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The Rhetoric about Exile in the Preaching and Teaching of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Glimpses of Cultural Ideology Revealed in the Homilies

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Resulting from Adam and Eve's disobedience against God and their consequent punishment of being cast out of paradise, every human being lives a transitory life of exile in the earthly world, longing to return to the true home in heaven. This is not only one of the most significant theological ideas of Christianity, it also recurs in the extant Old English corpus as an essential part of the Anglo-Saxons' worldview as revealed in their writings. Words denoting such similar ideas as exile, banishment, driving out, and even journey and pilgrimage can be found throughout the vernacular homilies, i.e., texts designed for preaching and teaching the Christian faith. These texts include the anonymous *Blickling* homilies and *Vercelli* Book homilies, and the homiletic works by Ælfric and Wulfstan, who were about a generation later than the production of the *Blickling* and *Vercelli* homilies, whose sermon collections are recognized as the peak of Anglo-Saxon vernacular prose writing. In the homiletic literature, the theme and imagery of exile are used not only to describe the Fall of Adam and Eve but also to deliver the homilists' moral exhortations by alluding to the Fall. Such theme and imagery recur so significantly in a variety of contexts in the Old English homiletic literature that they arouse curiosity: How can we understand the rhetoric about exile and its related concepts in the discourse of preaching and teaching? In what ways do the vernacular homilies strategically employ a language about banishment, which is also a theme whose significance is also articulated in Old English poetry?

In my study, I adopt a contemporary approach of rhetoric analysis to explore the rhetoric of exile in the Old English texts of preaching. This rhetorical approach does not necessarily refer to classical definitions of oratory techniques from the Latin tradition; rather, I attempt to examine the exile motif by focusing on their texts and contexts as well as the relevant features, like figurative language, recurring images, and connected themes, including the transitoriness and mutability of the earthly life, the moral exhortation of doing good deeds and rejecting evil, and, the need of repentance for the soul's salvation. Although the theme of exile and its related topics in Old English poetry have already been explored in the existing scholarship of Anglo-Saxon literature¹ and some studies among them already connected this theme to the teachings in homilies, so far there has not been much scholarship with a specific focus on the persistent rhetoric of exile used in the vernacular prose homilies. In view of how the theme and imagery of exile feature in both poems and homiletic prose, and how the phenomenon of exile recurred significantly in the society of Anglo-Saxon England (as we find their in historical records), the Old English homiletic rhetoric of exile that aims to teach Christian doctrines indeed seems to be worthy of further exploration in terms of its performative and persuasive power.

As to the vernacular prose texts of Old English homiletic literature, first of all, there is a terminological issue that needs to be clarified. According to the traditional definitions of preaching texts, a homily is an exegetical text in which the preacher interprets specific scriptural passages and which is usually connected to a liturgy in Roman Catholic tradition. A

sermon, on the other hand, refers to a catechetical or hortatory discourse in which the preacher gives doctrinal instructions and moral exhortation in order to teach the congregation to right behavior. In the extant Anglo-Saxon prose preaching texts, however, there is no clear distinction between the two types, and thus in current Old English studies these texts are usually referred to as homilies.ⁱⁱ

Among the four surviving collections of Old English homilies, the *Blickling* manuscript and the *Vercelli* book contain anonymous homilies with uncertain dates of writing and compilation. These two collections are considered to be written in around mid- or latter-tenth century, about a generation earlier than Ælfric and Wulfstan, a chronological difference that leads to differences in contents. For example, the *Blickling* and *Vercelli* collections show less concern about the patristic sources treat their theological themes in a more fantastic way than Ælfric and Wulfstan, whereas the latter two authors emphasized the use of canonical sources and consistent teachings.ⁱⁱⁱ Regardless of such differences, the four homiletic collections all seem to be aimed at lay congregations as their primary audience.^{iv} Such targeted audience as the laity—as one of the homilists' primary concerns about their oral elucidation and delivery—may also have essential influences on the how rhetoric is used in preaching.

In the belief system of the Christian faith, human history begins with the fall of Adam and Eve. How the fall consequently makes all mankind live in this world like exiles live in a foreign land is a predominant metaphor in discourses of preaching, including those by the earliest church fathers and by the tenth-century homilists who inherited this tradition. In Homily II of the *Blickling* collection, for instance, this metaphor is used in a dramatic description with the imagery of blindness:

Eal þis mennisce cyn wæs on blindnesse, seoððan þa ærestan men asceofene wæron of gefeán neorxna wanges, & þa beorhtness forleton þæs heofonlican leohtes, & þisse worlde þeostro & ermða þrowodan.

. . . Forþon we habbaþ nedþearfe þæt we ongyton þa blindness ure *ælþeodignes*; we send on þisse worlde *ælþeodignes*; we synd on þisse worlde *ælþeodige*, & swa wæron siþþon se æresta ealdor þisses menniscan cynnes Godes bebodu abræc; & forþon gylte we wæron on þysne wræc-siþ sende, & nu eft sceolon oþerne eþel secan, swa wíte, swa wuldor, swe we nu gearnian willaþ. (Emphasis added)

All this mankind was in blindness, since the first men were banished from the joy of Paradise, and since [they] lost the heavenly light, and endured the darknesses and miseries of this world.

. . . Therefore we need to recognize the blindness of our pilgrimage [or, exile]; we are in this world of pilgrimage [or, exile]; we are in this foreign world, and were [have been] so, since the first ancestor of mankind broke God's commandments; and for this guilt we were sent to this banishment [or, exile], and now hereafter should seek another homeland, either in torment or in glory, as we now wish to earn.^v

A similar theological idea is also seen in *Vercelli* Homily XI:

For þæs ærestan mannes synnum, Adam[e]s, we wurdon aworpene of neorxnawnges eðle 7 on þas *wræcworuld* sende, 7 we swa syndon on þyssum middangearde swa we her nænig eðel ne habbað. Be ðon Paulus se apostol cwæð: '*Dum sumus in corpora peregrinamur a domino*'. He cwæð, *sanctus* Paulus: 'þenden we bioð onlichoman, we bioð [e]þiodige fram Gode'. We magon heonon us gearnian þone ecan eðel 7 þone soðan gefean. Ne magon we þæra ægðer her on worulde agan, ac we sculon on þære towardan gesittan þæt us is on eðle gehealden. To hwan sculon we secan on þyssum middangerde [ge]leornesse gefean on heofenum? (Emphasis added)^{vi}

Because of the sins of the first man, Adam, we were cast out from the native land of Paradise and sent onto this miserable world [or, exile-world], and so we are in this middle-earth as we do not have any homeland here. About this Paul the Apostle said: “*Dum sumus in corpora peregrinamu[r] a domino.*” He said, saint Paul: “While we are in the body, we are exiles from God.” We may henceforth earn for ourselves the eternal homeland and the true joy. We may not possess either of them here in this world, but in the future we should possess what is held for us in the homeland. For what purpose should we seek in this middle-earth the joy of departure in heaven?

The two examples represent the Christian theological ideas and moral exhortations about human life which the Old English homilies emphasize in their teaching.^{vii} Through analogy, these concepts are taught powerfully in conspicuous images of a series of binary oppositions: (1) the one true homeland of paradise or heaven as opposed to this foreign land of exile on earth; (2) the true joy in heaven the eternal homeland with true joy as opposed to the transitory human life in this world, which is filled with pains and sufferings; (3) moral virtues and obedience to God’s commands—ways to *earn* access to the true home in heaven—as opposed to sinful behaviors and non-conformity to the rules and teachings of the church, which leads one’s soul to eternal damnation in hell; (4) light as opposed to darkness and blindness; and, (5) the soul and the spiritual as opposed to the body and the physical. These binaries accentuate not only the importance of following the moral, normative codes of behavior of the Christian faith, but also the misery of the opposite. So in one of Wulfstan’s sermons, *Sermo in .XL.*, he compares excommunication to the fall of Adam and Eve:

And sume men syndon eac þe nyde sculan of cyricgemanan þas halgan tid ascadene mid rihte weorðan for healican synnan, ealswa Adam wearð of engla gemanan þa ða he forworhte þa myclan myrhðe þe he on wunode ær ðam þe he syngode.^{viii}

And there are some men also who rightly must in this holy time be expelled from the church community for high sins, just as was Adam from the community of angels when he forsook the great joy in which he dwelt before he sinned.

In the obvious simile, sinful behaviors—including disobedience to the community’s law and regulations—are considered as deserving the punishment of exclusion. The condition of banishment, as suggested in the statement, “he forsook the great joy in which he dwelt before he sinned,” is depicted as miserable, unpleasant, and undesirable. However, in a more implicit sense, the passage’s analogy between excommunication and Adam’s fall may also hint at the possibility of redemption: as long as the sinner confesses and repents, there would still be hope for this sinner to be accepted back to the community due to God’s mercy.

These concepts may not be new or original in early medieval England. As early as the first patristic authors, Saint Augustine of Hippo as a representative figure, the idea of *peregrinatio* and its allegorical and spiritual meanings were already accentuated in their works on Christian doctrines.^{ix} What seems more intriguing in these homiletic analogies about the life and afterlife of human beings, then, is how the homilists use figurative, dramatizing, and loaded language to make the spiritual concept more convincing to their lay audience. First of all, the moral teachings are conveyed clearly through binary oppositions: as the oppositional images are very close to the audience’s daily life, it appears easier for the Christian worldview and teachings to strike a responsive chord in the audience. In addition to these binary oppositions constructed in metaphors, other images and themes used to emphasize the life-as-exile analogy also contribute to the hortatory rhetoric. A noteworthy example can be seen in the transitoriness and mutability of the earthly world, a motif that appears frequently not only in the Anglo-Saxon homilies but also in Old English poems, elegies particularly.

Accompanying the concept that every mankind is living in exile in this world as merely a foreign land, the transience of earthly things is also a theme that recurs throughout the hortatory homilies. The moral instruction about this theme is, again, delivered rather straightforward: (1) heaven is the only true home of mankind, from where mankind was banished because of their sins—being deceived by the devil, disobedience, and pride; (2) Christ, because of God’s mercy and forgiveness, comes to this world to redeem mankind, making it possible for them to earn access back to the holy communion with God in paradise through repentance, virtues, and good deeds; and, (3) since the real importance lies in the soul’s coming “back” to heaven, the earthly joys and bodily pleasures should be dismissed as vanity, hindering the soul’s salvation, and therefore one should devote oneself to virtuous behaviors in accordance with the teachings of the Church. This essential Christian worldview not only demonstrates how exile becomes a significant extended metaphor in this belief system and moral instructions, but also entails a number of other relevant figurative languages in expounding this extended metaphor.

Mankind, living in exile in this transient world, should avoid being indulged in the earthly pleasures and should make efforts to redeem their sins through virtuous good deeds and fighting against evils, so as to earn for their souls the salvation in the true home in heaven. In preaching this doctrine, the motifs of *ubi sunt* (where are they now) and of journey are employed to accentuate the transitoriness of this foreign world of exile. The *ubi sunt* topos has its origin in early evangelical writings, such as those by Isidore of Seville and by Gregory, and this literary and theological topos was adopted widely in Anglo-Saxon vernacular homilies.^x Scholars have already noticed how this motif recurs significantly in Old English elegiac poems to dramatize the emotional sense of loss and grief as well as in Old English homilies to bring “affective and didactic power” to hortatory themes of penitence and eschatology (Di Sciacca 366). According to these views and to some close analyses of relevant passages in the Anglo-Saxon homilies, the *ubi sunt* rhetorical questions appears to be particularly significant with considerations of the pattern of binary oppositions between abstract ideas, for example, those between the past and the present, between the body and the soul, the physical and the spiritual, and, of course, between the exile condition and the home.

Blickling Homily X has a central theme of death, eschatology, and the transience of the world, and in this homily the *ubi sunt* passage is used to underscore how man must give up every earthly possession in time of death, when the body and the soul must be separated:

Hwæt biþ hit la ells buton flæsc seoððan se ecaea dæl ofbiþ, þæt is seo sawl? hwæt biþ la ells seo láf buton syrma mete? Hwær beoþ þonne his welan & his wista? hwær beoð þonne his wlencea & his anmedlan? hwær beoþ þonne his idlan gescyrplan þe he þone lichoman ær mid frætrowode? hwær cumað þonne his willan & his fyrenlustas ðe he her on worlde beeode? Hwæt he þonne sceal mid his saule anre Gode ælmihtigum riht agyldan, ealles þæs þe he her on worlde to wommum gefremede.^{xi}

Lo! What else is it without flesh after the eternal portion, which is the soul, goes away? Lo! What else is the remainder but the food of worms? Where are then his wealth and his feasts? Where are then his pride and his arrogance? Where are then his vain garments with which he earlier adorned his body? Where then do his will and his sinful lusts come, which he practiced here in the world? Behold! He then shall with his soul alone rightly to God Almighty compensate all that which he here in this world committed as crimes.

In this passage, the *ubi sunt* rhetorical questions are used with a tone of reproach and with a focus on the body: i.e., this rhetoric is employed to accentuate the antithetical images of the decayable body and the soul that must face the final judgment. The homiletic *ubi sunt* topos,

on the other hand, is also frequently deployed with a different focus on the earthly things rather than the human body. A vivid example can be seen in *Vercelli Homily X*:

For þan nis naht þysses middangeardes wlite 7 þybbe worulde wela; he is hwilendlic 7 yfellic 7 forwordenlic, swa ða rican syndon her in worulde. Hwær syndon þa caseras 7 cyningas, þa þe gio wæron, oððe þa cyningas þe we io cuðon? Hwær syndon þa ealdormen þa þe bebodu setton? Hwær is demera domstow? Hwær is hira ofermetto, butan mid moldan beþeahthe 7 in witu gecyrred? Wa is woruldescriftum, butan hie mid rihte reccen. Nis þam leornerum na sel þonne leornendum, butan hie mid rihte domas secen. Hwær coman middangeardes gestreon? Hwær com worulde wela? Hwær cwom foldan fægernes? Hwær coman þa þe geornlicost æhta tiledon 7 oðrum eft yrfe læfdon? Swa læne is sio oferlufu eorðan gestreona, emne hit bið gelice rena scurum, þonne he of heofenum swiðost dreoseð 7 eft hraðe eal toglideð—bið fæger weder 7 beorht sunne. Swa tealte syndon eorðan dreamas, 7 swa todæleð lic 7 sawle. Þonne is us uncuð hu se dema ymb þæt gedon wylle.

Therefore, the brightness of this middle-earth and the prosperity in this world is nothing; it is transitory and poor and perishable. So are the powerful here in the world. Where are the powerful caesars and kings, those who once were, or the kings whom we once knew? Where are the aldermen, those who made commands? Where is the tribunal of judges? Where is their pride, except covered with dust and converted to torture? Woe is to confessors, unless they make decisions rightly. It is not better for the teacher than the learner, unless they seek judgments rightly. Where did the treasures of the middle-earth come? Where did the prosperity of the world come? Where did the earth's fairness come? Those who most earnestly strived for possessions and then bequeathed heritage to other, where did they come? So transitory is the excessive love of earthly treasures, indeed it is like the showers of rains, when it falls most fiercely from heavens and afterwards all quickly glides away—it is fair weather and bright sun. Just as the earthly joys are unstable, so body and soul separate. Then it is unknown to us how the judge will do about it.

In this passage, the focus shifts from the body, and the tone is more delighted and hopeful than the previous one from *Blickling*, but the central theme of transience of the physical beings on earth is the same. With a similar focus on the pleasant yet transient nature of the world, *Ælfric* also uses the *ubi sunt* motif to dramatize his preaching in a fragment, a seventy-eight-line passage added to the sermon for the First Sunday after Easter:

Hwær beoð wyrta blostman on winterlicre tide?
 Hwær beoð ealle ofætuu of eallum treowcynne?
 Hwær beoð hi gesewene on winterlicum cyle
 on ænigum beame, þe ealle eft cuciað,
 on wyrtum and on treowum, þurh þone écan wyrhtan,
 eal swa eaðelice swa hé hí ær geworhte?^{xiii}

Where are the blossoms of plants in winter's time?
 Where are all the fruits of all kinds of trees?
 Where are they seen in the wintry chill
 on any tree, which will all again come to life
 on plants and on trees, through the eternal Maker,
 all as easily as he formerly made them?

While many other instances of *ubi sunt* passages occur throughout Old English homilies, these examples quoted above represent some typical contexts and didactic purposes

underlying or accompanying the use of these rhetorical questions. Although the focuses may be different—that on the human body as opposed to that on the material objects or phenomena in this world, for example—the hortatory themes of the *ubi sunt* passages seem to resemble each other: namely, how transitory the earthly things and human bodies are, and how worthless it would be for a person to value them. Through the use of *ubi sunt* topos, this doctrine of focusing on and working for the soul and afterlife becomes dramatized and hence appears to be more convincing to a lay audience. The rhetorical power of such dramatization, moreover, lies primarily in the emotional resonance that would be invoked by a sense of antithesis: i.e., this present, transitory world filled with sufferings, as opposed to the future, eternal world after life that is filled with blessings and bliss. With this rather straightforward imagery, the connotation of the *ubi sunt* passages is that human condition in this world is like a condition of in-betweenness. The general humanity might still be attached—physically and/or emotionally—to the earthly pleasures, especially in view of Germanic warrior culture that places so much value on worldly fame, exploits, and companionship in the warrior band. Such attachment, however, cannot guarantee what they value most can last long and therefore the feeling of loss and nostalgia expressed through the *ubi sunt* topos can resonate powerfully with the homilies' lay audience and thus seem especially convincing for them to pursue another end of the antithetical binary: i.e., the ideal true homeland afterlife to be reached by virtues and spiritual merits.

Related with the topos of *ubi sunt*, of transient earthly delights, and, eventually, of human life as exile in this world, another noteworthy homiletic rhetoric is the motif of journey. At first glance, the journey motif appears to feature only in Old English poems^{xiii} but does not seem to recur as frequently and conspicuously in the vernacular prose homilies as other motifs that I have discussed so far. In a more implicit way, however, the motif of making journeys, both literal and figurative, is significant for the homiletic rhetoric of exile and moral injunction. A noteworthy example can be found in the *Vercelli Homily XVI*:

Ac utan we gemunan hu ure ylðran, þa ærestan men, þurh hwylc þing hie ða eadelican life forworhton on neorxnawange, ða dryhten hie ærest æt frymðe in gesette. Efene hie wæron þurh oferhygdnesse 7 þurh ungehyrsumnesse 7 þurh ða gitsunge 7 þurh ða wilnunge þara gesynelicra þinga 7 þurh þone æt þæs beweredan treowes 7 þurh heora unnyttan lusas, 7 þurh þas þing ða ærestan men wurdon ascofene 7 aworpenne of neorxnawanges gefean. 7 nu se man se ðe þæt þenceð, þæt he of þysse gehrorenlican worulde þone heofonlican rice begite, he ðonne sceall eallinga oðerne weg gefaran 7 oðrum dædum don.^{xiv}

But let us remember how our parents [*lit.* elders], the first men, through what things they ruined the blessed life in Paradise, where the Lord first placed them in the beginning. Indeed they were through pride, through disobedience, through greed, through desire of secret things, through the food of the forbidden tree, through vain desires, and through those things that the first men were driven out and expelled from the joys of Paradise. And now the one who thinks that he may attain the heavenly kingdom from this perishable world, then he shall travel entirely another way and act with other deeds.

A comparison between this passage and other homiletic passages containing the theme of human life as exile may reveal that metaphorical ideas of life-as-exile and of life-as-journey are already connected implicitly and are considered as nearly the same. Even though the term exile (*wræc*) by definition simply refers to a state of being cast out from one's native land and may include possibilities of either static or dynamic conditions, in the homilies' usage—intentionally or unintentionally—exile becomes automatically conceptualized as necessarily entailing a sense of movement, i.e., of journey.

This automatic merging of two meanings and motifs, therefore, is one of the most intriguing aspects that reveal more about rhetoric about exile and/or about journey that the homilists employ for their hortatory purpose. Just as the condition of in-betweenness is accentuated and dramatized through the *ubi sunt* motif, as discussed above, so here the motif of exile-journey can also be understood in a similar perspective: not only that human life is defined as in a liminal state (which may or may not be the same as an exile state), but that very liminality is then arbitrarily conceptualized as dynamic; the possibility of static in-betweenness seems to be ruled out. Moreover, as the ideas of exile and journey become unconsciously identified in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular homilies, this conceptual merging finds verbal expression in some common Old English words, such as *wræcsip*, a compound word meaning “exile-journey”, and *ælpeodignes*, which literally means “foreignness” but is often used in Old English to refer to pilgrimage, following the *peregrinatio* in Latin patristic tradition.

The processes of how the different denotations of exile, journey, and pilgrimage become connected and merged see intriguing, for such process give us a glimpse of how these concepts and terms are used in Old English homilies as rhetoric to serve the didactic aims. As I have discussed above, the binary oppositions, with one side conceived of as superior and preferable to the other, prevail in the exhortations of Old English homilies. Based on the life-as-exile analogy, the homilies teach their audience (1) that heaven is preferable to this earthly life (which entails much more pain than transient delights), not to mention hell (where one will go because of his/her sins); (2) that virtuous deeds are preferable to behaviors not conformed to Christian values, for the former is the only way for one to return to heaven after death; and, (3) that the soul is preferable to the body, since it is the soul that has the chance to return to heaven through salvation.

With the rhetoric about the exile metaphor, therefore, the homilies are able to accentuate not only these antithetical concepts but also how mankind is *progressing*—not just situated—in-between these binaries. Omitting the possibility of staying statically and merging the concepts of exile and journey, the homilies highlight the motion of progressing towards salvation as the best possible human condition, and this hortatory depiction is made possible through the rhetorical device of exile and its concomitant liminal and dynamic connotations. This rhetoric of exile, moreover, also shows how the preachers make efforts to accommodate the Christian doctrines and worldview to the Anglo-Saxon society, particularly the frequent occurrences of banishment due to feuds and socio-political turmoil. With the subtly arbitrary identification of the two ideas, exile and journey, the homiletic rhetoric seem able to work effectively and make the life-as-exile metaphor logically convincing. In this way, this rhetoric does not simply contribute positively to moral exhortation and doctrinal instruction, but it even appears to blur the boundary between the figurative and the literal, i.e., making the audience accept the life-as-exile concept as a literal reality, and not just a metaphor. In this view, this may be one of the most successful examples of rhetoric.

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ⁱ The best known among them can be found in Stanley B. Greenfield, *Hero and Exile: The Art of Old English Poetry* (London: Hambledon P, 1989), and Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996).

ⁱⁱ R. D. Fulk, Christopher M. Cain, and Rachel S. Anderson, *A History of Old English Literature* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 70-71. Among the large number of studies of Anglo-Saxon homiletic texts, Mary Clayton's "Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England," *Peritia* 4 (1985): 207-42, provides an examination of the vernacular homiletic writings found in the *Blickling* and *Vercelli* manuscripts, and those by Aelfric and Wulfstan, which type of preaching text and collection they belong to, and how they reveal the preaching practice in Anglo-Saxon England. In addition to Clayton's detailed and thorough study, Fulk, Cain, and Anderson, among other scholars, also offer a brief explanation regarding how to define the extant Old English homilies.

ⁱⁱⁱ Fulk, Cain, and Anderson, *History of Old English Literature*, 72; Milon McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977), 120.

^{iv} For observations and discussions with regard to whether the Old English homilies were aimed at preaching to a lay congregation or for monks' or laity's own private devotional reading, see Clayton's article and Samantha Zacher, *Preaching the Converted: The Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Book Homilies* (U of Toronto P, 2009).

^v R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies* (Early English Text Society 58, 63, 73 (1874-1880). Rpt. in 1 vol. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967), 17, 23. All direct quotes from the Old English *Blickling Homilies* are from this edition. Unless otherwise noted, all modern English translations in this paper are mine.

^{vi} D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (EETS. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), 223.

^{vii} Similar teachings can be found in Ælfric and Wulfstan. See Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies I, 7* and Wulfstan's Homily XV, ll. 18-26.

^{viii} Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1957), 234.

^{ix} *Peregrinatio* literally means travel, exile, or pilgrimage. Originally in Roman law it referred to the state of being away from one's homeland, and later the Church Fathers, in particular St. Augustine, used this word to advocate the idea that Christians should live a life of *peregrinatio* in the material world while awaiting the Kingdom of God; this idea spread widely throughout the Christian church. For a detailed analysis of Augustine's concept of *peregrinatio* and its influences, see Manuela Brito-Martins's article, "The Concept of *peregrinatio* in Saint Augustine and Its Influences," in *Exile in the Middle Age* edited by Laura Napran and Elisabeth van Houts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 83-94.

^x For studies focused specifically on the *ubi sunt* motif in Old English and its sources, see J.E. Cross, "'Ubi sunt' passages in Old English—Sources and Relationships," *Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund Årsbok* (1956): 23-44; and Claudia Di Sciacca, "The *Ubi Sunt* Motif and the Soul-and-Body Legend in Old English Homilies: Sources and Relationships," *JEGP* 105.3 (2006): 365-87.

^{xi} Morris, ed., *Blickling Homilies*, 111, 113.

^{xii} Clemoes, Peter. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies First Series* (EETS. Cambridge: U of Cambridge P, 1955).

^{xiii} For example, Patrick McBrine offers a study that is specifically focused on the motif of journey in the Christian poems in the Vercelli Book (2009).

^{xiv} Scragg, 177-86.