I	2
Rim	2
Wid	2
Az	1
Dream	1
Fort	1
JDay I	1
LPr III	1
Pan	1
Phoen	1
Sol I	1
Vain	1
Whale	1
Wife	1

Table 11.2 – Total number of ANGER-words occurrences in poetry

Text	no. of total occ.	no. of lines	ratio of occ. per line
Res	4	118	0.0339
Prec	3	94	0.0319
Jul	22	730	0.0301
Wan	3	115	0.026
Rim	2	87	0.0229
LPr III	1	46	0.0217
Wife	1	53	0.0189
Mald	6	325	0.0185
GenA,B	53	2936	0.018
Jud	6	349	0.0172
GuthA,B	21	1375	0.0154
Wid	2	144	0.0138
Pan	1	74	0.0135
JDay II	4	306	0.0131
Seasons	3	230	0.013
Beo	41	3182	0.0128
El	16	1322	0.0121
Dan	9	764	0.0117
Vain	1	85	0.0117
Whale	1	88	0.0113
Sat	8	730	0.0109
Fort	1	99	0.0101
Max I	2	204	0.0098
And	15	1576	0.0095
ChristA,B,C	15	1664	0.009
JDay I	1	119	0.0084
Ex	4	590	0.0068
Dream	1	156	0.0064
Az	1	191	0.0052
Sol I	1	550	0.0018
Phoen	1	677	0.0015

Table 11.3 – Ratio of occurrences of ANGER-words per line

The density-method of calculating frequencies is probably more reliable when the number of occurrences is greater. *The Wife's Lament* does not put any emphasis on ANGER, as it only contains one occurrence of *WRĀÐ* (which in this case can be understood as FIERCENESS or CRUELTY) and yet its ratio is much higher than that of *Beowulf*. However, the correlation of data from both tables could aid in the selection of the most appropriate texts for analysis.

The case study selected for this chapter is a prose text, the Old English translation of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* (CP). Apart from the *Paris Psalter*, this is the text with the highest number of ANGER-word occurrences. The text itself holds much interest also as a relatively close translation from a Latin source, which was very influential in shaping the moral and theological thought on ANGER at the time.

Naturally, other texts could have been chosen for such an analysis. A number of poetic works with a high number of occurrences could have been chosen for comparative purposes as they represent variation in text type, general focus, origin and purpose. *Genesis A*, *Juliana* and *Beowulf* would be an interesting group of poems for future comparison as they all rank high on the frequency lists. *Genesis A* represents poetry with a Christian focus whose purpose is primarily narrative, and whilst Christian texts underlie the general narrative, the work is an original and inventive creation, not a direct translation. *Juliana* represents poetry that is closely modelled on a Latin source text, in this case a life of a saint, for which we have a potential author, Cynewulf. A cross-comparison of the ANGER word families usage with other signed Cynewulfian poems could reveal a lot about authorial style. Finally, *Beowulf* is a much more secular and heroic narrative and is an entirely vernacular creation (even if Christian overtones are present) that is often deliberately linguistically archaic. Such a comparison is beyond the scope of this thesis, but could be undertaken with the data gathered as a result of this investigation.

The *Paris Psalter*, which would require a different methodological approach due to its complexity, would be another good choice for analysis.

11.2 The Old English *Pastoral Care*

11.2.1 Gregory the Great and his *Regula pastoralis*

Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) was perhaps one of the “most prolific writers of his age” (Rosenwein 2007: 80). He first started working on the idea of his *Pastoral Care* in the years in 579-586, alongside other works, such as *Moralia in Job* (Rosenwein 2007: 79), and finally completed it in 591 (Schreiber 2002: 1). The main motivation behind its creation was pedagogical and pastoral – to teach preachers and clergy how to teach others. It deals at length with the qualities of a good bishop in his office (though often the advice to people of ecclesiastical authority can be extrapolated to secular authority as well) and the most effective ways of admonishing and preaching to different groups of people of different predispositions and characters. It came at a time of political and social disturbance, after the Langobard invasion and outbreaks of the plague (Dudden 1905). and thus its secular overtones can often be seen (Markus 1997: 86-7).

Both in *Regula pastoralis* and in *Moralia*, Gregory is concerned with emotions. Virtuous emotions such as compassion or love, have their place and, as Rosenwein points out, to Gregory “emotions were potentially good, but only if they were properly directed” (Rosenwein 2007: 85). However, in keeping with the Stoic tradition, his approach to emotions seems negative. Emotions can be detrimental to both secular and spiritual life, as they sour relations with men, lead to vices or can even be counted amongst the cardinal sins. The theme of the internal struggle taking place in one’s mind, evoking the tradition of psychomachia, is at the forefront of Gregory’s writings (Rosenwein 2007: 82). The ultimate goal is to gain control of all the disparate thoughts and emotions, and never allow them to go into extremes.

11.2.2 Old English *Pastoral Care* – Context and Nature of the Translation

Authorship is one of the controversial issues concerning the Old English version of the *Regula pastoralis* and Godden (2007) has recently challenged the general belief that King Alfred himself was responsible for the translation.¹⁰⁷

Clement (1986) even went as far as to say that “Alfred is certainly the author of the OE text” (129) and that his mind “is undoubtedly the controlling element that motivates the translation” (130). Some have also postulated a large influence on the translation by Alfred’s advisors who would have been better versed in the Latin and theology required for the understanding of Gregory’s *Regula pastoralis*. This close circle would have included Plegmund, Asser, Grimbald, and John the Saxon (Sisam 1953). The *Pastoral Care* was not the only one assumed as part of Alfred’s great reform and John the Old Saxon is thought to have contributed to its translation from Latin (Lapidge 1993, Lapidge 2014). Though the number of works included in the so-called Alfredian canon fluctuates, according to Bately (1970, 2000) the texts that show a certain common stock vocabulary and lexical preferences would be the *Pastoral Care*, Boethius, *Orosius* and the first fifty prose translations of the *Paris Psalter*. The *Pastoral Care* is a particularly strong candidate as it is prefaced by a Prologue which attributes the translation to King Alfred and is written in his voice, and it is also assumed to be the king’s first translation (Bately 1988; Schreiber 2002: 16). It is also counted amongst ‘those books, which it is most important for men to know’ (*sumae bec ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne*).¹⁰⁸

The translation fits well within the socio-cultural situation of the late ninth century in England. According to Dekker (2001), the translation was aimed at those whose Latin was not yet sufficient for reading the work in its original form, and was meant to serve as a didactic instrument to educate the sons of the nobility for high offices in the Church. He states further that the dissemination of Gregory’s teachings among the new generation of clerics was also supposed to restore the Church to its former glory.

Much of the literature concerned with the Old English translation of *Regula pastoralis* assumes Alfred’s authorship and input, and often analyses the translation from this perspective, for instance discussing the socio-political motivations behind it (Discenza

¹⁰⁷ An overview of the debate is provided by Stanton (2008).

¹⁰⁸ All quotations from *Cura pastoralis* are taken from Sweet (1958) and the translation from Old English is mine unless otherwise indicated.

2001a, 2001b).¹⁰⁹ However, whilst the Prologue to the *Pastoral Care* is written in Alfred's voice, the question of authorship remains entirely open, as Godden (2007) argues. It was common practice in the early Middle Ages, for instance in Charlemagne's court, to attribute texts and translations to the king, even if he could not have written them himself. He further elaborates in a more recent article that the translation of the *Pastoral Care* might also have been a communal effort:

Many hands and minds may have been involved in the creation of the Old English *Pastoral Care*. There is the translator who was responsible for the rendering of the Latin text, including presumably the Gregorian preface and epilogue. There are the authors of the two additional prefaces, of the additional epilogue, and of the chapter list and chapter headings. There is the person who commissioned the original translation, if it was not the translator's own initiative. And there is the person (or persons) of authority who organized the publication of the text and its circulation to the bishops and commissioned the prefaces and epilogue for that purpose. All of these may have been the same person, who might have been King Alfred, as some critics believe; but equally, it is possible that they were several people, and that none of them was the king. (Godden 2011: 442-3)

Godden does admit that if any of the so-called Alfredian translations can be attributed to Alfred, it would most likely be the *Pastoral Care*, especially since there is such a gulf between the translation style of *Pastoral Care* ("earnest and faithful") on the one hand, and the *Consolation* or *Soliloquies*, which he terms as "enormously confident and ambitious" (2007: 13). Godden cautions against assuming authorship and not supporting it with firm evidence, as such assumptions as to the identities of the person or people who have created the translation will immediately bias the analysis of its contents. Bately (2009) responds to this critically, reasserting her stance that the mind behind the translation was King Alfred's, and makes an important point:

The problem with employing statistical analysis to determine authorship, when the texts in question are translations, of course, is that selection of one Old English word rather than another often depends on the Latin, and sometimes also the Old English, context, and frequencies of occurrence are necessarily related to the degree of closeness of that translation to its source. (Bately 2009: 208-9)

I believe that perhaps the most cautious, but also most pragmatic point of view is expressed by Saltzmann (2013), who claims that despite the controversy surrounding the authorship, "Alfred was clearly imagined by his scribes, helpers and contemporaries as the authority

¹⁰⁹For instance, Discenza (2001a: 68) argues that: "Alfred's translations synthesise models of society from Christian Latin literature with Anglo-Saxon ideals and reality".

behind the translations (especially the *Pastoral Care*), and we can therefore treat the texts as related if only by the Alfredian circle in which they were produced, distributed and consumed” (149).

Whilst the Prologue announces that the translation has been done ‘sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense’ (*hwilum word be worde, hwilum ondgite of andgite*), this should more likely be taken as a standard phrase rather than actual information on the practice of translation. Even so, most scholars agree that the overriding principle was that of clarity (for instance, Clement 1986, Bately 2000, Schreiber 2002), as the text had to be made accessible and relevant to Alfred’s audiences. The changes affected several areas of the original text, such as vocabulary, syntax and the content itself, and varied from minor additions for clarity or simple lexical alterations to more profound doctrinal changes.

The question of the influence of Alfred’s circle of advisors is interesting from the cross-linguistic point of view. None of his advisors was a native West Saxon, and whilst the text is composed in the West Saxon dialect, some degree of influence of Old High German on the vocabulary of the Old English *Pastoral Care* has been postulated several times (Braune 1918, Green 1965, Wollmann 1990 and others), which may suggest that John the Saxon was indeed involved in the process of translation.

If the translation was indeed the work of more than one man, we may reasonably expect occasional lack of consistency in equivalence of Latin and Old English vocabulary, and changes in the syntax or style. Whilst the analysis of the translation is not the aim of this thesis, a close look at the ANGER vocabulary may reveal clues regarding those issues as well.

11.2.3 ANGER-words in the Old English *Cura pastoralis*

The DOE Corpus cites Sweet’s edition of the Old English *Pastoral Care* as its source text. This edition contains both the Hatton and the Cotton manuscript text on facing pages, but it is the Hatton manuscript version that is the basis for the text of *Pastoral Care* found in the DOE Corpus and designated as CP – *Cura pastoralis*. Three entries in the DOE Corpus for the Old English translations have yielded ANGER-words: CPHead, which contains the chapter headings, CP, based on the text found in MS Hatton 20, and CP (Cotton) which consists only of chapter 33 from the Cotton manuscript, which is missing from MS Hatton

20.¹¹⁰ The passages quoted below are all taken from Sweet's 1871 edition, reprinted in 1958.

The Old English translation of *Pastoral Care* contains 100 ANGER-words from the word families analysed. Table 11.4 shows how the different word families contribute to this total number. There is a visible predominance of *YRRE*-words, with 57% of occurrences of this word family. In comparison, the second and third word family, *GRAM* and *HĀTHEORT*, account for only 16% and 14% respectively. Whilst *WEĀMŌD* is represented by only four occurrences, it is worth noting that CP is probably one of the earliest recorded sources for the use of this word family to denote ANGER. The *WRĀP* and *TORN* families are not represented at all.

Word family	No of occ.	%
<i>YRRE</i>	57	57
<i>GRAM</i>	16	16
<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	14	14
<i>WŌD</i>	5	5
<i>BELGAN</i>	4	4
<i>WEĀMŌD</i>	4	4
TOTAL	100	100%

Table 11.4 – Distribution of word families in *Cura pastoralis*

The distribution of ANGER-words in the entire text is not even. The occurrences concentrate in several different clusters of varying numbers. The most prominent cluster is found in Chapter 40, which deals explicitly with the *iracundi* in Latin (Judic, Rommel and Morel 1992)¹¹¹ and *grambæra* in Old English, that is with the admonishment of the irascible.¹¹² There are 41 occurrences of ANGER-words in this chapter (*YRRE* – 19 occ., *GRAM* – 9 occ., *HĀTHEORT* – 7 occ., *WEĀMŌD* – 4 occ. and *WŌD* – 2 occ.), which means that this chapter alone accounts for 41% of the total occurrences of ANGER in CP. In comparison, the other chapters have few ANGER-words (represented in Figure 11-2), showing between 1 and 7 occurrences per chapter.

¹¹⁰ Also supposedly written by Alfred are the Preface and the Metrical Epilogue (CPPref and CpEp respectively) and the letter to Wærferth (CPLetWærf), but since these do not have any ANGER-words, they are not discussed here.

¹¹¹ All the quotations from Latin will be taken from the edition used most frequently by scholars of the Old English text, that is *Grégoire le Grand: Règle pastorale*, 2 vols., ed. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, *Sources chrétiennes* 381 and 382 (Paris, 1992).

¹¹² The full title of the chapter in Old English is: *Dætte on oðre wisan sint to monianne ða monðwæran, on oðre ða gramþæran* 'That the meek are to be admonished in one way, in another the irascible' (the Latin version has *Quod aliter ammonendi sunt mansueti atque aliter iracundi*).

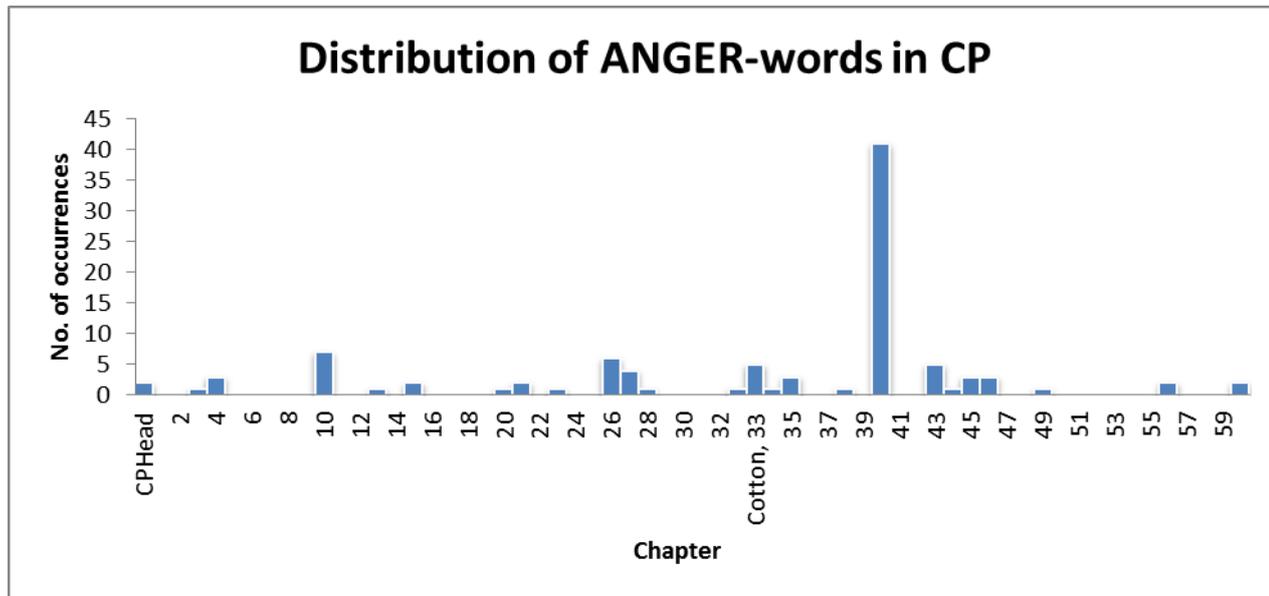


Figure 11-2 – Distribution of ANGER-words in *Cura pastoralis*

The chapters that have four or more occurrences of ANGER-words are chs: 10, 26, 27, 33 and 43. They discuss ANGER in relation to other concepts and themes which are the main focus of these chapters. In the remaining chapters the use is more incidental. The chapter titles are laid out below in Table 11.6. Immediately, several links between ANGER and other concepts can be seen. These concepts are: IMPATIENCE (ch. 33), SADNESS (ch. 27) and ABSTINENCE (ch. 43). ANGER is also discussed in the context of governing or ruling, though it is used in ch. 10 to refer specifically to God.

Ch. no.	English translation of the OE title	OE title	Latin title
10	What kind of man must he be who comes into governance	Huelc se beon sceal ðe to reccenddome cuman sceal	Qualis quisque ad regimen uenire debeat
26	That the rich are to be admonished in one way, the poor in another	Ðætte on oðre wisan sint to manian[n]e ða welegan, on oðre ða wædlan	Quod aliter ammonendi sunt inopes atque aliter locupletes
27	That the joyful are to be admonished in one way, the sad in another	Ðætte on oðre wisan sint to manianne ða gladan, on oðre ða unrotan	Quod aliter ammonendi sunt laeti atque aliter tristes
33	That the impatient are to be admonished in one way, the patient in another	Ðætte on oðre wisan sint to monianne ða ungeðylðegan & on oðre ða geðylðegan	Quod aliter ammonendi sunt impatientes atque aliter patientes
43	That those who give themselves over to gluttony are to be admonished in one way, those who are abstinent in another	Ðætte on oðre wisan sint to monianne ða ðe hi selfe forgiefað gifernesse, on oðre ða ðe doð forhæfdnesse.	Quod aliter ammonendi sunt gulae dediti atque aliter abstinentes

Table 11.5 – Chapters of *Cura pastoralis* with four or more occurrences of ANGER-words

Most instances of ANGER-words in CP refer to people in general – either the ones who should be admonished by the preacher (that is, Book 3 and 4) or those who are in position of clerical or secular power. Additionally, several Biblical characters are brought forward as examples of inappropriate behaviour. Finally, some ANGER-words are also used to refer to God's wrath.

11.2.4 Correlations between Latin and Old English

In general, the correlation between Latin and Old English vocabulary for ANGER appears relatively constant, with the exception of the *GRAM* word family. Sometimes, the changes introduced to the syntax and structure of the sentences in translation make assessing vocabulary equivalence difficult. There are several instances of word-to-word correlation and one or two examples of the practice mentioned in section 11.2.5.1 below, that is using doublets, two Old English words, to translate one Latin lemma. Additionally, there have been several expansions of the Latin text, which introduce additional sentences and use ANGER-words where the Latin original does not have them.

Words from the *YRRE* word family are most often used to render Latin *ira* (n.), *iratus* (adj.) or *iracundus* (adj.). Several times *YRRE* is used for the more intense Latin

furor, and once for the verb *offendere*. *HĀTHEORT* is used to translate Latin *feruor* and *furor* (but not *ira*), the former retaining associations with HEAT (according to Lewis and Short *fevor* is ‘a boiling heat, violent heat’), the latter with intense, violent emotions. This means that *YRRE* and *HĀTHEORT* can both be used for a more agitated, violent manifestation of ANGER, but only *YRRE* is used as the unmarked term.

WŌD is consistently used to render either *uesania* or *insanire*, retaining the meaning MADNESS, but still used in the context of an unrestrained anger or rage (Lewis and Short also has this sense for *insanio*, *-ire*).

BELGAN, which appears infrequently in CP, is used to translate Latin *indignus* or *indignatio*, and *offendere*. This corresponds with the findings from the analysis of this word family, where OFFENCE is a commonly found meaning, particularly for *ā-* prefixed forms (5.3.2.3.). SWELLING, another common conceptualisation found for *BELGAN*, is also present in the *Regula pastoralis*, as in one instance the Old English verb *gebelgan* translates Latin *tumidus*, which literally means ‘swelling’ (Lewis and Short), but can be also used for emotional upheaval. An added phrase *aðundne mod* ‘with a swollen mind’ contributes to that meaning as well.

All four instances of *WĒAMŌD* are found in chapter 40. As mentioned above, these are probably some of the earliest recorded uses of this word family. The adjective *wĒamōd* is used together with *GRAM* in a doublet to render the plural substantive adjective *iracundi*, but the words from this family also correspond to *furor*, *furentem* (the past participle of the verb *furo* used adjectivally in singular accusative) and once to a metaphorical sense of elevation. Since *WĒAMŌD* renders *furor* and *furo*, it may have closer associations with MADNESS or FURY than in its later usage. In one of these examples, the Latin word *furo* is quickly followed by *insane* (translated in the OE as *ungewitt*), strengthening this link further. There does not seem to be the same association with SIN in the use of *WĒAMŌD* in CP as these can be found in later Old English writings, particularly in Ælfric.

The use of *GRAM* is less consistent when it comes to equivalence, as it is often used in passages that deviate from the Latin original and it shows a wider range of uses. Most often it seems to be an acceptable equivalent of *iracundia* or *iracundus*. It is also used to translate *prouoco*, *-are* ‘to incite, provoke’, *laesus* ‘hurt, injured’ *excruciate* (from *excrucio* ‘torment, torture’), and *grauo* ‘provoke’. *GRAM* shows associations with VEXATION and PROVOCATION, but not with HOSTILITY.

Surprisingly, there is a lack of consistency in translation in chapter 40 as three different Old English words are used for the term *iracundi*. The term is central to the entire

chapter and it appears in the heading, and yet is rendered by *grambāeran* and *wēamōdan* in the first half of the translation, and *irsiendan/iersigiendan* and *hātheortan* in the second. *Grambāere* dominates for the first half of the chapter and is once supplemented with *wēamōdan* in a doublet, but the present participle of the verb *yrnian* is used in the second half of the chapter (*irsiendan/iersigiendan*), sometimes as a substantive adjective, sometimes in a noun phrase (*iersigendan menn*). The choice made by the translator in the first part is surprising as neither *grambāere*, nor *wēamōd* is common in Old English. *Wēamōd* only becomes slightly more prominent in Ælfric's writings, but is rare in earlier prose and its use in the *Pastoral Care* may very well be the earliest recorded. The compound adjective *grambāere* is even rarer, with 10 occurrences and all of them found in the Old English translation of the CP and nowhere else in the corpus.¹¹³ The use of those two rare terms shows certain inventiveness on the part of the translator. *Grambāere* could have been a coinage made specifically to reflect the iterative nature of *iracundus*, that is one who is easily angered or provoked (innate quality), as opposed to *iratus* (angry in a given moment in time),¹¹⁴ as literally the compound would mean 'the one who has or carries anger'. The alternative *yrniende*, being a present participle of the verb *yrnian*, is perhaps a less convoluted and more natural, though certainly a less creative translation of the Latin *iracundus*. The Old English CP does use present participles at other times to refer to those who must be admonished, for instance *þā welwillendan* 'the benevolent' and *þā fæstendan* 'the fasting', though it does so rarely.

The disparity in the use of the Old English terms could perhaps reflect that there were two or more people responsible for translating this chapter and that they chose different words to denote the irascible. In any case, the use of these three words suggests that in Old English they were all closer to the meaning 'easily angered, prone to fits of anger' rather than 'angry', and denoted a general tendency toward angry behaviour.¹¹⁵ The singular use of *hāthēortan* for *iracundi* may suggest that *HĀTHĒORT* is also of a more lasting quality.

¹¹³ Formations with *-bære*, such as *cwealmbære*, *dēapbære*, *lustbære*, *wæstmbære* (Healey 2010:194) can be treated as derivatives rather than compounds, and both *-berende* and *-bære* can be seen as suffixoids, equivalent to the Latin *-fer/ber* (Kastovsky 1992: 350), that is the one who bears or carries.

¹¹⁴ The difference between the two terms has been remarked upon by Seneca the Younger in his *De Ira*, where he likens it to the differences between a drunk man and a drunkard and a frightened man and a coward, and points out that: *Iratus potest non esse iracundus: iracundus potest aliquando iratus non esse* (Fickert 1843: 338) or 'An angry need not be irascible; the irascible can sometimes not be angry' (Cooper and Procopé 1995: 22).

¹¹⁵ This is further expanded in Section 11.2.6. on Chapter 40.

Chapter	Passage	Old English word/phrase	Latin term
3	[B146]	bealg	indignum
4	[Ypr406]	Godes ierre	iram iudicis
	[Ypr407]	Deman ierre	iram iudicis
	[Ypr408]	bið genieded to ðæm ierre	se offendisse
10	[Ypr490]	iersað	sibi iratus
	[Ypr409]	ierre	x
	[Ypr410]	ierre	iram
	[Ypr470]	irsigende mod	irati animus
	[Gv88]	gegremeð	prouocatur
	[Ypr411]	ierre	x
	[Ypr412]	ierre ... deman	iram iudicis
13	[Ypr413]	to hræd ierre	praeceps ira perturbed
15	[B56]	abelge	offendat
	[Ypr447]	irre	iram
20	[Ypr471]	irsung	ira
21	[H61]	hatheortnesse	feruoris
	[Gv89]	gegremige	excruciate
23	[G230]	grambæran	iracundi
26	[W2]	wodðraga	x
	[W3]	wodðraga	uesaniam
	[W4]	wodðraga	uesania
	[Ypr414]	ierre	furorem
	[B57]	gebelge	tumida
	[H62]	hatheornesse	?audacem
27	[Ypr415]	ierre	iram
	[Ypr448]	irre	x
	[Ypr487]	iersung	x
	[Ypr488]	iersige	x
28	[Gv90]	gremigen	ad iracundiam prouocare
33	[H63]	hatheortness	furor
33 Cotton	[H73]	hatheortnes	furor
	[Gv92]	gremeð	?grauantur excedunt
	[Gv93]	gegremed	laesus (injured!)
	[B147]	abealg	x
	[Ypr434]	ierre	ira
34	[Ypr449]	irre	iratus(que)
35	[H64]	hatheortnesse	x
	[Ypr416]	ierre	dies irae
	[Ypr450]	irres	ira extremii iudici
38	[Ypr451]	irre	iras
40	[G231]	grambæran	iracundi
	[G232]	grambæran	x
	[Wm18]	weamodan	iracundi
	[G233]	grambæran	(2 words for 1)
	[Gv91]	gremeð	?impellente
	[Ypr417]	ierre	ira
	[W44]	wedenheortnesse	uesaniam
	[Ypr418]	ierre	furor
	[Ypr452]	irre	irati
	[Ypr453]	irran	irati
	[Ypr419]	hierre	irae
	[G234]	grambæra	iracundi
	[G235]	grambæran	x

	[G236]	grambæran	iracundi
	[Ypr420]	ierran	x
	[G237]	grambæran	x
	[G238]	grambæran	iracundi
	[H65]	hatheortran	feruorem/feruientoris
	[Ypr472]	irsunga	ira
	[Ypr454]	irres	x
	[Ypr473]	irsunga	x
	[Ypr474]	irsian	x
	[Ypr475]	irsiendan	iracundi
	[Ypr491]	iersigendan	iracundi
	[Ypr421]	ierre	x
	[Ypr455]	irre	irae
	[Ypr423]	ierres	furore
	[Ypr492]	iersigendan	iracundi
	[H66]	hatheortnes	furor
	[Wm19]	weamodnesse	furoris
	[Ypr425]	irre	furoris
	[H67]	hatheortnesse	x
	[Ypr456]	ierre	irascentem
	[H68]	hatheortan	iracundi
	[W71]	wedende	insanire
	[H69]	hatheortnesse	furore
	[H70]	hathierte	x
	[Wm20]	weamodan	furentem
	[Wm21]	weamodnesse	x / ab eo quod se erexerant
	[H71]	hatheortnesse	feruoris
43	[Ypr425]	ierre	ira
	[Ypr457]	irre	ira
	[Ypr426]	ierre	x
	[Ypr489]	iersunga	x
	[Ypr458]	irre	iram
44	[Ypr428]	ierre	iram
45	[Ypr429]	ierre	x
	[Ypr476]	irsung	x
	[Ypr 459]	irre	ira
46	[Ypr430]	ierre	iram
	[Ypr431]	ierre	iratus
	[Ypr460]	irre	iram
49	[Ypr432]	ierre	irascentem
56	[Ypr433]	ierre	indignation
	[Ypr434]	ierrenga	iratus
60	[Ypr477]	irsunga	ira
	[H72]	hatheortan	iracundis

Table 11.6 – Latin and Old English vocabulary for ANGER in *Cura pastoralis*

11.2.5 Select Passages

I have chosen to analyse the portrayal of ANGER in two different chapters of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, chs. 40 and 27. These chapters illustrate well the legacy of Gregorian thought and his approach to ANGER, which would have proliferated during the Old English period. A closer comparison between the Latin text and the Old English translation also shows the changes that the translator(s) introduced to the Latin original and suggests where the Anglo-Saxon understanding of certain concepts (or at least the understanding of Alfred and his helpers) would have differed significantly from that of Gregory.

11.2.5.1 Chapter 40 – The Meek and the Irascible

Chapter 40 of the *Pastoral Care* contains the highest number of ANGER-words and discusses the concept of ANGER directly. The comparison between the Latin original and its translation will allow us to see both where the translation remains faithful and where it deviates, particularly in the usage of ANGER vocabulary. This will in turn help understand how the translator chose to present the concept of ANGER by either conveying the words of the original exactly or adapting them to better fit his prospective audience.

A sentence by sentence comparison of the Latin text with the Old English shows that the translation is in fact very close to the original. The general progression of ideas and structuring of thematic units remains the same. Judic, Rommel and Morel's (1992) edition of the *Regula pastoralis* divides the text into four paragraphs and whilst it is an editorial decision, these paragraphs represent separate thought units in the original. Since 'paragraph' is a term suggesting typographical representation, I shall refer to these units as 'parts'.

The first part of the chapter is concerned with how the teacher should admonish the *mansueti*, that is the gentle or meek ones, and the *iracundi*, the angry, irascible or passionate ones, and highlights the differences between these two groups of people. Present-Day English translations of both the Latin and the Old English text choose different words to represent *iracundi* or *grambēran*, which have a different range of connotations. The full set of senses for *iracundus* given by Lewis and Short is: "irascible, irritable, passionate, choleric, angry, ireful, easily provoked" and shows a wide range of meanings for this word. ANGER in ch. 40 of the *Regula pastoralis* is not treated as a

separate instance of emotion, but rather a built-in predisposition towards a certain mode of behaviour. The *iracundi* have a natural tendency to behave in a certain way.

The concept of natural proclivities is maintained throughout Books 3 and 4 of the *Regula pastoralis*, in which each chapter details such contrasting pairs of in-built qualities or tendencies. In each case, these natural tendencies need to be moderated to become more like their opposite. When taken to their extremes and allowed to go unchecked, these qualities can quickly turn from potential virtue to vice. Individual predispositions towards one of the extremes need to be harnessed and channelled appropriately. In the context of chapter 40, both meekness/gentleness and passion/anger, when allowed to remain unchecked, turn to vice, but they do have their uses when moderated. This is what Present-Day English equivalents often fail to convey, as they have much clearer negative or positive connotations. For instance, *passion* is more positive than *irascibility*, but the use of *iracundus* in *Regula pastoralis* conveys both.

The first and second parts of ch. 40 are particularly concerned with situations when meekness or passion are exhibited by people in positions of authority. The excess of these qualities in figures of authority often bears negatively on those under their power, either as students or subjects. If gentleness is taken too far, it may lead to a lack of discipline, whilst anger taken to extremes destroys calmness and introduces confusion of one's subjects. The first part of chapter 40 details how the meek and passionate should counteract their natural tendencies in general terms. By contrast, the second part provides an example of St Paul and his two disciples, Timothy and Titus. Though similar, the two differ in their disposition, as one is too meek, the other too passionate. Thus, one had to be spurred on to become more decisive, the other had to be restrained as with a bridle, to become gentler. (*Illum stimulo impellere nititur, hunc freno moderatur* 'The one he endeavours to push on with a spur, the other to keep back with a bridle'). St Paul is further allegorically likened to a gardener who waters and prunes different trees to keep them from growing too little or too much.

The third and fourth parts concentrate almost exclusively on the passionate/irascible, showing how they differ from the impatient and providing teaching on how to approach them and correct them. Two scriptural examples are presented to illustrate the means of such correction: Abigail waiting to reprimand her drunk husband Nabal only after he regained the clarity of his mind, and the unrelenting pursuit of Abner by Asahel, and the latter's consequent death from the hands of the former by the butt of the spear.

The distinction between two different types of anger is based on the motives for the outburst of passion. Anger motivated by a sense of righteousness, and thus similar to zeal, is much better than one devoid of such motivation.

Gregory further teaches that the passionate/irascible are not in control of themselves when under the power of their passion. They do not know what they do, nor do they listen to reason. It is therefore counterproductive to admonish them or confront them directly, but it is better to wait patiently until they have calmed down. They will be more open to rebuke after having realised how patiently they have been dealt with. If however, the passionate are unrelenting in their attacks, they once again need to be approached with calmness – not with open rebuke, but with well-placed, pointed remarks (signified in the *exemplum* by the butt, not the point of the spear).

Gregory's teachings on anger in this chapter show quite clearly that there are more and less laudable types of anger, but even when the anger is righteous (or more similar to zeal), it needs to be moderated. A similar attitude is echoed throughout Old English prose and poetry, whether religious or secular. The two traditions here can be at the point of convergence, as the idea of the usefulness of anger as a social tool, but only when used in moderation, can be found in many cultures. Whether or not the Anglo-Saxon ideas on anger were shaped by Gregory's thought on the subject is in this case difficult to say, due to universal characteristics of anger as a social emotion.

Naturally, when discussing the relevance of the differences found in translation, one needs to bear in mind that the individual choices of the translator(s) may be just that – individual choices, reflecting personal, rather than general, attitudes. However, changes made in the Old English are important, particularly in the light of how little the translation actually deviates from the original text. As has been mentioned, one of the overarching principle of the translator(s) was to achieve clarity and aid understanding. This explicatory nature of the translation means that changes introduced were probably there to help the audiences understand the text and to make it more accessible to them.

There are 40 instances of the ANGER-words, plus several instances of *ANDA*. The Latin, as can be seen from Table 11.4, shows fewer occurrences, that is 29 occurrences of ANGER or ANGER-related words. Judging solely by the number of occurrences of ANGER-words in the Old English translation, one could presume that the translation expands significantly on the Latin (as was evidenced in the instances discussed above). However, this is not the case. The deviations from the text of Chapter 40 in Old English are few and most changes do not add significantly to the text. They are either explications or repetitions of the same concept (when it is introduced only once in the original). More specifically, the

changes made in the translation can be divided into several types: expanding or explication of demonstrative pronouns or implied subject, providing two Old English words for one Latin term, changes in phrasal expression, vocabulary or metaphor on the word level, and additional phrases or clauses that clarify an idea in Latin.¹¹⁶ I will provide examples of each change, with attention paid to the Old English ANGER-words that are the subject of this thesis. A point of note, however, is that the same passage or sentence can often exhibit more than one type of change, especially when the translation reworks the Latin sentence structure substantially.

Explication of Demonstrative Pronouns or Implied Subject of Sentence

This type of change accounts for the majority of additional ANGER-words found in the Old English text. The Latin text is economic and terse, with short elliptical clauses that contain copious use of plural demonstrative pronouns (*illi, isti*), or the singular demonstrative pronoun (*haec*), either when discussing the meek and the passionate or types of anger, as is the case in the following passage:

Ammonendi sunt igitur **illi** ut fugiant quod iuxta **ipsos** est, **isti** quod in **ipsis** attendant; **illi** quod non habent discernant, **isti** quod habent.
(*Regula pastoralis* II, p. 354, ll.18-21)

[*Those, therefore, are to be admonished to fly what is close beside themselves, these to take heed to what is in themselves; those to discern what they have not, these what they have.*] (Schaff 1895: 40)

The Old English translation often expands on such pronouns in the entirety of Book Three of the *Pastoral Care* (Schreiber 2002: 45). In this passage, one sentence is expanded into several separate sentences and the syntax changed. Rather than relying on pronouns, it repeats the substantive adjectives which denote the two groups of people.

Ac we sculon manian ða manðwæran ðæt hie hæbben ða monnðwærnesse, & fleon ðæt ðær suiðe neah liegeð ðære monnðwærnesse, ðæt is sleacnes. Ða **grambæran** we sculon monian ðæt hie ongieten hwæt hie on him selfum habbað. Ða **monnðwæran** we sculon monian ðæt hie ongieten hwæt hi nabbað.
(Sweet 1958: 289)

¹¹⁶ Schreiber (2002) discusses the characteristics of the translation (39-49), and provides a similar categorisation, pointing out that omissions are rare, but additions and alterations account for the bulk of the changes. The alterations and additions can include: personal names of Biblical origin are specified by appositions (40), abstract concepts are replaced by concrete translations (41), appositions are given to Latin common and proper nouns (41), sources of Biblical passages are identified (41).

[We must admonish the gentle that they keep their gentleness, and flee that, which is very close to gentleness, that is remissness. We must admonish the passionate/irascible that they see what they have in themselves. We must admonish the gentle that they see what they do not have.]

Similarly, when introducing two different types of anger, the Latin uses pronouns (or in the passage below, reciprocal or indefinite pronouns such as *alia* ‘other’).

Sed longe **alia** est **ira** quae sub aemulationis specie subripit, **alia** quae perturbatum cor et sine iustitiae praetextu confundit. **Illa** enim in hoc quod debet inordinate extenditur, **haec** autem semper in his quae non debet inflammatur.

[But far different is the anger that creeps in under the guise of zeal from that which confounds the perturbed heart without pretext of righteousness. For the former is extended inordinately in that wherein it ought to be, but the latter is ever kindled in that wherein it ought not to be.] (Schaff 1895: 39)

In the Latin passage there is only one ANGER-word, that is *ira*, but the corresponding Old English passage has five occurrences of the words from the *YRRE* family.

Ac ða **irsunga** sindun suiðe ungelica: oðer bið suelce [hit sie] **irres** anlicnes, ðæt is ðæt mon wille æt oðrum his yfel aðreatigan, & hine on ryhtum gebringan, oðer bið ðæt **ierre** ðæt mon sie gedrefed on his mode butan ælcra ryhtwisnesse; oðer ðara **irsunga** bið to ungemetlice & to ungedafenlice atyht on ðæt ðe hio mid ryhte **irsian** sceall, **oðer** on ðæt ðe hio ne sceal bið ealneg to suiðe onbærned.

[But the two types of anger (lit. *angers*) are very different from each other – the first one is such, as if it were in the likeness of anger, when one wishes to force evil away from someone and bring him back to that which is right; the second is the anger when one is disturbed in his mind without any righteousness. The former of the two types of anger is too excessively and too unbecomingly stretched over this, against which one must rightfully be angry, the second is always too greatly inflamed over what it should not be.]

Two of the additional Old English ANGER-words can be explained by an expansion or clarification of the Latin pronouns. Two are a result of other, more substantial changes to the text, which will be discussed later. The Latin VP *alia... confundit*, where *alia* serves as the subject of the sentence, and *confundit* as the main verb, is expanded by the Old English *oðer bið ðæt irre, ðæt...* which introduces a compound sentence, changing the Latin *alia* in a pronominal function to Old English *oðer*, which plays a predicative function in a newly formed main clause. The Latin *illa* ‘that one’ is translated as *oðer ðara irsunga*, which is a simpler expansion with a genitive phrase.

Doublets – Two Old English Words for a Single Latin Lemma

This change is common throughout the Old English *Pastoral Care*, as has been pointed out by Schreiber (2002: 42-3). The doublets frequently alliterate and often are motivated by a general rearrangement of the Latin sentence. Additionally, providing two words for one in translation seems a common coping strategy for semantic non-equivalence in bilingual communication. The words are usually from the same semantic field, but are not fully equivalent, each having their own set of senses and connotations. Doublets usually comprise two representatives of the same word category (e.g. two nouns, two adjectives, etc.), though occasionally the doublets can be more complex with, for instance, the entire noun phrase doubling.¹¹⁷ The use of doublets suggests that the source language may not have a semantic equivalent in the target language, but two words in the target language possess qualities of the word from the source language. Another, more likely way of looking at doublets is seeing them as a stylistic device, perhaps partially aesthetic (hence, alliteration) or emphatic.

The first example of doublets, which contain ANGER-words somewhere in their construction, has already been analysed in section 11.2.3 and contains the pair using words from the *WĒAMŌD* and *GRAM* families.

At contra **iracundi**...

[*But against the irascible...*]

Ongean ðæt sint to manianne ða **weamodan** & ða **grambæran**....

[*The angry-hearted and the angry-hearted are to be admonished...*]

The second is an example of a more complex doublet.

cum per abrupta **furoris** mentem cuiuspam ferri conspicit

[*sees the mind of any one borne along over the steeps of rage*]

gesuencedne mid **irre** & mid **hatheortnesse onbærnedne**

[*troubled with anger and kindled with hot-heartedness*]

Here, the translation is more free and departs from the Latin, discarding the image of the ‘steeps of rage’ (*abrupta furoris*) and replacing them with a more literal expression. The

¹¹⁷ For more on doublets see Koskenniemi (1968).

Latin *furor* is rendered with both *irre* and *hātheortness*, and two past participles are added (from the verbs *geswencan* ‘to trouble’ and *onbærnan* ‘to kindle’). The imagery is quite different between Latin and Old English. In Latin the mind is being passively subjected to a strong force and ‘carried along’ with it, whilst in Old English the mind is attacked or oppressed with anger, which becomes an active force. It is also kindled or enflamed, strengthening the association of ANGER AS HEAT. These changes fit within the next type of translation change discussed below.

Changes in Phrasal Expression, Vocabulary or Metaphor

This type of change shows differences in the conceptualisation of ANGER between Latin and Old English. One such change is the agency or power of anger over a man’s mind. As has been shown in the example above, anger in the OE *Cura pastoralis* is a much more active force, exerting its power over the person who experiences it. This can be further seen in the following passage:

Quos cum **furor** agit in praeceps ignorant quidquid **irati** faciunt.

[For, when rage drives them headlong [downward, quickly], they know not what they do in their anger.]

Forðæm, ðonne ðæt **ierre** [h]æfð¹¹⁸ anwald ðæs monnes, ðonne gehriesð he on sume scylde, sua ðæt he self nāt huæt he on ðæt **irre** deð.

[Thus, when anger gains/has power/control over a man, he falls headlong into (some) sin, so that he himself does not know what he does in that anger.]

In this case, the Latin also ascribes active power to rage, which drives or leads men headlong (*furor agit in praeceps*). The imagery is similar to the one used in the passage discussed above, that of quick movement, of the mind rushing or being propelled in anger. In the Old English, this is changed to a more absolute, static statement. The idea of rushing or falling is still retained, but moves to the man himself. In the Latin text, ANGER drives men headlong. In Old English ANGER has power or control over a man so that he himself falls headlong into sin.

Another passage shows the difference in agency when a man considers his anger to be the zeal of righteousness.

¹¹⁸ MS Hatton 20 *æfð*, MS Cotton *hæfð*.

saepe **iracundi** rectitudinis falluntur zelo.

[*often the passionate are deceived by the zeal of uprightness*]

Oft eac ða **grambæran** leogað him selfum, ðonne hie wenað ðæt hie ryhtne andan hæbben.

[*Often also the irascible deceive themselves when they believe that they have righteous anger/zeal*]

The passive Latin verb form *falluntur* ‘are deceived, tricked’ is changed to an active construction with the OE verb *lēogan*. The use of the passive form in Latin means that the blame is partially lifted from the *iracundi*. They are not active agents, but are deceived or tricked by their own emotions. In contrast, the Old English text is much quicker in attributing the blame to the experiencer’s own self. It is the *grambæran* who actively deceive or, even worse, lie to themselves, when they try to convince themselves that their anger is righteous. The Old English translation suggests a much greater responsibility for one’s behaviour and awareness of one’s own actions, perhaps even throwing a greater doubt on the righteousness of anger in general. The use of the reflexive pronoun and an active construction can be an example of a more wide-ranging ideas about the nature of the mind in Anglo-Saxon literature and the previous two examples also seem to testify to that. As Saltzmann (2013) argues, the Old English *Pastoral Care* puts great emphasis on the construction of the mind and its ability to deceive itself. Thought can happen separately “on both the surface and the interior of the *mod*” (162) and “the mind has the ability to forget itself, to split from itself, and to conceal itself from itself” (182). It is however, not only thought that happens separately, but also emotion. Powerful, negative emotions are seen as attackers who assault the inner mind from outside, by troubling it or even harassing or oppressing it, as the verb *geswencan* suggests.

The differences between Latin and Old English also appear when the subject of how to deal with anger is discussed. In *Regula pastoralis*, the *iracundi* are to condemn any disturbance or confusion, which arises from anger.

damnent **iracundi** perturbationem

[*let the passionate ban perturbation*]

Lytligen ða **grambæran** hiera gedrefednesse.

[*The irascible should lessen their confusion.*]

The Latin verb *damno*, *-are* ‘to condemn, convict’, in both legal and non-legal sense, is a much stronger and unyielding proposition. In no uncertain terms, Gregory tells us that all confusion that arises from anger should be condemned or banned. The Old English, in contrast to this, is much milder. The *grambæran* are implored to lessen or diminish their *gedrefedness*, which can be translated as ‘distress, disquiet, mental agitation’ or ‘confusion’ (DOE). The verb *lytlian* suggests that it is enough for the irascible to make their distress and agitation smaller, as if either anger could never be entirely contained, or just keeping it in check could be enough.

In the three examples above, ANGER in the Old English translation seems a more powerful, active force which can trouble the mind greatly, and is difficult to control entirely. Personal responsibility for containing it and not being deceived by it is perhaps greater than in the Latin.

Additional Phrases or Clauses that Clarify or Expand an Idea

Some changes in the Old English translation result from the insertion of additional phrases or clauses for the purpose of clarification and expansion. The imagery or conceptualisation of ANGER can still change during this type of transformation, and these will be discussed as well, but the focus of these additions is usually to introduce a firmer commentary on proper and improper behaviour or the explanation of how this behaviour comes to be, all of which is absent in Latin.

Gregory comments that when the *iracundi* are driven into fury or frenzy by anger, it is their subjects who suffer the consequences.

At contra **iracundi** cum regiminum loca percipiant, quo impellente **ira** in mentis **uesaniam** deuoluuntur, eo etiam subditorum uitam dissipata quietis tranquillitate confundunt.

[But on the other hand the passionate, in that they are swept on into frenzy of mind by the impulse of anger, break up the calm of quietness, and so throw into confusion the life of those that are put under them] (Schaff 1895: 39)

In the Latin, the sole existence of ‘those who are under them’ is enough to suggest that the *iracundi* are in a position of authority. However, the Old English translation makes that explicit by inserting an additional clause.

Ongean ðæt sint to manianne ða **weamodan** & ða **grambæran**, forðæm, ðonne hie underfoð ðone folgoð, ðonne tyht hie & **gremeð** ðæt **ierre** ðæt hie wealwiað on ða **wedenheortnesse**, & ðurh ðæt wierð toslieten sio stilnes hiera hieremonna modes, & bið gedrefed sio smyltnes hiera lifes.

[*The irascible should be admonished in an opposite fashion, because when they accept authority, then the anger urges/provokes and aggravates them, so that they wallow in their fury, and through that, the calmness of their subjects' mind is destroyed and the serenity of their life is disturbed.*]

The clause *ðonne hie underfoð ðone folgoð* ‘when they accept/receive authority’ makes it obvious from the start that the irascible who have just come into a position of power are the focus of the sentence. The adverbial pair of *ðonne... ðonne* introduces an interesting causality that is absent in the Latin. ANGER that is taken to extremes may be seen as a concomitant of being in power. It is *when* the power or authority is taken up that the anger may start provoking a man so much that he turns to fury and destroys the lives of his subjects. In the clause *tyht hie & gremeð ðæt ierre*, though the word-order is inverted, *ierre* is clearly the subject as both verbs are singular. ANGER is an active force that works in opposition to the person who is experiencing it, echoing the dichotomy of the mind as both the container and the contained as suggested by Saltzman (2013: 182) and discussed above. The emotion is both the internal product of the mind and self, and an almost external factor which causes men to become aggravated, urged, and provoked.

The differences between the two types of ANGER in *Regula pastoralis* have already been mentioned and the passage below given as an example of the expansion of demonstrative pronouns, but the changes introduced in the translation go beyond that. The Latin simply states that one is often mistaken for zeal and the other does not even pretend to be righteous.

Sed longe alia est **ira** quae sub aemulationis specie subripit, alia quae perturbatum cor et sine iustitiae praetextu confundit.

[*But far different is the anger that creeps in under the guise of zeal from that which confounds the perturbed heart without pretext of righteousness.*] (Schaff 1895: 40)

In the Old English, however, we find a direct explanation of the first type of anger.

Ac ða **irsunga** sindun suiðc ungelica: oðer bið suelce [hit sie] **irres** anlicnes, ðæt is ðæt mon wielle æt oðrum his yfel aðreatigan, & hine on ryhtum gebringan, oðer bið ðæt **ierre** ðæt mon sie gedrefed on his mode butan ælcra ryhtwisnesse;

*[But the two types of anger (lit. *angers*) are very different from each other – the first one is such, as if it were in the likeness of anger, when one wishes to force evil away from someone and bring him back to that which is right; the second is the anger when one is disturbed in his mind without any righteousness.]*

In this case, the Old English omits the notion of ZEAL (which is represented in Latin by *aemulatio*), but just suggests that this type of anger (*irsung*) is ‘like anger’ (*ierre*), though not identical. It is an attitude whose main motivation is to prevent other people from committing evil and falling into sin by reminding them about what is correct and right. It suggests that anger can only be righteous, if it is used for the moral purpose of averting sin in others and reprimanding them for their transgressions. Whilst in keeping with the general thrust of the *Regula pastoralis*, the Old English translation makes the link between righteous anger and combatting evil or sin much more explicit.

This rightness is further stressed in the following sentence, where the two types of anger are further discussed.

Illa enim in hoc quod debet inordinate extenditur, haec autem semper in his quae non debet inflammatur.

[For the former is extended inordinately in that wherein it is due, but the latter is ever kindled in that wherein it ought not to be.]

oðer ðara **irsunga** bið to ungemetlice & to ungedafenlice atyht on ðæt ðe hio mid ryhte **irsian** sceall, oðer on ðæt ðe hio ne sceal bið ealneg to suiðe onbærned.

[The former of the two types of anger is too excessively and too unbecomingly stretched over this, against which one must rightfully be angry; the second is always too greatly inflamed over what it should not be.]

The Old English expands the Latin *in hoc quod debet* ‘that, where it ought to be’ by specifying the reason for the first type of anger. The prepositional phrase *mid ryhte* further stresses that the first type of anger is righteous, a notion which the Latin does not repeat.

Though this analysis does not exhaust all the changes introduced to Chapter 40 in translation, it shows some of the most prominent. These changes are evidence that the understanding of ANGER in the Old English *Pastoral Care* differs from its Latin source. The two main differences lie in the conceptualisation of ANGER AS A FORCE that attacks a man’s mind and in a more precise definition of what constitutes righteous anger.

11.2.5.2 Chapter 27 – The Joyful and The Sad

This chapter is relatively brief in comparison to others in Books 3 and 4 of the *Regula pastoralis*. It concerns the joyful and the sad (*Quod aliter ammonendi sunt laeti atque aliter tristes*). The Old English translation introduces a substantial addition, particularly in perspective of the briefness of the chapter, expanding on the importance of ANGER in the context of SADNESS.

Much as in Chapter 40 and elsewhere in *Regula pastoralis*, natural tendencies towards one extreme or the other are responsible for bringing a person closer to vice. The vice of the joyful in the Latin text is *luxuria*, which can be variously translated as ‘extravagance, profusion or wantonness’ (Lewis and Short). It has been used by Gregory (most prominently in his *Moralia in Job*) to refer to Lust, one of the seven cardinal sins, though his understanding of *luxuria* is wider and includes moral blindness, self-love and hatred of God and is also associated with gluttony (Berry 1994: 97). It is worth quoting the passage in full.

Nonnulli autem laeti uel tristes non rebus fiunt, sed consparsionibus existunt. Quibus profecto intimandum est quod quaedam uitia quibusdam consparsionibus iuxta sunt. Habent enim laeti ex propinquo luxuriam, tristes **iram**. Vnde necesse est, ut non solum quisque consideret quod ex consparsione sustinet, sed etiam quod ex uicino deterius perurget; ne dum nequaquam pugnat contra hoc quod tolerat ei quoque a quo se liberum aestimat, uitio succumbat. (Judic, Rommel and Morel 1992: 274, ll. 10-19)

[*But some are not made joyful or sad by circumstances, but are so by temperament. And to such it should be intimated that certain defects are connected with certain temperaments; that the joyful have lechery close at hand, and the sad wrath. Hence it is necessary for every one to consider not only what he suffers from his peculiar temperament, but also what worse thing presses on him in connection with it; lest, while he fights not at all against that which he has, he succumb also to that from which he supposes himself free.*] (Schaff 1895: 26)

In this passage, anger or wrath (*ira*) is mentioned briefly, as a tendency of the sad, but its role is not expanded upon. The focus of the passage is on *consparcio*, which is Gregory’s own term used in the sense of ‘temperament’ or ‘character’ (Judic, Rommel and Morel 1992: 274-5).¹¹⁹ Both sadness and joyfulness as a general disposition (not a result of

¹¹⁹ In Lewis and Short, *consparcio* or *consparcio* is given as ‘a scattering, strewing, sprinkling’ or ‘paste, dough’.

circumstance), can be dangerous in and of themselves, but the vices to which they lead are more dangerous still.

The Old English translation provides much more detail about the origin of anger and the nature of temperament. The changes have been indicated by underlining.

Monige beoð ðeah bliðe & eac unbliðe ðara ðe for nanum worulddingum nahwæðer doð, buton for ðæs bloddes styringe & for lichoman medtrymnesse. Suaðeah is ðæm to cyðanne ðæt hi hie warenigen ægðer ge wið ða ungemetlican blisse ge wið ða ungemetlican unrotnesse, forðæm hira ægðer astyreð sumne unðæw, ðeah hie ungewealdes cumen of ðæs lichoman mettrymnesse. Ðæm oferbliðan oft folgað firenlusð, & ðaem **unrotan ierre**. Forðæm is micel niedðearf ðæt mon hiene wið ðæt **irre** an & wið ða ungemetlican sælða warenige, ac eac wið ðæt [ðe] forcuðre bið, ðe ðæræfter cymð, ðæt is fierenlusð & **unryhtlicu iersung**, ðæt is ðæt mon **iersige** on oðerne for his gode. Ðonne is micel ðearf, ðonne him mon ðissa tuega hwæðer ondrætt swiður ðonne oðer, & wið ðæt wienð, ðæt he sua suiðe wið ðæt winne sua he on ðæt oðer ne befealle, ðe [he] him ær læs ondred.

(Sweet 1958: 187, 189)

[Many however are cheerful and sad not because of any worldly thing, but because of the stirring of the blood and the weakness of the body. Nevertheless, it is to be made known to them that they should be on their guard against both immoderate joy and immoderate sadness, because both stir up/cause some vice, though they appear involuntarily because of the body's weakness. The overjoyful often pursue lust/wantonness, and the sad anger. That is, why there is a great need for one to ward himself both against anger and against immoderate joys/prosperity, but also against that, which is more wicked, and which follows after, that is lust and unrighteous anger, that is when one is angry with the other because of his well-being/prosperity. Then, there is a great need, when one is afraid of one of these things more than of the other, and fights against it, that he fight not against it so greatly as to fall into the other, which he had previously feared less.]

The somewhat obscure Latin *consparsio* or 'temperament', which does not necessarily explain the origin of the two dispositions, is expanded in Old English by the phrase *ðæs bloddes styringe & for lichoman medtrymnesse* 'the stirring of the blood and the weakness of the body'. This reveals a much more physiological approach to emotions, as not being the product of thought or an attitude, but rather rooted firmly in the physical aspect of self. Another possible interpretation is the humoral theory, as blood corresponds to the sanguine or pleasure-seeking temperament. In this case, however, it is the opposite dispositions that result from the same stirring of the blood, and sadness is not explained away by black bile (as melancholy would be in the humoral theory). The stirring of the blood can, however, be seen through the lens of the cardiocentric model, with the heart as the seat of the mind and the welling of blood as the result of emotional upheaval.

Medtrumness can be translated as ‘weakness’, but also as ‘infirmity, ill-health, illness’. In this view, a predisposition to excessive joy or sadness happens when there is something profoundly wrong with the body or flesh itself. The stirring of the blood and the infirmity of body are pointed out as direct causes of joy and sadness. What is more, as these emotions are caused by the weakness of the flesh (blood and body), they are *ungewealdes* ‘involuntarily’.¹²⁰ The implication here is that neither joy nor sadness can be controlled. Both arise on their own and the conscious mind cannot be responsible for stopping them. Anger, however, as a vice which results from sadness, can and should be controlled. The phrase *unryhtlicu iersung* ‘unrighteous anger’ to denote the type of anger designated as a vice which follows sadness is also an interesting departure from the text of *Regula pastoralis*. The adjective *unryhtlic* suggests the need to emphasise the difference between righteous and unrighteous anger, and links excessive sadness with only one of those. Similarly, the use of the word *iersung* may be a conscious choice to echo the distinction between two types of anger made in Chapter 40, as *iersung* was used in that context, as opposed to *yrre*. However, the most puzzling difference appears in the subordinate clause that defines what the translator understands to be unrighteous anger. The description found in chapter 27 seems to fit much more with envy or jealousy (the phrase reads *mon iersige on oðerne for his gode* ‘one is angry with the other because of his well-being/prosperity’). The Old English chapter 40 does not specifically describe the unrighteous anger, concentrating instead on the *righteous* anger, and no connections between anger and envy or jealousy are mentioned. It may suggest different translators at work for these two chapters, or simply a lack of inclination to expand on the *unrighteous anger* in chapter 40, as the matter has already been discussed in chapter 27.

The link between SADNESS and ENVY most likely has roots in the writings of the Church Fathers. The thought is expressed, for instance, by John of Damascus, in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, which has been preserved only in an Arabic translation (Chase 1958: x), where he writes that “envy is pain over the good fortune of others” (Schaff and Wace 1898: 33).¹²¹ It seems that in the case of the Old English text, ANGER and envy have been conflated and linked with SADNESS. There is a nexus of complex interrelations between anger, zeal, envy and sadness in the writings of the Church that may have caused some confusion. In *Regula pastoralis* chapter 40, anger is juxtaposed with (righteous) zeal (*zelo, aemulatio*). Envy was also seen as something that leads to the

¹²⁰ This is a noun that “occurs only in the genitive, with the force of an adverb” (B-T, s.v. *ungeweald*).

¹²¹ Much later, Aquinas quotes John of Damascus (*invidia est tristitia de alienis bonis*) in his *Summa Theologiae* ST. I-II. 35. 8, and uses the equivalent Latin terms *invidia* ‘envy’ and *tristitia* ‘sorrow, melancholy’.

emulation of others and was called ‘zeal’ or ‘emulation’ (*zelo, aemulatio*) from Aristotle onwards (Perrine and Timpe 2014: 228, n26). Additionally, the Old English word *anda* was used for a variety of strong emotions, for instance: anger, zeal, righteous indignation and envy (DOE), and often in the same source. In the translation of *Pastoral Care* alone, it is used for envy in the context of Cain and his brother, as God’s wrath against Moses, as zeal in the context of combatting sin, and as righteous indignation in opposition to *yrsung* in Chapter 40. *ANDA* blends the notions of ENVY and ANGER in Old English. The links between ENVY and ANGER mean that experiencing SADNESS would lead to either one. The translator could have decided that the link between SADNESS (*tristitia*) and ANGER (*ira*) in the Latin original was not sufficiently explained and wanted to clarify it. Perhaps, he was aware that in the tradition of the Church Fathers *invidia* was understood as SADNESS, caused by the good fortune of another person. Due to the interchangeability of the senses for ‘anger’ and ‘envy’ in Old English, he substituted *anda* for *invidia*. Since the sense of *ira* was already there in Chapter 27, and one of the main senses for *anda* is ‘anger’, its near-synonym, *yrsung* made it into the final translation with *anda* acting as an unrecorded intermediary (which can be shown on the simplified diagram below, the arrow representing causation).

Latin

CP: *tristitia* [SADNESS] → *ira* [ANGER]

Church Fathers: *invidia* [ENVY] is *tristitia* for well-being of another

Old English

CP: *unrotness* → *yrre*

Translations/Glossaries: OE *anda* ↔ Latin *invidia, ira, zelo*

THEREFORE

OE: *anda* [ENVY] is *unrotness* for well-being of another

but SINCE OE *anda* = OE *yrre, yrsung* [ANGER]

yrsung is *unrotness* for well-being of another (especially since *unrotness* → *yrre*)

What still needs to be accounted for is why *yrsung* had to be modified with the adjective *unryhtlic*. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that especially in Chapter 40, *anda* is

used to render *zelo* or *aemulatio*, so a more positive emotion, and zeal is also interchangeably referred to as having a likeness of anger (*irres anlicnes*). Therefore, envy (*invidia*) would be constructed as a type of unrighteous anger (*unrytlic yrsung*) as opposed to zeal (*zelo, aemulatio*), understood as righteous anger (*ryhtwislic anda, yrres anlicnes*).

Finally, the Old English translation stresses that it is excessive or immoderate sadness and happiness that lead to vice. The choice to translate Latin *laeti* as *oferblīðe*, with the prefix *ofer-* emphasises excess. The notion is further underscored by the use of the adjective *ungemetlic* ‘immoderate, excessive’ to modify either joy or sadness three times in this short passage. The Latin simply indicates that the joyful and sad are more *prone* to these vices, or tend towards them, as they *Habent... ex propinquo* ‘have [them] ... in proximity’, but does not explicitly indicate excess.

11.3 Conclusions

The Old English vocabulary for ANGER appears flexible and interchangeable to a degree, though the *Pastoral Care* shows a certain consistency in correlating Latin vocabulary with Old English terms. *YRRE* appears to be the most flexible of ANGER-words, and can be used in a wide variety of situations to denote ‘anger’, ‘wrath’, ‘fury’ and even (with some reservations) ‘zeal’. It can be used for both righteous and unrighteous anger, and for low and high levels of emotional intensity. It certainly lacks the wide range of senses of *ANDA*, but it is far more flexible than *HĀTHEORT*.

On the other hand, the *Pastoral Care* exhibits certain peculiarities of usage not found in other, later prose works or in poetry, especially in the case of *WĒAMŌD* and *GRAM* (*grambāere*). In the case of *GRAM*, although the coinage *grambāere* is used for *iracundus*, the word family is practically never used as an abstract noun for ANGER. Thus, it actually omits two of the most stable meanings for this word family, ANGER and HOSTILITY, in favour of the less prominent ideas of PROVOCATION, VEXING and INJURY. The translation also shows some inconsistencies in the usage of the equivalents for *iracundi*, particularly in Chapter 40, which could potentially suggest that more than one person was responsible for translating this chapter.

On the basis of its portrayal of ANGER, the Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care* presents a different framework for understanding and conceptualising emotions, particularly ANGER, than that found in the Latin original. It conveys the understanding of *mōd* or mind as a dual entity that, on the one hand, is responsible for controlling emotions

and preventing them from becoming too excessive, but on the other hand is assaulted and oppressed by those very same emotions. ANGER is a powerful and active force, which arises from the mind, threatens to overwhelm its experiencer, and can never be restrained completely, only diminished. It is unclear from the passages analysed, whether ANGER has the same physiological origin as SADNESS and JOY, which are firmly entrenched in the blood and body, but considering that the heart is usually conceptualised in Old English as a seat of cognition and emotion, perhaps ANGER is more likely to come from the breast/heart than SADNESS or JOY, which are relegated to more outlying parts of the body.

Chapter 12 Analysis and Conclusions

12.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the findings from the preceding analyses and considers them comparatively in order to provide a wider overview of the lexical expressions of ANGER in Old English.

12.2 Data

12.2.1 Distribution

In total, 1799 occurrences of ANGER-words in 396 texts were analysed, of which 434 were in poetry (24.12%) and 1365 (75.88%) in prose. The number of texts, as designated by the Toronto DOE corpus in categories A (verse) and B (prose) totals about 2550, so ANGER is present in only c. 16% of the texts. More than three quarter of occurrences are found in prose, which is easily explained by the predominance of prose texts in the corpus.

As Table 10.10 shows, when all the word families are considered *en masse*, verbs are much more common in prose than in poetry, presumably because of the more narrative and action-oriented nature of prose texts. Substantive adjectives and adverbs, on the other hand, are far more frequently found in poetry. This suggests that substantive adjectives are more characteristic of a poetic style. Adverbs used as emotional descriptors may be a poetic feature. Nouns are more predominant in prose than in poetry, and adjectives are a little more common in poetry than in prose, but these differences are not as pronounced as for the previous word categories.

	Verse	%	Prose	%	TOTAL	%
<i>nouns</i>	120	27.65%	572	41.91%	692	38.47%
<i>subst adj.</i>	50	11.52%	49	3.59%	99	5.50%
<i>subtotal</i>	170	39.17%	621	45.50%	791	43.97%
<i>adj.</i>	157	36.18%	291	21.32%	448	24.90%
<i>past part.</i>	28	6.45%	72	5.28%	100	5.56%
<i>pres. part.</i>	2	0.46%	38	2.78%	40	2.22%
<i>subtotal</i>	187	43.09%	401	29.38%	588	32.68%
<i>v.</i>	18	4.15%	302	22.12%	320	17.79%
<i>adv.</i>	59	13.59%	41	3.00%	100	5.56%
TOTAL:	434	100.00%	1365	100.00%	1799	100.00%

Table 12.1 – Distribution of word categories for all ANGER word families

For those word families where there is enough data to compare the usage of different word categories (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, etc.), similar patterns can be observed. Verbs and nouns tend to occur in prose more often, whilst adverbs and substantive adjectives are far more likely to appear in poetry. Adjectives are slightly more predominant in poetry, but not markedly so. The distribution of word categories is similar in all word families. This could suggest similar stylistic choices of ANGER-words in different genres. Potentially, a similar investigation could be carried out into other word families denoting emotions to see if the pattern is even more global.

The total distribution of word families in the analysed material shows *YRRE* and *GRAM* to be the most frequently used word families, with *WŌD* and *BELGAN* following closely (see Figure 12-1). Since the meaning ANGER for *WŌD* is incidental at best, the three remaining word families form the lexical core of ANGER-words.

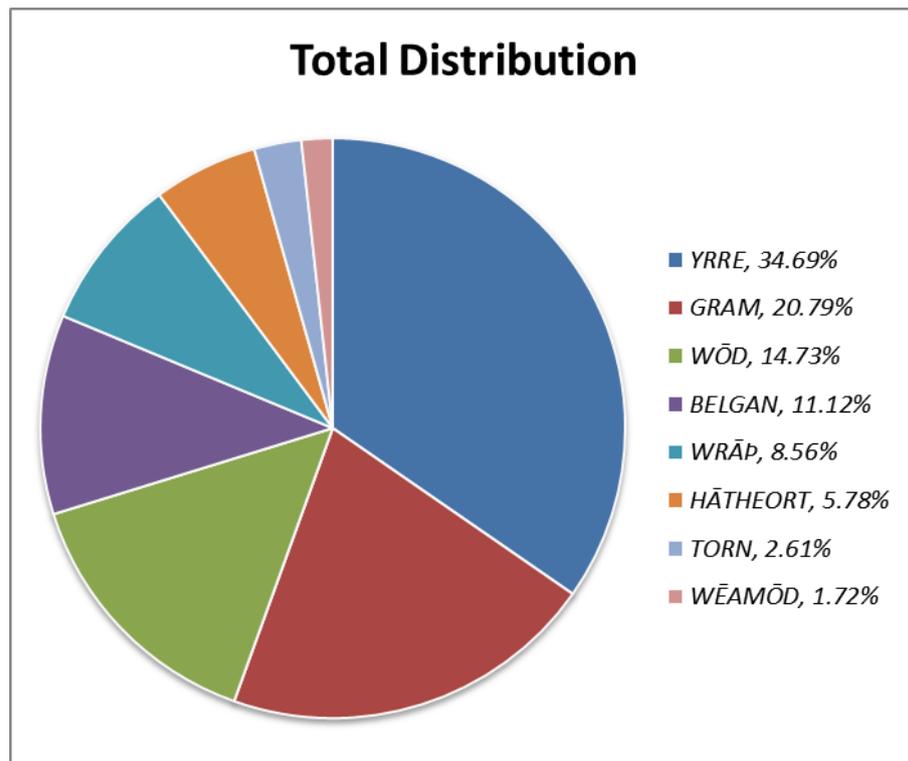


Figure 12-1 – Total distribution of ANGER word families in the corpus

There are, however, marked differences in the distribution of these word families in prose and in poetry. *WRĀP* is the most frequent word family in poetry, slightly more common than *YRRE* (27.88% and 27.65% respectively, see Figure 12-2), yet its use in prose is marginal (2.42%, see Figure 12-3). *WŌD* is the third most common word family in prose (18.68%), but is infrequent in poetry (2.30%). ANGER is not a central or most common meaning for both these families, so the differences in their distribution may be attributed to their primary meanings. *WRĀP*, as expressing fierceness, is thematically more likely to occur in poetry, especially in the battle idiom, as it characterises enemies and warriors. *WŌD*, on the other hand, with its primary meaning MADNESS, is found more often in prose, because the prose works, particularly lives of saints and homilies, are more interested in madness phenomena. The links between demonic possession and MADNESS align with the more theological focus of prose works.

The three smaller word families, that is *TORN*, *HĀTHEORT* and *WĒAMŌD*, are effectively confined to one or the other genre, with *TORN* found almost exclusively in poetry (10.60% vs 0.07%) and *HĀTHEORT* in prose (7.40% vs 0.69%). *WĒAMŌD* does not occur in poetry at all.

GRAM and *BELGAN* are found in similar proportions in both prose and poetry (*GRAM* 21.03% vs 20.05%, and *BELGAN* 11.21% vs. 10.83%), which makes them the most unmarked word families with regard to genre and style. *YRRE* is more common in

prose (*YRRE* 36.92% vs 27.65%), but the large number of occurrences in both genres makes it a firm and well-established word family in poetry as well. These three word families can therefore be considered central to the lexicon.

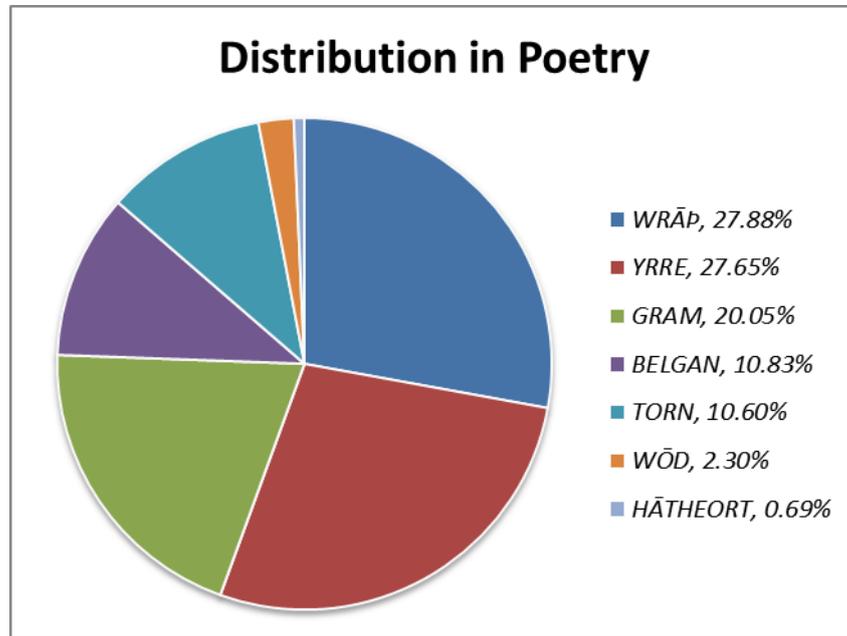


Figure 12-2 – Distribution of ANGER word families in poetry

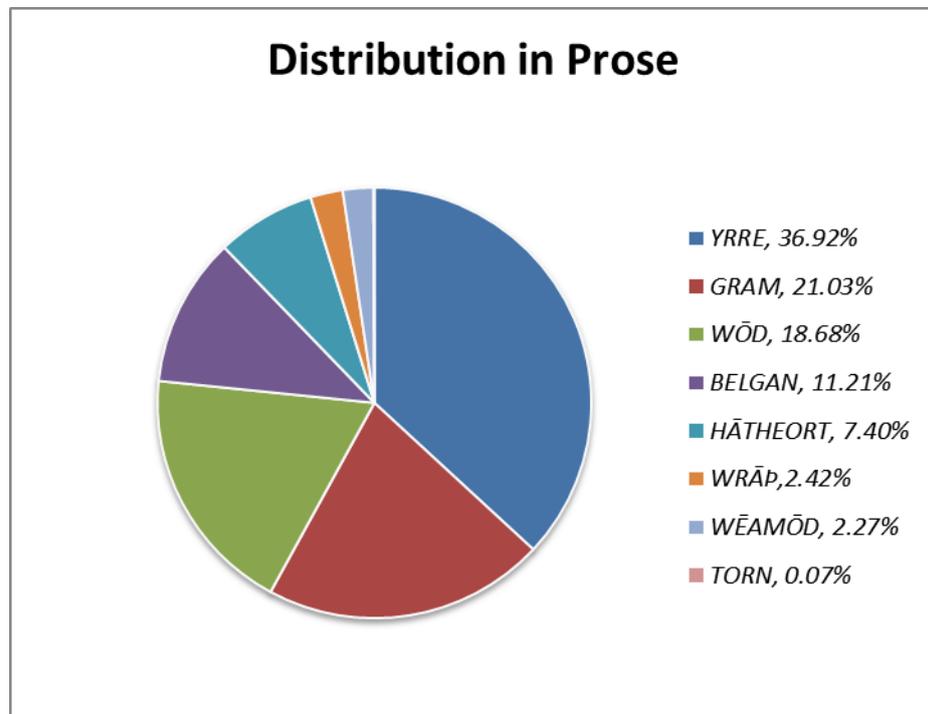


Figure 12-3 – Distribution of ANGER word families in prose

A more detailed analysis of ANGER-words in individual texts can be found in the previous chapter.

12.2.2 Diachronic development

As it is difficult to date most Old English texts with precision, and because the corpus is fragmentary, a detailed analysis of diachronic changes which took place in the ANGER word families is not possible. This section therefore does not attempt to date specific texts or give a detailed account of these changes. Rather, it gives a general overview of the later development of the word families, their distribution in prose and poetry in the Old English period, and their cognates in other contemporary Germanic languages.¹²² Both Old English and Middle English periods have been divided into early and late, as some word families do not occur throughout the entire period. For Middle English, the early period covers primarily eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century, and late Middle English is fourteenth and fifteenth. For Old English, the distinction is particularly relevant for three word families: *TORN* (which does not occur in later texts, such as Ælfric's or Wulfstan's writings), *WRĀP* (where it is relevant to changes in meaning, rather than the occurrence), and for *WEĀMŌD* (which is a small and localised family).

Table 10.11 shows all the word families and the timescale within which they operate. A grey area means that no reflexes of the word family survive in the given period. Some changes in meaning are marked, where a given meaning either becomes more prominent, or takes over the old meaning completely.¹²³ The arrows may continue into the neighbouring period. If they do not cover the field fully, it means the occurrences of the word family are rare. The column labelled 'Other Germanic' selects the most relevant cognates, particularly when they aid understanding of the development of the family.

¹²² For an alternative solution to dating of corpus data, see Gevaert (2007), where she follows the Helsinki corpus by grouping the Old English material into three time periods (before 850, between 850-950, and between 950 and 1050).

¹²³ For ease of reference the adjectival form has been chosen for all meanings in the table.

	Other Gmc	eOE	IOE	eME	IME	EModE	PDE
<i>YRRE</i>	OHG ‘wandering, angry’ OS ‘angry’	→		→			
<i>GRAM</i>	Goth., ON, OHG <i>id.</i>			‘harmful, grievous’		→	
<i>BELGAN</i>	WGmc ‘angry’ ON <i>bólgn</i> ‘swollen’				‘swollen’	→	
<i>WŌD</i>	Goth. ‘possessed’ ON. ‘frantic, furious’					→	(dialectal)
<i>WRĀP</i>	Gmc * <i>wraiþaz</i> ‘twisted’, but OHG <i>reid</i> ‘curly’	‘fierce, cruel’	‘angry’				→ wroth/ wrath
<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	OHG <i>heizherzi</i> , OLF <i>heizmuoti</i> , but not elsewhere			→			
<i>TORN</i>	OHG <i>Zorn</i>	→					
<i>WEĀMŌD</i>	?MHG <i>wê-muot</i>				→		

Table 12.2 – Semantic development of word families from eOE to PDE

There are several issues of note here. Of all the families, only *WRĀP* survives into Present-Day English in more standard usage. Its meaning has visibly changed over time. In early Old English *FIERCENESS* and *CRUELTY* (particularly for the adjective) predominate, but *ANGER* appears in late Old English and grows more prominent over time. This meaning pushes out the previous meanings completely, and in modern usage *wrath* is a specialised form of *ANGER*, most often ascribed to God. *WŌD* is almost as enduring as *WRĀP*, although it becomes increasingly rare in the Early Modern English period and finally remains only in dialectal usage in Present-Day English. Its meaning is relatively stable (‘insane’), and the meaning ‘possessed’ found in Old English disappears over time.

Both *GRAM* and *BELGAN* keep their meanings from Old English well into Middle and Early Modern English. However, *BELGAN* can be narrowed down to just ‘swollen’ by the late Middle English period, whilst *GRAM* strengthens its denotations of *TROUBLES*, *GRIEF* or *SADNESS*. Despite its centrality to the lexical field of *ANGER* in Old English and lack of apparent polysemy, *YRRE* disappears by the end of the early Middle English (where it is generally found in fossilised Old English phrases anyway). Alongside *GRAM*, it was presumably pushed out by the Old Norse borrowing *ANGER* (e.g. Diller 2012b).

The three minor word families, *HĀTHEORT*, *TORN* and *WEĀMŌD*, are all infrequent in comparison to other word families and they occur within a relatively narrow timeframe. *TORN* is evidenced quite early and does not appear in later Old English texts at all, though its Germanic cognates are well established in their respective languages.

HĀTHEORT and *WEĀMŌD*, on the other hand, are both compound words of uncertain origins, both of which survive into Middle English and then disappear. *HĀTHEORT* has some parallels in OHG and OLG in the form of, e.g. *heizmuoti*, but the connection is tentative. No other Germanic language has this compound. *WEĀMŌD* has potential cognates attested only in the later stages of other Germanic languages (e.g. Middle High German *wê-muot*) and it is unclear whether there is a connection between them. As these are compounds formulated according to productive compound rules, they might have developed independently.

12.2.3 Comparison of Word Families

In order to minimise cross-linguistic bias, this part will compare the analysed word families between each other. The comparison will be based on whether they show the occurrence of certain variables or not. This will bring into focus the similarities and differences of the word families without relying too heavily on Modern English vocabulary. The results are brought together in Table 10.12, and they are discussed in more detail in the respective sections that follow after the table. The table consists of the following categories: etymology, intensity, conceptual links (emotion-related and other), text types and genres (poetry and prose), common themes and scenarios. Each of these categories has been further divided into groups and the occurrences of words from a given word family have been marked appropriately, according to their frequency.

Table 12.3 – Comparison between word families

Key:

- – occurs very frequently (> 30 occ.)
 - – occurs with medium frequency (10–30 occ.)
 - – occurs, but rarely <10 occ.
 - ? – occurs rarely, and is contestable/dubious
- If there is one occurrence, the title of the text is given.*

- – does not occur
- + – neutral (no suggestion of intensity)
- ++ – medium intensity
- +++ – high intensity

VARIABLES			WORD FAMILY							
			YRRE	GRAM	BELGAN	WRĀP	WŌD	HĀTHEORT	TORN	WEĀMŌD
total no. of occurrences			624	367	200	154	264	104	48	31
ETYMOLOGY	Internal		■	■	●	●	■	●	●	●
	External		●	●	■	●	●	■	■	■
INTENSITY			++	++	+++	++	+++	+++	++	+
CONCEPTUAL LINKS	EMOTION RELATED	SADNESS/GRIEF	■	■	■	?	■	■	●	●
		PASSION	●	●	■	■	●	●	■	■
		ZEAL	■	■	■	■	●	●	■	■
		FEAR	●	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
		LUST/DESIRE	○	■	■	■	●	●	■	■
	HATE	●	●	■	■	■	○	○	■	
	OTHER	FIERCENESS	●	●	■	●	■	■	●	●
		CRUELTY	●	●	●	●	■	■	●	●
		EVIL/WICKEDNESS	○?	●	■	●	○?	■	■	■
		PAIN/AFFLICTION	■	●	■	●	■	■	●	○?
		OFFENCE	■	■	●	■	■	■	●	■
		ENMITY/HOSTILITY	■	●	■	●	■	■	■	■
		VEEXING/IRRITATION	■	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
		BITTERNESS	■	■	■	○	■	■	■	■
		MADNESS	■	■	■	■	●	○	■	■
SICKNESS		■	■	○	■	●	■	■	■	
SWELLING	■	■	●	■	■	■	■	■		
HEAT	●	●	○	■	■	●	○	■		

		<i>YRRE</i>	<i>GRAM</i>	<i>BELGAN</i>	<i>WRĀĪ</i>	<i>WŌD</i>	<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	<i>TORN</i>	<i>WEĀMŌD</i>
TEXT TYPE and GENRE	POETRY								
	Psalms ¹²⁴ c. 146 occ.	●	●	○	●	○ PPs	○ PPs (as <i>hathige</i>)	○	
	Biblical material ¹²⁵ c. 95 occ.	■	■	○	●	○		■	
	Saints' lives ¹²⁶ c. 75 occ.	■	■	■	■	○		■	
	Secular heroic ¹²⁷ c. 50 occ.	■	■	■	○			○	
	Riddles and Gnomic/Wisdom ¹²⁸ c. 25 occ.	○	○	○	○				○
	Meters of Boethius 17 occ.	○		○	○	○	○		
	Other Christian and Homiletic ¹²⁹ 12 occ.	○	○	○	○				○ JDay II
Elegiac poems ¹³⁰ 8 occ.		○ Res	○	○ Res		○ Wan	○ Wan		

¹²⁴ KtPs, MPs, PPs, PsFr

¹²⁵ Az, Christ, Dan, Dream, Ex, GenA,B, Jud, Pha, Sat

¹²⁶ And, El, GuthA,B, Jul

¹²⁷ Beo, Mald, Wid

¹²⁸ Fort, Maxims, MSol, Precepts, Rim, Vain

¹²⁹ JDay I & II, LPr III, Pan, Phoen, Seasons, Whale

¹³⁰ Res, Wan, Wife

		<i>YRRE</i>	<i>GRAM</i>	<i>BELGAN</i>	<i>WRĀB</i>	<i>WŌD</i>	<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	<i>TORN</i>	<i>WEĀMŌD</i>
PROSE	<i>Homilies</i> c. 440 occ.	•	•	•	○	•	◻		○
	Ælfric c. 260 occ.	•	• (more common than <i>YRRE</i> !)	◻	○	•	◻		○
	Other c. 140 occ.	•	◻	◻	○	○	○		
	Wulfstan c. 40 occ.	◻	○	○		○			○
	<i>Lives of Saints</i> c. 290 occ.	•	•	◻	○	•	◻		○
	Ælfric c. 200 occ.	•	•	◻	○	•	○		○
	Other c. 90 occ.	•	○	○	○	◻	◻		
	<i>Theological & Philosophical texts</i> ¹³¹ c. 122 occ	•	◻	○	○	○	◻		○
	<i>Histories</i> ¹³² c.115 occ.	•	○	◻	○ Or 6	◻	◻	○ Or 1	
	<i>OE Hexateuch</i> ¹³³ c. 80 occ.	•	◻	○	○		○		
<i>Rules</i> ¹³⁴ c. 40 occ	◻	○	○	○ BenRW		○		○	

¹³¹ Bo, CP, Solil

¹³² Bede, GD, Or

¹³³ Deut, Gen, Ex, Judg, Num, Josh

¹³⁴ BenR, BenRW, ChrodR, ThCap

	<i>YRRE</i>	<i>GRAM</i>	<i>BELGAN</i>	<i>WRĀB</i>	<i>WŌD</i>	<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	<i>TORN</i>	<i>WEĀMŌD</i>
<i>New Testament & Apocrypha</i> ¹³⁵ c. 36 occ	■	○	○		○	○ (Mk (WSCp))		
<i>Medical/Scientific</i> ¹³⁶ c. 30 occ.	○	○			■			
<i>Confessionals and Penitentials</i> 26 occ.	○	○	○			○		○
<i>Letters</i> 20 occ.	○	○			○	○ Let 1 (Sisam)		○ ÆLet 3 (Wulfstan 2)
<i>Laws</i> c. 13 occ.	○	○	○		○ (LawICan)	○ (LawIudex)		
<i>Charters</i> ¹³⁷ 11 occ.	○	○ Ch Thomas (Liebermann)	○ Ch 1462 (Rob 78)	○	○ Ch 1467 (Rob 91)			
<i>Chronicles</i> 10 occ.	○	○		○				
<i>Narratives and Stories</i> ¹³⁸ 9 occ.	○	○						

¹³⁵ Jn (WSCp), Lk(WSCp), Mt (WSCp), Mk (WSCp), Nic

¹³⁶ Lch, Med, Byr, PeriD

¹³⁷ Ch and Rec

¹³⁸ Ad, Alex, ApT, Sol

		<i>YRRE</i>	<i>GRAM</i>	<i>BELGAN</i>	<i>WRĀƿ</i>	<i>WŌD</i>	<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	<i>TORN</i>	<i>WEĀMŌD</i>
REFERENTS	God c. 445 occ.	•	•	•	•		•	•	
	kings/emperors/judges c. 170 occ.	•	•	•	○ Chron F	•	•		•
	supernatural evil (devils, monsters) c. 55 occ.	•	•	•	•	•	•		
	heroes/warriors	•	•	•	•	•	•		
	enemies (<i>en masse</i> , named nations)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
	saints, holy men/women	•	•	○	•	•		•	
	abbots, bishops, priests, monks/nuns	•	•	•	•	•	•		
	women	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	animals	○ Bo/Met	•	•	○ Christ	•			
	natural world	○	○			•			
	one/you/me/us/he	•	•	•	○ Whale	•		•	•
	family members (father, daughter, son, mother, children etc.)	•	•	•		•	○ Prec	•	
	mind/heart/soul	•	•	•	○ ÆHomM 1 (Bel 9)				○ ÆAdmon 1

		<i>YRRE</i>	<i>GRAM</i>	<i>BELGAN</i>	<i>WRĀP</i>	<i>WŌD</i>	<i>HĀTHEORT</i>	<i>TORN</i>	<i>WEĀMŌD</i>
THEMES AND SCENARIOS	God's judgement/punishment	•	•	•	•		○	•	
	Battle/Attack of Enemies	•	•	•	•	•		•	
	Angry Oppressor/Ruler and Oppressed Saint	•	•	•			•		
	Offence and Transgression	•	•	•	•		•	•	
	Advice for Men / Anger in Everyday Life	•	•	•			•		•
	Sin / Vice	•	○	○			•		•
	Insults		•		•			•	
	Mind adversely affected	•	•	•		•	•	•	•
	SPEECH-scenario	•	•	•			•		

12.2.3.1 Etymology

The etymological motivations for these word families have been divided into two broad categories, the internal and the external. The internal category comprises those word families whose etymology reflects an internal process affecting the body or the mind. In the case of *BELGAN* this is the internal swelling (in line with the hydraulic model) and in the case of *HĀTHEORT* it is heat that affects the heart. The etymology of *TORN* reflects that something painful is happening to the inner mind or heart. *YRRE* can be seen as a ‘wandering’ or ‘aberration’ of the mind, which is arguably internal. As for *WEĀMŌD*, it is found in the internal category mostly because of the *-mōd* element of the compound, as it again suggests something woeful or painful happening in or to the mind.

WRĀP has been placed in both categories, because its etymology could be interpreted either way. The Germanic root presents the notion of ‘violent twisting’. This could be understood in a similar fashion to *TORN* as a twisting and tearing of the mind or heart. However, the context of early usages of *WRĀP* shows that violence is often the result and not the cause. It is the intent to twist or hurt someone that is central to the understanding of *WRĀP*, and the focus is not on internal feelings, but external causation of feelings in others.

WŌD is an example of an external motivation for the emotion as it can be understood as inspiration by supernatural forces (especially demonic possession). An external agency is responsible for causing the state of *WŌD* in a person.

Finally, *GRAM* has been placed in the external category because it is associated with the notion of loud noise and roaring, that is external signs of ANGER.

12.2.3.2 Intensity

The intensity has been assigned on a three-point scale. The first point is neutral intensity, the second is medium intensity and the third is high (or excessive) intensity. These are assigned primarily on the basis of the presence of intensifying adjectives and adverbs (such as *micel*) as collocates. Contextual clues have also been taken into consideration, whenever the behaviour associated with the emotion is portrayed or described as excessive or compared to violent phenomena or entities. The notion of intensity might not necessarily be inherent to the word family in question, and some word families may fall into the second or third category on different occasions. Therefore, this categorisation is meant to reflect trends rather than absolutes.

Only *WEĀMŌD* has been assigned to the neutral category as it is used as an abstract word family, denoting a concept of sin and used in specialised contexts. It does not tend to describe actual behaviour. Whilst *YRRE* is certainly neutral in the sense of being the most unmarked word family for denoting ANGER, it is used in intensive situations often enough to warrant placing it in the second category. Additionally, it is portrayed as a force to be feared (hence its common co-occurrences with FEAR words) and is therefore of a much higher intensity than *WEĀMŌD*. In fact, whilst *YRRE* can occasionally be neutral, *WEĀMŌD* deserves a separate category on account of its unusually low intensity.

GRAM, *WRĀP* and *TORN* have been placed in the second category as they show moderate to high intensity. *TORN* is an intensely painful inner experience. *WRĀP* is often associated with HOSTILITY and VIOLENCE. *GRAM* is modified with intensifying adjectives and adverbs and occurs in scenarios where the experience of anger clouds reasoning and again causes violence.

Finally, *BELGAN*, *WŌD* and *HĀTHEORT* are all marked as highly intensive. Both *BELGAN* and *HĀTHEORT* cause severe disruption to the internal state of the mind (swelling and heat) and are used in contexts that show excessive violence. *HĀTHEORT* is also used for high passion and emotional agitation and renders Latin *furor* in glosses. *BELGAN*, particularly in poetry, is used in descriptions of savage, cruel behaviour, often exhibited through roaring. In prose it retains its high intensity, though the *ā*-prefixed forms are considerably less intense since they denote the notion of ‘offence’ rather than ‘anger’.¹³⁹ Finally, *WŌD* when used to refer to more ANGER-like scenarios, is definitely a powerful and overriding state that likens the experiencer to wild animals in the state of frenzy.

ANGER in Old English is in general an intense and powerful emotion. It is portrayed as mild so rarely that these occurrences can be considered exceptions to the norm. Whilst some cultures and languages have a word to denote either rational or cold anger, Old English ANGER-words tend towards intensity, whether understood as excessive violence caused to others, a state of upheaval of the mind that is likened to madness or as a powerful internal heat, swelling or pain.

¹³⁹ But see the anomalous use of the adverb *leohtlice* as one of the few examples of mild anger (*BELGAN*, 5.3.2.2).

12.2.3.3 Conceptual links

This section deals with several overlapping types of conceptual links, which are treated together and divided into two main groups: emotion-related and others. The table attempts to present these different types of conceptual content under one heading, and for a more detailed and discerning analysis, chapters on respective word families should be consulted. For clarification, these conceptual links can be divided into three categories. The first is based on the etymological motivation of a word family¹⁴⁰ whenever the link between etymology and usage in Old English appears to be transparent. For instance, in *HĀTHEORT* the conceptual element HEAT is clearly visible in the first part of the compound *hāt-*. The second type of conceptual link is based on the more traditional approach to metaphor and metonymy. The conceptualisations here are based primarily on collocations, so for instance *YRRE* shows links with HEAT/FIRE, because it occurs in such phrases as *his yrre byð onæled* (PPs), where it collocates with the verb *onælan* ‘to set fire to, to ignite’.¹⁴¹ The final type of collocation does not require full equivalence. It can be seen from co-occurrences and the use of (near) synonyms, when two concepts are linked together as either dependent on one another or occurring simultaneously. *YRRE* is linked with FIERCENESS/CRUELTY because it occurs with *RĒPE* in such phrases as *yrre ond rēpe*, and with FEAR due to the use of the phrase *yrre ond egesful*. Finally, the lexicographical evidence and Modern English translations of the words from these word families have also been taken into consideration.

Out of necessity, Modern English terms are used to refer to those concept groups, and it could be argued that some of these concepts could be grouped together (e.g. FIERCENESS and CRUELTY) and some are redundant. They are never fully equivalent. This section in particular suffers from the difficulties of cross-linguistic comparison and the fuzziness of category boundaries. These conceptual links should therefore be treated as sets of concepts of inherent fuzziness that group together due to some measure of resemblance.

PASSION (understood also as a STRONG EMOTION) appears to be the least tied of all the conceptual links to just one word family, as four of them show distinct associations with this concept. A related concept, LUST/DESIRE, is linked to three word families, though in the case of *YRRE* it is rare. ZEAL, though linked with only two word families, is similar (in that it is a strong emotion, often positive, directed at a certain outcome). This suggests

¹⁴⁰ This is the approach that Gevaert (2007) takes in her thesis.

¹⁴¹ This is the approach taken by both Romano (1999) and Fabiszak (1999, 2002).

that ANGER is connected conceptually to other powerful (and often ‘hot’ or ‘fervent’)¹⁴² emotions, particularly in the case of *WŌD* and *HĀTHEORT*. *GRAM* and *YRRE* do not show the same association with ZEAL and LUST, but they are certainly linked with PASSION.

Four word families co-occur relatively frequently with HATE, though the connection is rare in the case of *TORN* and *HĀTHEORT*).

GRIEF and SADNESS are found for *TORN* and arguably for *WEĀMŌD*, but when grouped with PAIN/AFFLICTION, this set of conceptual links is relatively strong, showing a link between ANGER and internal suffering of various kinds.

HEAT co-occurs with *YRRE*, *GRAM*, *BELGAN*, *HĀTHEORT* and even *TORN*. It is probably the most common association not tied to a word family, surpassing PASSION in the ‘Emotion-related’ group of conceptual links.

ANGER is also perceived as a sign of EVIL or WICKEDNESS, though sometimes the connection is not as direct as in the situations described above. This, of course, is due to the ANGER AS SIN/VICE association (described below in themes and scenarios section).

FIERCENESS, CRUELTY and ENMITY/HOSTILITY are also common conceptual links for ANGER, showing that the contexts of battle and physical violence occur frequently in the use of these word families (and this is particularly the case for *GRAM* and *WRĀĪÐ*).

Some associations are limited almost exclusively to only one word family. Only *YRRE* is directly related with FEAR. MADNESS is linked primarily with *WŌD*, though there is some evidence for *HĀTHEORT* showing similar associations. SWELLING is linked only with *BELGAN*. Finally direct links with OFFENCE are found for *BELGAN* and *TORN* (this is not to be confused with the Offence/Transgression scenario below).

Whilst there is a general overlap between these word families that may suggest a more abstract approach to ANGER as an overarching concept in Old English, each of these word families shows a unique pattern of relations and links to other concepts.

12.2.3.4 Usage in different text types and genres

The text division that has been applied in this section is one of many ways in which Old English texts can be grouped. Genre divisions are modern constructs and are difficult to apply to Old English texts, where it is often the content or situation that elicits a use of a given type of discourse. In the homilies passages which briefly discuss the lives of saints will use similar stylistic means as those found in lives of saints proper. The grouping represented in the table reflects affinity between texts that seemed meaningful in the

¹⁴² PASSION, LUST and ZEAL, in the analysed passages often share this characteristic with ANGER.

discussion on ANGER and that emerged from the data. The total occurrences found in a given text type have also been provided as a guide to the frequency and predominance of a given word family.

Poetry

In poetry the largest group of occurrences of ANGER-words is in the psalms. All the word families are found in this group (with the exception of *WEĀMŌD* which does not occur in poetry at all), though both *WŌD* and *HĀTHEORT* are represented by singular occurrences. There is a marked preference for *YRRE*, *GRAM* and *WRĀP* in these texts.

A similar distribution can be found in the Biblical material where again *YRRE*, *GRAM* and *WRĀP* are at the forefront. Just as in the psalms, *BELGAN* seems to be less frequently used. In fact, *WRĀP* is most common in the psalms and in Biblical material and its use declines significantly in other types of texts. This pattern of occurrence in poetry may be responsible for the later development of *WRĀP* in Christian contexts to refer to God's anger (as in 'the wrath of God'), but there may be no causal link between these two. The psalms and Biblical material show similar usages in this case.

Poems on saints' lives use varied vocabulary with no visible preferences for one word family over the other, with the exception of *WŌD*, which appears rarely.

In both the Biblical material and in the saints' lives *TORN* appears to be more prominent than in any other type of text. Several of the poems from these two groups can be assigned to or associated with Cynewulf and the possibility of the poet's preference for this word family should be considered (see report on *TORN*).

There are also similarities between the use of these word families in saints' lives and in the secular heroic poetry, where *YRRE*, *GRAM* and *BELGAN* are most often used. *BELGAN* appears far more often in these two types of texts than in the psalms or Biblical material (which contain a greater number of total occurrences of ANGER-words). This suggests a preference for *BELGAN* in a more heroic context, as the poetic saints' lives often use heroic formulas. *TORN* and *WRĀP* appear in secular heroic poems, but to a much lesser extent than in the more Christian-oriented texts.

On the whole, *WŌD* is not often used in more secular texts, showing a strong preference for overtly Christian/Latin works (psalms, Biblical poems, saints' lives and the *Meters of Boethius*). MADNESS (understood often as possession by demonic forces) is clearly of more interest to works that have more Christian orientation.

The elegiac poems include occurrences of the less common words. *YRRE*, the second most common word family in poetry in general, does not appear in elegies at all). In those contexts they are usually used in anomalous ways (see reports on *TORN* and *BELGAN* in particular). This reflects the lack of interest in *ANGER*, in these poems, especially since many other so-called elegies are not represented here at all.

Though *WRĀP* is the most common word family in poetry, it is concentrated to a large extent in the psalms and the Biblical material. *YRRE* and *GRAM*, on the other hand, are distributed across different text types and show greater versatility. In fact, little distinction seems to be made between the two as far as the occurrence in text types is concerned (with the exception of the *Meters of Boethius*, where *GRAM* does not occur, and the elegies, where *YRRE* is not present).

Prose

The differences in usage of the word families in different types of texts are not as immediately apparent as in the case of poetry. The text types that are most rich in *ANGER*-words are homilies and lives of saints (with the bulk of texts attributed to Ælfric).

The homilies in general show a varied vocabulary as they use all the available word families (apart from *TORN*, which is a poetic word). When the homilies are further subdivided into those composed by Ælfric, Wulfstan and the anonymous homilies, some small differences emerge. First, whilst *YRRE* is the most common word in both Wulfstan's homilies and the anonymous homilies, Ælfric prefers to use *GRAM*. Anonymous homilies do not use *WEĀMŌD* at all, though both Ælfric and Wulfstan do. Wulfstan's use of vocabulary is the least varied and he seems to prefer *YRRE* to any other word family.

In general, the lives of saints also show a varied vocabulary (all word families present), but that variety is mostly due to Ælfric's use of *ANGER*-words. The occurrences of *ANGER*-words in other lives of saints are mostly made up of *YRRE*, *WŌD* and *HĀTHEORT*, and other are incidental. When a comparison is made between Ælfric's lives and the anonymous lives there are, as in the case of homilies, some notable differences. *GRAM* is rare in the anonymous lives, but is a central word family in Ælfric's lexicon. *HĀTHEORT*, on the other hand, appears to be more prominent in the anonymous lives, whilst Ælfric uses it sparingly.

HĀTHEORT is also a strong word family in theological and philosophical texts and in historical texts, where it is often more prominent than *GRAM*. Historical texts also prefer

BELGAN over *GRAM*. This is direct contrast to the trend that sees *GRAM* being used more often than *BELGAN* in theological and philosophical texts, where *BELGAN* is marginal.

WŌD is found primarily in Ælfric's texts, unsurprising given that his works often treat of madness and possession, particularly in the lives of saints. The word family remains relatively rare in other texts, with the exception of medical and scientific texts, which concern themselves with madness from a medical perspective.

WEĀMŌD seems to predominate in Ælfric's writings, but is also found in confessionals and penitentials, rules, and theological texts. This word family is very clearly not secular, but rooted within the Christian theology on sin and vice.

WRĀP is not very common, but occurs in a wide range of text types. Its appearance in charters and chronicles is prominent, as these text types have few ANGER-words in total. This reflects the new role of *WRĀP* in later prose as an ANGER word proper, with usages much closer to the more neutral *YRRE* or *GRAM* (such as the wrath of kings, god and saints).

Generally, *GRAM* and *YRRE* are the most common ANGER-words used in the greatest variety of texts, as there is no text in which they would not occur. The decreasing number of occurrences towards the bottom of the table reflects that well, showing how some families stop occurring altogether, but *GRAM* and *YRRE* remain. *YRRE* is most definitely a central word for ANGER in prose, but some texts prefer other alternatives to *GRAM*, such as, for instance, *HĀTHEORT* or *BELGAN*.

12.2.3.5 Referents

Even though God is the most frequent referent for ANGER-words with around 440 occurrences, not all words can be used to refer to him. *WŌD* and *WEĀMŌD* are never applied to refer to God, understandably so, since one implies insanity/madness, whilst the other is explicitly referring to sin.

With the remaining referents, the differences in usage are not as prominent and the word families seem to be applicable regardless of the nature of the referent. Whilst some word families are not used to refer to certain referents, this may not be significant due to small number of occurrences.

Some inferences can be drawn, however. Animals are usually not referred to with *YRRE*, but rather with *GRAM*, *BELGAN* and *WŌD*. These three word families show a much more common association with savagery, wildness and irrationality and can be considered an 'animalistic' type of ANGER in some contexts. The mind/heart/soul group of

referents is common for *YRRE*, *GRAM* and *BELGAN*, but other word families are not used (or used on single occasions). *HĀTHEORT* cannot refer to saints, but it is frequently referring to bishops and abbots.

Whilst potentially significant on some occasions, the choice of referents is far less of a deciding factor for the use of word families than text type or conceptual links.

12.2.3.6 Common Themes and Scenarios

Common themes and scenarios are less easily quantifiable than previous categories, as the same occurrence of a word can exemplify more than one theme. Sometimes, these themes overlap (for instance the scenario of God's punishment is often preceded by Offence/Transgression).

The most inclusive type of scenarios is when the mind is adversely affected by ANGER. This scenario is characterised by a lack of control, excessive violence, loss of rationality and the inability to discern right from wrong. This scenario occurs in all the word families apart from *WRĀP* (which suggests once again that this word family is better understood as operating externally). This suggests that the greatest affinity between these separate word families and concepts is the negative effect they have on the mind.

Following that, three scenario-types use six word families out of the eight analysed, that is: God's punishment, offence/transgression, and 'battle'-scenario. Though they are not represented by the same six word families, they are nonetheless reflective of the most common themes for ANGER running throughout Old English literature. ANGER is present as the domain of God (especially in the form of punishment for transgressions), and of warriors and enemies in a martial context.

Whilst intensive and inciting, *HĀTHEORT* is not used at all in the purely martial context. It is much more suited to the environment of angry abbots and bishops. *WŌD* and *WEĀMŌD* are never found in an offence/transgression context or in the context of God's judgement (see above in Referents). In *WŌD* the emphasis is on the suddenness of the state of fury or frenzy and its possible supernatural origin, but the madmen are not driven to it by an external offending event. *WEĀMŌD* may be seen as a transgression, but is never explicitly a result of someone offending the referent.

Advice for Men and Sin/Vice themes are similar to each other and found in similar text types. They also share a similar distribution of ANGER-words (that is, the lack of occurrences of *WRĀP*, *WŌD* and *TORN*, but the presence of *WEĀMŌD*). One difference

between the two is that whilst *GRAM* and *BELGAN* are used relatively frequently to refer to ANGER in more ‘anger in everyday life’ situations, they are rarely used for the more abstract notion of SIN or VICE.

Insults and offending speech are evidenced by *GRAM*, *WRĀP* and *TORN*, particularly such compounds as *gramword* or *torncwide*, suggesting that these three word families are much more tied to the notion of causing affliction and anguish through verbal attacks than other families are. Whilst other families often occur in the SPEECH-scenario, this type is not the same as explicit insults, because the speech act in the former is usually a command or order. The SPEECH-scenario never uses *WRĀP* or *TORN*, but relies on *YRRE*, *GRAM*, *BELGAN* and *HĀTHEORT*.

The choice of vocabulary to represent the notion of ANGER in Old English is to some extent affected by the different types of scenarios, but there do not seem to be clear and absolute boundaries between these words.

12.2.4 Relations between the families

In this short section I would like to highlight the resemblance between the word families and relate them to each other by means of a graphic depiction and a short discussion. Figure 12-4 presents word families as circles. The size of the circle represents the number of occurrences of this word family. The circles are spatially arranged so that word families that have more in common with each other touch or overlap, if the common ground is particularly significant. The graphic representation is a simplification, and some less pronounced relations between the families may have been lost. It also does not take into account the variance between prose and poetry usage and the finer distinctions that have already been discussed above. Its primary aim is to highlight the most pervasive and visible links and how the families relate to each other.

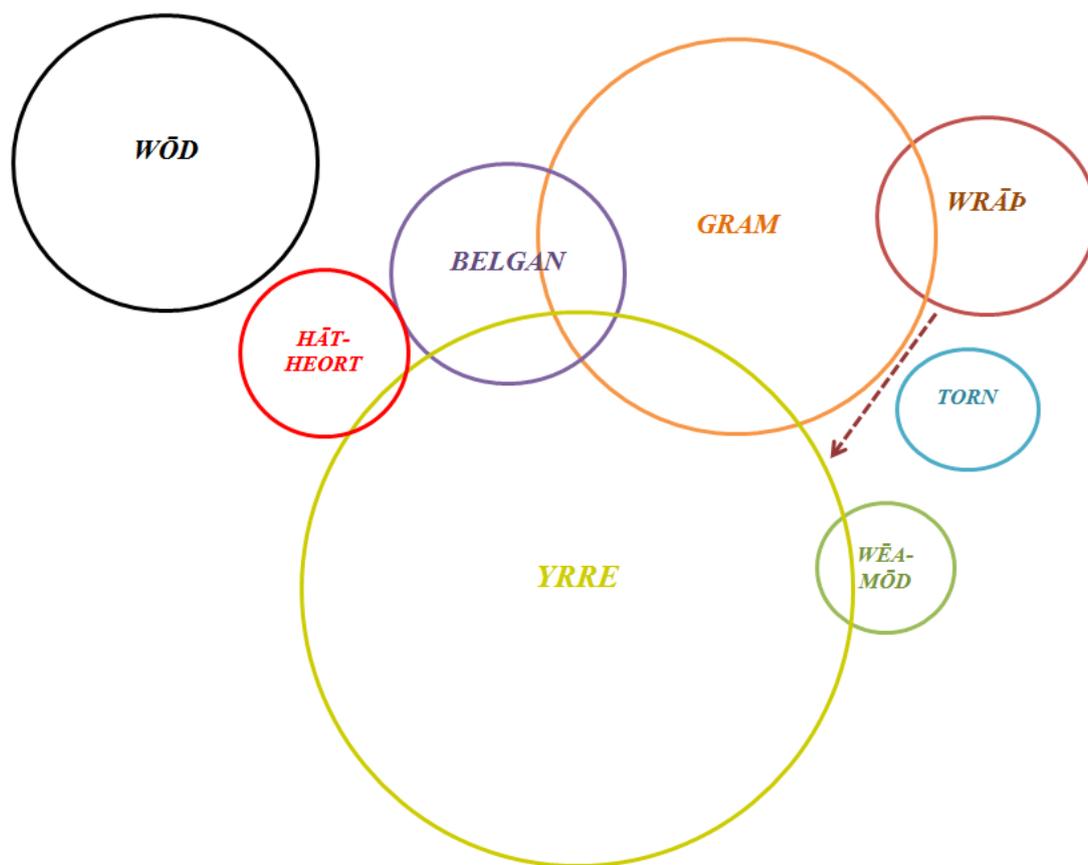


Figure 12-4 – Relations between ANGER word families

As can be seen from the graphic representation, *YRRE* is the largest and the most central word family of the eight word families analysed. It overlaps significantly with *GRAM* (the second most frequent), and with *BELGAN*. These three families are often used interchangeably in similar contexts. There are, however, differences between them. *GRAM*, particularly due to its relations with HOSTILITY, shares usage with *WRĀĀ*, and is generally closer to it than any other word family. In later prose usage, *WRĀĀ* moves closer to *YRRE* (and *GRAM*), but these are late and infrequent occurrences. *WRĀĀ* shares with *TORN* a conceptual link with PAIN/AFFLICTION, which is why the two are closer together, and there are some parallels between the two families. *WĒA-MŌD* appears closer to *TORN* due to its potential etymological link with SADNESS, but it is much closer to *YRRE* as a word family referring to ANGER AS SIN.

The second cluster of words brings together *BELGAN*, *HĀTHEORT* and *WŌD*. All are representing an intensive, excessive emotion, passion and agitation. *BELGAN* and *HĀTHEORT* share similar meanings, though are often used in slightly different contexts. *WŌD* is the most removed from the ‘core’ (*YRRE*) as its central meaning is MADNESS, and

ANGER occurrences are tangential. It shares the link with MADNESS with *HĀTHEORT*, but otherwise it is quite removed from other word families.

12.2.5 Further Considerations

This thesis prepares the ground for a more in-depth investigation of the notion of ANGER in Anglo-Saxon moral, philosophical and psychological thought. The understanding of the differences between different types of ANGER-words is a prerequisite to discussing the larger themes. Some possible questions that can now be answered in a much clearer fashion are: what is ANGER and how does it operate on the body and mind? How does it affect the experiencer? How is it tied to the hydraulic model? How does Anglo-Saxon discourse on ANGER differ from Christian writings and how much of it is affected by the use of word families and by interferences from Latin? What is the evolution of the concept in time?

12.2.6 Conclusions

The eight word families that have been analysed in this thesis show the richness and variety of Old English vocabulary for a group of concepts related to ANGER. The main difference between them lies not so much in differing contexts or referents, but in different associations and connotations that these word families bring into play. Their shared similarities show that the emotions in Old English that could be likened to Modern English *anger* are concentrated on three general topics, two of them Christian and one more secular. The influence of Christian dogma is unmistakable in the common themes of ANGER AS VICE and the WRATH OF GOD. It has most likely prompted the formation of such word families as *WEĀMŌD* and perhaps even *HĀTHEORT*. ANGER is also linked with ENMITY of various kind, whether it be a warrior facing a monster, a saint going against the Devil or two armies facing on the battlefield.

The differences between these word families may appear subtle at first, but they mean that none of these words is fully equivalent to another. These differences can be seen in the conceptual links, referents, text types, time of composition, and even personal preferences of authors. The lexical choices that Anglo-Saxon authors made when deciding to write about ANGER matter to our understanding of the concept as a whole.

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