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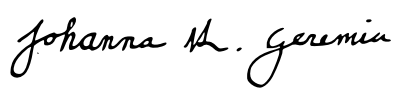
Date and signature: 

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The Thematic Relationship Between Weather and Emotion in Old English Poetry

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Abstract

Joining the rise in scholarship approaching Old English literature with either an ecocritical or emotional approach, this thesis takes a critical look at the specific ways in which descriptions of weather interact with emotions. The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that there is a connection between weather and emotions in Old English poetry that appears most strongly in five types of narratives. These narratives are exile, punishing floods, Judgment Day, sea storms, and paradise, and in each one the connection presents itself differently. This thesis also considers works from the Anglo-Saxon tradition in order to establish a stronger sense of the connection by comparing the Latin and vernacular traditions. The connection appears in four forms, with weather either causing emotions or emphasising the emotional tone of a scene, and emotions either instigating weather events or describing weather phenomena. A secondary objective of this thesis is to look at God's emotional role in the narratives and how he controls or affects the weather.

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Introduction

ond ic hean þonan
wod wintercearig ofer waþema gebind,
sohte seledreorig

And I, wretched, from there
travelled with winter sorrow over the frozen waves,
sought, sad at the lack of a hall.[1]

When I first read the Old English poem *The Wanderer* and came across the idea of "winter sorrow," I was immediately reminded of an art song I sang a few years back titled *Spring Sorrow.*[2] The song is about the speaker's pain and heavy heart despite the arrival of spring, with one line in particular echoing the winter sorrow: "my heart all winter lay so numb."[3] This idea of sorrow and winter intrigued me not just because of my own dislike of the season, but because the concept seemed to have existed in poetry far before the 20th-century *Spring Sorrow* was composed. In the modern world, associating weather with certain emotions is not unheard of. Characters look sadly out to the rain in television shows after a breakup, thunderstorms frighten plenty of people, and even a quick Google search of "sunshine" turns up numerous pictures of smiling suns. I decided to go on a quest reading Old English poetry to find similar associations of weather with emotions, ultimately leading me to this thesis topic.

The objective of this thesis is to demonstrate that there is a connection between weather and emotions in Old English poetry. The relationship appears strongest in five different types of narratives which are the focus of this thesis; they are specifically narratives of exile, punishing floods created by God, the Day of Judgment, sea storms, and paradise. Within these narratives the

[1] *The Wanderer*, 23b—25a ;"The Wanderer," trans. Sean Miller, anglo-saxons.net.
[2] Rupert Brooke, "Spring Sorrow," *Poetry Review* (November 1912).
[3] "Spring Sorrow," l. 5.

connection between weather and emotions presents itself in four differing ways. Firstly, weather imagery can emphasise the emotions of a scene, acting as part of the emotional tone. In this case the inclusion of weather strengthens the emotions which are already being felt. The emotions are part of the story regardless, but the weather enhances them and becomes part of the emotion itself. This connection is most prominent in my discussion of winter-sorrow in chapter one, as the winter imagery is part of the lamentations of the speakers to create an even greater sense of sadness.

The second way weather works with emotion is by provoking emotions in characters. In these instances the weather event is the direct cause of the emotions described, such as storms creating fear. Weather's third role in the connection is the opposite: being created by an emotion. This comes into play specifically when God's own anger motivates him to create floods to kill the people of earth. The final form is the emotional personification of weather. This aspect appears when weather events or elements of the weather event are described using emotion words, implying that the weather itself is emotional or reflects the emotions of those around it. These four ways of presenting the connection often appear together within a single narrative. No form of the connection is exclusive to a particular narrative, and similarly no narrative has only one version of the connection.

The narratives of exile and paradise in particular are formulaically built around the concept of contrast. I explore how contrast functions in these tropes and develop a specific form of contrast called "inside-outside." This idea, which I explain in more depth in the theory and methodology section of the introduction, as well as in chapter one, separates weather and emotional experiences into two opposites: those that function on the inside (joy and warmth) and those that function on the outside (sorrow and winter). By distinctly categorising weather and emotions into one or the

other, we can understand how exile and paradise narratives are defined through the contrasts presented within them.

A secondary aspect to this thesis that I consider is God's role in these weather-emotion connections. I look at how his power and control over the weather changes depending on the type of narrative being discussed, and how his emotions contribute to the weather's creation and behaviour. This comes into play in chapter two, which discusses floods and Judgment Day, and chapter three, which covers poems about sea storms and paradise.

In the following section of this introduction I cover the scope of my research, overviewing the precise Old English and Anglo-Latin sources considered in my thesis. I then go on to review the existing literature on the relationship of weather and emotions in Old English poetry to demonstrate how my thesis covers a gap in the scholarship. After that I delve into the theoretical framework and methodology by defining both weather and emotions in the context of my research. I use existing scholarship on both subjects to outline how I recognise emotions, emotional terminology, and weather in my analyses. In this section I also explain the concepts of contrast and inside-outside, and the theme of exile which I utilise and explore throughout. The introduction then concludes with a brief overview of the three chapters of this thesis.

Source Overview

Writing poetry in the vernacular appears to have begun around the late 7th-century, with Bede crediting Caedmon with composing texts in Old English. Dating these texts is difficult, but most of what is extant today is generally dated to the 9th and 10th-centuries. Between the overlap in time of Latin and Old English writing, as well as the wide spread of many Anglo-Latin texts, there is a

line of influence from the Anglo-Latin to the Old English traditions. Because of this, I look at some Anglo-Latin texts in this thesis to establish certain concepts and demonstrate a continuation of ideas from the Latin to vernacular writings. The appearance of particular weather-emotion connections in Anglo-Latin shows that the broader writing community in early medieval England participated in applying these ideas, whether intentionally as a formula to convey particular messages, or simply because it was how things were done, subconsciously.

At the start of the first chapter I use the 8th-century English scholar Alcuin's poems *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* and *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii* to help define winter and explain the idea of contrast.[4] The first poem demonstrates how winter contrasts to spring, revealing how winter was conceived in early medieval English writing, while the second reveals the idea of contrast and how it appears in Anglo-Latin poetry. I also consider his poem *Sanctis euboricensis ecclesiae* for his version of a vision of hell to show how winter acts as a form of torture and creates fear.[5]

The rest of the Anglo-Latin sources I work with are written by Bede, an English monk, writer, and scholar in the 7th to 8th-centuries whose most well-known work is the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum,* a history of the conversion of the English people to Christianity.[6] In my discussion of exilic themes I use a short story from the *Historia ecclesiactica* to introduce the clear separation of inside and outside, looking specifically at how winter weather is contrasted with the indoors. With sea storm narratives I analyse three excerpts from this text to establish how

[4] Helen Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 82—83. Alcuin, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance,* Duckworth Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Editions, ed. Peter Godman (London: Duckworth, 1985), 35—36.
[5] Alcuin, "Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae," in *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York,* ed. and tr. Peter Godman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 76—77.
[6] The edition and translation that I use in this thesis are both from Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

emotions of anger and fear appear within them. Another text by Bede that I consult is his *De Natura Rerum*, an encyclopaedic look at "the nature of things."[7] In a few instances I use his explanation and descriptions of weather phenomena to recognise how those weather events were seen and understood in early medieval England.

The poems I chose for analysis had to demonstrate clear connections between weather and emotion. Each poem that I analyse contains at least one example of such a relationship following any of the patterns described earlier — weather emphasising or causing emotions, or emotions causing or describing weather. Because of these guidelines, my analysis of Old English poetry fell heavily onto three manuscripts of poetry compilations, the Exeter Book, the Vercelli Book, and the Junius Manuscript. Poems which fell within these parameters from the Exeter Book include *The Wanderer, The Seafarer, The Wife's Lament, Christ II* and *Christ III, Deor, Wulf and Eadwacer, Resignation, Descent into Hell,* and *The Phoenix*.[8] From the Vercelli Book, only the poem *Andreas* works, and the biblical poems *Genesis* and *Exodus* from the Junius Manuscript both fit as well.[9] The only poems from other manuscripts that I include are *Judgment Day II* from MS CCCC201, and *The Menologium* found in Cotton Tiberius B.i.[10]

Existing research

The research of this thesis is interdisciplinary, falling in with ecocritical and emotion history scholarship. The history of emotions has been a rising field, with scholarship ranging from

[7] A full edition of this text can be found in Bede, "De Natura Rerum," in *Opera Didascalica*, ed. C.W. Jones, C.B. Kendall, M.H. King, and Fr. Lipp (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1975), 175—303.
[8] For a full edition of the Exeter Book, see Bernard J. Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter Ms 3501* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994).
[9] For a full edition of the Vercelli Book, see Francis Peabody Magoun. *The Vercelli Poems Book*. (Cambridge: Harvard University,1960); and for a full edition of the Junius Manuscript, see George Philip Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 1. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).
[10] Graham D. Caie, ed. and trans., *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II,* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000); Kazutomo Karasawa, ed., *The Old English Metrical Calendar (Menologium)* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015).

psychological to anthropological to cultural approaches to historical emotions.[11] Scholars such as Barbara Rosenwein, Damien Boquet, and Piroska Nagy have guided the field towards the Middle Ages and discussed the difficulties in studying premodern emotions.[12] Ecocriticism, on the other hand, is a field of literary studies that considers the relationship between literature and the environment.[13] Since I concern myself with weather and emotions in poetry, my thesis falls into the broader concepts of ecological approaches to literary studies and the history of emotions.

My following review of existing research focuses on scholarship specifically exploring the relationship of weather and emotions in Old English poetry, as the fields of medieval ecocriticism and emotion history are too broad to discuss at length here. By far the majority of such scholarship focuses on the Exeter Book elegies *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, since both poems heavily feature winter weather scenery and sorrowful laments of the speaker.[14] Isabel Verdaguer and Emilia Castaño's article "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness in Anglo-Saxon Elegies" approaches three elegies (*The Wanderer, The Seafarer,* and *The Wife's Lament*) from a semantic and clinical direction, experimentally using the "Cognitive Theory of Metaphor" from

[11] Notable surveys of the history of emotions include Jan Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl. Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte*, Munich: Siedler 2012; Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Barbara Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018); Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: an Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory* 49 (May 2010): 237—265.

[12] Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, trans. Robert Shaw (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions," *History Compass* 8 (2010): 828—842. See also Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); see also Peter King, "Emotions in Medieval Thought" in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, ed. Peter Goldie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[13] William Rueckert, "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism," in *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, ed. Cheryl Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 105.

[14] For some works which at least partially consider the emotions and weather in these two poems, see Daniel G. Calder, "Setting and Mode in 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer,'" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 72, no. 2 (1971): 264—275; E. G. Stanley, "Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer, The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*," *Anglia* 73, no. 4 (1955): 413—466; B. K. Martin, "Aspects of Winter in Latin and Old English Poetry," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 68, no. 3 (1969): 375—390. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the literature on *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* and the use of winter as a metaphor for the moods and emotions of the speakers, however these do take some time to discuss the subject. I discuss scholarship that focus directly on the topic in more depth in this thesis.

cognitive linguistics.[15] Their overall conclusion is that the poets of these three poems used experiential aspects of cold, darkness, and physical discomfort to metaphorically convey the moods of sadness.[16] Their observations of the metaphorical use of coldness are most applicable to my thesis since I consider cold an aspect of the weather.[17] They write that the emotional expression in the poems prove the "pervasive connection between emotional and physical properties visible through realistic depictions of wintry weather and gloom, symbolically connected with personal sorrow."[18] My analysis of these poems aligns with their argument of a connection between winter and sadness and goes further to demonstrate how this connection functions, focusing on the weather's role in emphasising the emotions and exploring how the relationship is strengthened through the use of contrast and exilic themes.

Most recently published is an article by Harriet Soper in which she critically engages with scholarship of *The Wanderer* that claims the poem employs the device of 'pathetic fallacy' in its winter imagery.[19] The concept regards the literary attribution of human feelings and responses to inanimate things or animals in nature, and Soper takes issue with the association of the term with *The Wanderer*, saying that it encourages scholars to "overlook key features of the text."[20] I concur with Soper's argument that the winter weather is something the wanderer witnesses, as my later analysis of the poem focuses on the weather as occurring in the space the wanderer himself is in. However, this is not to say that the winter does not also function in a metaphorical sense, strengthening the speaker's sad mood as mentioned above with Verdaguer and Castaño's article.

[15] Isabel Verdaguer and Emilia Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness in the Anglo-Saxon Elegies," *Journal of Literary Semantics* 47, no.2 (November 2018): 85—102.
[16] Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness in the Anglo-Saxon Elegies," 98.
[17] For more on how I define weather, see the following section on theoretical framework and methodology in this thesis.
[18] Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness in the Anglo-Saxon Elegies," 98.
[19] Harriet Soper, "The Wanderer and the Legacy of Pathetic Fallacy," *Neophilologus* 107, no. 1 (2023): 103–25.
[20] Soper, "The Wanderer and the Legacy of Pathetic Fallacy," 104.

In her book on the use of weaving and binding as a poetic device in Old English, Megan Cavell takes a different approach to the winter in *The Wanderer*, claiming that the winter storm has "purpose" and "malicious intent towards humanity."[21] I disagree with her argument in this case, considering my upcoming analysis in favour of weather as emphasising emotion in this poem and *The Seafarer*, however I find it more applicable to my other analyses involving storms in which the weather takes on an aggressive and angry role.[22] Cavell's other points involving weather focus on winter and its binding acts, with emotions mentioned in passing comments on winter as metaphorical for misery.[23]

I would also like to make a brief mention of James Paz's article "Mind, mood, and meteorology in Þrymful Þeow (R.1-3)."[24] Paz argues that a breakdown of "the boundary between the 'internal' human self and 'external' nonhuman nature" is necessary in the study of Old English riddles and, by extension, Old English poetry.[25] He focuses on the first riddle(s) of the Exeter Book and demonstrates that meteorology was an element in Old English for depicting the "moody world" and linked to emotions.[26] My thesis does not interact with any Old English riddles due to the limits of length, but Paz's exploration of the Exeter Book riddle 'Storm' addresses the obvious gap in literature concerning how meteorology and emotions are intertwined in Old English poetry (beyond the elegy studies discussed in the prior paragraphs). In acknowledgment of what Paz, and

[21] Megan Cavell, *Weaving words and binding bodies: the poetics of human experience in Old English literature*, (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2016), 110.
[22] See chapters two and three of this thesis.
[23] Cavell, *Weaving words and binding bodies: the poetics of human experience in Old English literature*, 5, 102—103.
[24] James Paz, "Mind, Mood and Meteorology in Exeter Book Riddles 1-3" in *Riddles at Work in the Anglo-Saxon Tradition: Words, Ideas, Interactions*, ed. J. Neville and M. Cavell, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020): 193—209. For another article by Paz along similar lines in which he explores how Old English writers used birds as images of the human soul, spirit, or mind, see James Paz, "Thinking with Birds: Avian Song and Psychology in Old English Poetry," in *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 29, 3 (Fall 2022): 555—569.
[25] Paz, "Mind, Mood and Meteorology in Exeter Book Riddles 1-3" 198.
[26] Paz, "Mind, Mood and Meteorology in Exeter book Riddles 1-3," 198, 203.

myself, have noticed, this thesis aims to begin the broader study of how weather and emotions relate in Old English poetry, bridging the ecocritical and emotional studies of the texts and demonstrating that the themes exist in a wider context than the wintry elegies.

Jennifer Neville's *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* and Heide Estes' *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes* have each offered significant contributions to the broader ecological approach to Old English literature.[27] Neville's book digs deep into how the natural world is conceived and represented in Old English poetry, remarking in her introduction that the language has no term for 'the natural world.'[28] Estes' more recent monograph considers how ecocritical and ecofeminist thinking can be used with Old English texts, introducing these approaches in selective studies.[29] Both books are fundamental to understanding the poetic use of nature and the environment in Old English poetry. Neither approaches emotions as a primary topic in this context, however, both scholars give some attention to how emotions and nature interact in the literature and I consider these observations later in relation to my analysis of the different poems.[30]

[27] Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Heide Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).
[28] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 1.
[29] Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes,* 9—34.
[30] For other scholarship on ecocriticism and Old English literature, see Mary Elizabeth Ward, "Forests of Thought and Fields of Perception: Landscape and Community in Old English Poetry" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2017); Ilse Schweitzer VanDonkelaar, "Old English Ecologies: Environmental Readings of Anglo-Saxon Texts and Culture" (PhD diss., Western Michigan University, 2013); Emma Knowles, "'And eall worulde gesceaft': Re-reading the Natural World in Old English Biblical Poetry" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2019); Elisa Ramazzina, "Man and Landscape in Old English Literature" *L'analisi linguistica e letteraria* XXIV no. 2, 63-69; Elizabeth Deering Hanscom, "The Feeling for Nature in Old English Poetry," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 5, no. 4 (1905): 439–63.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

There has been a rise in scholarship approaching mentalities and psychologies in a medieval English context, most notably Antonina Harbus' contributions to the subject.[31] Despite this increase in research, as Alice Jorgensen points out, there has been very little work that focuses directly on emotion.[32] Leslie Lockett's 2011 monograph *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* employs a "hydraulic model" of the mind in which the physical heat and pressure of the body correlates to the state of mind.[33] Looking at both Old English and Anglo-Latin texts, Lockett considers the representation of the mind through the use of psycho-physiological descriptions.[34] She does not define emotions explicitly but we do see examples of this analogous approach to emotions in the thesis. The most comprehensive attempt to discuss emotions in the context of pre-conquest England is *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature and Culture.* Jorgensen's introduction to the book encapsulates the difficulty behind defining emotions in this context, remarking that different disciplinary perspectives (hard sciences versus anthropological and ethnographical) result in different definitions.[35] In respect to her edited volume, Jorgensen suggests that the study of emotions is a way to ask how people in early medieval England "encountered their personal goals, values and

[31] Antonina Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry,* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012); Antonina Harbus, "Anglo-Saxon Mentalities and Old English Literary Studies," *Revist Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 55 (2007): 12—22; Antonina Harbus, "A Cognitive Approach to Alliteration and Conceptualization in Medieval English Literature," *English Language and Linguistics* 21, no.2 (2017): 203—219. A text with some more direct consideration of emotions in this context is M.R. Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays,* ed. R.M. Liuzza (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 284—314. A great overview of recent scholarship on mentalities and psychologies in early medieval England can be found in Alice Jorgensen's introduction of: Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormack, and Jonathan Wilcox, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature and Culture* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016).
[32] Jorgensen, "Introduction," 1.
[33] Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 5—6.
[34] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions,* 3—16.
[35] Jorgensen, "Introduction," 3—4.

needs within a specific cultural setting."[36] The expectation of such a study would be to reveal patterns in the way emotions are utilised in the literature in relation to these goals, values, and needs. In the context of this thesis, I am engaging with parallels in how emotions, in relation to weather, are depicted, and how these similarities function in particular themes, narratives, and contexts.

For this thesis, emotion words that directly indicate a type of emotion are most important to consider. Specifically in regards to this thesis, I am looking at variations of sadness, fear, and anger, including but not limited to: sorrow, misery, despair, wrath, fury, and rage. In addition to that, I include physical expressions of emotion (gestures) in my regard to emotions. Examples of gestures would be weeping, lamenting, and laughing.

Defining weather in the context of this thesis is not as straightforward as it would appear, but I attempt to make it clear. The first and simplest way to define weather is as "the state of the air and atmosphere."[37] This takes into account forms of precipitation (rain, snow, hail, etc.) and other atmospheric conditions, like wind and clouds. Storms are considered a form of weather, but elements of storms, for example lightning and thunder, are equally a kind of weather. Winter is generally considered a season and not weather; however, in the context of the narratives discussed in this thesis, winter also implies a specific set of weather phenomena, namely, snow, hail, cold, and various forms of ice. The complexity of my definition of weather arises with floods. Floods can be seen as a secondary trait of weather when they arise from severe rain. In this case, the correlation to storms and precipitation is evident. For the sake of this thesis, I include floods in

[36] Jorgensen, "Introduction," 6.
[37] Britannica Dictionary, s.v. *weather*, https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/weather.

what I consider as weather. In my chapter two discussion of floods I delve deeper into how the floods work as or with the weather.

It is important to note how the sea functions in relation to the weather in the poems I analyse throughout this thesis. In the sea storm and flood narratives in particular, the ocean is used as a canvas for the storms of the scene. That is to say that the sea, waves, and water are either acted upon by the storms or act with them. Because of this, when the sea works with the weather or because of it, I include it in my analysis of the weather. On the whole, if a specific type of weather phenomena — as I have outlined it here to be — is explicitly named in the text being analysed, it is considered a form of weather.

The themes recognised in this thesis are not inventions of my own, rather they reflect those of other scholars. The idea of contrast has been most clearly addressed in Jerome Mandel's *Contrast in Old English Poetry*.[38] Mandel argues that much Old English poetry "is built upon the principle of contrastive collocation," in which the poet consciously employs contrast as a basic structural principle and to "announce and amplify his theme, to shift focus and direction, to develop an idea or sophisticate an argument, and to add a certain excitement to his language."[39] Mandel's work will serve as the start to the ideas of contrast I will explore in my thesis.

The other major theme discussed in this thesis is exile. Chapter one introduces the concept of exile and how it functions in the elegiac poems under analysis. The theme of exile then reappears in chapter three when I explore paradise narratives and how exile relates to Adam and Eve's transgression. Stanley B. Greenfield's article "The formulaic expression of the theme of 'exile' in Anglo-Saxon poetry"

[38] Jerome Mandel, "Contrast in Old English Poetry" *The Chaucer Review*, 6, no.1 (Summer 1971): 1—13.
[39] Mandel, "Contrast in Old English Poetry," 1.

is the most comprehensive exploration of the exilic theme in the context of Old English poetry.[40] His article established the "dimensions" with which he defines the poetic convention of exile, labelling them as status, deprivation, state of mind, and movement in or into exile.[41] I work with the first three aspects when studying how weather and emotions function within the theme.

Building off of Mandel's idea of contrast and using Greenfield's aspects of status, deprivation, and state of mind, I define exile through the contrast of weather and emotions prior to and during exile. The joyful emotions and warmth felt by the speaker before going into exile is distinctly contrasted with his sorrow and experience of winter weather whilst experiencing it. I refer to this type of contrast as "inside-outside," because the elements of joy and warmth are only felt indoors, while elements of sorrow and winter are only encountered outside of that space. Chapter one in particular explores these concepts and their function, while chapter three returns to them reframes them in the context of paradise, deeming paradise as the inside, and all else that is not paradise as the outside.

[40] Stanley B. Greenfield, "The formulaic expression of the theme of 'exile' in Anglo-Saxon poetry," *Speculum* 30, no. 2 (1955): 200—206.
[41] Greenfield, "The formulaic expression," 200—201.

Chapter Overview

Chapter one looks at the poetic use of winter weather as emphasising and causing the emotions of the speakers in Old English poetry. I begin by looking at Alcuin's *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* and a selection of Old English poems — *The Menologium, Solomon and Saturn II,* and *Maxims I* — which contain descriptions of winter as a means of defining which forms of weather are associated with it and understanding how they are depicted. I then turn to the poems *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* for their descriptions of winter and heavy use of sorrowful language. This develops the concept of winter-sorrow. The third section of the chapter examines the idea of contrast and uses it to understand the theme of exile. I acknowledge a specific form of contrast within the poems I analyse wherein the connection between weather and emotions is strengthened through the juxtaposition of their opposites. Labelling the contrast inside-outside, the inside of joy and warmth is directly opposed with the outside, sorrow, and winter weather. This contrast defines the exilic themes in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, and demonstrates that the state of exile of the speakers is heavily explored through the contrasting of their weather and emotions with those found not found in exile. I end chapter one with a look at the Old English poems *Solomon and Saturn II, Christ II, Judgment Day II,* and *Andreas,* as well as a selection of Anglo-Latin texts, for their descriptions of Hell and use of winter weather to torture souls and create fear and sadness.

Chapter two carries on the idea of torment to look at divine punishment in flood and apocalyptic narratives. I look at the floods found in three Old English poems, *Genesis, Exodus,* and *Andreas* and explore the relationship between emotions of fear and anger to the flooding and aspects of it. This part of the chapter recognises weather as both the creator of fear and created out of anger, and shows how elements of the weather event can take on emotional descriptions. Following the flood narratives I look at descriptions of the Day of Judgment found in *Judgment*

Day II, Christ III and in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica.* These apocalyptic narratives further demonstrate the relationship between storms and emotions of fear. In both the flood and Judgment Day passages, God plays an emotional role in creating the weather.

Chapter three considers weather and emotions in sea storm and paradise narratives. The sea storms draw a lot of similarities to the weather found in chapter two, with emotions of fear and anger being the most prominent. I look at the *Historia ecclesiastica* to establish the relationship between weather and emotions before examining it in *Andreas* and *Maxims I.* In these texts God has no control over the start of the storms, but his power comes through in clearing them. The paradise narratives take into account the discussions from all three chapters, defining the relationship between all emotions and types of weather encountered throughout. The poems *Genesis, The Phoenix,* and *Judgment Day II* define paradise through contrast: it is a place without negative emotions or poor weather. Paradise, functioning as the inside of the inside-outside contrast, is thus juxtaposed with the outside, the place in which these negative emotions an weather events exist. When Adam and Eve transgress against God, he exiles them, sending them away from paradise and into this outside, forcing them to encounter harsh weather and experience emotions of fear and sorrow. Together, the three chapters explore and reveal the connection between weather and emotions in various narratives found in Old English poetry.

Chapter One: *Wintercearig* and Contrast

Found in *The Wanderer* is the brilliant compound word *wintercearig*, which Bosworth and Toller define as "sad from the gloom of winter."[42] For the sake of simplicity, we will consider the term as merely "winter sorrow." Encapsulating the argument of this chapter perfectly, *wintercearig* demonstrates how winter and sorrow are entangled, at least poetically, in Old English. Chapter one explores this idea, primarily regarding the elegies *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* for their prominent use of winter imagery as emphasis for the emotions of sorrow. My analysis begins with a brief look at the Anglo-Latin poem *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* by Alcuin to introduce the use of contrast in understanding how winter weather is portrayed in the Anglo-Latin tradition. I use this to analyse winter passages in three Old English poems, *The Menologium, Solomon and Saturn II,* and *Maxims I,* which together establish the theme of contrast and the characterisation of winter in Old English poetry. From there I work with the concept of *wintercearig* to start my analysis of the relationship between weather and emotion in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. The idea of winter sorrow presents itself as part of the exilic narrative in these poems and I introduce a theme of "inside-outside" which encapsulates a specific form of contrast that in turn reveals the state of exile of the speaker. The chapter ends by approaching texts in both the Anglo-Latin and Old English traditions which depict hell and the use of winter weather as torture. In the hell narratives, the cold weather induces the emotions of sorrow in the victims.

Conflicuts Veris et Hiemis is an eighth-century Latin debate poem traditionally attributed to Alcuin.[43] The poem demonstrates the personification of winter and introduces the theme of contrast that will be used in this chapter. The poem also introduces winter as a topic through

[42] *The Wanderer*, 24a; Joseph Bosworth and Thomas Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), s.v. *wintercearig*.
[43] Harold Isbell, trans., *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1971), 278.

descriptions of it and recognition of wintery aspects. The poem begins with an introduction to the debate between winter and spring, demonstrating immediately the opposite nature of the two seasons.

> ver quoque florigero succinctus stemmate venit,
> frigida venit Hiems, rigidis hirsute capillis.
>
> *Spring arrived richly adorned with flowers*
> *while frosty Winter, his long hair frozen.*[44]

Spring, which is *florigero* "flowery," is directly contrasted with a *frigida* "frosty" winter described as having *rigidis* "rigid" hair, implying a frozen state through its rigid condition. This frozen quality of winter is repeated when Winter takes a turn to speak in the debate and is introduced *glacialis,* meaning "icy" or "frozen."[45] This is then contrasted with the dispelling of *frigora* "frost" during spring.[46] Winter complains of the start of spring, which is represented by the arrival of the cuckoo bird, by saying *requiem disiungit amatam, omnia disturbat* "rest is ended, all things are upset."[47] According to winter itself, winter is a time a rest, so the arrival of spring is upsetting for it means the start of work. Winter claims that in spring, *pelagi terraeque laborant* "earth and sea suffer,"[48] but this is contradicted by spring who states that in springtime *placidas et navigat undas* "the waves are calm for sailing."[49] The end of the poem settles this point, writing of spring, *omnia te expectant, pelagus tellusque polusque* "all things – earth, sea and sky – await your advent," showing that the whole world does not suffer in spring, including the earth and sea, and instead look forward to its arrival.[50]

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[44] *Coflictus Veris et Hiemis;* Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 82; Isbell, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*, 280.
[45] Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 82; Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879), s.v. *glacialis.*
[46] Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 82; Isbell, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*, 280.
[47] Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 84; Isbell, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*, 280.
[48] Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 84; Isbell, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*, 280.
[49] Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 84; (my translation).
[50] Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 86; Isbell, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*, 281.

We find more descriptions of winter in Old English in a poem known as the *Menologium* which explores what winter weather is in Old English poetry and how it was regarded in Early Medieval England.

> Syþþan wintres dæg wide gangeð
> on syx nihtum, sigelbeortne genimð
> hærfest mid herige hrimes and snawes,
> forste gefeterad, be frean hæse,
> þæt us wunian ne moton wangas grene,
> foldan frætuwe.
>
> *Afterwards the winter's day widely comes*
> *in six nights, and seizes, by the Lord's command,*
> *the sun-bright autumn with a troop of rime and snow*
> *fettered with frost, so that the green fields,*
> *the ornaments of the earth, cannot remain with us.*[51]

In the *Menologium,* winter is personified as a *herige hrimes and snawes*, "troop of rime and snow" which is *forste gefeterad* "fettered with frost," demonstrating how *forste* "frost," *hrimes* "rime" and *snawes* "snow" are aspects of winter. Winter figuratively marches in and removes the *foldan frætuwe* "ornaments of the earth," turning the world into a bleak, white landscape. Mary Elizabeth Ward writes of this that winter is seen as "undesirable and antagonistic to a landscape that cannot avoid or evade it."[52] This imagery of the cruelty of winter and its weather is remarked upon to a greater extent in the Old English question-and-answer poem *Solomon and Saturn II*.

> Ac forhwon fealleð se snaw, foldan behydeð,
> bewrihð wyrta cið, wæstmas getigeð,
> geðyð hie and geðreatað, ðæt hie ðrage beoð
> cealde geclungne? Full oft he gecostað eac
> wildeora worn, wætum he oferbricgeð,
> gebryceð burga geat, baldlice fereð,
> reafað

[51] *The Menologium,* 199—207; Karasawa, *The Old English Metrical Calendar (Menologium),* 84—85.
[52] Ward, "Forests of Thought and Fields of Perception: Landscape and Community in Old English Poetry," 201.

But why does snow fall, it covers the earth,
Encloses the shoots of plants, binds things that grow,
crushes and inhibits them, so that for a long while
they are withered with cold? Very often it distresses
many wild animals too, makes a bridge over water
breaches the gate of the citadel, boldly proceeds,
robs.[53]

The image in this passage of snow as something which *gebryceð burga geat* "breaks the gates of towns" and *baldlice fereð, reafað* "boldly proceeds, plunders" parallels the military metaphor in *The Menologium* of winter as a *herige* "troop." The harsh description of the snow's treatment of plants through *geðyð* "crushing" and *geðreatað* "consuming" them, expands upon *The Menologium*'s remarks of *foldan frætuwe* "the ornaments of the earth" being taken. *Solomon and Saturn II* remarks on how the snow *gecostað eac wildeora worn* "tries all the many wild beasts," implying the struggles living creatures have to go through in winter.

To further understand the appearance of wintry elements of frost and ice in Old English poetry with the idea of contrast in mind, we turn to *Maxims I*, an Exeter Book poem of "gnomic truths," ideas considered to be universal by the author.[54] Of the poem's format, Bradley writes "often verifiable truisms of natural law or human logic are invoked, evidently to lend to less easily verifiable propositions, interspliced among them, an analogous certainty."[55] The nature of these statements means that at the time of writing, the ideas presented were considered common. Thus, the statements on winter phenomena can help us understand how weather was seen in the written community of early medieval England. From this excerpt of the poem we can see the behaviours of frost, ice, and winter.

[53] *Solomon and Saturn II*, 124a—130a; Daniel Anlezark, ed. and trans., *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 84—85.
[54] Craig Williamson, *The Complete Old English Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 492.
[55] S.A.J. Bradley, trans., *Anglos Saxon Poetry* (Great Britain: J.M.Dent & Sons, 1982), 345.

Forst sceal freosan, fyr wudu meltan,
eorþe growan, is brycgian,
wæter helm wegan, wundrum lucan
eorþan ciþas. An sceal inbindan
forstes fetre felameahtig god;
winter sceal geweorpan, weder eft cuman,
sumor swegle hat

Frost shall freeze, fire melt wood,
Earth bear blossoms, ice form a bridge,
A crown of bright water, locking up
Earth's seeds and shoots. One shall unfasten
The bonds of frost, almighty God.
Winter will leave, fair weather return,
Summer hot with sun.[56]

The statements contain no sense of emotion, but we can see how *forst* "frost" and *is* "ice" function in their world, with *forst* as something which will *freosan* "freeze" and *fetre* "bind," and *is* as an element which will *brycgian* "form a bridge," an idea expressed similarly in *Solomon and Saturn II*.[57] Winter, the reader is reminded, is fleeting, as the end of winter is marked with *weder eft cuman, sumor swegle hat* "fair weather return, summer hot with sun." This idea parallels the contrast of winter and spring in *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* and the loss of warm autumn weather in *The Menologium*. This reminder of summer serves as an example of winter's unpleasantness; relief is expected with the eventual parting of winter, implying that winter is inherently distressing. Bearing in mind the portrayal of winter as harsh in Old English poetry, the following section of this chapter analyses the use of winter imagery to emphasize the sorrowful emotions in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*.

[56] *Maxims I*, 71a—77a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 254; Williamson, *The Complete Old English Poems*, 100.
[57] Anlezark, *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn II*, 84—85; The idea of winter acting as binding is discussed in Martin, "Aspects of winter in Latin and Old English Poetry, 383—386; Ward, "Forests of Thought and Fields of Perception: Landscape and Community in Old English Poetry," 201—203.

Winter Sorrow

The vivid winter imagery found in the elegies *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* functions as part of the speakers' lamentations. Charles Kennedy in his book *The Earliest English Poetry* opens his chapter on Old English elegies with a discussion on elegiac themes, commenting on some of the emotional elements that overlap the different poems and the distinct similarities between *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.[58] He writes of the "tragic sadness" in *The Wanderer* and states that the stress upon "grief and loneliness of the lordless and friendless exile" is a frequent note in Old English verse.[59] Kennedy's points are made clear through this chapter, as will the similarities in theme, tone, mood, and environment of the two elegies. Considering their likeness and that both are found in the Exeter Book, it is unsurprising that a lot of scholarship considers the poems together, but their precise relationship is unknown.[60] The general agreement is that they were written around the same time in the 9th or 10th centuries and are based on the same source material, with some scholars arguing that they are fragments of a greater poetic work.[61] However they relate historically, for this thesis I analyse them together because of the parallels in their themes and language.

In an article by Isabel Verdaguer and Emilia Castaño in which they analyse how sadness is represented metaphorically in both *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer,* they write that the "elegiac landscapes can be understood as a projection of the speaker's emotions, then realistic depictions of cold, ice, frost and darkness could be interpreted as a metaphorical way of describing the grief and loneliness that the speaker feels."[62] That the winter elements are metaphors for the sadness of

[58] Charles W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943), 101—105.
[59] Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry,* 102—103.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical conceptualization of sadness," 92; see also their conclusion, 97—98. For a similar view, see: Martin, "Aspects of Winter," 379.

the poems may seem somewhat obvious upon first glance at the texts below, but my analysis is of how the relationship presents itself and what it means. The winter weather does not simply accompany the sorrowful mood of the poem, rather the sadness is emphasised by it and even attached to it. In other words, I look at the language to understand how the weather works with the sorrow to increase the emotions for both the speaker and the audience. I begin with *The Wanderer* because its sorrowful tone is set early in the poem.

While the speaker's sadness is set early in the poem with the his *werig mod* "weary mind" and *dreorigne* "dreary" thoughts, the intertwining of winter weather with these emotions begins twenty-three lines in:

> ond ic hean þonan
> wod wintercearig ofer waþema gebind,
> sohte seledreorig
>
> *And I, wretched, from there*
> *travelled with winter sorrow over the frozen waves,*
> *sought, sad at the lack of a hall.*[63]

As discussed briefly at the start of this chapter, the compound word *wintercearig* combines winter with sorrow to create what we are considering "winter sorrow." The idea of *wintercearig* summarises this relationship of winter and emotions of sadness, revealing that winter emphasises or even creates sorrow. The term encompasses the *hean* "wretched" or "miserable" state of the speaker. The frozen *waþema* "waves," quite literally *gebind* "bound," draw us back to the *wintercearig* in the same line and strengthen the appearance of winter in this passage of sorrow.[64] Although the word *wintercearig* does not appear again in the poem, its message continues as a theme throughout. It reflects the consistency of the winter scenery and speaker's sorrow as the poem carries on. The speaker's emotional state is once more highlighted in the third line, with their dreariness, as found in *seledreorig* "dreary at the lack of a hall," finishing the short passage.[65] The concept around *wintercearig* is explored further about twenty lines later in the poem:

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[63] *The Wanderer,* 23b—25a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology,* 218; Sean Miller, trans., "The Wanderer," anglo-saxons.net.
[64] For more on the metaphorical use of the sea in relation to human consciousness in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, see Antonina Harbus, "The Maritime Imagination and the Paradoxical Mind in Old English Poetry" *Anglo-Saxon England* 39 (2011): 21—42.
[65] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sele, dreorig.*

hreosan hrim ond snaw, hagle gemenged.
þonne beoð þy hefigran heortan benne,
sare æfter swæsne. Sorg bið geniwad,
þonne maga gemynd mod geondhweorfeð;

Frost and snow fall, mixed with hail.
Then are the heavier the wound of the heart
Grief for one's own lord. Sorrow is renewed
When the mind surveys the memory of kinsmen.[66]

In this passage, the wintry imagery and sorrowful emotions work together with the reference to three weather events, *hrim* "rime," *snaw* "snow," and *hagle* "hail," bringing the winter scenery into this point of the poem.[67] The speaker introduces his *heortan benne* "grief" and the *sare* "sorrow" he feels for his lord who has passed.[68] A sense of longing is created when the wanderer's *gemynd* "memory" creates *sorg* "sorrow."[69] Although not stated directly, I understand the memories to be happy, since the wanderer's sorrow comes from recalling these memories of people he is no longer with. A few lines later, the poet writes *swimmað oft on weg* "[the memories] often swim away."[70] I understand this to mean that he is beginning to forget the memories from before his exile. Peter Clemoes, in his chapter "*Mens absentia cogitans* in *The Seafarer* and *the Wanderer*" has a different approach, and writes that the renewal of sorrow is due to the "limitations of memories… because they are fading."[71] He argues that the memories of what caused the loss of happiness are lost, rather than memories of the happiness itself. I disagree however, and would

[66] *The Wanderer*, 48a—51b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 219; Miller, "The Wanderer."
[67] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hrim, snaw, hagle.*
[68] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sare; Heortan benne* is literally "wound of the heart." According to Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *ben,* the combination of *benne* with *heortan* makes it "grief or sadness."
[69] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gemynd, sorg.*
[70] *The Wanderer*, 53b; (my translation).
[71] Peter Clemoes, "*Mens Absentia Cogitans* in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*," in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N.Garmonsway*, ed. Derek A. Pearsall ad Ronald A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969, 75.

argue that the phrasing of the passage lends itself to including all memories which the wanderer holds: that he is losing memories of his past happiness as well as memories of how he lost said happiness.[72] The sorrow is at recalling past joy, not at remembering what made him lose the joy. All of the wanderer's memories from prior to his exile are happy and the loss of the memories is a loss of the joy they hold. A few lines later the idea of renewing sorrow is repeated by the speaker:

Cearo bið geniwad
þam þe sendan sceal swiþe geneahhe
ofer waþema gebind werigne sefan.

Sorrow is renewed
for he who must send very often
over the frozen waves a weary spirit.[73]

The first line, *cearo bið geniwad* "sorrow is renewed," resembles the phrase *sorg bið geniwad* also meaning "sorrow is renewed" in line 50b. In the previous instance the sorrow is renewed by the memory of the wanderer's kinsmen, while in this example it is for the speaker himself as someone who must frequently send a *werigne sefan* "weary spirit" over the *waþema gebind* "frozen waves." This action is sad in and of itself, as is demonstrated by the renewal of sorrow, but Clemoes argues that the "inadequacy of memory" mentioned previously alongside line 50b would "contribute to the sadness of repeatedly sending a weary mind in loneliness across an expanse of ocean."[74] Thus the sorrow of the action in this passage is intensified by the memories brought up a few lines previously. The frozen waves here parallel the same *waþema gebind* earlier in the poem and remind us of the wanderer's solitary state; he is 'stuck,' so to speak, in his sad state and the frozen waves reflect that.[75] Although the waves are literally "bound," the metaphor

[72] Clemoes, "*Mens Absentia Cogitans*," 75.
[73] *The Wanderer,* 55b—57b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology,* 219—220; (my translation).
[74] Clemoes, "*Mens Absentia Cogitans*," 75.
[75] *The Wanderer,* 24b.

of bound waves implies that they are frozen. This line combines the *gebind* nature of the waves with the *werigne* "weary" spirit, reaffirming the relationship of winter imagery accentuating the emotion of the speaker, echoing the *wintercearig* theme already expressed. This winter world is stressed in the following excerpt in which the speaker urges a *hæle* "hero" to acknowledge the eventual wasteland the earth will be, *þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð* "when all the wealth of this world lies waste."[76] The speaker remarks that some parts of earth already are in such a state and goes on to describe them:

> winde biwaune weallas stondaþ,
> hrime bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas.
> Woriað þa winsalo, waldend licgað
> dreame bidrorene, duguþ eal gecrong,
> wlonc bi wealle.
>
> *Walls stand, blown by the wind,*
> *Covered with frost, storm-swept the buildings.*
> *The halls decay, their lords lie*
> *Deprived of joy, the whole troop has fallen*
> *The proud ones, by the wall.*[77]

The lords are *dreame bidrorene*, "deprived of joy," reflecting the joyless state of the wanderer himself in an earlier line when he remarks that *wyn eal gedreas,* "all the joy has died."[78] The negation of joy parallels the ideas of sorrow presented thus far in the poem, demonstrating the synonymity of joylessness and sadness. The joy of which the lords are deprived may refer to a materialistic joy or emotional, however their lack of it implies a state of sadness. This is tied to the decaying buildings destroyed by weather and time, with *hrime* "rime" covering the ruins. The

[76] *The Wanderer*, 73a—75b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 220; Miller, "The Wanderer."
[77] *The Wanderer*, 73a—80a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 220; Miller, "The Wanderer."
[78] *The Wanderer*, 36b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 219; Miller, "The Wanderer."

poem ends with vivid imagery of winter, reminding the reader of the wintry scene in which the narrative takes place:

> ond þas stanhleoþu stormas cnyssað,
> hrið hreosende hrusan bindeð,
> wintres woma, þonne won cymeð,
> nipeð nihtscua, norþan onsendeð
> hreo hæglfare hæleþum on andan.
>
> *And storms beat these rocky cliffs,*
> *Falling frost fetters the earth,*
> *the harbringer of winter; then dark comes,*
> *nightshadows deepen, from the north there comes*
> *a rough hailstorm in malice against men.*[79]

This close to the poem embraces the winter weather once more, with a *hrið* "storm" binding the earth, just as the waves were earlier in the poem.[80] We also find *wintres* "winter" and a rough *hæglfare* "hailstorm" to embrace the wintriness.[81] This passage also hints at the connection between storms and anger which I discuss in more depth in chapters two and three. Storms appear thrice in this passage, first as the *stormas* "storms" beating the *stahnhleoþu* "rocky cliffs," then as the *hrið* binding the earth, and lastly as the *hæglfare.* The description of the *hæglfare* is where the emotional connection appears, with the hailstorm described as *andan.* Bosworth-Toller regard *andan* as an emotion of the mind and translate it to "malice, envy, hatred, anger, zeal, annoyance, vexation."[82] The *hæglfare* is acting in an emotional capacity against men, personified by a form of hatred. This emotional personification of *hæglfare* demonstrates that the concept of winter weather and sorrowful emotions is consistent throughout *The Wanderer*. We find a similar relationship between winter and sorrow in *The Seafarer*, expressed through similar imagery to *The Wanderer*.

[79] *The Wanderer*, 101a—105b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 221; Miller, "The Wanderer."
[80] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hrið.*
[81] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wintres, hæglfare.*
[82] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *andan.*

The Seafarer begins with an air of sadness with the speaker mentioning their *bitre breostceare* "bitter sorrow of the heart" and the *cearselda fela* "many places of sorrow" he has endured.[83] Both *breostceare* and *cearselda* contain variations of the word *cearu* "sorrow" discussed previously with *The Wanderer,* and by beginning with elements of sorrow, the speaker sets the emotional tone for the rest of the poem, reinforcing the idea a few lines later with winter imagery:

> Calde geþrungen
> wæron mine fet, forste gebunden,
> caldum clommum, þær þa ceare seofedun
> hat ymb heortan; hungor innan slat
> merewerges mod.
>
> *Fettered by cold*
> *were my feet, bound by frost,*
> *in cold clasps, where then cares seethed*
> *hot about my heart; a hunger tears from within*
> *the sea-weary soul.*[84]

The winter environment around the speaker is physically binding him: his feet are *calde geþrungen*, "fettered by the cold," and *forste gebunden*, *caldum clommum,* "bound by frost in cold clasps."[85] His physical state of restriction by the elements of winter is paralleled by his *merewerges mod* "sea-weary soul," for this emotional state of weariness is created by the state of being physically stuck at sea.[86] The binding of the frost here draws similarity to the bound waves in *The Wanderer.* We learn, too, that his *heortan* "heart" is full of *ceare* "sorrow."[87] The description of the seething sorrow as *hat* "hot" contrasts the cold surrounding the seafarer which emphasises the intensity of the emotion. His heart's emotions are explored again later in the poem:

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[83] *The Seafarer*, 4a—5b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 232; Sean Miller, trans.,"The Seafarer," anglo-saxons.net.
[84] *The Seafarer*, 8b—12a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 232; Miller, "The Seafarer."
[85] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *cald, geþringan, forst, gebindan, clom.*
[86] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *merewerges.*
[87] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *heortan, ceare.*

Nap nihtscua, norþan sniwde,
hrim hrusan bond, hægl feol on eorþan,
corna caldast. Forþon cnyssað nu
heortan geþohtas

The shadows of night darkened, it snowed from the north,
Frost bound the ground, hail fell on the earth,
The coldest of grains. Indeed, now they are troubled,
The thoughts of my heart[88]

The speaker's *heortan geþohtas* "thoughts of my heart" are *cnyssað* "troubled," providing some idea of his turmoil.[89] The winter scenery begins this passage, reaffirming the unpleasant environment before remarking on the speaker's emotions. We have the action of *sniwde* "snowed" coming from the north, and *hrim* "frost" again in the act of binding; although this time it binds the *hrusan* "ground," rather than the seafarer himself.[90] The *hægl* "hail" which is falling onto this bound earth is described as *corna caldast* "the coldest of grains," accenting the frozen nature of everything in this scene. Although the poem continues for another ninety lines, winter imagery makes no more appearances. However, sorrow returns once more some fifteen lines later:

Swylce geac monað geomran reorde,
singeð sumeres weard, sorge beodeð
bitter in breosthord.

So the cuckoo warns with a sad voice;
the guardian of summer sings, bodes a sorrow
grievous in the soul.[91]

This last scene of sorrow in *The Seafarer* functions differently from the previous excerpts discussed. So far in my analysis of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* in this chapter, the emotions

[88] *The Seafarer*, 31a—34a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 233; Miller, "The Seafarer."
[89] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *cnyssað.*
[90] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sniwde, hrim.*
[91] *The Seafarer*, 53a—55a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 234; Miller, "The Seafarer."

of sorrow were contained to the speakers. However, in this instance a *geac* "cuckoo" presents the emotion as it sings with its *geomran reorde* "sad voice."[92] Yet we return to the speaker's emotions, as the cuckoo's sad song creates *sorge* "sorrow" the speaker's *breosthord* "heart."[93] Earlier in this chapter when discussing Alcuin's *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, it was pointed out that the cuckoo is a symbol of spring, an idea demonstrated here when the bird is referred to as *sumeres weard* "the guardian of summer." The opposition of winter from spring and summer is made clear in *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* and that contrast correlates to the opposition of sadness and joy explored in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer.* Therefore, if sorrow and winter exist together, then joy and summer must exist together as well. With this in mind, the *geomran reorde* of the cuckoo is far more sorrowful since the bird, which should be the bringer of joy, is instead sad. This unexpected emotion of the cuckoo strengthens those same emotions found throughout the poem.

This section of the chapter has revealed the relationship that winter and sorrow have in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer.* Winter weather of cold, snow, frost, and hail emphasise the emotions of sorrow, including grief. While only *The Wanderer* has the term *wintercearig,* both poems express the idea of "winter sorrow" through the intertwining of emotions with descriptions of winter weather. In the case of *The Wanderer*, hail is personified as angry, demonstrating that not only can the weather be part of the emotions of the scene, but it can be described with an emotion, an idea that is explored further in chapters two and three. The connection of winter weather and sadness presents itself in relation to the exilic themes found in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* and is explored in the next section.

[92] Bosworth and Toller,, s.v. *geac, geomran, reorde.*
[93] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sorge, breosthord.*

"Inside-Outside" and Exile

The last section ended with a discussion on contrast, with the contrast of winter and summer paralleling that of sorrow and joy. The use of contrast in Old English poetry has been well attested, with most scholars on the subject agreeing on its conventional use in the corpus.[94] Contrast is, in this context, the formulaic use of juxtaposing elements and ideas to reinforce or strengthen how concepts are perceived.[95] Mandel argues that much Old English poetry uses contrast as the basic principle to understand the whole work.[96]

In this next section, we will continue to analyse the concept of winter-sorrow within the context of a theme I have labelled "inside-outside," which is built upon the idea of contrast. This theme is the distinct separation of things into two categories: those that are inside and those that are outside. This section demonstrates that in this theme inside contains warmth, camaraderie, and emotions of joy, while outside features the cold, loneliness, and sorrowful emotions.[97] Jennifer Neville corroborates this idea, writing that in Old English poetry "the natural world is more commonly represented as standing in opposition and contrast to human society, threatening it from the outside, rather than symbolising aspects of the inside, of human society itself."[98] The juxtaposition of the inside and outside is used in Old English poetry to distinguish the natural world from the human one, and in the context of the poems I analyse in this section, the contrast is made clearer when someone from the inside is existing in the outside.[99]

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[94] For an introduction to the concept, see: Mandel, "Contrast in Old English Poetry," 1—13.
[95] Mandel, "Contrast in Old English Poetry," 1.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Contrast of warmth to the wanderer's chilly environment is discussed in Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness," 96.
[98] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 56.
[99] For further discussion on the opposition of the interior and exterior in the context of Christianity in *The Wanderer,* see the Patrick Cook, "*Woriað Þa Winsalo*: The bonds of exile in 'The Wanderer,'" *Neophilologus* 80 (1996): 127—137.

The idea of inside-outside also strengthens how exile narratives function in Old English poetry, with exile being a state of "outside." Stanley B. Greenfield's "The formulaic expression of the theme of 'exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry" considers the poetic convention of "exile" as a theme in Old English poetry.[100] In his article, Greenfield considers four aspects that define the state of exile: status, deprivation, state of mind, and movement into or out of exile.[101] I consider the first three in my analysis of winter and sorrow within the exilic themes of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.[102] Status of the excommunicated person, Greenfield states, is demonstrated primarily by the phrases *wineleas* "friendless*," wrecca* "exile*,*" and *anhaga* "recluse."[103] Greenfield's aspect of deprivation in these poems is presented through the loss or removal of the exile's "property."[104] This fits with my inside-outside theme in which the removal from or loss of the "inside" places a person into the "outside." Greenfield's third aspect of exile is the state of mind accompanying the exile.[105] My argument is that the state of mind demonstrated in these poems, through emotions of sorrow, is reflective of the expected emotions in the "outside," where the exile exists.

The inside-outside theme presents itself in a story found in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* where the inside warmth is contrasted by the winter outside. The story follows the conversion of King Edwin to Christianity and in this scene a counsellor of his is sharing an anecdote.[106]

> Quale cum te residente ad caenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio et calido effecto cenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium, adueniens unus passerum domum citissime peruolauerit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens mox per aliud exierit, ipso quidem

[100] Greenfield, "The formulaic expression," 200—206.
[101] Ibid., 201.
[102] See Estes, *Anglo Saxon Literary Landscapes,* 42 on winter torments at sea and in relation to exile.
[103] Greenfield, "The formulaic expression," 201; Bosworth and Toller, *wineleas, wrecca, anhaga.*
[104] Ibid., 202.
[105] Ibid., 203.
[106] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica,* II.xiii, 182—185.

> tempore quo intus est hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen paruissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, mox de hieme in hiemem regrediens tuis oculis elabitur.
>
> *You are sitting feasting with your ealdormen and thegns in winter time; the fire is burning on the hearth in the middle of the hall and all inside is warm, while outside the wintry storms of rain and snow are raging; and a sparrow flies swiftly through the hall. It enters in at one door and quickly flies out through the other. For the few moments it is inside, the storm and wintry tempest cannot touch it, but after the briefest moment of calm, it flits from your sight, out of the wintry storm and into it again.*[107]

The inside and outside are distinguished from each other: the cold *foris* "outside" is where the *turbinibus hiemalium* "wintry storms" of *pluuiarum uel niuium* "rain and snow" exist, while the *intus* "inside" is described as *calido* "warm," thanks to the *foco* "fire" burning on the hearth. The intensity of the winter weather is increased by the combination of rain and snow to create a storm and demonstrates the antagonistic nature of the outside by contrasting it with the explicit *serenitatis* "calm" inside. The subject of the story in the hall is with his *ducibus ac ministris* "ealdormen and thegns" and not out in the *brumali* "winter." The contrast of societal inclusion versus exclusion is reinforced by the distinct warm versus cold dichotomy where exclusion removes a person from the "inside" and to the "outside." Jennifer Neville addresses this idea, writing of the natural world in Old English texts as something that "stands as a negative image, either as an absence of or in opposition to society."[108] Those who are away from or even excluded from society would be without this "inside" and suffering through the elements of the "outside." *The Wanderer* demonstrates this ostracization through the phrase *eðle bidæled*, meaning "deprived of a home," and the compound word, *seledreorig*, which translates approximately to "sad at the lack of a hall."[109] The speaker's sorrow is thus expressed specifically through the lack of a home

[107] Ibid.
[108] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 88.
[109] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *eðle bidæled, seledreorig; The Wanderer,* 20b, 25a. For more on the contrast of the hall and the state of the world outside of it, see Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of sadness," 93.

and, more broadly, the lack of community, a sentiment shared by Neville.[110] The separation from society is demonstrated greatly in *The Seafarer* through the contrast of what the speaker is experiencing to what he wishes he were experiencing. Verdaguer and Castaño write that "in this particular manifestation of sadness, coldness is experientially connected to physical separation."[111] He remarks on the sounds of the birds, saying that instead of the *hleahtor wera* "laughter of men" and *medodrince* "mead drinking" he takes pleasure in the bird songs.[112] The contrast of the men and mead drinking to the birdsong is continued:

> Stormas þær stanclifu beotan, þær him stearn oncwæð
> isigfeþera; ful oft þæt earn bigeal,
> urigfeþra; ne ænig hleomæga
> feasceaftig ferð frefran meahte.
>
> *Storms there beat the stony cliffs, where the tern spoke,*
> *icy-feathered; always the eagle cried at it,*
> *dewy-feathered; no cheerful kinsmen*
> *can comfort the poor soul.*[113]

The speaker's state of being out of society is revealed when he remarks on the lack of *hleomæga* "kinsmen" who can comfort his *feasceaftig ferð* "poor soul."[114] This is emphasised by the wintriness which appears with the *isigfeþera* "icy-feathered" and *urigfeþra* "dewy-feathered" birds.[115] His separation is expressed further in the following lines:

> Forþon him gelyfeð lyt, se þe ah lifes wyn
> gebiden in burgum, bealosiþa hwon,
> wlonc ond wingal, hu ic werig oft
> in brimlade bidan sceolde.
>
> *Indeed he credits it little, the one who has the joys of life,*

[110] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 70.
[111] Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness," 94.
[112] *The Seafarer*, 19a—22b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 232; Miller, "The Seafarer."
[113] *The Seafarer*, 23a—26b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 232; Miller, "The Seafarer."
[114] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hleomæga, feasceaftig, ferð.*
[115] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sigfeþera, urigfeþra.*

dwells in the city, far from terrible journey,
proud and wanton with wine, how I, weary, often
have had to endure in the sea-paths.[116]

We find in this passage a reemphasis of the contrast, where those with *lifes wyn* "joys of life" exist in *burgum* "the city" and away from those with *bealosiþa hwon* "little misfortune" on the *brimlade* "sea-paths."[117] The "inside" of *The Seafarer* resembles the inside from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica,* a place where kinsmen can experience the joys of life away from the winter weather. Isolation from society is also demonstrated in *The Wanderer,* with the speaker's lack of friends made clear through the terms *freondleasne* and *wineleas*.[118] Aligning with Greenfield's aspects of exile, the speaker's solitude reveals his status – a man without friends.[119] Charles Kennedy shares the notion that status is elemental to elegiac themes, commenting that *The Wanderer* in particular "elevates to stoic fortitude the ache of loneliness and exile."[120] The very first line calls the wanderer an *anhaga* "recluse," a sentiment reinforced when he remarks how he is *ana* "alone" in the mornings when he speaks of his *ceare* "sorrow."[121] In reference to the function of winter in this scene, Verdaguer and Castaño write, "the winter landscape is also the setting in which the *anhaga* awakens after dreaming of his former life in the mead-hall, establishing a contrast between the happy, warm mead-hall and the cold, bleak place where he is now. In this respect, coldness also seems to evoke a metaphorical association with the domain of sadness."[122] By dreaming of the mead-hall, the *anhaga* is temporarily transported to the "inside" before returning to reality, the "outside."

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[116] *The Seafarer,* 27a—30b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology,* 233; Miller, "The Seafarer."
[117] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *bealosiþa, hwon, brimlade*.
[118] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *freondleas, wineleas*; *The Wanderer,* 28a, 45b; For discussion on the suffix *-leas* in exile narratives, see: Greenfield, "The formulaic expression," 203.
[119] Greenfield, "The formulaic expression," 201.
[120] Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry,* 102.
[121] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *anhaga, ana, cearu*; *The Wanderer,* 1a.
[122] Verdaguer and Castaño, "The Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness," 95.

The connection between the state of being alone and emotions of sorrow is demonstrated again later, when it is stated that he is an *earme anhogan* "a wretched recluse."[123] The wanderer's stated isolation and the implied seclusion of the seafarer through contrast is in fact representative of their states of exile, both speakers corresponding to Greenfield's choice of deprivation as an aspect of exile. One who is in exile must suffer through the winter phenomena, as the speakers in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* do.[124] The juxtaposition of the outdoors and indoors in *The Wanderer* is commented on by Neville, who writes that the wanderer's situation stands in opposition to positive structures, "the grim fury of the natural world in *The Wanderer* contrasts both with the happiness of the man immersed in his society and with the more stable society in heaven."[125] The emotions of exile are defined in part by their contrast to emotions of happiness held when part of society, so experiencing the sadness comes from the distinct separation from previous joy.

The term for exile used in these poems, *wræc*, is in itself an insight into the emotions tied to the exilic experience. In *The Wanderer,* we find the singular *wræclast* and plural *wræclastas* for "path(s) of exile."[126] In *The Seafarer*, we have *wræclastas* again and *wræccan* "an exile."[127] The word *wræc* has two distinct, but parallel, meanings. As an emotion word it means "wrack, misery, or suffering,"[128] however, it can also mean "suffering that comes as punishment" or "where the punishment or misery is exile or banishment."[129] This interchangeability creates a space in which exile and misery are synonymous, both a state of being and an emotional state. Thus, while we are

[123] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *earme, anhoga.*
[124] For more on the representation of exile in these two poems beyond my analysis in this chapter, see Stanley, "Old English Poetic Diction," 413—466.
[125] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 60.
[126] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wræclast*; *The Wanderer,* 5a; 32a.
[127] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wræclastas* and *wræccan; The Seafarer,* 57a; 15b.
[128] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wræc.*
[129] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wræc.*

looking at these poems for the emotion words that appear alongside mentions of exile, we can interpret exile passages as equated with misery, even when the emotion words are not present. The concept of winter-sorrow coexists in these exile narratives, as has been demonstrated so far.

We find in the first verse of the poem *Deor* the character Weland suffering in exile, the poem drawing similarities to *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* in emotional and wintry content.

> Welund him be wurman wræces cunnade,
> anhydig eorl earfoþa dreag,
> hæfde him to gesiþþe sorge ond longaþ,
> wintercealde wræce; wean oft onfond,
> siþþan hine Niðhad on nede legde,
> swoncre seonobende on syllan monn.
>
> *Weland himself by means of swords, experienced agony*
> *The strong-minded noble endured troubles,*
> *He had for his companions sorrow and longing,*
> *Winter-bitter wrack; he often found misery*
> *After Niðhad put fetters on him,*
> *Supple sinew-bonds on the better man.*[130]

Weland is shown as a man in suffering, and at the start he experiences *wræces*, which, considering the interchangeability of exile and misery discussed above, could refer to either his emotional state of misery or his physical exile.[131] Both are plausible, as his solitude is demonstrated through his companions of *sorge* "sorrow" and *longaþ* "longing."[132] These emotions strengthen the argument in favour of *wræces* functioning as "misery" at the start of this passage, but the metaphor of them as companions then stresses the "exile" definition. His third companion is listed as *wintercealde wræce* "winter-cold misery," again stressing the idea of *wræces* from before.[133] However, by describing the misery as *wintercealde*, the speaker emphasises the miserable

[130] *Deor*, 1a—6b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 283; Sean Miller, trans., "Deor," anglo-saxons.net.
[131] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wraece.*
[132] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sorge, longaþ.*
[133] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *winterceald, wræc.*

emotions with an element of winter. Winter weather, when present in exile narratives, is purposefully used as a poetic convention to expand upon the emotional aspects of the exile. By placing winter-sorrow within the discussion of exile, we can begin to see how the ideas correlate in these poems, specifically in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.

The opening of *The Wanderer* begins to place these three ideas together; that is, winter weather, sorrow, and exile demonstrated through solitude.

> Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
> metudes miltse, þeah þe he modcearig
> geond lagulade longe sceolde
> hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sæ,
> wadan wræclastas.
>
> *Often the solitary one finds grace for himself*
> *the mercy of the Lord, Although he, sorry-hearted,*
> *must for a long time move by hand*
> *along the waterways, along the ice-cold sea,*
> *tread the paths of exile.*[134]

The wanderer's state of exile is demonstrated twice, first with recognition of being an *anhaga* "recluse," as discussed above, and at the end as someone who must tread the *wræclastas* "paths of exile."[135] The location of this exile is an *hrimcealde sæ* "ice-cold sea," reemphasising the idea that winter correlates to the "outside" in the inside-outside dichotomy and strengthening his emotional state of *modcearig* "sorrowful at heart."[136] This is further evident in the following passage later in the poem.

> Wat se þe cunnað,
> hu sliþen bið sorg to geferan,
> þam þe him lyt hafað leofra geholena.

[134] *The Wanderer*, 1a—5a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 218; Miller, "The Wanderer."
[135] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *anhaga, wræclastas.*
[136] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hrimceald, sæ, modcearu.*

Warað hine wræclast, nales wunden gold,
ferðloca freorig, nalæs foldan blæd.

He who has tried it knows
How cruel is sorrow as a companion
To the one who has few beloved friends.
The path of exile holds him, not at all twisted gold,
A frozen spirit, not the bounty of the earth.[137]

Here, the wanderer's lone state is emphasised again with having few *leofra geholena* "beloved protectors."[138] Instead of these *geholena,* sorrow is the figure accompanying him on his journey, *sorg to geferan* "sorrow as a companion," resembling the miserable companions of Weland in *Deor.*[139] This emotional component reminds us that exile is a sorrowful thing, and with the end of the segment rendering the wanderer's *ferðloca* "spirit" *freorig* "frozen," winter is brought back into the scene, emphasising the sadness of the passage.[140] In a passage from *The Seafarer,* the connection of winter-sorrow to exile can be found.

hu ic earmcearig iscealdne sæ
winter wunade wræccan lastum,
winemægum bidroren,
bihongen hrimgicelum; hægl scurum fleag.
þær ic ne gehyrde butan hlimman sæ,
iscaldne wæg.

How I, wretched and sorrowful, on the ice-cold sea
dwelt for a winter in the paths of exile,
bereft of friendly kinsmen,
hung about with icicles; hail flew in showers.
There I heard nothing but the roaring sea,
the ice-cold wave.[141]

[137] *The Wanderer*, 29b—33b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 219; Miller, "The Wanderer."
[138] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *leofra, geholena.*
[139] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sorg, geferan.*
[140] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *ferðloca, freorig.*
[141] *The Seafarer*, 14a—19a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 232; Miller, "The Seafarer."

The speaker describes his *wræccan lastum* "paths of exile" in a wintry capacity, with *hrimgicelum* "icicles" hanging off of him, *hægl* "hail" flying around, and the sea and its waves described as *iscaldne* "ice-cold."[142] Of these icicles, B.K. Martin writes that "this is a sign of very cold weather and a measure of his hardship and misery."[143] Martin is arguing that the details of winter in the scenery specifically demonstrate the seafarer's suffering, a point I agree with. As with the wanderer's *sorg* in the previous example, here the seafarer's emotional state is a form of sorrow, *earmcearig* "miserable and sad."[144] The ideas presented so far in this chapter are demonstrated together in the ending of the poem *The Wife's Lament*. At this point in the poem, the speaker is thinking of her lover who is away and in exile. The themes of inside-outside and exile are well portrayed along with winter and sorrow.

sy æt him sylfum gelong
eal his worulde wyn, sy ful wide fah
feorres folclondes, þæt min freond siteð
under stanhliþe storme behrimed,
wine werigmod, wætre beflowen
on dreorsele. Dreogeð se min wine
micle modceare; he gemon to oft
wynlicran wic. Wa bið þam þe sceal
of langoþe leofes abidan.

Whether he is dependent on himself
for all of his worldly joy, or whether he is an outcast, very far
from his distant country, sitting
under stone cliffs frost-rimmed from storms,
friendless, water flowing before
his echoing home, my lover suffers
much grief of the mind. Too often he remembers
a house full of joy. Woe to those that must

[142] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hrimgicelum, hægl, iscaldne.*
[143] Martin, "Aspects of Winter," 385.
[144] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *earmcearig.*

of longing in life abide.[145]

We find a clear example of the inside-outside theme with the contrast of the exile's recollection of a *wynlicran wic* "house full of joy" to his current *dreorsele* "dreary home," the sea; existing *ful wide fah* "very far" from home. This reminds of the *seledreorig* "sad at the lack of a hall" found in *The Wanderer*.[146] The exclusion of the figure in *The Wife's Lament* from society is stressed through the language of *wine werigmod* "friend weary in spirit," which presents the friendlessness as not just physical separation but in spirit as well.[147] The other emotions that are present, *modceare* "sorrow of the heart" and *wa* "woe," fit in with the narrative of sorrowful exile presented in this scene. These emotions and the state of exile are then further represented by the image of the *storme behrimed* "frost-covered by storms" cliffs.[148] The combination of this winter image with the emotions of the passage reinforces this concept of winter-sorrow.

This section introduced the theme of "inside-outside," a form of contrast that presents itself in the exilic narratives found in *The Seafarer, The Wanderer,* and even in *The Wife's Lament.* By setting two clear opposites – a warm inside and cold outside – the speaker's state of exile is strengthened. Not only does the speaker's solitary status indicate his position out of society, but his consistent reference to his deprivation, such as by the lack of a hall or friends, strengthens this point. We find, too, that the winter weather and emotions of sorrow indicate both speakers' positions in the "outside" because neither winter nor sadness are found in the "inside." The halls

[145] *The Wife's Lament*, 45b—53b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 332—333; André Babyn, trans., "The Wife's Lament," *The Poetry Foundation* (May 2022).
[146] *The Wanderer*, 25a.
[147] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wine, werigmod.*
[148] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *modcearu, storme, behriman.*

full of friends and joy are directly contrasted then by the speaker's description of his own plain of existence.

Winter in Hell

At the start of the previous section, I presented the case of opposites creating a distinct separation of inside and outside; warm and freezing; joy and sorrow. Such contrasts appear frequently in Old English poetry, especially in pairs of opposites, and scholarship into the matter is well attested.[149] By choosing to represent certain ideas in opposite pairs, the poet is creating a subconscious association: if one thing is true, then its opposite must also be true. This idea is already present in Anglo-Latin literature, particularly in *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii* by Alcuin. In the poem, Alcuin presents a selection of opposites in his description of human existence, ultimately arguing that each day is different and all things change. He writes:

> Una dies ridet, casus cras altera planget,
> Nil fixum faciet tessera laeta tibi.
> Prospera conturbat sors tristibus impia semper,
> Alternis vicibus ut redit unda maris.
> Nunc micat alma dies, veniet nox atra tenebris,
> Ver floret gemmis, hiems ferit hocque decus.
>
> *One day smiles, the next laments a catastrophe,*
> *no stability is granted by a token of luck.*
> *Unkindly chance always throws sadness and prosperity together,*
> *as the sea waves return with their ebb and flow.*
> *Soft daylight gleams one moment, then comes the darkness of black night;*
> *spring blossoms with buds whose beauty winter destroys.*[150]

This passage has a pattern of remarking on a concept and then regarding its opposite. *Ridet* "laughter" is listed first and followed by *planget* "wailing," likewise *dies* "day" is then followed

[149] See my discussion of inside-outside in the previous section.
[150] *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii,* 13—18; Alcuin, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, 35—36.

by *nox* "night."[151] The sea's changing flow is likened to the unlikely pair of *tristibus* "sadness" and *prospera* "prosperity" while *ver* "spring" is destroyed by *hiems* "winter."[152] This pattern of opposite pairs can be found in Old English poetry, with *Solomon and Saturn II* demonstrating such contrast with elements of weather.

> Ne mæg fyres feng ne forstes cile,
> snaw ne sunne somod eardian,
> aldor geæfnan, ac hira sceal anra gehwylc
> onlutan and onliðigan ðe hafað læsse mægn.
>
> *Fire's grasp and frost's chill, snow and sun, can*
> *Neither dwell nor endure life together, but either*
> *one of them must submit and yield, that which*
> *has less power.*[153]

The poem suggests that these contrasting pairs cannot coexist, one must always *onlutan* "bend" to the other.[154] *Fyres* "fire" is opposed by *forstes cile* "frost's chill," creating a juxtaposition of hot and cold which is seen in the next line with *snaw* "snow" opposing *sunne* "sun."[155] This reflects the contrast discussed in the previous section in which the cold environment the exiles' are in contrasts with the warmth of home. In *Christ II*, the differentiation between heaven and hell is asserted through the two possible paths of life man can choose, again reinforcing the idea of contrast.

> þæt nu monna gehwylc
> cwic þendan her wunað, geceosan mot
> swa helle hienþu swa heofones mærþu,
> swa þæt leohte leoht swa ða laþan niht,
> swa þrymmes þræce swa þystra wræce,
> swa mid dryhten dream swa mid deoflum hream,

[151] Lewis and Short, s.v. *rideo, plango, dies, nox.*
[152] Lewis and Short, s.v. *tristis, prospera, ver, hiems.*
[153] *Solomon and Saturn II,* 177a—180b; Anlezark, *Old English Dialogues,* 88—89
[154] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *onlutan.*
[155] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *fyr, forst, cile, snaw, sunne.*

> *So that every man alive, whilst he is dwelling here may choose as well the humiliation of hell as the glory of heaven, as well the radiant radiance as the loathsome night, as well the thronging of the heavenly multitude as the exiled state of darkness, as well joy with the Lord as sorrow with the devils.*[156]

The ideas of *heofones* "heaven" as a place with *leohte leoht* "radiant radiance" and *dream* "joy" contrast with those of *helle* "hell," *laþan niht* "loathsome night," and *deoflum hream* "devilish torture" respectively.[157] These alignments demonstrate which aspects are associated with heaven and which with hell. The *þrymmes þræce* "power of the multitude" refers to the angels in heaven and directly opposes *þystra wræce* "darkness of exile," an idea which connects us back to the exilic passages discussed previously and reveals that this concept of exile correlates to hell.[158] Taking this notion of contrast further, we can explore narratives of hell and see how the juxtaposition of winter weather and fire create a place of torture for souls. The analysis will consist of the relationship between the winter weather and emotions described in the excerpts.

Anglo-Latin literature displays the role of winter weather in hell in two versions of the same account: a vision by the monk Dryhthelm. In his *Historia ecclesiastica,* Bede relays Dryhthelm's vision of hell:

> "quae ad leuam nobis sita unum latus flammis feruentibus nimius terribile, alterum furenti grandine ac frigore niuium omnia perflante atque uerrente non minus intolerabile praeferebat. Vtrumque autem erat animabus hominum plenum, quae uicissim huc inde uidebantur quasi tempestatis impetu iactari. Cum enim uim feruoris inmensi tolerare non possent, prosiliebant miserae in medium rigoris infesti; et cum neque ibi quippiam requiei inuenire ualerent, resiliebant rursus urendae in medium flammarum inextinguibilium. Cumque hac infelici uicissitudine longe lateque, prout aspicere poteram, sine ulla quietis intercapedine innumerabilis spirituum deformium multitudo torqueretur, cogitare coepi

[156] *Christ II*, 589b—594b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology,* 71—72; Bradley, *Anglo Saxon Poetry,* 222.
[157] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *heofon, leoht, dream, helle, laþ, niht, deoflum, hream*.
[158] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *þrymm, þracu, þystru, wræc.*

quod hic fortasse esset infernus, de cuius tormentis intolerabilibus narrari saepius audiui… audio subitum post terga sonitum inmaissimi fletus ac miserrimi"

"It lay on our left and one side of it was exceedingly terrible with raging fire, while the other was no less intolerable on account of the violent hail and icy snow which was drifting and blowing everywhere. Both sides were full of the souls of men which were apparently tossed from one side to the other in turn, as if by the fury of the tempest. When the wretched souls could no longer endure the fierceness of the terrific heat, they leapt into the midst of the deadly cold; and when they could find no respite there, they jumped back only to burn once again in the midst of the unquenchable flames. Since a countless multitude of misshapen spirits, far and wide, was being tortured in the alternation of misery as far as I could see, and without any interval of respite, I began to think that this might be hell, of whose intolerable torments I had often heard tell… I suddenly heard behind my back the sound of wild and desperate lamentation."[159]

The description creates a vivid image of souls leaping between two extremes, the *flammis feruentibus* "boiling hot fire" on one side and *frigore niuium* "cold of the snow" on the other.[160] Together, the inhospitable environments create *miserae* "miserable" souls, whose *fletus ac miserrimi* "miserable weeping" is heard by Dryhthelm, revealing the state of misery in.[161] A few passages later the valley of torture is recalled for its flames and *frigoribus horrenda* "terrible cold.[162] Less than a century after Bede's retelling of Dryhthelm's story we have a versification of the text by Alcuin.[163] The passage is similar:

quae latus horrendum flammis ferventibus unum
atque aliud habuit glaciali grandine plenum.
Haec animabus erat hominum hinc inde repleta,
quae, nimis exustae dum flammas ferre nequibant,
frigoris in medium miserae mox prosiliebant.
Cumque ibi nec poterant requiem reperire, vicissim
flammivomum flentes iterum ferebantur in ignem.

[159] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.xii, 488—491.
[160] Lewis and Short, s.v. *flamma, ferveo, frigus, nix.*
[161] Lewis and Short, s.v. *miser, fletus, miserimonium.*
[162] Lewis and Short, s.v. *frigor, horreo;* Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 494—495.
[163] Gernot R. Wieland, "Anglo-Saxon Visions of Heaven and Hell" in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife,* ed. Richard Matthew Pollard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 91.

one side of which was filled with terrible, raging flames
and the other with freezing hail.
It was crowded on both sides with the souls of men, who,
when excessively burned and unable to endure the burning,
would leap in their misery into the midst of the cold.
And when they could find no respite even there, they were
carried back again, wailing, into the fire's belching flames.[164]

In Alcuin's version, the cold side of the torture only contains *glaciali grandine* "freezing hail" while Bede's includes snow. Both versions remark on the *frigoris* "cold" and the emotions in hell with a form of weeping, *flentes* in Alcuin's version.[165] The combination of fire and ice creates a torturous juxtaposition when both function together in one place; the two most extremes. Recalling the passage from *Solomon and Saturn II* discussed at the start of this section, these hot and cold extremes should not be able to function together – one should always overpower the other. However, the overpowering nature of each side still appears in the souls' leaping back and forth, as when one element overpowers for too long, they must jump into the other. This creates the perfect environment for torture. The emotions felt by the tortured souls are emphasised by the extreme conditions, and the winter weather's role in the torment reinforces its relationship to emotions of sorrow. As in the Latin accounts, the Old English poem *Judgment Day II* recognises this hot and cold dichotomy in its description of hell, stating:

þær synt to sorge ætsomne gemenged
se þrosma lig and se þrece gicela,
swiðe hat and ceald helle tomiddes.
Hwilum þær eagan ungemetum wepað
for þæs ofnes bryne eal he is bealuwes full;
hwilum eac þa teþ for miclum cyle manna þær gryrrað.

For an affliction there are mingled together
The fire of vapours and the violence of ice,

[164] *Sanctis euboricensis ecclesiae*, 910—916; Alcuin, "Versus de patribus," 76—77.
[165] Lewis and Short, s.v. *frigor, fleo.*

Great heat and cold in the centre of hell.
At times eyes weep there uncontrollably,
Because the blaze of the oven – all here is full of woe.
At times too men's teeth
Will gnash because of the intense cold.[166]

The torment is specifically referred to as *witu* "punishment," demonstrating that these hell narratives not only work with the formula of contrast but fit in with the punishment theme as well. The use of both *lig* "flames" and *gicela* "icicles" creates *bealuwes* "woe" and causes the souls to *wepað* "weep."[167] This is stressed further a few lines later when the speaker remarks that no voice stirs other than *wop and wanung* "weeping and wailing."[168] The imagery of weeping reflects the lamentation described in Bede's version of Dryhthelm's vision and is enhanced by the description of the *cyle* "chill" causing the men's teeth to *gryrrað* "gnash."[169] *Christ and Satan* recognises this concept in brief when it is stated about hell: *hwæt, her hat and ceald hwilum mencgað*, "See! Here heat and cold sometimes mingle."[170] The dichotomy of the temperature extremes in hell is present in the Old English *Genesis* when God becomes *yrre* "angry" and full of *wraþ* "wrath" and sends Satan and his followers to hell.[171] The theme of exile is brought in here when hell is considered a place of *wrœcna* "exile" for these fallen angels.[172] Contrast as a formula to define exile comes into play here as well, in the description of the exile and hell as *dreama leas* "joy-lacking."[173] Rather than pointing out what emotion is in hell, the speaker refers to the lack of joy, much like the joyless lords in *The Wanderer*.[174] By stressing the lack of joy, the speaker is leaving room for interpreting

[166] *Judgment Day II*, 191a—197b; Caie, *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II*, 94—95.
[167] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *lig, gicel, bealo, wepan.*
[168] *Judgment Day II*, 202b—203a; Caie, *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II*, 96—97.
[169] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *cyle, gryrran.*
[170] *Christ and Satan*, 131; Krapp, *The Junius manuscript*, 140; Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 91.
[171] Full passage is *Genesis*, 34a—81b; Krapp, *The Junius manuscript*, 4—5; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *yrre, wraþ.*
[172] *Genesis*, 39b; Krapp, *The Junius manuscript*, 4; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wrœcna.*
[173] *Genesis*, 40a; Krapp, *The Junius manuscript*, 4; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *dream, -leas.*
[174] *The Wanderer*, 78b—79a.

what such an emotion would be – the contrasting option being a form of sorrow. Later in the poem the speaker returns to a description of hell, writing how the nights of *fyr* "fire" are contrasted by the dawn which has a wind of *forst fyrnum cald* "fearfully intense cold."[175] The hot and cold work together to create a space of punishment, with elements of winter weather functioning as torment and causing emotions of misery in these hell narratives.

When these torturous conditions found in hell make their way into the 'real world,' they create an environment of torment. Winter, as has been demonstrated thus far, is found in narratives of hell and exile, and associated with emotions of misery and sorrow. The poem *Andreas* contains a scene in which the protagonist, St. Andrew, is imprisoned and suffers through a harsh winter torture. Daniel G. Calder remarks that the winter scene is not present in the Latin source material, making this episode unique to the Old English poem.[176]

> A se halga wæs under heolstorscuwan,
> eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht
> searoþancum beseted. Snaw eorðan band
> wintergeworpum. Weder coledon
> heardum hægelscurum, swylce hrim ond forst,
> hare hildstapan, hæleða eðel
> lucon, leoda gesetu. Land wæron freorig
> cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres þrym.
> Ofer eastreamas, is brycgade
> blæce brimrade. Bliðheort wunode
> eorl unforcuð, elnes gemyndig,
> þrist ond þrohtheard in þreanedum
> wintercealdan niht. No on gewitte blon,
> acol for þy egesan, þæs þe he ær ongann,
> þæt he a domlicost dryhten herede,

[175] *Genesis*, 314a—317a; Krapp, *The Junius manuscript*, 12; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *fyr, forst, fyrnum, cald*
[176] Daniel G. Calder, "Figurative Language and Its Contexts in *Andreas:* A Study in Medieval Expressionism," in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honor of Stanley B. Greenfield,* ed. Phyllis R. Brown, Georgia R. Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 131.

weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim
heofon-torht onhlad.

> Then the saint, the man of unyielding courage, was insidiously chained up in darkness for the entire night. Snow bound the earth in wintry blizzards; the winds were freezing with harsh hailstorms; rime and frost too, hoary aggressors, fettered the land of those men and the people's habitations. The land was frozen with cold icicles; the water's torrent shrank in the rivers and ice bridges the dark ocean rod. Peaceful at heart, the blameless man, regardful of courage, remained dauntless and long suffering in severe hardships through the wintery cold night; in his conscience he did not cease, frightened in the face of this terror, from what he had earlier begun, in that he continuously and most gloriously praised the lord and worshipped him by his words, until the jewel of heaven, the sun, appeared, celestially radiant.[177]

The *wintergeworpum* "winter storm" described mimics the harsh winter conditions of the other poems analysed in this chapter. For example, the hail found in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* is found here in a *hægelscurum* "hailstorm."[178] As with the bound waves in *The Wanderer* and frost bound feet in *The Seafarer*, the winter storm is binding the world: *snaw eorðan band* "snow bound the earth," the *hrim ond forst* "rime and frost" lock the *freorig* "frozen" land, and the rivers become *is brycgade* "ice bridges."[179] Heide Estes remarks that the ice is a "further instrument of Andreas' isolation from his community," which ties into the exilic discussions in the previous section.[180] As in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, St. Andrew's existence within the wintry environment represents his position in the "outside." The cold night is demonstrated further with *weder coledon* "cooled weather or wind," *cealdum cylegicelum* "cold icicles," and the *wintercealdan niht* "winter-cold night."[181] Calder states that the use of winter in the larger context of Old English poetic culture typically expresses or allows for "the despair of exile" and the

[177] *Andreas,* 1253a—1269a; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book of Poems,* 36—37; Bradley, *Anglo Saxon Poetry,* 142—143.
[178] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *winter, geweorp, hægel, scurum.*
[179] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *snaw, eorðe, band, hrim, forst, brycgian.*
[180] Estes, *Anglo Saxon Literary Landscapes,* 56.
[181] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *weder, coledon, ceald, cylegicel, winterceald, niht.*

correlated emotions of those narratives (i.e. those of sorrow discussed thus far in the chapter).[182] He says, however, that "the emotions they traditionally evoke contrast boldly with St. Andrew's state of mind."[183] This contrast is present not in the sense that St. Andrew avoids negative emotion altogether, but through his resilience despite being *acol* "frightened" in the face of this *egesan* "fear, horror." The poet remarks that, in spite of the *þreanedum* "force that causes affliction," St. Andrew remains *bliðheort* "joyful of heart," elnes "courageous," *þrist* "bold, shameless," and *þrohtheard* "strong."[184] While the harsh winter weather elicits an emotional response of fear, St. Andrew evades the emotional expectations by not succumbing to the emotions and instead maintaining joy and courage. Unlike *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* discussed previously in which the winter weather emphasises and reflects the emotions of the protagonists, the winter in *Andreas* acts as a force of torment causing – or at least attempting to create– emotions.

Seeing how winter functions in hell and applying that lens to *Andreas*, we can see how the winter environment of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* can be likened to the environment found in hell. The use of winter weather as part of torture is seen in both the Anglo-Latin tradition via Bede and Alcuin, and Old English poetry. The image of souls tormented by cold and heat together dominates the excerpts, with the contrast of the two extremes increasing the intensity of the scene. The emotions found in hell result directly from the weather's torment, those of misery and sorrow appear and are recognized in the act of weeping. We find here the example of weather causing emotions, rather than emphasizing them, ultimately revealing that the relation of winter and sorrow is found in the context of hell.

[182] Calder, "Figurative Language and Its Contexts in *Andreas*," 131.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *bliðheort, ellen, þriste, þrohtheard.*

Chapter One Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that winter weather is an aspect used to emphasis or create emotions of sorrow in Old English poetry. It was revealed that winter is juxtaposed with elements associated with summer and warmth in poems such as *The Menologium, Solomon and Saturn II,* and *Maxims I,* with the idea existing in Anglo-Saxon literature, too, as seen in *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis.* This idea of contrast was taken a step further to illustrate the theme I call "inside-outside," a form of contrast that presents itself through the dichotomy of the "inside:" warmth, friendship, and joy; and the "outside:" cold, loneliness, and sorrow. This juxtaposition is found primarily in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* and in reveals the speakers' states of exile in relation to their existence in a place of sadness and winter. The exploration of the relationship of winter and sorrow continued with hell narratives found in both the Anglo-Latin tradition by Bede and Alcuin, as well as Old English poetry through *Judgment Day II, Christ II,* and *Genesis.* In these narratives it was revealed that winter weather played a significant role in the torturing of souls and creating sorrow. Using this, the scene of Andrew's torment in *Andreas* can be analysed to show that if the torture of hell enters the real world, it creates a hellish landscape, circling us back to the scenery found in the other poems explored in this chapter, connecting their suffering to the suffering of the souls in hell. Ultimately, winter weather is connected to sadness in the context of exile and hell. The use of weather as torture comes back in chapter two through God's use of weather to punish the sinful in flood and Judgment Day narratives.

Chapter Two: Biblical Floods and the Day of Judgment

Chapter one demonstrated that weather is used as a form of torment in hell, as seen in *Genesis* and *Judgment Day II,* as well as in the living world, as seen in *Andreas*. These narratives contain emotions of sorrow and misery as induced by the torture, implying that winter weather can cause emotions. The chapter also presented the relationship between weather and emotions through the concept of winter-sorrow. Using the same methods of analysis with stormy passages, this chapter will explore the relationship between stormy weather and emotions, primarily those of fear and anger, in two types of punishment narratives: floods and the apocalypse. In three Old English poems, *Genesis, Exodus,* and *Andreas,* God's anger towards various groups of people results in their punishment by means of a flood. My analysis of these floods considers them as storms either because they are regarded as storms in the Old English, such as in *Genesis* and *Andreas*, or because the descriptions of the flood's elements implies storming conditions, as is the case in *Exodus.* The emotions in these scenes either result directly from the floods or are used in describing the elements of the floods. I then consider another form of how weather and emotions work together in relation to God's power, looking at the expression of emotional turmoil in relation to the storms in the apocalyptic narratives found in Anglo-Latin literature and the Old English poems *Christ III* and *Judgment Day II.* The Anglo-Latin tradition grounds us in understanding how weather warned people of the end of the world and induced fearful emotions through its association with the coming Judgment. I use this to aid my analysis of the Old English poetry and strengthen my case that the emotions of the people are emphasised with and induced by descriptions of stormy weather.

Divine Floods

I demonstrate in this chapter that the floods in *Genesis, Exodus,* and *Andreas* are reflective of each other through similarity in language and use of divine intervention. The three poems are religious texts, with *Genesis* and *Exodus* retelling biblical narratives with significant embellishments to the Vulgate, and *Andreas* sharing the story of St. Andrew. Neville remarks that the three cases show that God's will, and by extension St. Andrew's, is behind the "powerful elements of the natural world," and she goes on to write that "these events are impressive demonstrations of God's power because the sea is normally undirected (or perhaps even self-directed) and apparently uncontrollable."[185] Beyond God's authority over the sea and the fact that they are all flood stories, the narratives are linked through references to each other: *Exodus* briefly recalls the *Genesis* flood and *Andreas* hints at *Exodus* when St. Andrew is untouched by the flood. I discuss both ideas further later on in this chapter. The use of emotions with the elements of the sea in the texts is an overarching concept between the narratives. The water, wind, and sea become parts of the greater storms and either bring about emotions in the victims or are personified as emotional, making them vital to my analysis of weather – the flood – and emotions. I start with *Genesis* because it retells the very first book of the Bible and focuses on emotions of anger, differing from the fear-heavy passages in *Exodus* and *Andreas.*

<u>*Genesis* Flood</u>

A portion of the Old English poem *Genesis* found in the *Junius Manuscript* covers the Deluge narrative found in the Book of Genesis in the Bible.[186] The Old English version takes creative

[185] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 174—175.
[186] The Genesis flood narrative is found in the Bible in Genesis 6-9; the Old English poem *Genesis,* 1245a—1542b covers this narrative.

liberty with the text, adding significant detail to the descriptions of the floods and emotions of God. In the Latin Vulgate Bible, God wishes to punish mankind for their *militia* "malice" and the *malum* "evil" in their hearts, and his emotion in the Vulgate is noted as *dolore* "suffering" or "grief" of the *cordis* "heart."[187] The Old English version of the story changes God's emotion to *wrað* "anger" and blames it on the people turning to the race of Cain for wives.[188] As a result of mankind's transgressions in both the Vulgate and the Old English poem, God vows to punish them with a flood, an event which Noah himself refers to as a *reðe wite* "dire punishment".[189] God states his intentions with the following quote:

> Ic wille mid flode folc acwellan
> and cynna gehwilc cucra wuhta,
> þara þe lyft and flod lædað and fedað,
> feoh and fuglas. þu scealt frið habban
> mid sunum þinum, ðonne sweart wæter,
> wonne wælstreamas werodum swelgað,
> sceaðum scyldfullum.
>
> *I intend, with a flood, to kill the people*
> *and each race of living creatures,*
> *that the air and water produce and nourish,*
> *cattle and birds. You shall have peace*
> *with your sons, when black waters*
> *and dark deadly currents swallow the host,*
> *the sinful destroyers.*[190]

While this excerpt does not contain God's emotions of anger, the description of the *flode* "flood" provides an expected sense of doom. His ambition is to *acwellan* "destroy" or "kill" all *cucra wuhta* "living creatures," whom he later refers to as *sceaðum scyldfullum* "sinful

[187] Genesis 6:5-6; Lewis and Short, s.v. *militia, malum, dolor, cor*.
[188] *Genesis*, 1254a; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wrað*.
[189] *Genesis*, 1319a.
[190] *Genesis*, 1296a—1302a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* 41; (my translation).

destroyers."[191] It is further expressed when the rushing water is called *wælstreamas* "deadly currents."[192] The *wæter* "waters" and *wælstreamas* are described as *sweart* "black, dark" and *wonne* "dark, dusky," giving the floodwater an ominous appearance.[193] God then continues to describe the coming punishment, this time directly to Noah:

Feowertig daga fæhðe ic wille
on weras stælan and mid wægþreate
æhta and agend eall acwellan
þa beutan beoð earce bordum
þonne sweart racu stigan onginneð.

For forty days a deadly feud I will
Impute on men and with the waves of a deluge
all possessions and their owners all destroy
that are outside the deck of the ark,
when the black storm-cloud begins to ascend.[194]

God's emotional state is hinted at in the first lines of this passage when he declares that he will carry out *fæhðe* on men; *fæhðe* can be translated as "enmity," which is an emotional state or feeling of intense hatred.[195] Here we have a distinct tie between God's anger, the *fæhðe*, and stormy weather, as his means of expressing the anger and punishing the people is with the flood. The term which the poet chooses when referring to the flood is *wægþreate* which can mean either a "host of waves" or simply a "deluge."[196] The gathering *sweart racu* "black storm-cloud" reinforces the stormy environment.[197] When the storm begins, it is described in detail.

Drihten sende
regn from roderum and eac rume let

[191] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *acwellan.*
[192] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wælstream.*
[193] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sweart, wonne.*
[194] *Genesis,* 1351a—1355b; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* 42, (my translation).
[195] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *fæhðe.*
[196] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wægþreate.*
[197] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sweart, racu.*

willeburnan on woruld þringan
of ædra gehwære, egorstreamas
swearte swogan. Sæs up stigon
ofer stæðweallas. Strang wæs and reðe
se ðe wætrum weold; wreah and þeahte
manfæhðu bearn middangeardes
wonnan wæge, wera eðelland;
hof hergode, hygeteonan wræc
metod on monnum. Mere swiðe grap
on fæge folc feowertig daga,
nihta oðer swilc. Nið wæs reðe,
wællgrim werum; wuldorcyninges
yða wræcon arleasra feorh
of flæschoman. Flod ealle wreah,
hreoh under heofonum hea beorgas
geond sidne grund and on sund ahof
earce from eorðan and þa æðelo mid,
þa segnade selfa drihten,
scyppend usser, þa he þæt scip beleac

The Lord sent
rain from the skies and also widely
running streams into the world with violence
from the river, the black sea
rushed. The seas rose up
over the shores. Strong and cruel was he
who the waters wielded; concealed and covered
the guilty children of middle earth
with dark waves, man's native lands;
homes plundered, the purposeful malice wreaked
death onto man. The sea severely grasped
at the damned people for forty days,
and as many nights besides. The hatred was terrible,
and deadly to man; the King of Glory's
waves punished the honourless life
from their bodies. The flood covered all,
a storm under heaven the lofty mountains
across the spacious earth and on the sea rose
the ark from earth and the nobles with it,
consecrated by the Lord himself,

our Creator, when he that ship closed.[198]

The phrase *hreoh under heofonum* "a storm under heaven" to describe the flood at the end of the passage validates my argument that the floods in these Old English poems are either part of or types of storms. The start of the quote further demonstrates that the flood is a weather event when the Lord sends *regn from roderum* "rain from the skies." God's power over the weather has been revealed thus far, and this poem accentuates it here and when he is referred to as *strang wæs and reðe se ðe wætrum weold* "strong and cruel was he who the waters wielded." His emotional state is indirectly hinted at with *nið wæs reðe, wællgrim werum* "the hatred was terrible and deadly to man," hatred and the flood are synonymous in this case since as *nið* "hatred" refers directly to the flood, is giving it an emotional characteristic and making emotions an integral component of the storm. Another phrase synonymous with the flood is *hygeteonan* "purposeful malice," affirming this emotional description of the flood.[199] God's punishment is reiterated in this passage quite directly *wuldorcyninges yða wræcon* "the King of Glory's waves punished," which ties with the descriptions of the flood involving the sea to some degree. The sea at the start of the passage rushes in, *egorstreamas swearte swogan* "the black sea rushed," which is followed by the *sæs up stigon ofer stæðweallas* "the seas rose up over the shores." These lines exemplify the sea as one of the means for flooding and the description of the sea as *swearte* "black" creates the image of a storming environment, which is echoed a few lines later with the *wonnan wæge* "dark waves." During the turmoil, the poet remarks on the ark's safety from the storm while hinting at the emotional aspect of the flood.

[198] *Genesis*, 1371b—1391b; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, 43; (my translation).
[199] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hygeteona.*

Fære ne moston
wægliðendum wætres brogan
hæste hrinon, ac hie halig god
ferede and nerede.

The seafaring vessel
was not allowed by the water's terror
with fury to be touched, the ark by their holy God
was carried and protected.[200]

As a tool of God's punishment, the water takes on the personification of being terrifying, the poet choosing the word *brogan* "terror." This reinforces the idea that fearful emotions are related to the flood; or more broadly, to storms. Another term of interest in this passage is *hæste*, the root word of which, *hæst*, can be translated as "violence" or "fury" when in the position of a noun, or as "violent, vehement, or impetuous" when used as an adjective.[201] Alongside *hrinon*, the plural past indicative of *hrinan*, meaning "to touch," *hæste* takes the noun position.[202] *Hæste* is the dative form of *hæst*, thus, *hæste hrinon* is translated as "with fury touched." This means that, as is the case in many of the passages discussed thus far in this chapter, the ocean takes on an anger-based emotional role.

The idea that the flood is tied to God's anger is restressed once more towards the end of the story when the narrator refers to the survivors of the ordeal as *wraðra lafe* "remnants of the anger."[203] Since God's anger is synonymous with the flood itself, *wraðra* is another term for the flood itself. The poet's choice to elaborate on the original Vulgate Bible emphasises a distinct connection between anger and fear to flooding. The Old English poem reiterates God's emotions frequently and clearly marks his anger as the cause of the flood and goes to great lengths to describe

[200] *Genesis*, 1394b—1397a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, 43—44; (my translation).
[201] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hǣst.*
[202] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hrinan.*
[203] *Genesis,* 1496b; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wrað, lafe.*

the elements of the weather event, such as the waves and sea, with terms like *brogan* "terror" and *hygeteonan* "purposeful malice."[204] In the coming analysis of the Exodus flood we find a lot of similarities in how emotions and weather relate to one another.

Exodus Flood

Like *Genesis,* the Old English poem *Exodus* is found in the *Junius Manuscript* and embellishes the original Vulgate story with extensive emotional imagery.[205] In the story, the Israelites are led to the land of Canaan by Moses after he guides them from slavery out of Egypt. The pivotal event of the Old English poem is the crossing of the Red Sea and destruction of the Egyptian army which Emma Knowles describes as "a vivid and dramatic reimagining of the drowning" compared to the two verses found in the Vulgate.[206] The Red Sea is a major player in this scene, acting as a character alongside God, Moses, the Egyptians, and the Israelites and complexly relating to these other figures. Heide Estes takes into account the Red Sea in *Exodus* and concludes that it acts as a tool of God to protect the Israelites and punish the Egyptians, characterising the Israelite sea crossing as "divine intervention."[207] Jennifer Neville similarly shares that the sea in *Exodus* is a "very personal instrument of God," used for destruction like the water in *Genesis* and *Andreas*.[208] Emma Knowles' recent article reflects upon this relationship of the sea to God in *Exodus* and disagrees slightly with both Estes' and Neville's conclusions, arguing that the sea acts as both God's "agent and ally," working not only for God but also with its own agency.[209] The idea is that the sea does work when acted upon by God and reflects his initial will, but it takes that anger and starts to

[204] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *broga, hygeteona.*
[205] In the Vulgate Bible, the story is told in Exodus 14:21-25; the Old English poem *Exodus,* lines 447a—515b covers this story.
[206] Emma Knowles, "Rethinking the Red Sea in the Old English *Exodus*," *English Studies* 104, no.2, 217.
[207] Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes,* 42.
[208] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 174—175.
[209] Ibid., 218—219

behave and work on its own, merely influenced by God in part. God's role is not ignored in the flood narrative, but the scene is almost exclusively defined by the flood's own actions, as is shown in the upcoming analysis of the passage. A few instances in the poem remind the audience that God is involved in the destruction, but in line with Knowles' arguments I say it needs to be considered an entity on its own in most of the scene. I take this into consideration of how emotions function in relation to the sea in this text and demonstrate that the fearful mood of the poem is reflected in the descriptions of the sea, creating a relationship between the flood and emotions directly. Rather than consistently reflecting God's mood like in *Genesis*, the *Exodus* flood typically mirrors the Egyptian army's own fears. Knowles considers the poet's alternation between the "terror of the Egyptians and the actions of the flood," remarking that this highlights both the sea's danger and its "complicated relationship with agency and emotion."[210] Her recognition of the sea's role in terrorizing the Egyptians emphasises the points I make in this section that the flood causes and expresses the general sense of fear. Unlike the flood in *Genesis*, this flood does not come about through obvious weather events of rain and storms. However, my choice to analyse it in consideration of the weather and emotion relationship is for the fact that the passage draws similarities to the more heavily weather-related flood passages of *Genesis* and *Andreas* discussed in this chapter, and that some of the imagery loosely implies storm-like conditions.

The flood in *Exodus* immediately begins with the combination of terror and the flooding, with the army fearing the event as it washes upon them.

> Folc wæs afæred, flodegsa becwom
> gastas geomre, geofon deaðe hweop.
> Wæron beorhhliðu blode bestemed,
> holm heolfre spaw, hream wæs on yðum,
> wæter wæpna ful, wælmist astah.

[210] Knowles, "Rethinking the Red Sea," 226.

The army was terrified, flood-dread fell upon
their sorrowful souls, the sea threatened death.
The mountain slopes were moistened with blood,
The sea spewed out blood, there was an outcry in the waves,
The water was full of weapons, a slaughter-mist ascended.[211]

The army here is come over with *flodegsa* "flood-dread," a fear caused by the impending flood.[212] Their emotional state of fear in direct relation to the flood is further verified through their *hream wæs on yðum* "outcry in the waves." This, together with their *afæred* "terrified" emotions and *geomre* "sorrowful" souls strongly establishes the fear of this passage. The last line of this passage ends with a *wælmist* "slaughter mist" ascending to the army. The *wælmist* can be read as a metaphor for the quick rise in death amongst the army, or we can consider it as a physical mist creating the slaughter, thus acting as a weather phenomenon. Alternatively, we can interpret *wælmist* as synonymous with the flood, characterising the flood as more than just rising water. I suggest reading it as a metaphorical weather phenomenon functioning as another use of weather imagery causing and heightening the emotions of the passage. The poem goes on, describing the flood and the emotions of the army.

Wæron Egypte eft oncyrde,
flugon forhtigende, fær ongeton,
woldon herebleaðe hamas findan,
gylp wearð gnornra. Him ongen genap
atol yða gewealc, ne ðær ænig becwom
herges to hame, ac behindan beleac
wyrd mid wæge. þær ær wegas lagon,
mere modgode, mægen wæs adrenced.

The Egyptians then turned,
Fearful they fled, away from the peril,
Timorous they intended to find their homes,
Their pride became sorrowful. The terrible tossing

[211] *Exodus*, 447a—451b; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, 103; (my translation).
[212] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *flodegsa*.

waves darkened, none of that army came home again, but fate shut them in
behind with waves. Where before a road lay,
now the sea raged, the army drowned.[213]

The waves, *yða* and *waege,* play a major role in this passage as the implements of destruction.[214] The *yða,* which are *gewealc* "tossing" over the Egyptians, are described as *atol* "terrible" and genap "darkened," and the army is shut behind the *wæge,* causing them to drown. The darkening and tossing of the waves hints at stormy conditions. Emotional personification of the *mere* "sea" occurs as well, in *mere modgode* "the sea raged."[215] The sea and its waves together create an angry storm which destroys the Egyptian army, making them meet their *wyrd* "fate." These stormy conditions trigger negative emotions in the Egyptians who are *forhtigende* "fearful" as they flee.[216] This fearful flight is stressed in the following line when they are described as *herebleaðe* as they turn home; Bosworth-Toller translates *herebleaðe* as "timorous," which emphasizes the emotion of fear.[217] As a direct result of the flooding sea, the army's sense of pride, *gylp,* becomes *gnornra* "sorrowful."[218] The poem continues to describe the horror of the flood.

Streamas stodon, storm up gewat
heah to heofonum, herewopa mæst.
Laðe cyrmdon, (lyft up geswearc),
fægum stæfnum, flod blod gewod.
Randbyrig wæron rofene, rodor swipode
meredeaða mæst, modige swulton,
cyningas on corðre, cyre swiðrode
sæs æt ende.

The ocean remained, an uproar went up
extended to heaven, a shout raised by the army.
With hatred they shouted, (the air became angry),

[213] *Exodus,* 452a—459b; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* 103—104; (my translation).
[214] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *yða, waege.*
[215] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *modgode.*
[216] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *forhtian.*
[217] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *herebleað.*
[218] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gnornra.*

the doomed voices, the flood moved with blood.
The ramparts were broken, the heavens were lashed
by the mightiest sea-death, brave men died,
kings in their troops, their clamour vanished
at the end of the sea.[219]

In line 462b, we have *lyft up geswearc*, which can be directly translated as "the air darkened," however, the root word of *geswearc*, *gesweorcan,* can also take on an emotional definition of "become saddened, angry."[220] To better understand the use of *geswearc*, we have to look at the context surrounding it. The army's *fægum stæfnum* "doomed voices" are *laðe cyrmdon* "shouting with hatred," so the *lyft* "air," being what receives this cry of hatred, is becoming angry.[221] When they are overtaken by the *meredeaða* "sea-death," their cries disappear into the ocean; *cyre swiðrode sæs æt ende* "their clamour vanished at the end of the sea."[222] Later in the poem, the term *meredeað* comes up again: *ac þa mægenþreatas meredeað geswealh* "there the sea-death swallowed the troops."[223] The term *meredeað* functions as an alternate word for the flood, acting as an object that kills the army.

Another metonym for the flood which appears at this point in the poem is *nacod nydboda* "naked messenger of doom" which stresses the role of the flood's *sealtum yðum* "salty waves" as bringers of death to the army.[224] Following this, the *brim berstende* "ocean bursts," and the sea comes close to the Israelites. The flood here contains an emotional attribute by being called a

[219] *Exodus*, 460a—467a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* 104; (my translation).
[220] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gesweorcan*
[221] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *laðe*
[222] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *meredeað.* In Bosworth and Toller, *meredeaða* is translated as "death in the sea" or "death by drowning," but since the death is a direct cause of the sea I have simplified it to a more direct translation of "sea-death."
[223] *Exodus*, 513a—b.
[224] *Exodus*, 473b and 475a.

blodegesan "blood-horror," paralleling the *flodegsa* from earlier in this poem.[225] The overall stormy nature of the flood is then made clear towards the end of the entire flood passage.

> Flod famgode, fæge crungon,
> lagu land gefeol, lyft wæs onhrered,
> wicon weallfæsten, wægas burston,
> multon meretorras, þa se mihtiga sloh
> mid halige hand, heofonrices weard,
> on werbeamas.
>
> *The flood foamed, the damned perished,*
> *the sea fell onto the land, the air was agitated,*
> *the sea-walls gave way, waves burst,*
> *the sea-towers dissolved, there the Almighty slew*
> *with his holy power, the Protector of heaven,*
> *onto the warriors.*[226]

Here, the collective behaviour of the sea and air around it creates a storming environment around the *flod* "flood" itself, which is described as *famgode* "foaming." The *lyft wæs onhrered* "air was agitated," implying a windy environment, and the *wægas burston* "waves burst," a behaviour which corresponds to storming sea conditions. The crashing of huge waves and collapsing of the sea onto the army is demonstrated with the giving-way and dissolving of the *weallfæsten* "walls" or *meretorras* "sea-towers."[227] This parallels the previous line when the poet writes that the *lagu* "sea" falls onto land and emphasises the state of flooding. While this shows the behaviour of the flood, the narrative then continues, bringing in emotions alongside descriptions of the sea's actions.

> ne mihton forhabban helpendra pað,
> merestreames mod, ac he manegum gesceod
> gyllende gryre. Garsecg wedde,
> up ateah, on sleap. Egesan stodon,

[225] *Exodus,* 477a—779a; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *blodegesan; Exodus,* 447b for *flodegsa*.
[226] *Exodus,* 482a—487a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* 104; (my translation).
[227] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *weallfæsten* and *meretorras*.

weollon wælbenna. Witrod gefeol
heah of heofonum handweorc godes,
famigbosma flodwearde sloh,
unhleowan wæg, alde mece,
þæt ðy deaðdrepe drihte swæfon,
synfullra sweot.

They could not restrain the path of the helpers,
The mind of the sea-waters, but he destroyed many
with yelling terror. The furious ocean
drew up, gliding on. The fears stood,
the boiling sea-band. Onto the battle-path fell,
High from heaven, the handwork of God,
a foamy-bosomed seawall struck,
the chill wave, the ancient blade,
that with the death-stroke killed the army,
the sinful troop.[228]

This passage begins with the personification of the sea. The *merestreames mod* "mind of the sea-waters" is unrestrainable and the *garsecg* "ocean" is *wedde* "furious." I would argue that this fury represents both the sea's own agency as well as God's emotions. Whether or not the sea is acting on its own at this point, considering the discussion of its agency at the start of this section of the chapter, its behaviour was at least initiated by God and thus reflects God's own position in the matter (i.e. punishing the Egyptians). So the *garsecg wedde* does mean most simply that the ocean is furious, but indirectly implies that God himself is furious, as he has inspired the sea's conduct.

This *wedde* sea is causing the army to *gyllende gryre* "yell with terror," and in the next line, *egesan stodon* "the fears stood," refers to the sea itself as an object of fear, further indicating that the flooding ocean is something that causes and encapsulates emotions of terror. Following these emotional personifications of the sea and the fear of the army we get a reminder of God's

[228] *Exodus*, 488a—497a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript,* 104—105; (my translation).

role in the flood, as the water crashing onto the army is referred to as "God's handiwork" *handweorc godes* and described as a *famigbosma flodwearde* "foamy-bosomed seawall," *unhleowan wæg,* "the chill wace," and *alde mece* "the ancient blade."

What the flood in *Exodus* shows is the continuation of personifying the sea with emotions as in *Genesis*. This flood differs from the one in *Genesis* as it uses descriptions of the sea to create a storm-like environment without explicitly stating that a storm is taking place. These conditions bring about emotions of fear in the Egyptian army, exhibiting the correlation between floods and fear. The flood in *Andreas* is described quite similarly, with the connection between weather and emotions presenting itself through the same uses of personification and causation.

Andreas Flood

As with *Genesis* and *Exodus,* God uses a flood to punish the sinful Mermedonians in *Andreas,* a poem which follows St. Andrew's journey to rescue St. Matthew from a land of cannibals called Mermedonia. The flood episode contains similar depictions of emotions and weather-like events to the floods in *Genesis* and *Exodus*, strengthening the argument that floods, as a type of weather event, are tied to angry and fearful emotions explored until this point of the chapter. As mentioned briefly in chapter one regarding the snow scene in *Andreas,* the Old English poem comes from a Latin source but embellishes the original story.[229] Due to this, my focus is on the Old English and how the weather and emotions connection presents itself in this particular version of the narrative.

The *Andreas* flood begins when *stream ut aweoll fleow ofer foldan* "a current welled out, flowed over the earth."[230] This current is made up of *famige walcan* "foamy waves" which *eorðan*

[229] Calder, "Figurative Language and Its Contexts in *Andreas*," 131; for an overview of scholarship on the relationship between *Andreas* and other Old English poetry, specifically *Beowulf,* see Leonard J. Peters, "The Relationship of the Old English Andreas to Beowulf," *Pmla* 66, no. 5 (1951): 844–63.
[230] *Andreas*, 1524b—1525a; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *aweoll, fleow.*

þehton myclade mereflod "covered the ground with the growing deluge," presenting the Mermedonian victims with a growing flood similar to the punishing floods seen so far in this chapter.[231] The description of the flood then continues, accompanied by emotions when the water takes over the ground and the people are described as *afyrhted* "terrified" as a direct result of the *flodes fær* "flood danger."[232] Here we find a direct correlation between the *afyrhted* emotions and the flood itself, revealing a relationship between the weather event and emotions. This attack from the ocean is called a *sorgbyrþen* "sorrowful brewing," creating a specifically emotional characterisation of the flood.[233] The next segment describes the flood alongside another gesture of sorrow.

> Weox wæteres þrym. Weras cwanedon,
> ealde æscberend. Wæs him ut myne
> fleon fealone stream, woldon feore beorgan,
> to dunscræfum drohtað secan,
> eorðan ondwist.
>
> *The force of water increased. The men lamented,*
> *the old soldiers. They were of the mind*
> *to flee the dusky current, they wished to save their lives,*
> *in earthen-caves seeking survival,*
> *a refuge on land.*[234]

As the *weox wæteres þrym* "force of water increased" we learn that the men *cwanedon* "lamented." Their mental state is specified, *wæs him ut myne fleon fealone stream* "they were of the mind to flee the dusky current," as their goal is to save their lives. The water's behaviour is causing the lamenting of the people. The storminess of the flood then makes an appearance a few

[231] *Andreas*, 1525b—1526a; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *famige, walcam, eorðan, mereflod.*
[232] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *afyrhted, flodes, fær.*
[233] *Andreas*, 1532b, Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sorgbyrþen.*
[234] *Andreas*, 1536a—1540a; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book*, 45; (my translation).

lines later, *hreoh wæs þær inne beatende brim* "the tempest was there inside the lashing sea."[235] This confirms that the flood in this poem is interchangeable with the concept of a storm and places stormy weather as a cause of fear. The flood continues to be described with the emotions of the doomed Mermedonians.

> Wægas weoxon, wadu hlynsodon,
> flugon fyrgnastas, flod yðum weoll.
> ðær wæs yðfynde innan burgum
> geomorgidd wrecen. Gehðo mændan
> forhtferð manig, fusleoð golon.
> Egeslic æled eagsyne wearð,
> heardlic hereteam, hleoðor gryrelic.
> þurh lyftgelac leges blæstas
> weallas ymbwurpon, wæter mycladon.
>
> *The waves grew, the sea resounded,*
> *firesparks flew, the deluge boiled with waves.*
> *It was easy to find there within the city*
> *the lamentations of those driven away. They lamented their anxieties*
> *the many fearful-souls, sang a death song.*
> *A fearful fire was visible to the eye,*
> *a dire devastation, and its terrible sound.*
> *Through the air-tumult a flame wind*
> *surrounded the walls, and the water increased.*[236]

Unlike the flooding discussed thus far, this passage combines the water with fire, creating a fire-flood. As the *wægas weoxon* "waves grew," *fyrgnastas* "firesparks" flew about. This inclusion of fire to the flood characterises the water as *weoll* "boiled" with waves. The descriptions of the boiling flood are interrupted by strong displays of the victims' emotions, the *geomorgidd* "lamentations" of the people. These people are described as afraid, called the many *forhtferð*

[235] *Andreas,* 1542b—1543a; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book,* 45; (my translation).
[236] *Andreas,* 1545a—1553b; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book,* 45; (my translation).

"fearful souls," and are said to be *mændan* "bemoaning or lamenting" their *gehðo* "anxieties" through the singing of a *fusleoð* "death-song." The depiction of the fire-flood then returns, personified as a *egeslic æled* "fearful fire." The event's atmospheric storm conditions are illuminated, with an *lyftgelac* "air-tumult" and *leges blæstas* "flame wind" which surround the walls as the *wæter mycladon* "water increased." By intersecting the details of the storm with emotions, the poet has enhanced the emotional understanding of the event, providing the audience with a better grasp of how the people felt in relation to the weather happening around them.

After this description of the destruction befalling the Mermedonians, the poem goes on to stress the emotions of others who are witnessing the flood and fearing for themselves: *þær wæs wop wera wide gehyred, earmlic ylda gedræg* "Then was the weeping of the men widely heard, the miserable tumult of mortals."[237] The stormy conditions provoke the *wop* "weeping" of the Mermedonians, a physical expression of their *earmlic* "miserable" state. When St. Andrew realises that these people are lamenting their actions that led to the flood, he uses his powers to stop the water.

> þa se æðeling het
> streamfare stillan, stormas restan
> ymbe stanhleoðu.
>
> *Then the nobleman commanded*
> *the current to be stilled, and the storms about*
> *the stony cliffs to rest.*[238]

Most notable in this passage is that the event is called a *stormas* "storm," demonstrating that the flood is considered a weather event. God's power in controlling the flooding, as in *Exodus* and *Genesis*, is reinforced, except in this passage his might is manifested through St. Andrew.

[237] *Andreas*, 1554a—1554b; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book*, 45; (my translation).
[238] *Andreas*, 1575b—1577a; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book*, 46; (my translation).

Heide Estes further emphasises the similarities between *Andreas* and *Exodus* by writing that "as Andreas strides through the flood, it disappears wherever he walks, in an echo of the Red Sea crossing, where God separates the water so that the Israelites can cross and then causes it to flood back, drowning the pursuing Egyptians."[239] Whether or not it is intentional, the parallel with *Exodus* reiterates God's ultimate control over the floods and ability to channel his power through someone (St. Andrew) or something (the sea in *Exodus*). The scene continues to describe the end of the storm with reference to the emotions of the people watching the flood cease.

> Wurdon burgware blíðe on mode,
> ferhðgefeonde. þa wæs forð cumen
> geoc æfter gyrne. Geofon swaðrode
> þurh haliges hæs, hlyst yst forgeaf,
> brimrad gebad.
>
> *The citizens were joyful in mood,*
> *rejoiceful in spirit. When forth came*
> *aid after grief. The ocean subsided*
> *through the holy command, the listening tempest left,*
> *the sea-road retreated.*[240]

The event, having ended, is labelled a *gyrne*, which can directly imply the emotional state, "grief," or more broadly, "trouble, affliction."[241] The *blíðe* "joy" of the citizens now that the flood has stopped directly contrasts their *wop* "weeping" and *earmlic gedræg* "miserable tumult" from just before, illustrating that negative emotions, types of sorrow and fear in the case of *Andreas*, are linked with flooding and related storm conditions.[242] To stress that the flood is synonymous with a storm, we have the use of the word *yst* "tempest" at the end of this passage in reference to the

[239] Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes*, 58.
[240] *Andreas*, 1583a—1587a; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book*, 46; (my translation).
[241] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gyrne.*
[242] See *Andreas* 1554a—1555a for the weeping and miserable tumult.

flood.[243] Descriptions of the stormy flood in *Andreas* are accompanied by significant imagery of the laments of the Mermedonians. Their sorrows and fear resulting directly from the flood are then greatly contrasted by their joy when the storm ends. Following the end of the flood and thus the finale to the poem, the land is graced by good weather. Calder sums up the weather contrast by stating that the fair-weather "stands as the counter-part to and resolution of all the poem's violent storms."[244]

What the *Genesis, Exodus*, and *Andreas* flood passages have in common, besides being punishment from God, is that they are filled with emotional terminology. The flood in *Genesis* is directly caused by God's anger, with brutal depictions of the deadly event interspersed with reminders of God's anger, malice, and enmity, the flood even being called *nið* "hatred."[245] The floods in *Exodus* and *Andreas* are also punishment from God but do not reference his anger directly except in the one possible instance that the *garsecg wedde* "furious ocean" in *Exodus* is mirroring God's anger. Instead, the emotions relate specifically to the fear of the victims and are used to describe the floods. The precise connection of these emotions to weather is in the consideration of the flood as a storm. *Genesis* and *Andreas* explicitly state that the flood is a storm while *Exodus* uses stormy elements such as destructive waves to emphasise the environment without explicitly stating any terms meaning "storm."

The overlap of the stories may not be completely intentional. *Genesis* and *Exodus* are both found in the *Junius Manuscript* and retell parts of the first two books of the Bible, thus there being some overlap to the source material, however scholars agree that they were composed by different

[243] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *yst.*
[244] Calder, "Figurative Language and Its Contexts in *Andreas*," 132.
[245] See *Genesis,* 1393b for *nið.*

poets.[246] *Andreas* is separated even further, having been compiled in the *Vercelli Book* and covering a story of a saint rather than a biblical text. Although the poems do not appear to be directly related to each other, the extensive embellishments of flood scenes and inclusion of the emotions reveals at the very least a trope of sorts known to poets at the time, where floods cause fear and are products of God's punishing hand. While the overlap may not be intentional, the structure of the floods and embellished stories are active choices of the poets to share a certain idea of power, Christianity, and even emotion to the audience: God can and will punish the sinful, and this is how frightening it is when he does do it.

Despite the clear connection of the floods to God in the three narratives, there is still a sense of the sea as partially separate from God, an idea which Neville nicely sums up as: "even in these miracles there is a suggestion of independence on the part of the sea, for the sea is at least partly anthropomorphised and seen as a creature in itself."[247] Making the sea an individual character strengthens the emotional status of the passages and reinforces how the weather event relates to the emotions. Emotions of fear, terror, and dread, as well as declarations of sorrow through lamenting and mourning are emphasised by describing the sea with them, together demonstrating that the emotions result directly from the flood.

The people of the world mingling with the sinful race of Cain, the Egyptians enslaving and then following the Israelites – people of God – to kill them, and a race of cannibals, are all punished and ultimately killed by God with floods. In early medieval England, the sentiment was that all sinful people will be judged accordingly by God and will face punishment if they have not repented

[246] Leslie Lockett, "The Junius Manuscript," in *Oxford Bibliographies*, 22 April 2019, https://www-oxfordbibliographies-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/display/document/obo-9780195396584/obo-9780195396584-0145.xml#obo-9780195396584-0145-div2-0012.
[247] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 175.

their sins prior to their death.[248] The following section of this chapter turns to narratives of Judgment Day in keeping with the themes of God's punishment and associations of fear with stormy weather discussed with the floods.

Judgment Day

God's punishment of sinful people does not end with these flood narratives; in fact, the ultimate punishment of sinful Christians comes with the Last Judgment. In the biblical tradition that would have influenced the understanding of the apocalypse early medieval England, Apocalyptic narratives involve the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the Last Judgment — God's determination of whether or not they are to spend eternity in heaven or hell.[249] In this section we look at Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* for an authority on the Anglo-Latin view of the Last Judgment and the Old English poems *Christ III* and *Judgment Day II*.

The poem *Judgment Day II* is generally believed to be an Old English translation of the Latin poem *De die iudicii* commonly attributed to Bede.[250] Regarding the relationship between the Latin and Old English versions of the poem, Jennifer Neville writes, "perhaps the most significant among the Old English Poet's modifications is the change in the weather" which is expanded upon in the translation.[251] For this reason, I will focus my consideration of the poem to the Old English translation. I will illustrate in this section how the fear the people in these apocalyptic poems have, beyond the fear of damnation, ties in part to the weather events that occur both during the apocalypse and the torturing of souls in Hell.

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[248] Frederick M. Biggs, "An Introduction and Overview of Recent Work," *in Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England,* ed. Kathryn Powell and D. G. Scragg (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 1—26.
[249] Biggs, "An Introduction," 1—26.
[250] See Caie, *The Old English poem Judgment Day II,* 32—35, and Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 111 for discussions on the authorship of the Latin original and its influence on the Old English poem.
[251] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 111.

The Old English poem *Christ III* concerns itself with the second coming of Christ and the Last Judgment and is the third of three poems comprising the cyclical *Christ* at the start of the Exeter Book.[252] *Christ III* consistently reveals the emotions of the various figures in the story, but for the sake of this chapter, the most vital emotions of analysis are those tied to the storms which appear throughout the poem. S.A.J. Bradley writes of the emotions in this poem: "the poet's vivid realisation of the judgment, above all the direct voice of Christ reviewing his incarnate ministry, appeals powerfully to the emotions and to the visual imagination… emotionally, imaginatively and intellectually the poet bids to move his audience to compunction now, and to the abundance of penitential tears."[253] To keep from listing every instance of emotion in the poem, the following excerpt summarises how this poem considers emotions in association with the Day of Judgment in *Christ III.* The excerpt regards the emotions of the angels of heaven and explains that their visible fear of the judgment causes the emotional turmoil of mankind.

Ingeþoncum
forhte beofiað fore fæder egsan.
Forþon nis ænig wundor hu him woruldmonna
seo unclæne gecynd, cearum sorgende,
hearde ondrede, ðonne sio halge gecynd,
hwit ond heofonbeorht, heagengla mægen,
for ðære onsyne beoð egsan afyrhte,
bidað beofiende beorhte gesceafte
dryhtnes domes.

In their thoughts
they fearfully trembled before the father with fear.
Indeed it is not any wonder how the world-men
the impure race, anxious with sorrow,
should firmly dread, when this holy race
white and heaven-bright, the might of archangels,

[252] Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 228.
[253] Bradley, *Anglo Saxon Poetry*, 229.

are visibly of him frightened with fear,
await trembling the bright creations
for the Lord's judgment.[254]

Numerous forms of fear appear in this passage. The term *egsan*, the dative plural of *egsa* appears twice in the excerpt and simply means "fear."[255] However, we also have an adverbial form of fear in the term *forhte*, denoting that the angels were trembling "fearfully."[256] We also have the term *afyrhte* "frightened," and the *ondrede*, "dread" the humans have in seeing the angels being afraid, an anticipatory form of fear.[257] The embodiment of this fear is demonstrated through the gesture of trembling in *beofiath* and *beofiende,* both forms of *beofian* "to tremble."[258] Furthermore, the humans are described as *cearum sorgende* "anxious with sorrow," exemplifying that beyond emotions of fear, sorrow is felt on the Day of Judgment. What we can conclude from this passage is that fear-based emotions are strongly associated with the Last Judgment.

The Old English poem *Judgment Day II* begins with similar declarations of fear which are roused from the wind in the trees. The speaker says *and þa wudubeamas wagedon and swegdon þurh winda gryre; wolcn wæs gehrered, and min earme mod eal wæs gedrefed* "and the trees swayed and murmured through the force of the winds. The clouds were agitated and my poor mind was wholly troubled."[259] Graham D. Caie writes of this that "the wind, a common sign of Doom, reminds [the speaker] of the transience of this world and so he casts his eyes up from the earth to the heavens, mindful of his sins and of Doomsday."[260] What Caie reveals is that the wind does not merely emphasise the speaker's troubled mind but even influences it by symbolising

[254] *Christ III,* 1013b—1021a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 87; (my translation).
[255] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *egsa.*
[256] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *forhte.*
[257] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *afyrhte* and *ondrede*.
[258] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *beofian.*
[259] *Judgment Day II*, 7a—9b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* 84—85.
[260] Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* x.

Judgment Day and triggering thoughts of the sins. Similarly, Jennifer Neville states that "it is the gryre 'terror' of the increasingly rough weather that stimulates the speaker's mental distress."[261] As with Caie's comment on the wind, Neville is recognising the distinct role of weather on the speaker's mood. The relationship between *winda* "wind," *wolcn* "clouds," and *gryre* "horror, terror, dread" is clear, with the looming Judgment creating a connection between Doomsday and such weather events. Jennifer Neville also reflects on the symbolic use of the weather in this scene in consideration of the Latin original, writing "the effort that the Old English poet expends on this aspect of the poem reflects the associations latent in the representation of the natural world: the frightening storm is an easy, because traditional, poetic expansion, but it is also entirely appropriate to the message of the original poem."[262] My argument follows Neville's observation in that the inherently fearful nature of the storm in the Old English poem is reflective of the fearful mood throughout the poem as the emotions of fear are caused in part by the weather events and what the weather implies: the Last Judgment. Following the opening remarks of the wind and clouds, the poem continues to reveal the speaker's dread of judgment:

> þa ic færinga, forht and unrot,
> þas unhyrlican fers onhefde mid sange,
> eall swylce þu cwæde, synna gemunde,
> lifes leahtra, and þa langan tid,
> þæs dimman cyme deaðes on eorðan.
> Ic ondræde me eac dom þone miclan
> for mandædum minum on eorðan,
> and þæt ece ic eac yrre ondræde me
> and synfulra gehwam æt sylfum gode,
> and hu mihtig frea eall manna cynn
> todæleð and todemeð þurh his dihlan miht.
>
> *Then I suddenly, fearful and sorrowful,*
> *this dismal verse raise with song,*

[261] Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry,* 111.
[262] Ibid.

such as you said, remembered my sins,
life's faults and the long time
this gloomy coming of death on earth.
I myself also dread the great judgment
for my sins on earth,
and I also dread that eternal anger towards me
and all sinful people of God himself,
and how the mighty Lord will all of man kind
separate and judge through his mysterious power.[263]

The emotional state of the speaker is *forht and unrot* "fearful and sorrowful" as they begin this verse.[264] The fearful mood continues as they await the *dimman cyme deaðes on eorðan* "gloomy coming of death on earth," when the speaker finds themself *ondræde* "dreading" the Last Judgment of their sins on earth. As with the floods in the previous sections of this chapter, the Last Judgment is a punishment fuelled by God's anger, as is pointed out with the speaker's *ondræde* of God's *ece yrre* "eternal anger" towards them and all sinful people. The weather alludes to the coming judgment and thus symbolises both God's eventual anger and the peoples' fear of judgment. The stormy weather associated with Judgment Day appears in the Anglo-Latin tradition through Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in a letter by Pope Gregory to King Æthelberht in which he describes the coming apocalypse.[265] In the following excerpt from the letter, Gregory details numerous extreme weather phenomena and demonstrates that the expected emotional reaction to the events is fear.

> Adpropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, multa inminent, quae antea non fuerunt, uidelicet inmutationes aeries, terroresque de caelo, et contra ordinationem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiae, terraemotus per loca:

[263] *Judgment Day II*, 10a—20b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* 84; (my translation).
[264] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *forht, unrot.*
[265] Full letter found in Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica,* I.xxxii, 110—115

> *As the end of the world approaches, many things threaten which have never happened before; these are changes in sky and terrors from the heavens, unseasonable tempests, wars, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes in divers places.*[266]

The *inmutationes aeries* "changes in the air" and *terroresque de caelo* "terrors from the heavens," although not explicit, can be interpreted to mean changes to the atmospheric climate and weather. Such changes described as *terroresque* "terrors" could indicate some form of storm or similar state of weather, but also imply an inherent sense of fear that is attached to them. Alongside these are the *contra orinationem temporum tempestates* "unseasonable tempests," solidifying that storms and stormy conditions take place during the *mundi termino* "end of the world." The quote ends with *terraemotus*, "earthquakes" which, although today are not considered weather events, in the Middle Ages they were considered meteorological phenomena, as Bede explains in his *De Natura Rerum.*[267] In that text, Bede writes that earthquakes are *uento fieri* "caused by the wind" which has been caught inside earth's *instar spongiae cauernosis* "cavernous sponge-like innards."[268] This definition implies that earthquakes, too, can be considered as part of the many storming conditions of the apocalypse.

Gregory continues his letter to say that while not all of these events will happen in their (Gregory and King Æthelberht's) lifetimes, they will *post nostros dies omnia subsequentur* "all follow after our days."[269] He writes *vos itaque, siqua ex his euenire in terra uestra cognoscitis, nullo modo uestrum animum perturbetis* "so if you see any of these things happening in your land, do not be troubled in mind."[270] This attempt to comfort Æthelberht demonstrates that these many

[266] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* I.xxxii, 112—113.
[267] Bede, *De natura rerum*, XLVIIII, 101.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, I.xxxii, 112—115.
[270] Ibid., 114—115.

apocalyptic weather phenomena are expected to instil fear. His recommendation of the contrary implies that fear is a known and natural reaction to such events. This part of the letter ends with an explanation of why these weather events occur prior to the apocalypse:

> quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse soliciti, de mortis hora suspecti, et uenturo Iudici in bonis actibus inueniamur ess praeparati.
>
> *for these signs of the end of the world are sent in advance to make us heedful about our souls, watching for the hour of death, so that when the Judge comes we may, through our good works, be found prepared.*[271]

In other words, the people can prepare themselves, repent their sins, and do good prior to the Judgment in order to keep their souls from damnation. The speaker in *Judgment Day II* advises the same thing. In an excerpt from the poem in which the emotions described are presented through gestures of sorrow, the speaker tells the audience to hasten their *hreowlicum tearum* "miserable tears" to prevent the *yrre* "anger" of the *eces deman* "the eternal Judge," a phrase which recalls God's *ece yrre* "eternal anger" from earlier in the poem.[272] This line re-establishes God's angry position in the Day of Judgment. Stepping away from the fear found at the beginning of *Judgment Day II*, this later section demonstrates the sorrowful side of the Last Judgment. The speaker explains that crying is a method for cleansing oneself of sins, saying *hwi ne feormast þu mid teara gyte torne synne?* "why do you not cleanse distressing sins by shedding tears?"[273] They go on to encourage crying for one's sins as it indicates a will to do *dædbote* "repentance."

> Nu þu scealt greotan, tearas geotan,
> þa hwile tima sy and tid wopes;
> nu is halwende þæt man her wepe

[271] Ibid., 112—115.
[272] *Judgment Day II*, 75a—76b, 17a—b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* 88—89.
[273] *Judgment Day II*, 78b—79b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* 88—89; (my translation).

and dædbote do drihtne to willan.
Glæd bið se godes sunu, gif þu gnorn þrowast
and þe sylfum demst for synnum on eorðan,

Now you must cry, shed tears,
while there still is time and opportunity for weeping.
now is wholesome to weep here
and do penance, according to the Lord's will.
The son of God will be pleased if you suffer sorrow
and judge yourself for sins on earth.[274]

Their command uses a number of terms for crying, *greotan* "crying," *tearas geotan* "shed tears," *wopes* and *wepe* meaning "weep."[275] They say that the son of God will be *glæd* "glad" if the audience suffers *gnorn* "sorrow" and judges themselves for their sins on earth. The section continues with a warning to the audience that *ne scealt þu forhyccan heaf and wopas and forgifnesse gearugne timan* "nor must you scorn lamentation and tears and the available time for forgiveness."[276] These two lines acknowledge the importance of lamentation and tears, as with the time for *forgifnesse* comes the chance to make amends. The expressions of sorrow are the first step in acknowledging one's sins, and the repenting of them is the next step.

Reference to the repenting of sins occurs in an episode of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in which the bishop Chad describes God's power over the weather when explaining why he prays during storms.[277]

> Cumque interrogaretur a suis, quare hoc faceret, respondebat: 'Non legis quia "intonuit de caelo Dominus et Altissimus dedit uocem suam. Misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos"? Mouet enim aera Dominus, uentos excitat, iaculatur fulgora, de caelo intonate, ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet, ut corda eorum

[274] *Judgment Day II*, 82a—87b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* 88—89.
[275] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *greotan*, *tearas geotan*, *wopes*, *wepe*.
[276] *Judgment Day II*, 90a—91b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,'* 88—89.
[277] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.iii, 342—343.

in memoriam future iudicii reuocet, ut superbiam eorum dissipet et conturbet audaciam, reductor ad mentem tremendo illo tempore, quando ipse caelis ac terries ardentibus uenturus est in nubibus, in potestate magna et maiestate, ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos. Propter quod' inquit 'oportet nos admonition eius caelesti debito cum timore et amore respondere ut, quoties aere commoto manum quasi ad feriendum minitans exerit nec adhuc tamen percutit, mox imploremus eius misericordiam et, discussis penetrabilibus cordis nostril atque expurgates uitorum ruderibus, solliciti ne umquam percuti mereamur agamus.'

When his people asked him why he did it he replied, 'have you not read, "the Lord also thundered in the heavens and the Highest gave His voice. Yea, He sent out His arrows and scattered them and He shot out lightnings and discomfited them"? For the Lord moves the air, raises the winds, hurls the lightnings, and thunders forth from heaven so as to rouse the inhabitants of the world to fear Him, to call them to remember the future judgement in order that he may scatter their pride and confound their boldness by bringing to their minds that dread time when He will come in the clouds in great power and majesty, to judge the living and the dead, while the heavens and the earth are aflame. And so,' said he, 'we ought to respond to His heavenly warning with due fear and love; so that as often as He disturbs the sky and raises His hand as if about to strike, yet spares us still, we should implore His mercy, examining the innermost recesses of our hearts and purging out the dregs of our sins, and behave with such caution that we may never deserve to be struck down'.[278]

At the start of this excerpt, Chad quotes a passage from Psalm 17 of the Bible.[279] This psalm contains storming elements when the Lord *intonuit* "thundered" and shot *fulgora* "lightning" at the people, events which *conturbauit* "disturbed" them.[280]Chad expands upon this psalm and writes that the Lord *mouet enim aera* "moves the air," *uentos excitat* "stirs up the winds" *iaculatur fulgora*, "hurls lightning" and sends *de caelo intonate* "thunder from heaven."[281] The emotion of *timendum* "fear" is intentionally instilled in the people of earth by these weather events as a way to "remind them of the coming judgment," *ut corda eorum in memoriam future iudicii reuocet*, ultimately functioning like the warning weather mentioned by the speaker at the start of *Judgment*

[278] Bede *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV.iii, 342—345.
[279] Ps. 17:14-15; The Latin Vulgate Bible, trans. Douay-Rheims.
[280] Lewis and Short, s.v. *conturbauit.*
[281] Bede *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV.iii, 342—345.

Day II. Chad even states this again later in the passage, saying that they must respond to God's warning *cum timore et amore* "with fear and love."[282] This reemphasis of God's warning also reemphasises the expectation of *timore* "fear" with the storms.

In *Judgment Day II,* consideration of the direct storminess of the apocalypse begins about a third of the way in. It describes the stormy environment as well as the emotional state of the people suffering through the end of the world.

and se egeslica sweg ungerydre sæ
eall manna mod miclum gedrefeð.
Eal bið eac upheofon
sweart and gesworcen, swiðe geþuxsað,
deorc and dimhiw, and dwolma sweart.

And the terrifying noise of the rough sea
all men minds many disturbed/troubled/vexed.
All the heavens will also become
black and dark, very overcast with clouds,
dark and gloomy, and dismal with chaos.[283]

As in most of the texts in this chapter, the sea plays a role in the storm, here it is described as *ungerydre* "rough or violent" and making an *egeslica* "fearful" noise.[284] This frightening sea in turn causes the *mod* "minds" of *eall manna* "all men" to be *gedrefeð* "disturbed," an emotionally troubled state.[285] The description of the sky uses a number of terms that translate to variations of "dark," including *sweart* "black" and *deorc and dimhiw* "dark and gloomy."[286] In the same line as *sweart, deorc,* and *dimhiw* is the term *gesworcen* which aside from "dark" can also be defined as

[282] Ibid.
[283] *Judgment Day*, 102a—106b; Caie, *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II*, 90; (my translation).
[284] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *ungerydre, egeslica.*
[285] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gedrefeð.*
[286] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *sweart, deorc, dimhiw.*

a dark passion, such as "anger," "sadness," or "fear," giving the line an emotional layer intertwined with and related to the physical darkness.[287] To further stress this darkness, caused primarily by being *swiðe geþuxsað* "very overcast with clouds," the heavens are *dwolma sweart,* with *sweart* meaning either "dark" again or, to avoid repetition, "dismal," to represent the darkened mood rather than atmospheric darkness that has been stressed in the few lines before.[288] It is, therefore, not a question of how dark the heavens will become with the apocalypse.

On the other hand, the stormy events in *Christ III* are described with the fall of stars from the heavens, *þurh ða strongan lyft stormum abeatne* "lashed by storms through the violent air."[289] The storming nature of the apocalypse is further expressed and followed by descriptions of the emotions when *on seofon healfa swogað windas* "on seven sides the winds will roar."[290] The *windas* "winds" from seven directions creates chaos as they bring a *strome* "storm" to earth which destroys everything and fills the living beings with *fere* "fear," reestablishing the idea that the fear comes directly from the weather event happening.[291] This part of the poem then goes on to describe a destructive flame which throws people around and the poet writes that Adam's kin are *cearena full* "full of sorrows" and *cwiþeð* "mourn in grief."[292] For their sufferings they are referred to as *leode geomre* "miserable people."[293] The emotional state of humans at this point in the narrative is related to the storming weather tormenting them.

The poem then continues to describe the storms in tandem with the emotions of the people experiencing the weather, presenting the idea that the emotional turmoil of the doomed people is

[287] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gesworcen.*
[288] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *swiðe, geþuxian, dwolma.*
[289] *Christ III*, 940a—b.
[290] *Christ III*, 949a—b
[291] *Christ III*, 951b—952b.
[292] *Christ III*, 953a—961b; Bosworth and Toller, *cearena, cwiþeð.*
[293] *Christ III*, 962b.

enhanced by the storms. Since the emotions are expected with such weather and the people are already suffering from emotional distress, the inclusion of the storms intensifies the overall state of emotional suffering.

> þær bið wundra ma
> þonne hit ænig on mode mæge aþencan,
> hu þæt gestun ond se storm ond seo stronge lyft
> brecað brade gesceaft. Beornas gretað,
> wepað wanende wergum stefnum,
> heane, hygegeomre, hreowum gedreahte.
>
> *there will be more wonders*
> *than anyone can imagine in his mind,*
> *how that crash and the storm and the violent air*
> *will broadly breach the universe. Men will cry,*
> *they will weep lamenting, grievous voices,*
> *shamefully, mournful, afflicted with sadness.*[294]

The weather occurrences, here summed up as a *storm* "storm" and *stronge lyft* "violent air," bring about significant emotions and behaviours indicating sorrow in man. They will *gretað* "cry" and *wepað* "weep," their voices *wergum* "grievous." And if that does not demonstrate their sorrow enough, considering that their weeping is reinforced with *wanende* "lamenting," the emotions are stressed with *heane* "shamefully," *hygegeomre* "mournful," and the all-encompassing *hreowum gedreahte* "afflicted with sadness." These three lines strongly indicate that such emotions of sorrow can be influenced by stormy weather.

This weather develops into a flood which resembles much of the flood behaviour discussed in the punishment section of this chapter. In particular, the sea's act of falling onto *eorþan fæðm* "land's lap" reflects the crashing sea in *Exodus*.[295]

[294] *Christ III*, 988b—993b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 86; (my translation).
[295] Reference to *Exodus*, 482a—487a.

Scire burstan
muras ond stanas monge æfter foldan,
ond seo eorðe eac, egsan myrde,
beofode on bearhtme, ond se brada sæ
cyðde cræftes meaht ond of clomme bræc
up yrringa on eorþan fæðm,

many gleaming walls and stones shattered to the ground
and the earth too, disturbed by fear,
trembled upon the instant, and the spacious sea
revealed the might of its strength and broke away from its constraint
up in anger onto the surface of the land.[296]

Here, the emotion of *egsan* "fear" that is present describes the earth itself, rather than the people, and appears in tandem with the crashing flood as opposed to resulting from the water's behaviour. The flooding water is emotionally personified with *yrringa* "anger," encouraging the poetic relationship of these emotions to flooding events. In *Judgment Day II* we find a fire spreading over the earth which is described as a flood: *ðæt reðe flod ræscet fyre and biterlice bærnð ða earman saula* "the raging flood will crackle with fire and severely burn the miserable souls."[297] Unlike the aforementioned flood in *Christ III* or even the other flood narratives found in the poems *Exodus* and *Genesis*, this flood is of *fyre* "fire" and burns the *earman saula* "miserable souls." It does, however, parallel the fire-flood scene in *Andreas*.[298] As in that instance, here the world-engulfing flames are detailed as harbingers of fear.[299] First with the people all being *afæred* "afraid" and then with their *ege* "fear."[300] The emotions with this fire-flood are explored further on in the poem with *oga* "fear" and *wop* "weeping" running through the people.[301]

[296] *Christ III*, 1141a—1146b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 91; Bradley, *Anglo Saxon Poetry*, 236.
[297] *Judgement Day II*, 166a—167b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II,* 95.
[298] *Andreas*, 1545a—1554b.
[299] This fire-flood episode occurs in *Judgment Day II*, 145a—165b.
[300] *Judgment Day II*, 159a—165b; Caie, *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II*, 92—93.
[301] *Judgment Day II*, 172a – 175b; Caie, *The Old English Poem Judgement Day II*, 94—95.

Chapter Two Conclusion

Punishment through divine power is presented in Old English poetry with God's control over weather. The flood in *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Andreas* are under God's command, with him creating them directly out of anger. His anger is further revealed in the elements of the storm with the emotional personification of aspects like the waves and the sea. The victims of the floods are afraid and their fear is both stated directly and reflected in words like *wateregsa*, which implies that the water is something to be feared. The use of the sea as part of the greater storm and how weather and emotions play on it is an idea explored in more depth in chapter three. The poems examined throughout this chapter are all deeply influenced by biblical stories and concepts, with *Genesis* and *Exodus* being versions of Old Testament verses and *Andreas* covering the story of a saint, and the poems on the Day of Judgment concerning themselves with Christian apocalyptic theories. The Judgment Day narratives in *Christ III*, *Judgment Day II*, and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* continue the relationship between fear, anger, and storms in the context of how weather both warns of the coming end and partakes in torturing the sinful. Emotions of sorrow and more descriptions of the weather events broadens how emotions are caused by storms in these texts. Together, the flood and Judgment Day narratives illustrate the connection between weather and emotions through fear, anger, and sorrow as caused by and defining the meteorological events, with anger playing a role in creating the weather.

Chapter Three: Sea storms and Paradise

This chapter explores the relationship between weather and emotions in the contexts of sea storms and paradise. Building upon the floods and storms found in chapter two, the first half of this chapter considers sea storms in three excerpts from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and the Old Englsih poem *Andreas.* This analysis explores emotions of anger used to describe the storms and fear as a result of them. The second half of this chapter on paradise builds upon the entire thesis by exploring all forms of negative weather and emotions discussed so far and recognising their relationship through contrast in paradise narratives found in *Genesis, The Phoenix,* and *Judgment Day II*. The association of all negative emotions with all negative types of weather is evident in the descriptions of paradise as lacking both. When paradise falls after Adam and Eve eat the fruit, their emotions, as well as God's, are examined with the discourse of weather in the scene, further revealing the association of emotions, such as sorrow and fear, with extreme weather events.

In chapter two, God's direct control over the weather featured prominently with his anger causing the punishing floods and his judgment affecting the weather associated with Judgment Day. His role in divine intervention varies its appearance in this third chapter, with the sea storms not created by God but stopped through his power, and his control over paradise intentionally keeping out poor weather. God is emotionally uninvolved in the sea storm narratives but he does have an emotional appearance in the discussion of paradise when his anger is described after Adam and Eve commit the sin of eating the fruit in the Old English poem *Genesis*. Since the sea storm narratives reflect similar emotions of anger and fear in chapter two, I begin with that analysis in the following section.

Storms

In the previous chapter, floods were discussed as a type of storm used by God to punish the sinful people in *Andreas, Genesis,* and *Exodus.* The sea functioned as a character enacting God's will and terrorising the victims of the flood. Similarly, the storm narratives discussed in this chapter produce emotions of fear and are described with fury, enhancing the connection between those emotions and the weather event. In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede writes about Bishop Chad and how he responded to stormy weather.

> …si forte legente eo uel aliud quid agente repente flatus uenti maior adsurgeret, continuo misericordiam Domini inuocaret et eam generi humano propitiari rogaret. Si autem uiolentior aura insisteret, iam clauso codice procideret in faciem atque obnixius oration incumberet. At si procella fortior aut nimbus perurgeret, uel etiam corusci ac tonitrua terras at aera terrerent, tunc ueniens ad ecclesiam sollicitius orationibus ac paslmis, donec serenitas aeris redirect, fixa mente uacaret.
>
> *…if he happened to be reading or doing something else and suddenly a high wind arose, he would at once invoke the mercy of the Lord and beg Him to have pity upon the human race. If the wind increased in violence he would shut his book, fall on his face, and devote himself still more earnestly to prayer. But if there were a violent storm of wind and rain or if lightning and thunder brought terror to earth and sky, he would enter the church and, with still deeper concentration, earnestly devote himself to prayers and psalms until the sky cleared.*[302]

The weather in this scene increases in violence and demonstrates much of the weather phenomena which will be discussed throughout this chapter, beginning with a sudden *flatus uenti maior* "blowing high wind" during which Chad prays to God for mercy and pity. By praying to God, Chad is demonstrating that he has some control over the weather. Since Chad is asking for mercy, the implication is that God not only has the ability to stop the wind, but may be the force behind it. Then, the story goes on, *si autem uiolentior aura insistere* "if a stronger wind persists,"

[302] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV.iii, 342—343.

Chad would pray more earnestly. The increase in the wind's strength gives a sense of urgency and Chad's choice to pray may represent a fear he has of the weather. Bede goes on to write that *si procella fortior* "if the tempest were stronger," Chad would go to the church to devote himself to prayers until the sky was cleared. The use of *procella* "tempests" in reference to the increased wind shows that the winds are more than breezes and of some level of threat. Elements that make up the storm are *nimbus* "a rain storm" and *corusci ac tonitrua* "lightnings and thunders." These are said to *terrerent* "terrify" the *terras at aera* "earth and air." This line not only demonstrates that the emotion of terror can come from storms, but it also reveals that stormy weather can be defined as terrifying, giving the weather an emotional quality. The greater relationship between fearful emotions and stormy weather is similar to that found in the chapter two discussion of Judgment Day and presides heavily in the sea storm narratives I discuss in the following section.

Sea Storms and Divine Intervention

Stepping back from the flooding of *Genesis, Exodus,* and *Andreas,* we consider the sea at large. Sebastian Sobecki's book *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* focuses heavily on post-conquest English literature and regards its Old English precursor as a bridge from ancient Latin writings to Middle English.[303] He writes of the classical world view of the sea that "awe, fear and admiration for the sea are merely permutations of human responses to the sea's greatness and grandeur, simultaneously conveying its categorical alterity and the resulting incapability of human societies to control it," this statement encapsulating the emotional responses humans have based on the sea's natural juxtaposition to land.[304] This classical fascination with the sea is why I begin my analysis of sea storms with the Anglo-Latin tradition. I explore the three passages from Bede's

[303] Sebastian I. Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008).
[304] Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature,* 6—7.

Historia ecclesiastica to establish the connection between storms and emotions in stories of sea journeys and recognise the beginnings of this relationship in writings of early medieval England. Then, I turn to the Old English poem *Andreas* which contains similar imagery and reflects the emotions and weather found in the Anglo-Latin texts.

In the three Anglo-Latin episodes and *Andreas*, sea storms are personified as angry and induce fear in those experiencing the weather. The sea functions as a canvas for the storm, acting as an instrument or medium to create the storming conditions and gets described with emotion words. In my analysis of the storms in this chapter I scrutinise the behaviour of the ocean and its features as elements of the storms, using the emotional descriptions of it to understand how the emotions characterise the weather. How the sea and the storm's elements are depicted reflects the general attitude towards the storm itself. Unlike the floods in chapter two, the storms here are purely natural, acting almost completely on their own accord (save the first Anglo-Latin text). However, in both the Anglo-Latin and Old English sea storm narratives, only invoking the power of God in some way can calm the tempests, drawing similarity to his control over the floods.

The first of these excerpts from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* begins with a ship sailing between Gaul and Britain which suddenly encounters a group of *daemonum "*devils" on the way.[305] The *daemonum* are described to be spiteful using the term *inuiderent,* coming from *invideo* which Lewis and Short define as "to look askance at, to look maliciously or spitefully at, to cast an evil eye upon."[306] As a direct result of their spite, the devils *concitant procellas* "raised storms" and *caelum diemque nubium nocte subducunt* "darkened the sky, turning day into night with

[305] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* I.xvii, 54—57; Lewis and Short, s.v. *daemonum*.
[306] Lewis and Short, s.v. *invideo.*

clouds."[307] The storm itself, stemming out of the spiteful emotional state of the demons, demonstrates a relationship between stormy weather and angry emotions, much like that between God's anger and the floods in the previous chapter of this thesis. This is further revealed throughout the passage with the attribution of emotions to components of the storm, such as the *uentorum furores* "rage of the winds."[308] *Furor* is also used for the *elementis furentibus* "raging elements," and the *fluctus* "waves" are similarly described with *saeuientes* "furious," both cases reaffirming the angry atmosphere of the storm.[309] The *tempestas* "storm" is ended with a sprinkling of holy water onto the sea, the *turbati* "disturbance" of the event being contrasted with *tranquillitas "*calm," the winds even being called contrary, *uenti e contrario.*[310] These components which make up to storm are given emotional qualities to demonstrate the severity of the weather, and together with the spiteful cause of the storm, they display a connection between weather and emotion in which the weather is both a result of, and described with, emotions. The emotional personification of the storm's elements, such as waves and wind, is a concept which comes up again in the second excerpt from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.

In this next story, Bede tells the story of a priest named Utta who gets caught with his fellow sailors in a sea storm. The episode begins when Bishop Aiden warns Utta of a coming storm and hands him some holy oil to pour onto the storming sea to calm it for a safe journey, mimicking the sprinkling of holy water in the previous passage. Bishop Aiden says:

> 'Scio' inquiens 'quia, ubi nauem ascenderitis, tempestas uobis et uentus contrarius superueniet; sed tu memento ut hoc oleum, quod tibi do, mittas in mare, et statim quiescentibus uentis serenitas maris uos laeta prosequetur, ac cupito itinere domum remittet.'

[307] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* I.xvii, 54—57.
[308] Lewis and Short, s.v. *ventus, furor*.
[309] Lewis and Short, s.v. *elementum, saevio.*
[310] Lewis and Short, s.v. *tempestas, turbo, tranquillitas, ventus, contra*.

> *'I know that when you board your ship, you will meet storms and contrary winds; but remember to pour the oil I have given you on to the sea; the winds will drop at once, the sea will become calm and serene and will bring you home the way you wish.'*[311]

Aiden's warning to the sailors is of *tempestas* "storms" and *uentus contrarius* "unfavourable wind."[312] In the previous story, the "contrary winds" are a positive aspect because in that case the wind has gone from being problematic to helpful, hence acting contrary to their original storminess. In this case, however, the contrary winds are "unfavourable" because they are acting contrary to the ship, making their journey more difficult and dangerous. Despite linguistic similarities to the phrases, the context of the wind changes how the contrariety functions. Aiden states that when the storm is clamed with the holy oil, there will be *quiescentibus uentis* "peaceful winds," a statement which directly contrasts the *uentus contrarius* of the *tempestas*.[313] Similar to the floods discussed in the previous chapter, the sea plays a role in the weather event. This is hinted at with *serenitas maris* "serenity of the sea" because *serenitas* pertains specifically to the calmness of weather, with Lewis and Short defining it as "clear, fair, or serene weather."[314] By using it in this context, Bede has tied the sea directly to the weather, in which the calmness of the sea correlates to the calmness of the weather, and vice versa. This is further implied by the pouring of the holy oil onto the sea itself as a means of ending the storm.

The next segment of the excerpt tells of the storm happening as predicted. When they begin sailing, the sea's *undis* "waves" are described as *furentibus* "raging," recalling the use *furo* to describe the *uentorum furores* "rage of the winds" and *elementis furentibus* "raging elements" in

[311] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III.xv, 260—261.
[312] Lewis and Short, s.v. *tempestas, uentus, contrarius.*
[313] Lewis and Short, s.v. *quiesco.*
[314] Lewis and Short, s.v. *serenitas, mare.*

the previous story.[315] This reemphasises the idea that components of the storm can be regarded as emotional and further solidifies the concept of types of anger being tied to storms. Although the emotions of the sailors are not mentioned directly, the waves rushing at the ship are described as *inminere* "threatening" them with *mortem* "death," indirectly implying a sense of fear at the prospect of dying.[316] The emotions of rage tied to the ocean are brought up once more when Utta remembers to pour the holy oil onto the sea and it immediately *quieuit a feruore* "quieted from its raging," with *feruore* reminding us of the *furo* a few moments earlier. The passage then ends by discussing God's role in the ordeal:

> Sicque factum es tut uir Dei et per prophetiae spiritum tempestatem praedixerit futuram, et per uirtutem eiusdem spiritus hanc exortam, quamuis corporaliter absens, sopiuerit.
>
> *So it came to pass that the man of God foretold the tempest by the spirit of prophecy, and, by virtue of the same spirit, calmed it when it had arisen, although he was absent in body.*[317]

The idea here is that God was able to *sopiuerit* "lull" the *tempestatem* "storm" indirectly through spirit via Bishop Aiden and his holy oil, somewhat like St. Andrew channelling God's power in *Andreas* to control the flood. This second passage from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* draws a lot of similarities to the first excerpt in that the sea elements of the storm are described with various terms meaning "rage" or "fury," creating a theme of anger characterising storms. This fury and the hints of fear in the sailors is found in the third and final text by Bede.

The last Anglo-Latin story scribed by Bede concerning a sea storm is told by a priest named Guthfrith and echoes the first two passages discussed so far.[318] The story follows Guthfrith's trip

[315] Lewis and Short, s.v. *unda, furo*; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica,* I.xvii, 54—57 for *uentorum furores* and *elementis furentibus.*
[316] Lewis and Short, s.v. *immineo, mors.*
[317] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III.xv, 260—261.
[318] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* V.i, 454—457.

back to Lindisfarne from Farne Island after a visit to bishop Oethelwald, whose prayers to God are attributed with saving the men on the ship from a storm they were caught in. The passage begins with Guthfrith and a group of sailors in the middle of the sea when the *serenitas* "calm weather" accompanying them was broken by a *fera tempestatis hiems* "wild winter storm."[319] The storm's behaviour is described as *ingruit*, coming from *ingruo*, which Lewis and Short define as "come violently, assault in force, assail, attack."[320] This attack of the weather directly contrasts the calm they were experiencing before. Guthfrith remarks on the different elements of the *tempestates* "storm," mentioning that the sailors are struggling agains the *uento pelagoque* "wind and sea." The storm makes it impossible for the boat to move and Guthfrith says that *neque aliud quam mortem sperare ualeremus* "we were able to hope for nothing other than death."[321] This idea is reiterated a few moments later: *nullamque spem nobis in nobis restare salutis* "and we have no hope of salvation remaining in us."[322] Both phrases of expecting death echoes the waves threatening death in the previous story and imply a sense of fear. The struggle of the sailors and their supposed imminent death is regarded as a state of *disperatione* "despair."[323] Despair, an emotion of hopelessness, ties into the idea of *nullamque spem* "no hope" held by the sailors expecting death, this the recognition of despair reveals that the stormy weather evokes distressing emotions in this scene.

As the episode goes on, it says that Bishop Oethelwald could hear the *fragore procellarum ac feruentis oceani* "crashing of the tempests and fury of the ocean."[324] Much like the term *feruore* used in the previous passage to describe the raging sea, here we have *feruentis* to describe the

[319] Lewis and Short, s.v. *serenitas, fera, tempestas, hiems.*
[320] Lewis and Short, s.v. *ingruo.*
[321] (My translation).
[322] (My translation).
[323] See: Lewis-Short s.v. *desperatio.*
[324] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* V.i, 454—457.

ocean as furious, continuing a theme of an angry sea that spans the three Anglo-Latin accounts discussed so far in this chapter.[325] When Oethelwald sees the storm attacking the ship, he prays to God for their life and safety. Following his prayer, Guthfrith says:

> Et cum orationem conpleret, simul tumida aequora placauit, adeo ut cessante per omnia saeuitia tempestatis secundi nos uenti ad terram usque per plana maris terga comitarentur.
>
> *No sooner was his prayer ended than he had calmed the swelling main; so that the fierce tempest ceased on all sides and favorable winds carried us over a smooth sea to land.*[326]

This part of the story demonstrates the contrast of the weather during and after the storm. The *tumida aequora* "swelling surface of the sea" is now *placauit* "soothed" and is described as a *plana maris* "flat sea," creating a contrast between the wavy sea during the storm and a smoothness afterwards.[327] The *saeuitia tempestatis* "furious storm" has *cessante* "ceased," reminding the audience of the angry emotion of the ocean, and the *uenti* "winds" the sailors had previously struggled against are now accompanying them to land.[328] Once they reach land, Guthfrith goes on to say that the *tempestas* returned *et toto illo die multum furere non cessauit* "and did not cease to rage all day," yet again applying rage to the storm, connecting anger to the weather. Because they were saved from the storm after Oethelwald's prayers, Guthfrith states that the calm was a gift from *caelitus* "heaven."[329] As with the holy water and oil in the previous two stories, God's power has protected the sailors from a sea storm.

What these Latin excerpts from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* demonstrate is that stormy weather and its elements can be given emotional characteristics, particularly in forms of fury and

[325] Lewis and Short, s.v. *feruentis.*
[326] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* V.i, 454—457.
[327] Lewis and Short, s.v. *tumida, aequora, placauit, plana, maris*.
[328] Lewis and Short, s.v. *ventus.*
[329] Lewis and Short, s.v. *caelitus.*

rage. The fury of the sea in the first excerpt mirrored the spite of the demons creating the storm, demonstrating that in this case the storms were products of anger, strengthening the association of angry emotions with storms. [330] Emotional undertones also appear in the responses of the sailors who expect death and feel hopeless, failing into states *disperatione* "despair." While the emotions of the sailors are less obvious than those of the sea, a sense of fear is implied through their attempts to save their lives. The purpose of looking at the Anglo-Latin accounts was to establish a connection between sea storms and emotions of anger and fear. The anger was more prominent, as the descriptions of the furious storming elements have demonstrated, but the fear was hinted at in the storm's death threats and expectation of death the sailor's had. These ideas of fear and anger in storm narratives come into play in the Old English poem *Andreas*, with fear playing an even stronger role in this text than the Anglo-Latin stories. I have already looked at the flood scene and the winter torment episode of *Andreas* in the first two chapters of this thesis, but the poem begins with a sea voyage which draws similarities to the stories from *Historia ecclesiastica*.

In *Andreas*, St. Andrew and crew of sailors are traveling over the sea to Mermedonia to rescue St. Matthew and face a sea storm, creating an atmosphere of fear similar to that found in the Anglo-Latin excerpts just discussed. On the ship are Jesus and two angels, although Andrew and his crew are unaware of this fact. The fears of the sailors accompany the descriptions of the sea storm they are traveling through.

> þa gedrefed wearð,
> onhrered hwælmere. Hornfisc plegode,
> glad geond garsecg, ond se græga mæw
> wælgifre wand. Wedercandel swearc,

[330] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica,* I.xvii, 54—57.

windas weoxon, wægas grundon,
streamas styredon, strengas gurron,
wædo gewætte. Wæteregsa stod
þreata þryðum. þegnas wurdon
acolmode. ænig ne wende
þæt he lifgende land begete,
þara þe mid Andreas on eagorstream
ceol gesohte.

Then troubled and agitated
became the sea. Garfish darted and
glided through the sea, and the grey gull
preyed on carrion. The sun darkened,
the winds increased, the waves crashed,
the ocean stirred, the ship's strengths creaked,
the sails wet. Terror caused by water grew
with the force of armies. The thegns grew
fearful. Nobody imagined
that he alive would reach land,
of those who with Andreas on the ocean
sought the ship.[331]

The most notable term in the passage is *wæteregsa*, meaning "terror caused by water."[332] *Egsa* by itself is defined as "fear, horror, or dread," and the use of it in the compound word *wæteregsa* illustrates that the fear is specifically caused by the state of the sea.[333] In the case of this story, we can use *wæteregsa* to both recognise the personification of the water as terrifying and the emotion of those experiencing the water's behaviour as terror, revealing the clear association of terror with the water's behaviour. The following segment stresses this point directly, *þegnas wurdon acolmode* "the thegns grew fearful."[334] As with the Latin passages discussed previously, their fear is of death, which is made clear with *ænig ne wende þæt he lifgende land*

[331] *Andreas*, 369b—380a; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book of Poems*, 11; (my translation).
[332] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wæteregsa*.
[333] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *egsa.*
[334] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *acolmode.*

begete “nobody imagined that he would reach land alive.” The state of despair of the sailors in the storms in the *Historia ecclesiastica* is paralleled here and continues the idea that fear is an emotion expected in relation to such weather. Fear is, thus, tied distinctly to the stormy weather as an emotional response to it. The descriptions of fear come after detailed descriptions of the storm and the passage begins by saying *þa gedrefed wearð, onhrered hwælmere*, “then troubled and agitated became the sea.” Although no distinct word for “storm” is used, the conditions of the sea and weather around the ship are stormy in essence: the *wedercandel swearc* “sun darkened,” *windas weoxon* “winds increased,” *wægas grundon* “waves crashed,” and the *streamas styredon* “ocean stirred.” The combinations of these events creates the atmosphere of a storm. The emotions of fear grow directly in relation to the stormy environment, building this connection of storms as harbingers of fear.

In order to instil faith in the crew and ease their fears during the storm, St. Andrew tells a story about a time when God stilled a sea storm. In this story, the fear of the men in relation to a storm is stressed again, and the menacing description of the sea is countered by its calm state after God’s intervention.

> Ic þæt sylfa wat,
> þæt us gescyldeð scyppend engla,
> weoruda dryhten. Wæteregesa sceal,
> geðyd ond geðreatod þurh þryðcining,
> lagu lacende, liðra wyrðan.
> Swa gesælde iu, þæt we on sæbate
> ofer waruðgewinn wæda cunnedan,
> faroðridende. Frecne þuhton
> egle ealada. Eagorstreamas
> beoton bordstæðu, brim oft oncwæð,
> yð oðerre. Hwilum upp astod
> of brimes bosme on bates fæðm
> egesa ofer yðlid. ælmihtig þær,
> meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan

beorht basnode. Beornas wurdon
forhte on mode, friðes wilnedon,
miltsa to mærum. þa seo menigo ongan
clypian on ceole, cyning sona aras,
engla eadgifa, yðum stilde,
wæteres wælmum. Windas þreade,
sæ sessade, smylte wurdon
merestreama gemeotu. ða ure mod ahloh
syððan we gesegon under swegles gang
windas ond wægas ond wæterbrogan
forhte gewordne for frean egesan.

I myself am aware,
That protecting us is the creator of angels,
the Lord of hosts. The terror caused by water shall be,
restrained and checked by the mighty king,
the tossing sea, will become gentle.
As happened before, when we were on a boat
over the tumultuous surf we experienced waves,
as we were sailing. Fiercely appeared
the hateful waterway. The ocean
threatened the sea-shore, sea often responded,
with another wave. At times stood up
from sea's bosom to boat's bosom
fear over the ship. Almighty there,
fate of mankind, on the ship
radiant awaited. The men were
fearful of spirit, peace wished,
mercy with the excellent. Then the many began
to cry in the throat, the king soon arose,
giver of prosperity to angels, the waves stilled,
the agitated waters. The winds rebuked,
the sea subsided, quiet became
the sea-stream boundaries. Then our spirits exulted
since we saw under the sky went
wind and waves the terror caused by water
became fearful before the Lord's terror.[335]

[335]*Andreas*, 433b—457b; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book of Poems*, 13; (my translation).

As earlier in the poem, the poet has chosen to use the term *wæteregesa* "terror caused by water" or simply, "water terror," paralleling the *flodegsa* "flood-dread" felt by the victims of the *Exodus* flood in the previous chapter. [336] The story even ends with a similar term, *wæterbrogan*, which has the same definition of "water terror" and mimics the phrase *wætres brogan* found in the flood narrative of *Genesis*.[337] The overarching theme of combining water with fear in multiple poems – *Exodus, Genesis,* and here *Andreas* – recognises that it is a broader emotional idea than just one poem; multiple poets have revealed that the fear is tied to the behaviour of water, whether as a flood or at sea. This parallel of *wæteregesa* and *wæterbrogan* in *Andreas* bookends the sea journey story, starting and ending the passage with a recognition of the emotions *egesa* and *brogan* as resulting from the storm, making the weather even synonymous with emotions of terror.[338] Fear continues to make appearances throughout this passage, for example in the middle of the passage we learn that the *beornas wurdon forhte on mode* "men were fearful of spirit." We also find the phrase *egesa ofer yðlid*, "fear fell over the ship." In this case, fear is used as a placeholder for the sea crashing over the ship. The lines from which this phrase comes*, hwilum upp astod of brimes bosme on bates fæðm egesa ofer yðlid,* discuss how the *brimes bosme* "bosom of the sea" is *upp astod* "standing up" *ofer yðlid* "over the ship," evoking the image of waves crashing over the ship's sides. *Egesa* comes in as another emotional personification of the sea, in this case the sea's function as a producer of fear, echoing the *wæteregesa* in the third line of the passage. This personification of the sea continues coming into play when the *ealda* "waterways" are described as *egle* "hateful."[339] The hatred of the sea reflects its ability to create *egesa* "fear," and the harshness of the conditions are considered horrible, as the hateful waterways appear *frecne*, an adverb meaning

[336] *Andreas* 375b for first use of *wæteregesa*; *Exodus*, 447b.
[337] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wæterbrogan*; *Genesis*, 1395b.
[338] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *egesa, brogan.*
[339] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *ealda, egle.*

"horribly or fiercely."[340] In the previous excerpt we recognised the fear of death these sailors had, and this point is brought up again in *meotud mancynnes* "fate of mankind."[341] *Meotud* can also mean death, and in this passage the term functions as the storm's threat to the men.[342] The fear of the men is also represented through the gesture of crying, *þa seo menigo ongan clypian on ceole* "then the many began to cry in the throat," crying acting as a physical presentation of their terror. This passage of *Andreas* repeatedly establishes the idea of fear and its link to the flooding by describing both the sailors as afraid of the storm and the water as something fearful.

The contrast between the storm and the calmed sea is first introduced at the beginning of the passage when St. Andrew says *lagu lacende, liðra wyrðan* "the tossing sea, will become gentle." When the storm and the elements of it are finally calmed in the last few lines, the poet writes *yðum stilde, wæteres wælmum. Windas þreade, sæ sessade, smylte wurdon merestreama gemeotu* "the waves stilled, the agitated waters. The winds rebuked, the sea subsided, the sea-stream boundaries became quiet." The sea waters, prior to being stilled, are described as *wælmum* which can be translated to "agitated" but in certain instances it can also be defined as "furious or raging," so the contrast of the water during and after the event emphasises the ferocity of the weather before it is stilled.[343] If we consider the *wæteres wælmum* as "furious or raging," then we have another instance of the sea being personified as angry in a similar fashion to the sea in the Latin passages discussed earlier.

An emotional contrast is also revealed after this passage at the end of this story when the sailors are described as joyful, *ða ure mod ahloh* "then our spirits exulted," juxtaposing the fearful

[340] Bosworth and Toller, s.v *frecne.*
[341] *Andreas,* 377b—378b.
[342] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *meotud.*
[343] See: Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wælmum.*

state they were in during the ordeal.[344] The sea itself gets a poetic reversal of emotions when the *wæterbrogan* "water terror" itself becomes *forhte* "fearful;" *ond wæterbrogan forhte gewordne for frean egesan* "the terror caused by water became fearful before the Lord's terror."[345] Contrasting the emotions of the sailors and the sea in these ways strengthens the association of emotions of fear and hate with the stormy weather. Once the ordeal in St. Andrew's story is over, we have a last reference to the storm.

> Mere sweoðerade,
> yða ongin eft oncyrde,
> hreoh holmþracu. Þa þam halgan wearð
> æfter gryrehwile gast geblissod.
>
> *The sea had subsided,*
> *the waves began then to turn,*
> *the storm violence of the sea. Then the holy one*
> *after the time of terror spirit rejoiced.*[346]

In this conclusion to St. Andrew's story, we have a recognition of the weather event as a *hreoh* "storm."[347] The storm is described as *holmþracu* "violence of the sea," recognising the severity of what happened and the sea's role in creating the violence.[348] Even without the previous excerpt describing the intensity of the storm, this small passage reveals the emotional state of those who suffered through it by calling the ordeal a *gryrehwile* "time of terror."[349] The terror is then contrasted with the saint's *geblissod* "rejoicing" spirit, recognising the dichotomy between the fear during storms and feelings of joy when the weather turns good.[350]

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[344] *Andreas,* 454b.
[345] *Andreas,* 456b—457b.
[346] *Andreas,* 466b—469b; Magoun, *The Vercelli Book of Poems*.14; Translation in Bradley, 122—123.
[347] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *hreoh*
[348] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *holmþracu*
[349] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gryrehwile*
[350] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *geblissod*

The sea journey in *Andreas* demonstrates how the sea is an instrument of the storm, bringing about the violence and fear. By emotionally personifying the sea, such as calling it *egle* "hateful," the poet has created a correlation between emotions and elements of the storm in which the storm is emotional. The introduction of the terms *wæteregsa* and *wæterbrogan* makes this connection of weather and emotions even clearer, the fear of the sailors being directly tied to the behaviour of the waters due to the storm. This sense of fear is brought up frequently between descriptions of the storm, further emphasising that it comes directly from the storm, not unlike the fears felt by the flood victims discussed in chapter two. The concept of attributing emotions to the sea during storms in Old English poetry is not confined to *Andreas.* The idea is reflected in *Maxims I* which uses storms as a metaphor for hostility between nations and the calm afterwards to peace.

> Styran sceal mon strongum mode. Storm oft holm gebringeþ,
> geofen in grimmum sælum; onginnað grome fundian
> fealwe on feorran to londe, hwæþer he fæste stonde.
> Weallas him wiþre healdað, him biþ wind gemæne.
> Swa biþ sæ smilte,
> þonne hy wind ne weceð;
> swa beoþ þeoda geþwære, þonne hy geþingad habbað
>
> *A strong spirit shall be guided. A storm often brings the sea,*
> *the ocean into raging conditions; angry it tries to go*
> *tawny in from afar to land, whether it will stand firm.*
> *The cliffs hold against it, the wind is subdued upon them.*
> *As is sea placid,*
> *when the wind does not rouse it;*
> *so nations are harmonious, when they to an agreement have come.*[351]

As with the sea in the story St. Andrew tells in *Andreas*, the contrast between the calm and stormy sea is evident. Here, the calm sea is one that is not roused by wind, *swa biþ sæ smilte, þonne hy wind ne weceð* "as is the sea placid, when the wind does not rouse it." This maxim

[351] *Maxims I,* 50a—56b; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 253; (my translation).

remarks that storms directly influence the ocean, *storm oft holm gebringeþ, geofen in grimmum sælum* "a storm often brings the sea, the ocean into raging conditions," reemphasising the idea that storms play a particular role with the sea as in the previous excerpts discussed thus far. The *holm* and *geofen*, "sea" and "ocean" respectively, are attributed with the emotional action of raging, *grimman*, another example of the storm elements having emotional qualities.[352] The line continues to say that the storming sea is *grome* "angry" or "hostile," once again confirming that the ocean as a canvas for the storm takes on an emotional characterisation.[353]

In the stories from *Historia ecclesiasica* and *Andreas*, the content overlaps considerably. In each story, the storms reduce the sea into a raging force and various characteristics of anger are attributed to the elements of the storm. Also accompanying the storms are feelings of fear and despair. In the case of these specific passages, including *Maxims I*, storms and elements of them can both be given emotional qualities and induce emotions in those suffering through the weather event. Both the Latin and Old English examples contain the emotional personification of the elements of the storms, with waves, wind, and the sea being described as variations of raging, furious, and angry. The despair felt by the sailors in the Latin texts is paralleled in the fear of the characters in *Andreas*, recognising the connection between stormy weather and emotions of unease.

The next section of this chapter takes this correlation of storms and emotions of fear and anger into account along with the relationship between weather and emotion discussed throughout this thesis. The themes and ideas of contrast, inside-outside, and exile return in the paradise

[352] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *grimman.*
[353] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *grome*.

narratives below, helping to define paradise as a place specifically without negative weather or poor emotions through the combination of the various connections between them explored so far.

Paradise

The sea storms discussed in this chapter so far are part of the natural world where divine intervention is necessary for subduing them. Whether through prayer or holy water and oil as in the Latin texts, or from pure faith in God as in *Andreas*, God's power ultimately stopped the storms. God's power over weather was discussed at length in the previous chapter, particularly regarding his use of floods as punishment. In those narratives, God's influence over the weather both started and ended the storms. This next section of the chapter considers how the relationship between weather and emotions presents itself in paradise narratives found in *The Phoenix, Genesis,* and *Judgment Day II.* If we recall the discussion on hell from chapter one, hell is a place of extremes. Emotions of sorrow and misery are brought about through the extremes of hot and cold. Taking the idea of contrast, hell acts as an opposite to heaven in this regard, for paradise is a place without harsh weather and negative emotions. Paradise acts as a neutral plain and functions as the "inside" of the "inside-outside" contrast, with all that is not in paradise being on the "outside." The Old English formula for describing paradise consists of many lists of what is not part of paradise, including types of weather and emotions that exist somewhere on the "outside." For example, in the description of Eden in the Old English *Genesis,* the poet remarks that paradise is a place without stormy weather: *nalles wolcnu ða giet ofer rumne grund regnas bæron, wann mid winde* "no clouds at that time yet over the spacious plain carried rain dark with wind"[354] At this moment in the narrative, paradise lacks numerous elements of stormy weather. The non-existent clouds are

[354] *Genesis*, 212b—215a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, 9; Bradley, *Anglo Saxon Poetry*, 18.

specifically referred to as *wann* “dark” and with *regnas* “rain” carried by the *winde* “wind;” the combination of these weather phenomena creating the setting of storming conditions. Similarly, in *The Phoenix* we get a description of paradise at the ideal moment for the phoenix to build its nest. This perfect environment is calm and the *weder bið fæger* “weather is fair”.

> ðonne wind ligeð, weder bið fæger,
> hluttor heofones gim halig scineð,
> beoð wolcen towegen, wætra þryþe
> stille stondað, biþ storma gehwylc
> aswefed under swegle,
>
> *when the wind lies low and the weather is fair*
> *and the holy clear gem of heaven shines,*
> *when the clouds are cleared away and the torrent of the waters*
> *remains stilled and every storm*
> *is lulled beneath the firmament.*[355]

In this passage the fair weather is emphasised by stating that the *wind ligeð* “wind lies low” and the *wolven towegen* “clouds are cleared away.” The idea that paradise does not contain storms is demonstrated at the end with *biþ storma gehwylc aswefed* “every storm is lulled,” drawing similarity to the lack of storms in the line from *Genesis*.[356] Earlier in *The Phoenix* is an expansion upon the specific weather events not found in paradise.

> Ne mæg þær ren ne snaw,
> ne forstes fnæst, ne fyres blæst,
> ne hægles hryre, ne hrimes dryre,
> ne sunnan hætu, ne sincaldu,
> ne wearm weder, ne winterscur
> wihte gewyrdan, ac se wong seomað
> eadig ond onsund.
>
> *Neither rain, nor snow,*
> *nor blowing of frost, nor blast of fire,*

[355] *The Phoenix,* 182a—186a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology,* 173, (my translation).
[356] Reference to *Genesis,* 212b—215a.

nor descent of hail, nor fall of hoar-frost,
nor heat of the sun, nor perpetual cold,
nor warm weather, nor wintry shower
can destroy anything there, but the field remains
always prosperous and perfect.[357]

This description of paradise parallels the contrasting opposite pairs discussed in chapter one. Here, paradise is not subject to nature's damaging phenomena, whether it be those of cold or heat. Primarily about winter weather, *snaw* "snow," *forst* "frost," *hægles* "hail," *hrimes* "rime," *sincaldu* "perpetual cold," and *winterscur* "winter storms" are all absent from heaven.[358] They exist elsewhere, but in a realm outside of paradise. The poem continues later to remind us of the lack of weather and to introduce the emotions that cannot be found.

Nis þær on þam londe laðgeniðla,
ne wop ne wracu, weatacen nan,
yldu ne yrmðu ne se enga deað,
ne lifes lyre, ne laþes cyme,
ne synn ne sacu ne sarwracu,
ne wædle gewin, ne welan onsyn,
ne sorg ne slæp ne swar leger,
ne wintergeweorp, ne wedra gebregd,
hreoh under heofonum, ne se hearda forst,
caldum cylegicelum, cnyseð ænigne.
þær ne hægl ne hrim hreosað to foldan,
ne windig wolcen, ne þær wæter fealleþ,
lyfte gebysgad,

there in that land is no foe
not weeping nor wrack, no sign of woe
not age nor misery nor painful death
nor loss of life, no onset of harm,
neither sin nor strife nor wounding anguish,
neither poverty's toil nor lack of wealth,
not sorrow nor sleep nor grievous illness,

[357] *The Phoenix,* 14b—20a; Muir, *The Exeter anthology*, 167; Neville, *Representations of the Natural World,* 61—62.
[358] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *snaw, forst, hægel, hrim, sincealdu, winterscur*.

not wintry squalls nor tossing storms
tempests under the heavens, nor the harsh frost
with freezing icicles, strike anyone.
There no hail nor frost falls to earth,
nor wind-blown cloud, nor does the water there fall,
agitated by the breeze.[359]

What makes this passage especially important is that emotional characteristics are mentioned as well. *Wop* "weeping," *wracu* "misery," *weatacen* "sign of woe," *yrmðu* "misery," *sarwracu* "wounding anguish," and *sorg* "sorrow" are all excluded from paradise and exist together in the same capacity as the unpleasant weather events listed: *wintergeweorp* "winter storm," *wedra gebregd* "tossing wind," *hreoh* "storms," *hearda forst* "hard frost," *caldum cylegicelum* "cold icicles," *hægl* "hail," *hrim* "rime," *windig wolcen* "wind-blown clouds," and falling water *lyfte gebysgad* "agitated by the breeze." The link between these weather phenomena and various forms of sorrow comes about through their distinct separation away from paradise; they are all that is not joyful. A similar excerpt is found in *Judgment Day II*:

ne cymð þær sorh ne sar ne geswenced yld,
ne þær ænig geswinc æfre gelimpeð,
oððe hunger oþþe þurst oððe heanlic slæp,
ne bið þær fefur ne adl ne færlic cwyld,
nanes liges gebrasl ne se laðlica cyle.
Nis þær unrotnes ne þær æmelnys,
ne hryre ne caru ne hreoh tintrega,
ne bið þær liget ne laðlic storm,
winter ne þunerrad ne wiht cealdes,
ne þær hagulscuras hearde mid snawe,
ne bið þær wædl ne lyre ne deaðes gryre
ne yrmð ne agnes ne ænigu gnornung,

no sorrow, no pain, nor wearied old age,
nor does any tribulation ever occurs there,

[359] *The Phoenix*, 50a—62a; Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, 168—169; (my translation).

nor hunger, nor thirst, nor shameful sleep;
there is no fever, nor disease there, nor sudden pestilence;
no crackling fire, nor hateful cold.
There is not sorrow, nor weariness there,
nor decay, nor grief, nor cruel torment;
there is no lightning there, nor dreadful storm,
no winter, nor thunder, nor any cold at all,
nor are there showers of hard hail with snow.
There is no poverty, nor loss, nor the horror of death,
nor misery, nor pain, nor any grief.[360]

Both *Judgement Day II* and *The Phoenix* remark on the lack of sorrow and misery in paradise, using various spellings and declensions of the terms *sorg* and *yrmð* respectively.[361] The poet of *Judgement Day II* strengthens the absence of negative emotions by also considering another term for sorrow, *unrotnes*, and two words for grief, *caru* and *gnornung*.[362] Meanwhile, the poet of *The Phoenix* recognises the lack of *wracu* "wrack" and *weatacen* "woe," both sorrowful emotions, as well as the sorrowful gesture of *wop* "weeping."[363] Thus, both narratives reveal paradise as a place without adverse feelings. Alongside these emotions, we also learn that stormy weather does not occur there. In *Judgement Day II*, we discover that *ne bið þær liget ne laðlic storm* "there is no lightning there, nor dreadful storm," and just a few lines later, *ne þær hagulscuras* "nor are there hail showers". Elements of storms, *liget* "lightning," and of winter storms, *hagulscuras* "hail showers" are not present and neither is the idea of a *storm* "storm" itself. As with the *hagulscuras* "hail showers" of *Judgement Day II*, storms of winter qualities are not present in the paradise of *The Phoenix*.

[360] *Judgement Day II*, 257a—268b; Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II*,' 98—101.
[361] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *unrotness, cearu, gnornung.*
[362] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *unrotnes, caru, gnornung*.
[363] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *wracu, weatacen, wop.*

The poet of *The Phoenix* first remarks that there are no *wintergeweorp,* which is defined as "a winter-cast, storm of snow or hail, tempest".[364] A few lines later, they write that *ne se hearda forst, caldum cylegicelum, cnyseð ænigne* "nor the harsh frost with freezing icicles, strike anyone".[365] Not only does this designate winter scenery, but the term *cnyseð* is derived from the word *cnyssan* which can mean "trouble, toss, strike, dash, beat;" so by considering the *forst* "frost" and *cylegicelum* "icicles" as tossed or striking, they take the form of a harsh precipitation and function as elements of stormy weather, combining winter and storm imagery.[366] The following line, *þær ne hægl ne hrim hreosað to foldan* "there no hail nor frost falls to earth," continues the winter theme, while the use of *hreosað,* from *hreósan* meaning "to fall", reaffirms the precipitative state of the elements which are distinctly falling to *foldan* "earth", just like the *forst* and *cyclegicelum* in the previous line. We also find no *wedra gebregd* "tossing storms" which are described as *hreoh under heofonum*, "tempests under the heavens."[367] While storm conditions can be inferred from the elements described so far, these lines distinguish the storms directly, with both *wedra* "storms" and *hreoh* "tempests." The last two lines regard other weather events which could be tied to storms, *ne windig wolcen, ne þær wæter fealleþ, lyfte gebysgad* "nor wind-blown cloud, nor does the water there fall, agitated by the breeze."[368] The combination of the *windig wolcen* "wind-blown clouds," *wæter* "water" that *fealleþ* "falls", and *lyfte* "breeze" creates a stormy atmosphere, even without directly disclosing a term for storm. This implied happiness and perfect weather all changes, however, when paradise falls in the Old English *Genesis*.

[364] *The Phoenix,* 57a; See: Bosworth-Toller s.v. *wintergeweorp.*
[365] *The Phoenix,* 58b—59b.
[366] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *cnyssan.*
[367] *The Phoenix,* 57b—58a.
[368] *The Phoenix,* 61a—62b.

When Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit in the Old English poem *Genesis*, God's anger becomes a primary concern of the couple. This transgression acts as a switch, changing the emotional state of paradise and threatening it with weather, like storms, hail, and extreme sun. The illusion of paradise falls and Adam and Eve are now both aware of the existence of emotional and meteorological negatives. The scene begins with their sense of sorrow and fear rising from the hate God has in them.

> Sorgedon ba twa,
> Adam and Eue, and him oft betuh
> gnornword gengdon; godes him ondredon,
> heora herran hete, heofoncyninges nið
> swiðe onsæton; selfe forstodon
> his word onwended
>
> *Sorrowful both of them,*
> *Adam and Eve, and between them*
> *mournful discourse passed; God they dreaded*
> *the superior's hatred of them, the heavenly King's enmity*
> *they very much feared; his own preventative*
> *words they transgressed.*[369]

This small passage is vital for recognising the emotions of Adam, Eve, and God following their transgression of eating the fruit. Adam and Eve are first regarded as *sorgedon* "sorrowful" and they speak together in sadness, *him oft betuh gnornword gengdon* "between them mournful discourse passed." Knowing that this point in the narrative begins a contrast with the paradise of before, the sorrow implies that there was a sense of happiness prior to the eating of the fruit. Adam and Eve are afraid of God, the plural present tense of *ondredan* being used, which means "to dread, fear."[370] In the vulgate, fear is only mentioned once and in reference to Adam's naked state: *et*

[369] *Genesis*, 765b—770a; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, 26; (my translation).
[370] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *ondredan*.

timui eo quod nudus essem "and I was afraid, because I was naked."[371] Although the Old English poem reflects this fearful sentiment, it also expands upon it to include the sorrow and mourning, *sorg* and *gnorn*, and directly state God's *hete* "hate" for them. The poet's interpretation of the Vulgate leads to a stronger emotional setting, with fear emphasised twice with *onsæton* and *ondredon*. Additionally, the implication in the Old English is that their fear stems directly out of God's anger as they are afraid of *heofoncyninges nið* "the heavenly King's enmity" towards them for transgressing. This not only changes the narrative from the fear of being caught naked in the Vulgate, but also provides God with an emotion, something he does not have in the Latin. The poet of *Genesis* chose to take God's apparent disappointment in the Vulgate and directly confirm his emotions, making it more obvious to the audience how he feels. As the poem continues, Adam laments the concept of poor weather, something he was unaware of or at least unafraid of until eating the fruit.

> Hu sculon wit nu libban oððe on þys lande wesan,
> gif her wind cymð, westan oððe eastan,
> suðan oððe norðan? Gesweorc up færeð,
> cymeð hægles scur hefone getenge,
> færeð forst on gemang, se byð fyrnum ceald.
> Hwilum of heofnum hate scineð,
> blicð þeos beorhte sunne, and wit her baru standað,
> unwered wædo. Nys unc wuht beforan
> to scursceade, ne sceattes wiht
> to mete gemearcod, ac unc is mihtig god,
> waldend wraðmod. To hwon sculon wit weorðan nu?
>
> *How shall we now survive or in this land exist,*
> *if wind comes here from west or east,*
> *south or north? A Dark cloud will loom up,*
> *a hailstorm will come pelting from the sky*
> *and frost mixed in, which shall be fearfully cold;*
> *at times from heaven of the sun bright*

[371] Genesis 3:10, The Latin Vulgate Bible, trans. Douay Rheims.

shine the brightness of the sun, and we stand naked
unprotected with clothing. There is nothing in front of us
as protection from the storm, nor any provisions
made for food, but in us is mighty God,
the Ruler, angry hearted. What shall become of us?[372]

Adam demonstrates a panic in this scene in his concern for his and Eve's ability to survive the coming weather events. This passage is an even greater divergence from the Vulgate by mentioning the many types of weather that can hurt him and Eve. In the context of the theme "inside-outside," the passage reflects Adam's newfound awareness of the "outside" and all the horrible weather events it contains. Before eating the fruit, Adam and Eve were blissfully unaware of the existence of the "outside," but now they realise they will have to suffer through everything that is there. Adam immediately concerns himself with the *wind* "wind" coming from all directions, *westan oððe eastan, suðan oððe norðan* "west or east, south or north," the first of the storming conditions listed in the passage. According to Bede's *De natura rerum*, the cardinal direction from which wind comes determines the properties of that wind and the weather it will bring.[373] Adam first lists the west wind which, according to Bede, *hiemem resoluens floresque producens* "dispels winter and produces flowers."[374] This first wind is the most tame of the four, as we then come to the eastern wind, *temperatus* "a temperate wind" which *ab ortu intonans solis* "brings thunder in the East."[375] Adam then mentions a south wind, which Bede considers *humidus, calidus, atque fulmineus* "moist, hot, and full of lightning,"[376] and the north wind, which *flat rectus ab axe, faciens frigora et nubes* "blows straight from the Pole, generating cold and clouds."[377] The winds coming

[372] *Genesis*, 805a—815b; Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, 27; (my translation).
[373] Bede, *De Natura Rerum*, XXVII, 91.
[374] Ibid., 90.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid.

from east, north, and south bring together various storming conditions; thunder, lightning, and clouds, along with moist, hot, and cold. Although they contrast with the west wind's dispelling of winter, the idea of four winds coming together in one spot is enough to be concerning to Adam even without the storm qualities they may bring.

Adam regards other weather elements as well, a *gesweorc*, "dark cloud" looming up and a *hægles scur*, "hailstorm" which is *getenge* "pelting" from the sky with *forst*, "frost." These, together, Adam considers *fyrnum ceald*, "fearfully cold," revealing how his and Eve's state of fear is produced from the weather phenomena. He also recognises these events collectively as a storm when he concerns himself with his lack of *scursceade* "protection from the storm," with the prefix *scur* meaning "storm."[378] The fear of this coming weather parallels the cause of the weather, God's anger. Described as *wraðmod* "angry hearted," the passage implies that the weather events are direct results of God's anger towards Adam and Eve. Their fear and his anger were already demonstrated in lines 765b—770a, but this passage re-establishes their (God, Adam, and Eve's) emotional states in tandem with the weather descriptions, thus confirming the relationship of all these various emotions to the types of weather analysed. The cold weather in this passage reflects the winter scenes discussed in chapter one. As I discussed above, the theme of "inside-outside" presents itself here, with Adam and Eve forced out of Eden and into exile. Eden, the place without negative emotions or weather, functions as the "inside" while the place of exile is "outside" and contains all the negativities they have never experienced.

By revolving this part of the scene around the weather after introducing the audience to the emotions of Adam, Eve, and God, the poet is creating an interesting duality in which the weather causes fear in Adam and Eve, but is potentially caused by God's anger. God created the weather

[378] Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *scursceade.*

long before making Adam and Eve, but he also actively chose to keep it out of paradise and away from them. His anger in them for their sin influences his decision to exile them. Rather than punishing them specifically with weather as he does with the flood later in *Genesis* and those in *Exodus* and *Andreas*, the weather is a secondary aspect to his punishment of exiling them. In other words, the connection of the poor weather to God's anger comes about through the banishment of Adam and Eve to the "outside" where the weather exists. The fall of paradise thus mirrors the connections of weather and emotion found in the exilic poems discussed in chapter one.

Paradise at the start is, as illustrated, a place without negative emotions such as sorrow or woe and without harsh weather events of storms and winter phenomena. This lack of such conditions is contrasted by the introduction of stormy weather to Eden following Adam and Eve's transgressions. The juxtaposition demonstrates a connection between weather and negative emotions in two distinct ways: God's anger creating the harsh weather, and the sorrowful and fearful emotions of Adam and Eve in response.

Chapter Three Conclusion

Building upon the analysis of weather and emotions from chapters one and two, chapter three has shown how the relationship appears in the context of sea storms and paradise. The segment on sea storms took the connection of storms and fear found in chapter two and expanded upon it, continuing the notion of personifying elements of the storm to strengthen the emotional atmosphere of the poems. Waves, the sea, and water were described as angry through words meaning rage and fury, creating a link between the weather event and angry emotions. The storms acted as a direct cause of fear for the sailors, establishing the idea of weather as causing emotions.

Three similar sea storm narratives are found in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, each revealing this use of personifying the elements of the storms with emotions and causing fear. I used this analysis to approach *Andreas* and recognise a similar pattern to the weather-emotion connection. *Andreas* continues this idea of personifying parts of the storms with emotions and demonstrates that the weather induces fear in this narrative. I briefly look at *Maxims I* to support this theme in the Old English context. God's power comes through passively in the sea storms as it is through invoking his power (whether it be using holy oil, holy water, or prayer) that the storms are cleared.

Paradise revealed the broader association of all negative weather with all negative emotions through the concept of contrast and, more specifically, inside-outside. Looking at how paradise is described in *Genesis, The Phoenix,* and *Judgment Day II,* I demonstrated that paradise is understood through what it does not contain — in this case specifically the emotions and weather events. Weather such as snow, storms, hail, rain, and clouds are not present in paradise, just like emotions of misery, woe, sorrow, and grief. These all exist together outside of paradise, associating poor weather and emotions with each other. The paradise segment took the themes and specific relationships of weather and emotion found in the previous chapters and combined them to distinguish the clear juxtaposition of positive and negative emotions and weather events, concluding that weather is, at least in the most basic sense, correlated with emotions in Old English poetry. Unlike the narratives discussed prior, weather and emotions do not directly cause or define each other in this context. Rather, the outcome is that they relate to each other through existing together outside of paradise.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that there is a connection between weather and emotions in Old English poetry that presents itself most clearly in five poetic narratives. It has revealed when and how weather and emotion function together in numerous poetic scenes, specifically stories of exile, divine floods, Judgment Day, sea storms, and paradise. The connection comes through in four ways, with weather creating or emphasising emotions, or emotions describing or bringing about weather events. These forms of the weather and emotion connection appear throughout the five narratives discussed, interacting with each other to create definitive relationships between specific emotions and specific weather phenomena. By engaging with existing literature on the subjects, I have begun to bridge the gap between the applications of emotion history and ecocriticism through weather to a selection of Old English poems, joining the limited number of works at the intersection of emotions and weather in an Old English literary context.

Chapter one introduced the idea of contrast and examined how exilic narratives are built around the concept. I focused first on *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, poems which clearly demonstrate the use of winter imagery to emphasise the sorrowful emotions of the speakers. I explored how this connection works within the theme of exile and through contrast, concentrating on the juxtaposition of winter weather and sadness with emotions of joy and safety from weather. To emphasise the theme I glanced at two brief excerpts of winter and exile in *Deor* and *The Wife's Lament.* The latter part of chapter one regarded the use of winter weather as a form of torture in Hell, looking at two Anglo-Latin texts by Alcuin and one by Bede, as well as the Old English poems *Solomon and Saturn II, Christ II,* and *Judgment Day II*. Here, weather serves to cause emotions, creating emotional anguish in the victims who suffered from fear and sorrow.

The torturous use of winter weather led us to chapter two which began with God's use of floods as punishment in *Genesis, Exodus,* and *Andreas*. Weather and emotions present themselves together in a number of ways within this narrative. First, God's anger initiates the creation of the floods, making the emotion a direct cause of the weather event. This translates to the emotional personification of storms in which the elements of the flood are described as angry to reflect how they were caused by God's anger. On the flipside, they were also personified as fearful, mirroring the fear they instil in the victims. Thus the flood narratives involve three of the four ways in which the connection between weather and emotions appears.

The second part of chapter two continued with the idea of divine punishment to look at narratives on Judgment Day in the poems *Judgment Day II* and *Christ III*. These narratives either concern themselves with the weather prior to the coming Judgment, a sort of predictive weather, or turn to the weather during the Day of Judgment. The weather on Judgment Day is meant to act as torture, much like the weather described in the Hell narratives. This in turn gives rise to emotions of fear and sorrow. The predictive weather described, everything from wind to storms to earthquakes, functions as a means of reminding people to repent their sins in order to get into Heaven. When the speakers in the poems recognise this pre-apocalyptic weather, they are filled with emotions of fear at the prospect of Judgment Day. In both instances the weather causes emotions. God's role is somewhat passive in these narratives and it is more his general sense of anger at sin that creates tormenting weather for the sinful. He sends the weather as a warning not because of his emotional state but to act as a reminder to repent.

In chapter three I began with a look at sea storm narratives in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and *Andreas*. In these texts the weather and elements of it, such as the sea and waves, is a direct cause of emotions or is portrayed through emotional personification. These two versions of the

connection work similarly to the flood narratives in that the elements are personified with types of anger, and the reactive emotions of the victims are forms of fear. Although God does not play an emotional role in these texts, I show how the storms can only be cleared through some form of divine intervention, whether that be holy oil, holy water, or prayer, as in the Anglo-Latin examples, or by channelling God's power through St. Andrew, as in *Andreas.*

The end of chapter three considered the connection of weather and emotions in paradise narratives by taking into account all discussions from this thesis. It looked at the use of contrast in descriptions of paradise found in *Genesis, The Phoenix,* and *Judgment Day II* to create a space that is defined through what it does not have — poor weather and negative emotions. Together, negative weather and emotions function in a space outside of paradise, creating the image of paradise acting as the inside. When Adam and Eve transgress against God by eating the fruit in *Genesis*, they are made aware of this outside and all of the awful things it contains. Going from blissfully unaware, Adam and Eve now feel fear and sorrow, acknowledging in particular the harsh realities of weather and what it can do to them. These emotions are caused by the weather, or at the very least the knowledge of its existence.

I also looked to God's emotion of anger and how it relates to the weather. Because his anger towards Adam and Eve leads him to force them into exile, and exile is where the poor weather exists, he is allowing his emotions to influence their experience with weather. This connection is more passive than the flood narratives in which he was angry and thus chose to explicitly set the weather on the victims, because in the fall of paradise God's anger does not directly bring weather. Instead he banishes them to a place where such weather happens to be. The complexities of this relationship boil down to his anger indirectly causing an experience with weather. Paradise

narratives represent the ultimate weather-emotion connection, that in the simplest way all bad emotions equate with all bad weather in Old English poetry.

What this thesis has shown is that within the four ways it can present itself in Old English poetry, there is a clear connection between weather and emotions and an intentional poetic use of it.

Future Research

The future directions of this research are numerous. My first suggestion would be to expand the corpus of Old English poetry consulted. This thesis took into account only a selection of the extant corpus due to the limited time and space I have to write and research. I avoided, for example, the major work *Beowulf* due to its sheer length. *Beowulf* could easily function as a case study for weather and emotions on its own. Other types of Old English poetry that should be considered are poems which are found outside poetry collections or forms of poetry outside of specifically poems, such as riddles, charms, and poetic homilies. By expanding what forms of poetic literature we look at, the better our understanding will be of how weather and emotion function together in the Old English corpus of poetry. Furthermore, we could branch out to Old English prose to find similarities to what is found in the poetry, possibly demonstrating a deeper interrelation of the poetic and prose traditions in Old English.

Further research could entail a deeper look at the Anglo-Latin tradition, considering all Latin texts from the British Isles and continental Europe which would have circled early medieval English. What I started only in brief with Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* we can improve and develop with the broader collection of extant Anglo-Latin texts. Such an exploration would offer an idea of how this connection of weather and emotions presents itself thematically in early

medieval thinking and influenced the composers of the Old English poems. Similarly, exploration into texts written in the (Saxon and Celtic) vernacular languages can further expand our understanding of how the connection carried from one vernacular tradition into the other. By looking at the vernacular languages which influenced or existed in parallel to Old English in early medieval England we can understand the relationship of poetic themes between the various languages and analyse the cross-cultural similarities in how weather and emotions are presented and relate.

This thesis is merely the start of a number of ways one can look at weather and emotions in Old English poetry. My intention has been to demonstrate, quite simply, that there is a thematic relationship between weather and emotions in Old English poetry beyond the few deeper observations of this intersection made scholars. How we respond to the emotions in these poems is of our own choosing, but this thesis is a suggestion to look deeper at the weather in these works and see how it relates to emotions, for you may find, as I have, a thematically strong and purposeful connection.

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