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Personal Lament of the Transient World: The Interplay Between the Individual and Community in ‘The Wanderer’²

For well over a century and a half, many scholars have been inspired to reflect upon and interpret the many fascinating and often unique themes represented in *The Wanderer* (*Wan*). However, while these scholars have often stressed the much-debated questions of genre, completeness, and the pagan versus Christian nature of the poem, I will be pursuing a topic mostly ignored by literary historians: the interplay between the individual and community. Almost invariably in Old English verse, the individual is inextricably linked with his community. Even in heroic poetry, the protagonist — if there is one — usually commits deeds for the greater good, where personal glory is apparent but often subservient to communal response or group recognition.³ Hence, this investigation uncovers how and to what extent both the individual and community function in this poem, and whether or not stress is given to one or the other. Thus, this article seeks to reveal the differences between, and the role of, both the individual and the community in this text, and ultimately show that the exilic character portrayed does not abide by the heroic dictates of the Anglo-Saxon world, but ultimately comes to disregard its authority over him.

Anglo-Saxon Community and the Literary Sources of Exile

In order to show the importance of the Wanderer’s rejection of his culture by asserting his independence from it, we need to understand the salience that the group had in the life of the

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² All translations of Latin and Old English are my own, unless otherwise stated. I have taken care to preserve the literal essence of the Old English. In addition, all punctuation in Old English comes from Anne Klinck’s work.

³ The author claims that the individual in heroic poetry is mainly engaged in ‘communal enterprise’ and can put the whole community at risk if he acts alone. See this discussion and how it relates to the ‘boar and badger’ of heroic action here: Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 38-39 and T.A. Shippey, ‘Boar and Badger: an Old English Heroic Antithesis?’, *Leeds Studies in English*, 16 (1985), 220-39. The former is probably the most extensive and focused discussion of community in Old English poetry yet available, with valuable insight into how community is represented in symbol and image; however, it lacks heavy discussion on the individual.

individual in the Anglo-Saxon period. The Anglo-Saxons lived and died as members of a ‘close-knit tribal society’, communities that depended on the participation of each member, a relationship for whom ‘one’s entire function in the world’ relied upon.⁴ The hundred was the basic local administrative division, where communities met to discuss rulings and other issues of the day. Indeed, ‘the regularity of common action reinforced their nature as communities’, and the decisions of the hundred affected everybody living in the area.⁵ So, the community functioned much like a living organism, surviving and flourishing based on the input of its surroundings (in this case, human beings). Hence, the extant of the Old-English corpus of verse, as with almost all literature, accurately represents the prevailing social realities contemporaneous with a text’s recording and transmission; and here we are primarily interested in Anglo-Saxon England from the eighth through eleventh centuries. With this understood, scholars have commented that in general, Anglo-Saxon texts portrayed life outside of society as having ‘neither attraction nor meaning’, hence ‘the man without a lord seems to be virtually without an identity’.⁶ If true, the involuntary exile in *Wan* would have been the worst situation for any Anglo-Saxon to find himself.⁷

But, would this always have been the case? Is the Wanderer necessarily without identity? It is these assumptions that this paper seeks to challenge. To understand this issue of identity in *Wan*, we must first examine the matter of how the reader understands the exiled protagonist in this poem. Is he merely an unfortunate without community, searching aimlessly for that connection? Or, is there a deeper meaning behind his searching and subsequent ‘failure’? These questions necessitate some brief comments on the exilic theme in patristic and late-antique sources, as well as Alcuin’s (writing in eighth-century England) remarks on what constituted appropriate reading material for an Anglo-Saxon.⁸ For instance, the early Christian commentator Jerome (d. AD 420) wrote of ‘withdrawal from city or town to the desert, together with the severing of family and

⁴ Klinck, p. 225. Similarly, in Manish Sharma, ‘Heroic Subject and Cultural Substance in *The Wanderer*’, in *Neophilologus*, 96 (2012), 612-29 (p. 612), the author asserts that ‘heroic values [...] are exterior structures through which the self sustains itself’.

⁵ The discussion here refers to the late tenth century — the date of when the Exeter Book was compiled. See Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Arnold, 1989), p. 137.

⁶ Magennis, p. 105. See also, Helen T. Bennett, ‘Exile and the Semiosis of Gender in Old English Elegies’, in *Class and Gender in Early English Literature: Intersections*, ed. by Britton J. Harwood and Gillian R. Overing (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 43-58 (p. 44).

⁷ Taking into account that the two key relationships in Anglo-Saxon society were ‘between a lord and his retainers’ and ‘any man and his loved one’; see *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology*, trans. by Kevin Crossley-Holland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 46-47.

⁸ It is not possible to provide a full treatment here of the Latin analogues that may or may not have influenced *Wan* — others have done so to great extent. My purpose here is to introduce this possibility so as to appreciate my conclusion in context. See the bibliography and discussion throughout this paper for sources.

community ties', which 'was seen as a sure route to spiritual rewards, both in this life and in the world to come'.⁹ In a different tone, the early fifth-century Bishop of Hippo, Augustine, advocated being in, but not of, the world. Both writers were extremely influential in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁰ There is also, of course, Augustine's metaphor of the two cities:

one is made up of men who live according to the flesh, and the other of those who live according to the spirit', where one man is a citizen of the world and the other a pilgrim of the world, of whom the 'latter was predestined by grace and chosen by grace; by grace he was a pilgrim below, and by grace he was a citizen above.¹¹

Finally, Alcuin is known to have despised the idea of listening to songs rather than the word of God, and in a letter dated to AD 797, he wrote: 'Let the words of God be read when the clergy dine together [...] listen to the reader, not a harper; to the sermons of the Fathers, not the songs of the heathen'.¹² For both these exegeses and Alcuin's statement to be applicable to our reading of *Wan*, which they are, we must concede that the exile highlighted in this work was created to showcase a Christian theme in some way.

The questions then remain: how do we reconcile the themes in the *Wan* with Alcuin's admonition against popular tales?¹³ And, how do Christian and Germanic formulae inspire or inundate these poems? I generally agree with many other scholars that *Wan* satisfies both Christian didactic and popular heroic tastes; indeed, Roger Fowler's reading that the heroic past once honoured is despondently a subject of the poem is one I tend to agree with.¹⁴ However, the trouble of reading the poem as a heroic worldly lament and simultaneously as a Christian didactic prescriptive device has been one that long confused and irritated scholars in past debates. To this confusion, I submit that the poem's seemingly disparate themes are really a reflection of the Wanderer's confused state-of-mind, and thus a metaphor (indeed, not intentionally done by the

⁹ Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature: 700-1500* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35. See also footnote 14.

¹¹ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. by R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 581, 635.

¹² Roberta Frank, 'Germanic Legend in Old English Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 88-106 (p. 91).

¹³ This question should not be read as a concession of Alcuin's textual influence on the poet of *Wan*, but only that Alcuin's works and commentary on society were well understood at this time, and that *Wan* could be considered to be a 'popular tale'. So, the question asked is in relation to why the poem would be copied down and left for posterity in the first place, given that it could be seen in this light.

¹⁴ See footnote 69 for the reference.

poet, but an unconscious rendition of how the Wanderer saw his place in society) can readily be seen. Hence, I submit that any description of a lost heroic past (e.g., losing one's lord, lamenting the loss of kith and kin, etc.) is actually the reflection of the Wanderer's communal self-concept;¹⁵ while conversely, the Christian elements (most predominate in the second half of the poem) reflect an autonomous individuality that is beginning to blossom, in that to submit to God as one's primary guiding star in life — as the Wanderer is forced to do since he is unable to find another lord — perforce forces one to shed off association with community and find within himself self-determination, i.e., individuality. The remainder of this paper puts these and other issues to the test — reconciling them with the Wanderer's individuality juxtaposed with his communal outlook.

The Wanderer: Lines 1-29a

In the opening five lines in *Wan*, a narrator introduces us to the concept of the exile:

<i>Oft him anbaga</i>	<i>are gebided,</i>
<i>metudes miltse,</i>	<i>þeah þe he modcearig</i>
<i>geond lagulade</i>	<i>longe sceolde</i>
<i>breran mid bondum</i>	<i>brimcealde sæ,</i>
<i>wadan wræclastas:</i>	<i>nyrd bið ful aræd.¹⁶ 1-5</i>

This provides a good starting point for concepts inherent throughout the text — the first being the emphasis on the individual. The poet's use of *Anbaga* (solitary one) highlights the sense of aloneness, and many scholars have commented on its diverse connotations. Richard North, for instance, claims that the word 'is derived from a warrior archetype known in Scandinavian analogues as *Starkaðr*', and also relates how, in *Beowulf*, the term collocates with *earm* to form the phrase *earm anbaga* (wretched loner) to emphasise Beowulf's state of mind after losing his lord, Hygelac — hence, he is a 'bereaved man'.¹⁷ Another point-of-view comes from De Lacy, who points out that some researchers believe the term reflects the 'epitome of worldly philosophy — man without God'. It is clear, however, that *anbaga* refers not only to a man without God, but

¹⁵ While impossible to approach here, I have written elsewhere on this thesis. See footnotes 34 and 71 for the reference.

¹⁶ 'Often the solitary one waits for grace, God's favor, even though sad at heart he had to move with his hands throughout the ocean's path, the icy-cold sea, the path of exile: fate is unstoppable'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, p. 75.

¹⁷ Richard North, 'Boethius and the Mercenary in The Wanderer', in *Pagans and Christians: The Interplay Between Christian Latin and Traditional Germanic Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by T. Hofstra and others (Groningen: Forsten, 1992), pp. 71-98 (pp. 72, 76).

also to a man without community, who is here ‘*progressing* towards a realisation of stability in heaven’.¹⁸ Further emphasising the lone motif, *anhaga* is glossed *passer solitarius* (lone sparrow) in the eleventh-century *Lambeth Psalter*. The emphasis on travelling alone can be found by looking at the Latin roots *pass-*, where we find the adverb *passim* (everywhere), and *passus, -us* (a step/pace). So, this term implies single flight and movement away from society, for Klinck notes that *haga* (enclosure) and *hogian* (to think) are possible sources for this term. So, literally, *anhaga* implies ‘one who travels within his mind/thoughts’.¹⁹ It is clear from this passage that the introduction of the lonely exile is meant to excite sympathy for an individual who, estranged from his community, must stand up to his fate and travel a harsh path. The next two lines describe this exile as an *eardstapa* (wanderer), reflecting on these things:

Swa cwæð eardstapa, earfeþa gemyndig,
*wraþra wælsleabta, winemæga bryre.*²⁰ 6-7

The poet’s use of ‘hardship’, ‘cruel battle’, and ‘death’ explicitly contrasts communal life with the path of the wanderer, i.e., these three elements of Anglo-Saxon life, the latter two often associated with glory and honour, are identified pejoratively here and conform with the themes throughout the rest of the poem, beginning with the Wanderer’s narration.

Our entry into the mind of the Wanderer begins in line 8, where the first-person lament emphasises deep emotions and kinfolk lost:

Oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gebnylce
mine ceare cwīþan; nis nu cwicra nan
þe ic him modsefan minne durre
sweotule asecgan. Ic to soþe wat
þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw
þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde,
*healde his hordcofa hycge swa he wille.*²¹ 8-14

¹⁸ The first statement has been pronounced by some that support the Christian themes as later interpolations of the poem. See Paul De Lacy, ‘Thematic and Structural Affinities: *The Wanderer* and *Ecclesiastes*’, in *Neophilologus*, 82 (1998), 125-137 (p. 127).

¹⁹ This word and its forms appear in the OE corpus twelve times. See Klinck, p.106.

²⁰ ‘So says the Wanderer, mindful of hardships, cruel battle-slaughters, [and] the fall of kinsmen’. ‘The Wanderer’, in *Elegies*, p. 75.

Two elements in this passage are initially striking for our study: the reiteration of isolation and a rejection of communal custom. Taking care to emphasise the loneliness of contemplation, the Wanderer explains that for a time of unknown duration, he alone mused on his sorrows (of unknown cause).²² The sense of the individual apart from community is quite apparent here. This is further evident because *ana* does not appear to act as an intensifier or simple reiteration to the narrator's *anhaga* in line 1. For example, the narrator clearly explains what *any* lone traveller must do to meet fate, not only the Wanderer. This is also evidenced in the verb form *gebidedð* (waits for, or experiences). The present active tells us that this process is continuous in the immediate moment and without known respite, so there are always solitary travellers in the world without kith and kin. Hence, when the Wanderer highlights his own plight (e.g., *ic...ana*, and *ic to soþe wat*), he is confirming and solidifying the theme that he *alone* is going through this process.

Lines 11b-14b have often given rise to debates within the literary community, to which I add my interpretation. The question of how to reconcile the apparent contradiction of the Wanderer giving an exposition on the *indryhten þeaw* (noble custom) to hold one's thoughts to his breast, while concurrently breaking his own rule, has expended ink for many decades. Doubleday claims that 'in some ways it is noble to suppress stoically one's grief' but cites that in Christianity, 'it is unwise, even dangerous'.²³ The Wanderer, then, is not showing 'stoic reticence' for his lost companions, but is openly sharing those feelings with his audience through poetry, which perhaps derives from a tradition of oral delivery.²⁴ Conversely, some scholars have claimed that the Wanderer actively tries to hold his thoughts in his heart 'from escaping or being expressed to the outside world', and others have pointed out this convention as part of Old-Germanic poetry and, by extension, the heroic ideal.²⁵ However, the Wanderer's attempt cannot ever succeed, because there is no outside world, no community, no lord, and no family; there is no longer anyone to whom these conventions may apply. The Wanderer is alone and chooses not to

²¹ 'Often in the early morning, I alone had to lament my sorrows; now there is not anyone living whom I dare to clearly tell my state of mind. I know the truth that is in a man, a noble custom, that he binds the treasure of thoughts securely in his breast; let him think as he will'. *Ibid.*

²² The use of the *sceolde* in the preterite obviously implies past action, a fact that helps explain the argument that the Wanderer is looking back from a current vantage point of success or retrospective analysis of a journey begun.

²³ James F. Doubleday, 'The Three Faculties of the Soul in The Wanderer', *Neophilologus*, 53 (1969), 189-94 (pp. 190-91). Doubleday cites Gregory the Great's, *Liber Regula Pastoralis*.

²⁴ Here, the author looks to Icelandic family sagas, where poetry acted as a 'privileged medium in which warriors can lament openly without demeaning their masculine dignity'. See Thomas D. Hill, 'A Stoic Maxim in "The Wanderer" and Its Contexts', *Studies in Philology*, 101 (2004), 233-49 (p. 249).

²⁵ S.L. Clark and Julian N. Wasserman, 'The Imagery of "The Wanderer"', *Neophilologus*, 63 (1979), 291-96 (p. 292). Bjork makes the argument that the Wanderer is following this 'custom of silence' and that it 'gives the wanderer a measure of comfort in this poem', who is 'abid[ing] by the dictates of his culture'. But as we see, the very fact that the Wanderer is sharing his feeling with an audience (i.e., we the readers/listeners), shows that he is not conforming to his culture. See Robert E. Bjork, 'Sundor æt Rune: The Voluntary Exile of the Wanderer', *Neophilologus*, 73 (1989), 119-29 (p. 122).

withhold his thoughts, expressing these feelings to the audience (whether the modern reader or contemporary listener in the meadhall), effectively shunning, consciously or not, the community from which he is estranged. At the very least, he is beginning to learn of his individual authority.²⁶

Until now, the Wanderer's plight has been a focused commentary on loneliness, and at this early stage in the poem, he is still having trouble letting go of that which he left behind. Lines 19-29a follow this trend by highlighting a yearning for community while contrasting exilic life with that of the hall:

<i>Swa ic modsefan</i>	<i>minne sceolde</i>
<i>oft earmcearig,</i>	<i>eðle bidæled,</i>
<i>freomægum feor</i>	<i>eterum sælan,</i>
<i>sipþan geara iu</i>	<i>gohwine minne</i>
<i>hrusan heolstre biwrah</i>	<i>ond ic bean þonan</i>
<i>wod wintercearig</i>	<i>ofer wafema gebind,</i>
<i>sobte seledreorig</i>	<i>sinces bryttan</i>
<i>hwær ic feor oþþe neah</i>	<i>findan meabte</i>
<i>þone þe in meodubealle</i>	<i>mine wisse,</i>
<i>oþþe mec freondleasne</i>	<i>frefran wolde,</i>
<i>weman mid wynnnum.</i> ²⁷ 19-29a	

The immediacy of the Wanderer's lonesome feelings are underscored here by his searching for another lord, for 'an Anglo-Saxon warrior in the heroic age' without a lord 'finds himself with no place in society, no identity in a hostile world'.²⁸ The Wanderer understands this only too well, inviting us into his private heart with terms like *modsefan* (mind/spirit), *earmcearig* (wretchedly sorrowful), *wintercearig* (sorrowful as winter), *seledreorig* (hall sorrowful), and *freondleasne* (friendless). Thus, this poem 'is a reflection of the Wanderer's mental states' as he must endure the natural

²⁶ Some may argue that this idea, perforce, assumes that the Wanderer is the poet, but it is just as easy to imagine such an exile sitting 'alone', only to be overheard by an attentive scribe. Fantasy aside, I do not see the former as inevitable, nor promote it.

²⁷ 'So often I — separated from my homeland, far from kinsmen — had to bind my sorrowful state of mind with fetters, since long ago my gold-lord was covered with the darkness of Earth, and I, thence wretched, traversed as sorrowful as winter over the freezing waves — sad over the loss of a hall — sought a giver of treasure, whether I far or near could find him who in the mead-hall would know me, or was willing to console friendless me, entice (me) with pleasures'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, pp. 75-76.

²⁸ Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, *A Guide to Old English: Fourth Edition Revised with Prose and Verse Texts and Glossary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 252.

world in hope of securing another group relationship.²⁹ Indeed, the Wanderer is capitalising on the dangers of the world outside of community when he refers to freezing waves. In *Beowulf*, for instance, both Grendel and his mother are associated with the wilderness, living ‘beyond the stronghold and its environs’, a place of ‘threat and exile’.³⁰ The implication of these statements, then, emphasises that only utter despair comes from being outside of community; and since his lord died, the Wanderer has only sought another who would take him in, let him swear fealty, and provide him with worldly pleasures.³¹ Thus, the Wanderer’s attachment to his community at this early stage of the poem is clearly manifested in his description of the dangers outside of its borders of hall and kin.

The Wanderer’s Hypothetical Exile

This next section offers a dramatic shift in the narrative, as the speaker takes a personal step back from these issues and begins a third-person account describing a hypothetical exile in his same position:

	<i>Wat se þe cunnað</i>
<i>hu slīpen bið</i>	<i>sorg to geferan</i>
<i>þam þe him lyt hafað</i>	<i>leofra gebolena.</i>
<i>Warað hine wræclast,</i>	<i>nalæs wunden gold,</i>
<i>ferðloca freorig,</i>	<i>nalæs foldan blæd;</i>
<i>gemon he selesceggas</i>	<i>ond sincð ege,</i>
<i>hu hine on geogudæ</i>	<i>his goldwine</i>
<i>wenede to wiste:</i>	<i>nyn eal gedreas.</i>
<i>Forþon wat se þe sceal</i>	<i>his winedryhtnes</i>
<i>leofes larcnidum</i>	<i>longe forþolian.³² 29b-38</i>

²⁹ Elizabeth A. Hait, ‘The Wanderer’s Lingering Regret: A Study of Patterns of Imagery’, *Neophilologus*, 68 (1984), 278-91 (p. 279).

³⁰ Magennis, p. 130.

³¹ As with *sceolde* in line 1, many verbs in this passage are in the past tense, a powerful rhetorical device that allows for ‘a profound portrayal of the mental experience of loneliness’, and, of course, suggests a reflection of a past action, which is important later on. The author suggests an Alcuin antecedent by way of Augustine. See Peter Clemons, ‘*Mens absentia cogitans* in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*’, in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway*, ed. by D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (London: The Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 62-77 (p. 77).

³² Some scholars interpret this shift from first person to third person as indicative of a change of speaker; I read it as a continuation of the Wanderer’s speech. For discussion, see Klinck, p. 111. ‘He who experiences it knows how cruel sorrow is as a companion to him who has few dear confidants. The path of exile holds him, not twisted gold, a frozen heart, not earth’s glory; he remembers men of the hall and receiving of treasure, how in his youth his gold-

That the exile introduced has no specific identity tells us that this individual may be anyone. This change in person effectively removes the Wanderer from the emotions he details, as he distances himself from this unfortunate exile.³³ Interestingly, this technique does well to apprise the audience that the exilic state does not discriminate, and that the feelings associated with it are a universal phenomenon. Again we learn of life without a group identity, as an exile has *sorg to geferan* (sorrow as a companion), not a life in the hall filled *mid wynnnum* (with joys).³⁴ In this sense, grief is akin to being without a lord or community. Bjork suggests that the Wanderer is here equally ‘occupied with the exile track [...] also with fame [...] and with gold’; however, I take the literal meaning from this passage: that it is ‘cruel sorrow’, which is part of the ‘path of exile’, and not things of the world, which occupy his mind.³⁵ By mentioning things of the world, the Wanderer *is* somewhat ‘occupied’ with them, but on a more subtle level, he is emphasising that without companions, worldly thoughts take a back seat to immediate situational concerns (thus, highlighting present, individual struggle). Finally, as if imploring someone to take his lord’s place, the exile realises that he not only must go without hall-joys, but also his lord’s instruction and teaching, which suggests a void in the moral development of the exile, something provided by the community.³⁶

The Wanderer then continues the theme of general exile by literally getting into the mind of his subject:

lord accustomed to feast — all joy has perished. He knows [these sorrows], therefore, who must do without his dear lord’s teachings for a long time’.

‘The Wanderer’, in *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³³ Woolf astutely comments on this ‘deliberate act of distancing’ in the dream passage below (esp. lines 45b-48), but I believe it applies just as well here. See Rosemary Woolf, ‘*The Wanderer, The Seafarer, and the Genre of Planctus*’, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation for John C. McGalliard* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 192-207 (p. 200). Additionally, the constant change from first- to third-person accounts need not confuse the matter of the Wanderer’s stance on whether or not it showcases ‘exclusive self-obsession’ by its use of first-person pronouns predominate in the first half of the poem, or ‘inclusive selflessness’, represented by third-person narration, as Andy Orchard proposes; rather, the constant shift is indicative of a wayward mind that would at once approach the source of pain via the first-person, and distance itself from these feelings by associating them with another persona (i.e., the third person hypothetical exile). Thus, and as we will see developed throughout this paper, the scholarly consensus that the first half of *Wan* shows a focus on the personal and the second half the communal, does not hold, but it is rather the opposite. For the traditional view, See Andy Orchard, ‘Re-Reading *The Wanderer*: The Value of Cross-References’, *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J.E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall (Charleston: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 1-26 (p. 10). Further development of the theme of individual identity development can also be found in Brent LaPadula, ‘Memory and Identity Formation: A Cognitive Construction of the Self in ‘The Wanderer’, *Hortulus*, 8 (2012) <http://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-8-number-1-2012/lapadula/> [accessed 25 October 2013].

³⁴ Magennis, p. 83.

³⁵ Noting that *wundon gold* alliterates, and thus links, with *wræclast*; see Bjork, p. 125.

³⁶ It is difficult to know exactly what is meant by *larwīdum*. *Larwīde*, the word appears in line 672 of *Andreas* and has the general meaning of ‘teachings’. The root *lar-* can imply religious precepts, however, so we must not discount the idea that this ‘teaching’ includes religious instruction in some form. This argument strengthens the conclusions regarding the second half of *Wan*.

<i>Donne sorg on slæp</i>	<i>somod ætgædre</i>
<i>earmne anhogan</i>	<i>oft gebindað,</i>
<i>þinceð him on mode</i>	<i>þæt he his mondryhten</i>
<i>clyppe ond cysse</i>	<i>ond on cneo lecce</i>
<i>honda ond beafod,</i>	<i>swa he hwilum ær</i>
<i>in geardagum</i>	<i>giefstolas breac.</i>
<i>Donne onwæcneð eft</i>	<i>wineleas guma,</i>
<i>gesihð him biforan</i>	<i>fealwe wegas,</i>
<i>þapian brimfuglas,</i>	<i>brædan feþra,</i>
<i>breosan brim ond snaw</i>	<i>hagle gemenged.³⁷ 39-48</i>

This incredibly vivid and emotional picture enhances and takes one-step further the theme of an exile yearning for community, remembering things past, and the juxtaposition of stronghold and nature. Here, the Wanderer's subconscious mind reacts to the lonely state of exile, dreaming of a lord's embrace and recalling the allegiance ceremony.³⁸ Antonina Harbus has rightly pointed out that the dreaming exile does not emotionally reflect on his lord, instead recalling 'the act of kneeling rather than the fond loyalty which inspired it'.³⁹ What are we to make of this seeming emotional disconnect? It will become more apparent that what we are witnessing here is a distancing between the exile and his feelings towards his old community. Indeed, the *wineleas guma* (friendless man) awakens from this falsehood without his lord and is surrounded by waters, birds, and snow as communal surrogates. In addition, *fealwe wegas* (dark waves) is conspicuously less negative in connotation than what we have read of the *lagulade* (ocean's path) previously (e.g., *brimcealde sæ* and *wapema gebind*). This suggests that the world outside of communal structure is becoming less hostile, less 'surging', less rough, and a bit more comforting and intriguingly mysterious to the exile along this path.⁴⁰

³⁷ 'When sorrow and sleep simultaneously together often bind the wretched solitary thinker, it seems to him that he embraces and kisses his lord of men and lays hands and head on his knee, as he did in days before when he enjoyed the gift throne. Then the friendless man awakes again, sees dark waves in front of him, sea-birds bathing, spreading their wings, falling frost and snow mixed with hail.' 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, p. 76.

³⁸ For discussion, see Klinck, p. 113-14.

³⁹ Antonina Harbus, 'Deceptive Dreams in "The Wanderer"', *Studies in Philology*, 93 (1996), 164-79 (p. 171).

⁴⁰ This mental development throughout the first half of the poem I think is plausible, as the tone after line 57 is quite removed from what we have seen so far.

That the Wanderer's feelings toward his community are in a process of drastic change is further highlighted in lines 49-57.⁴¹ Fresh from his dream of the allegiance ceremony, the Wanderer still concedes love in his heart for his kin, although this time with a curious emphasis on the sorrow for which his community is ultimately responsible:

<i>Donne beoð þy hefigran</i>	<i>beortan benne,</i>
<i>sare after swæsne;</i>	<i>sorg bið geniwad</i>
<i>þonne maga gemynd</i>	<i>mod geondhweorfeð</i>
<i>greteð glinstafum,</i>	<i>georne geondsceawað--</i>
<i>secga geseldan</i>	<i>swimmað eft onweg,</i>
<i>fleotendra ferð</i>	<i>no þær fela bringeð</i>
<i>cuðra cwidegiedda;</i>	<i>cearo bið geniwad</i>
<i>þam þe sendan sceal</i>	<i>swiþe geneabbe</i>
<i>ofer wapema gebind</i>	<i>werigne sefan.</i> ⁴² 49-57.

Here the analogy of tumultuous waves works as a metaphor for the Wanderer's confused emotions towards his community. In the first instance, he acknowledges that his heart is renewed with wounds at the thought of his kinsmen, while also encouraging these thoughts by watching them with zeal. However, we then learn of the transience of this thought, the drifting away of companions, and the ultimate suffering that plagues the mind of the exile who will continue to 'sendan [...] ofer wapema gebind werigne sefan' (send his weary spirit over the freezing waves). It is here appropriate to read *sefan* as a synonym for 'thoughts', as this clause seems to refer to the process of thinking about companions and imagining those relationships, and is not a literal journey with the physical body.⁴³ Further, this analysis shows a progression of outlook on the part of the Wanderer that is made explicitly manifest in the second half, an outlook that will show the Wanderer becoming less reliant on the world for his emotional sustenance.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Most others and I contend that an obvious shift in tone occurs in line 58, beginning a distinct second half of *Wan.*

⁴² 'Then because of [the loss of] dear ones, the heart's painful wounds are heavier; sorrow is renewed when the memory of kinsmen moves through the heart: he greets joys, eagerly watches them — the hall companions drift away again; sorrow is renewed to him who must very often send his weary spirit over the freezing waves'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, pp. 76-77.

⁴³ This reading falls in line with the theme of memory in this passage. If a physical voyage were meant here, then it would be out of place with the motif explored from lines 39-54 — that is, a reflection on things past wholly in the mind of the Wanderer's exile.

⁴⁴ The Wanderer's conscious thought of the past is waning here, as his thoughts of community are represented by the ebb and flow of the sea waves. That is, as he considers the past, he suffers from it, but as he lets go, he achieves solace.

Christian Didacticism and the Death of Community: Lines 58-115

The thematic development of the individual becoming more autonomous in his thinking and less dependent on the world and its allures now becomes the focal point of *Wan*. We are again reminded of the personal nature of this poem, as the Wanderer returns with a first-person account of his emotional state hitherto:

<i>Forþon ic geþencan ne mæg</i>	<i>geond þas woruld</i>
<i>forþwan modsefa min</i>	<i>ne gesweorce</i>
<i>þonne ic earla lif</i>	<i>eal geondþence,</i>
<i>hu bi færlice</i>	<i>flet ofgeafon,</i>
<i>modge maguþegnas.</i>	<i>Swa þes middangeard</i>
<i>ealra dogra gehwam</i>	<i>dreoseþ ond fealleþ⁴⁵ 58-63</i>

Again, the Wanderer has invited us into his state-of-mind, and by using *Forþon* adverbially, he has effectively created a dialogue between reader/listener and himself. The Wanderer accomplishes this by following the poem along with his audience, whilst bringing both back together to question how we can see community as anything less than sorrowful, transitory, and depressing. If ambiguity exists in this passage, it is because it seems unclear whether or not the Wanderer is talking about the loss of kinsfolk or the transitory state-of-man as the catalyst for his anxiety. If some scholars still question that the Wanderer is referring to the latter, any questions are laid to rest in what follows, a passage that benefits by being reproduced in full:

<i>Forþon ne mæg wearþan</i>	<i>wis wer ær he age</i>
<i>wintra dæl in woruldrice.</i>	<i>Wita sceal geþyldig;</i>
<i>ne sceal no to hatheort,</i>	<i>ne to brædnryrde,</i>
<i>ne to wac wiga,</i>	<i>ne to wanhydig,</i>
<i>ne to forbt, ne to sægen,</i>	<i>ne to feohgifre,</i>
<i>ne næfre gielpes to georn,</i>	<i>ær he geara cunne.</i>
<i>Beorn sceal gebidan</i>	<i>þonne he beot spricedð</i>
<i>oppæt collenferð</i>	<i>cunne gearwe</i>
<i>hwider hreþra geþygd</i>	<i>hweorfan wille.</i>

⁴⁵ 'Therefore, I cannot think why in this world my mind does not grow dark when I think of warrior's lives, how they suddenly left the hall, spirited noble kinsmen. So the whole middle-earth declines and falls each day'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, p. 77.

<i>Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle</i>	<i>hu gæstlic bið</i>
<i>Ðonne ealle þisse worulde wela</i>	<i>weste stondeð,</i>
<i>swa nu missenlice</i>	<i>geond þisne middangeard</i>
<i>winde biwaune</i>	<i>weallas stondað,</i>
<i>hrime biþrorene.</i>	<i>Hryðge þa ederas;</i>
<i>woriað þa winsalo.</i>	<i>Waldend licgað</i>
<i>dreame biþrorene;</i>	<i>duguð eal gecrong,</i>
<i>wlonc bi wealle.</i>	<i>Sume wig fornom,</i>
<i>ferede in forðwege;</i>	<i>sumne fugel oþbær</i>
<i>ofer beanne holm;</i>	<i>sumne se hara wulf</i>
<i>deaðe gedælde;</i>	<i>sumne dreorighleor</i>
<i>in eorðscræfe</i>	<i>eorl gebydde.</i>
<i>Yþde swa þisne eardgeard</i>	<i>ælda scyppend,</i>
<i>oþþæt burgwara</i>	<i>breahntma lease</i>
<i>eald enta geweorc</i>	<i>idlu stodon⁴⁶ 64-88</i>

At this juncture, we immediately notice a reoccurrence of the hypothetical exile in the third person, and as we saw earlier, the audience connects with this general exile because of lessons universally felt by each person in this position.⁴⁷ The didactic, gnomic quality of *Wan* thus begins here.

Lines 64-69 reflect a homiletic tradition on the virtue of moderation, and various sources have been proposed for these lines. J.E. Cross reminds us that Plutarch mentioned two maxims inscribed at Delphi, to know thyself and avoid extremes, and that both Ambrose and Jerome in the early Christian period particularly condoned the latter for the faithful living a secular life.⁴⁸ An originally pagan theme, then, transforms into Christian moralising here, as the prudent exile

⁴⁶ ‘Therefore, a man cannot become wise before he has lived many winters in the worldly kingdom. A wise man must be patient, not too angry, nor hasty of speech, nor weak in combat, nor careless, nor fearful, nor joyful, nor eager for wealth, nor ever eager of praise before he sufficiently understands. A wise man must understand how eerie it is when all this world’s wealth stands ruined, as now randomly throughout this middle-earth, walls stand, wind-blown, covered with hoarfrost. Snow-swept are the homes; wine-halls are crumbling; rulers lie dead, deprived of joy; the whole proud noble band, tall in battle, decay beside the wall. Some battle took and carried away; a bird carried one off over the deep sea; one the gray wolf dispensed death to; one a sad-faced warrior hid in a cave. Thus, the creator of men devastated this world, until lacking the sounds of town-dwellers, the old works of giants stood empty’. *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁴⁷ While there is no explicit mention of this *wer* being the same exile as we read before — i.e., any man who has lived sufficiently long enough either in the community or alone can conceivably be the subject at first glance — it is clear that this is the case after line 68, so I maintain that this man is indeed the original exile.

⁴⁸ Ambrose also ‘took consolation in the ruins of great cities’. For a much deeper discussion, see J.E. Cross, ‘On the Genre of The Wanderer’, *Neophilologus*, 45 (1961), 63-75 (p. 68).

must grow in character through *wintra dæl in woruldrice* (many winters in the world), resulting in an understanding that all worldly life is transitory and hence unimportant. The salience of this reading lies in its obvious Christian overtones, which until now with the exception of line 2 are difficult to discern and open to debate.⁴⁹ Thus, the tone has now changed from an emotionally-charged lament on the losing of kith, kin, and lord, to an acceptance (embrace?) of the ultimate nature of the world (i.e., that nothing lasts but God, who *Ypde þisne eardgeard* ‘devastated this world’). Furthermore, the many active indicative verbs in this passage describe a continuous and current process of the deterioration of men and things, underscoring the notion of the timelessness of decay while inviting immediacy to changing one’s beliefs about what is important. Indeed, one scholar has commented on the ‘coolness in his [hypothetical exile’s] attitude toward individual things and persons’ here and remarked on the ‘balance in his thinking between sadness at the instability and waste of the world and the liberating energy of his thought’.⁵⁰ This ‘balance’ and ‘coolness’, I suggest, comes out of the progressive emotional distancing from things of the world that we are discussing, while the liberation occurring in the exile’s mind stems from a newly-found power of contemplation on the Lord and the eternal nature of His kingdom above.

At this stage, the Wanderer reflects on the man who would understand these things:

<i>Se þonne þisne wealsteal</i>	<i>wise gepohþe</i>
<i>ond þis deorce life</i>	<i>deope geondþenceð,</i>
<i>frod in ferðe,</i>	<i>feor oft gemon,</i>
<i>wælsleabta worn,</i>	<i>ond þas word acwið.⁵¹ 89-91</i>

Interestingly, we are now beginning to fully understand the exile’s, and by extension, the Wanderer’s, new feelings toward the world. Now the speaker uses his wisdom to understand this *wealsteal* (the foundation of gnomic qualities in lines 64-88) and this life outside of God that is as dead as the lord whom he had mourned. Thus, almost questioning why he had ever sought

⁴⁹ This includes themes regarding the sea as a metaphor for the pilgrim’s life and the meanings behind the sea and earth, respectively, all of which are difficult to prove with any surety.

⁵⁰ John C. Pope, ‘Dramatic Voices in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*’, in *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger Jr and Robert P. Creed (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), pp. 164-93 (p. 172).

⁵¹ There is disagreement between scholars as to whether this passage introduces another speaker; however, it seems clear enough that the Wanderer is giving voice to his hypothetical exile. For further, see Lois Bragg, *The Lyric Speakers of Old English Poetry* (Rutherford: Associated University Press, 1991), p. 128. ‘Then he, with wise thought, deeply ponders this foundation and this dark life, wise in intellect often remembers a multitude of slaughters and says these words’: ‘The Wanderer’, in *Elegies*, p. 78.

another treasure-giver, the speaker reiterates the ephemeral nature of the world with rhetorical questions and emphatic lament:

<i>Hwær cwom mearg?</i>	<i>Hwær cwom mago?</i>
<i>Hwær cwom</i>	<i>mappumgyfa?</i>
<i>Hwær cwom symbla gesetu?</i>	<i>Hwær sindon seledreamas?</i>
<i>Eala beorht bune!</i>	<i>Eala byrnwiga!</i>
<i>Eala þeodnes þrym!</i> ⁵² 92-95a	

Additionally, describing the things that remain after the world has moved on shows not only an awareness of the speaker that all men eventually disappear, but also possibly of classical societies that once stood as powerful symbols of man's ingenuity:

<i>Stonedð nu on laste</i>	<i>leofre duguþe</i>
<i>weal wundrum heab,</i>	<i>nyrmlicum fah.</i> ⁵³ 97-98b

The poet's mixture of gnomic formulae and tangible scene in lines 92-98b, then, advance the idea that the worldly community always returns to the earth. And, as the Wanderer has journeyed through these scenes with his audience, his conclusions are firmly stated in the penultimate passage:

<i>Eall is earfoðlic</i>	<i>eorþan rice;</i>
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⁵² 'Where did the horse go? Where went the kinsmen? Where did the treasure-giver go? Where went the feast seats? Where are the hall-joys. Oh, bright cup! Oh, mail warrior! Oh, ruler's army!' The '*Ubi Sunt*' formula here has been long commented on and cannot be included with any detail here. For commentary on how the formula generally emphasises contempt for the world, see Woolf, p. 200. It should be noted that in Woolf, p. 201, she goes on to say that 'in *The Wanderer*, *ubi sunt* questions have the reverse effect. Far from suggesting that their subjects are worthless they confer a deep nostalgic value upon them, and the very fleetingness which the questions call to mind enhances rather than diminishes their preciousness'. I do not agree with Woolf, however, that *Wan* is different in this regard, in that I read the *Ubi Sunt* as the Wanderer's introspective understanding and surrender to the fact that all the world is transitory, and hence — *ipso facto* — one has to give up attachment to such a world in order for one to find true peace. It is not a case — I believe — that the Wanderer is exclaiming these points to confer upon them a special status to his identity, rather his expressing of them is in a way his final acknowledgement that worldly attachment cannot bring happiness. After all, all nine phrases relating the world as the source of suffering occur in the second half of the poem, hence strengthening our thesis that the Wanderer is seemingly taking close note later on that the world is the cause of pain. These lines, then, render well our thesis that the Wanderer is moving from a communal outlook to a detached, autonomous, individual one. Refer to Carol Braun Pasternack, 'Anonymous Polyphony and *The Wanderer's* Textuality', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 99-122 (p. 106) specifically. See also Klinck, p. 124, for a good overview of the scholarship and debates in this vein.

⁵³ 'Now stands on the track of the noble band, a wondrously high wall, adorned with serpent shapes'. Discussion regarding the shape and 'design' of the wall is open for debate. Whether the serpent refers to beetle pathways in wooden structures, an Anglo-Saxon pattern, or Roman architecture, remains an important question. See *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 125.

<i>onwendeð wyrda gesceaft</i>	<i>weoruld under beofonum.</i>
<i>Her bið feoh læne,</i>	<i>her bið freond læne.</i>
<i>Her bið mon læne,</i>	<i>her bið mæg læne.</i>
<i>Eal þis eorþan gesteal</i>	<i>idel weorþeð.⁵⁴ 106-110</i>

All that remains is the question of what is left if all that the Wanderer has known has fallen away?

This question is finally answered in the final five lines of *Wan*:

<i>Swa cwæð snottor on mode;</i>	<i>gesæt him sundor æt rune.</i>
<i>Til bið se þe his treowe gehealdeþ;</i>	<i>ne sceal næfre his torn to</i>
	<i>rycene</i>
<i>beorn of his breostum acyþan,</i>	<i>nemþe he ær þa bote cunne,</i>
<i>eorl mid elne gefremman.</i>	<i>Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,</i>
<i>forfre to fæder on beofonum,</i>	<i>þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð.⁵⁵ 111-115</i>

We now have a return of the Wanderer, who is once again *sundor* (apart, separate) from his community, but this time in a quiet place of contemplation and not fighting a calling to think on God by facing the tumultuous waves, the falling snow, or the cold atmosphere. He again reminds us to look upon moderation as a virtue, but this time goes further in his consolation by letting us know the *bote* (i.e., keeping the faith) in which to train our focus. And finally, as if ‘releas[ing] the tension of this meditative poem’, we are given hope in the face of the destruction of the world and its inhabitants that God and His kingdom alone remain, welcoming us to seek that security and permanence.⁵⁶

Putting it Together: The Wanderer’s Transformation and the Shunning of Community

⁵⁴ ‘Everything in Earth’s kingdom is full of hardship; destiny causes change in the world under Heaven. Here treasure is transitory, a friend is transitory, man is transitory, kinsmen are transitory. The whole foundation of Earth becomes empty’. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁵ ‘Thus spoke the wise man in his mind, as he sat himself apart in thought. “Good is it for him who keeps his faith; he must never reveal the resentment from his heart too quickly, unless the man beforehand knows how to bring about the remedy with zeal. It is good for him who himself seeks honour, consolation from the father in Heaven, where all security lies for us”. I read *snottor on mode* as the Wanderer come back to provide his audience with one last dictate. See *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ John L. Selzer, “The Wanderer” and the Meditative Tradition’, *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), 227-37 (p. 236).

This analysis of *Wan* has shown that there is a clear progression from community to individual in the text, and that there is a growing sentiment that the individual search for God remains the most important theme in one's life, as the Wanderer effectively shuns thoughts of men and things. The first half (lines 1-58) highlights sentiment on community. We may take notice of the many mentions of the loss of, and lament for, community. For example, how life is cruel for him who has few confidants, how sorrowful the Wanderer was over the loss of his hall, and how every exile will know this sorrow as his only companion in the absence of another lord. These themes pervade the first four-dozen lines or so, where 'devotion to his [Wanderer's] lord and his fellows of the *comitatus* is at once the sign of his nobility and the cause of his sorrow'.⁵⁷ The telling of these sorrows is exemplified in the first half by the 'poignant description of loneliness', represented by the freezing waves, falling frost, and other representations of the natural world meant to distance the individual in *Wan* from the security of the community.⁵⁸ Additionally, other scholars have identified the preponderance of *mod-* words, verbs associated with binding (e.g., *sælan* and *bealdan*), and suffixes denoting a 'custom-bound state of mind' as further enhancing the deep emotional pain that the individual feels over the loss of his community during this section of the poem.⁵⁹ Indeed, as the first half of *Wan* comes to a close, it appears as though Hait's observation that the Wanderer is being 'pulled in two directions at once, back toward the hall-joys of the past and forward toward the heavenly kingdom' is perfectly apt. As we saw earlier, lines 49-57 present a subtle degree of transition from the communal to the individual, thus reinforcing this idea of change in the mind of the Wanderer, which continues with explicit force in the second half.⁶⁰

From what we have seen, the second half of *Wan* is clear on individual autonomy by way of releasing the concern over the loss of kin and lord. Gnostic verse highlights the need for personal introspection into these matters, as the Wanderer appears to submit to the fate in which God has directed him. The Wanderer, and by extension, the hypothetical exile, has thus grown into something impossible to see from the outset. Bjork perhaps states it best, as he notes how the Wanderer changes from an *eardstapa* (wanderer) to a *snottor* (wise man), who then sits *sundur aet rune* (apart in thought), morphing 'the relatively helpless *anhaga*, trapped in his earthly, cultural surroundings, into the sage who transforms the inferior, world-bound, essentially hopeless exile

⁵⁷ Pope, p. 171.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵⁹ Clark, p. 291. James L. Rosier, 'The Literal-Figurative Identity of The Wanderer', *PMLA*, (1964), 366-69 (pp. 367-68).

⁶⁰ Hait, p. 287.

track of the Germanic world into the superior, heaven bound [...] track of the Christian faith'.⁶¹ In essence, then, we are witnessing an awakening of the Wanderer, as he is fundamentally describing how his new Christian understanding replaces the shortfalls of a society in which he would be left alone and yearning for companionship. This acts like a formula for how faith can inspire freedom from one's own sorrows, which stems from an attachment to the world. Hence, I would take further Doubleday's statement that *Wan* exhibits a 'pattern [...] from misery to hope' and say that it is also a pattern of community to individual. Indeed, the Wanderer has come 'full circle'.⁶²

Concluding our discussion of *Wan*, we find that while not peppered in the landscape of the poem, Christian themes are undoubtedly an integral part of the framework of this work as a whole and support the notion that the Wanderer's 'best source of comfort lies within himself'.⁶³ Three explicit references to God are made in *Wan* (lines 2, 86, and 117), but we must not overlook the subtle expressions of Christianity that fill much of the second half in homiletic and gnomic quality.⁶⁴ From this outlook, we can safely conclude that debates regarding later interpolations are surely unreasonable, and I argue that this poem is purposely ambiguous of its goal. This is a piece that would have most likely appealed to many Anglo-Saxons, as a discourse on both the Germanic past and the Christian present; thus, the Wanderer is both an exile within a framework of ancient Germanic culture, and a symbol for the monastic life, each representing both early Germanic and Christian realities, respectively. He is an individual in so much as his self-determinism carries him away from community and toward a life with God. This 'individuality [is] enough to gain our sympathy' while simultaneously nourishing 'the experiences of the exile wanderer type', whose persona the Wanderer identified as the hypothetical exile.⁶⁵ Finally, Roger Fowler brilliantly suggests that *Wan* seems to take advantage of Christian themes to 'lament the death of the Germanic past', and while admittedly 'fanciful' it is cautiously supported by a reading of the text.⁶⁶ *Wan* is certainly a poem about community, but more importantly, it is a poem about the power of the individual in a time when the one was

⁶¹ Bjork, p. 126. For further discussion on this idea and similar topics, see also Bragg, p. 132, James F. Doubleday, 'Two-Part Structure in Old English Poetry', *Notre Dame English Journal*, 8:2 (1973), 71-79 (p. 75), and Hollowell, p. 190, where the latter describes a tripartite development in *Wan*: the first of which is where joys and hardships are experienced, the second a reflection on the world, and the third, a taking of 'direct action'.

⁶² James F. Doubleday, 'A Reading of "The Wanderer"', *Notre Dame English Journal*, 7 (1972), 14-22 (p. 18). Horgan, p. 46.

⁶³ Or rather, his individual connection with God. See Crossely-Holland, p. 47.

⁶⁴ For instance, lines 114-115, 64-88, and the *Ubi Sunt* motif. See also G.V. Smithers, 'The Meaning of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer (continued)*', *Medium Ævum*, 28:1 (1959), 1-22 (p. 2) for a discussion on the metaphor of ship as church.

⁶⁵ Roy F. Leslie, *The Wanderer* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 39.

⁶⁶ Roger Fowler, 'A Theme in The Wanderer', *Medium Ævum*, 36 (1967), 1-14 (p. 14).

inextricably linked with the whole; hence, the ostensible difficulties attendant to this duality that scholars have debated need not give us pause, because both compatibly exist together, and as we have seen, for good reason.⁶⁷ Ultimately, as if echoes of Augustine reverberated about and above the *wraclastas* (paths of exile), the Wanderer was led not by ‘those things which are behind’, but was beckoned ‘to stretch out after those things which are before’; thus, the death of the Wanderer’s community ushered in the birth of his individuality and his freedom from its transience.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ In a previous article, I suggest that the Wanderer changes his notion of the self through the application of his own memory, and hence his previous self-changes from one with a group orientation, to one exhibiting a very real individuality, arguing strongly that Anglo-Saxons were indeed able to recreate their identities throughout their lives as a result of circumstances — this is a very modern notion of selfhood and identity. See Brent LaPadula, ‘Memory and Identity Formation: A Cognitive Construction of the Self in *The Wanderer*, *Hortulus*, 8:1 (2012) <<http://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-8-number-1-2012/lapidula/>> [accessed 25 October 2013].

⁶⁸ Citing Augustine’s *De Trinitate*. Although not mentioned here, Augustine has borrowed from Philippians 3:13 (I am indebted to Dr Paul Cavill for pointing this out to me). See Selzer, p. 229.

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