

The Structure of *The Wanderer*

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I

Introduction

This thesis opposes the recent theory that *The Wanderer* the Christian influence throughout the whole poem. The reason why I treated this work is that the "elegy" has always held a fascination for me, being a genre which must be familiar throughout the world. At the same time I admired the magnificent expression of exilic misery in the first half of the poem and of the transience of the world in the second half. Reading *The Wanderer* over again, I found that the exile of the wanderer bore no relation to pilgrimage or the Christian voluntary exile, as is claimed by recent scholars, and that rather the first half of the poem is filled with Germanic motifs which can be seen often in Old English poetry treating Germanic legends or heroic stories. The first half of poem, as it were, resembles *Beowulf* or *Widsith* which contain many Germanic features. Therefore I have tried to raise objections to the idea that *The Wanderer* is a thoroughly Christian poem.

Here I must explain my idea of what the Germanic tradition is, together with the classification of the Old English poetry. First of all Old English poetry, which consists of about 30,000 lines, can be divided into almost two groups. The one selects its subjects from Germanic legends, customs and histories; *Beowulf* or *Widsith* belong to this group. The other draws its

subjects from the Bible or Christian doctrine; *Christ* or *Genesis* are included in this group. Of course some of the Old English poems cannot be clearly classified into either of the two. The former group, to which the elegies belong, is not completely pagan because the scribes of the Old English poems were possibly monks. Accordingly Christian influence must have more or less affected them, just as in the second half of *The Wanderer*. The Germanic literary tradition, which I will refer to frequently in this thesis, means the poetry which seems to be transmitted in a pure form from the Continent, with as little such Christian influence as possible. Though this hardly remains in England, it must have been handed down at that time orally like folktales.

It is not so important to me which group *The Wanderer* belongs to. The subject I have tried to deal with is that of *The Wanderer* as a compound of two different kinds of poem. Because the first half of the poem shows less Christian influence and the second half has a didactic tendency, I propose the theory that the poet, who was possibly a monk, added his own sermonic poem to another pagan poem which he had heard or read somewhere. Though it is impossible to decide whether he transcribed the pagan poem completely or translated it freely, he seems not to have interpolated passages into it.

Before I begin to examine the structure of *The Wanderer*, I must indicate a few examples or scholarly views of the poem. Most scholars recognize that there may be some breaks in the poem. The first of these is between lines 5 and 6, or between lines 7 and 8. The second lies between lines 29a and b;¹⁾ Kershaw explained that the third person takes the place of the first person after the break.²⁾ The third occurs between lines 57 and 58. Pope interpreted the former part of the poem as expressing the wanderer's personal lamentation for his past lonely situation, and the latter part of the poem as revealing his general view of human beings and ruins and the current of history and the end of the world.³⁾ From line 111 to the end

is regarded by some scholars, along with the first 5 or 7 lines, as the poet's conclusion and introduction, separated from the rest of the poem.⁴⁾ Dunning and Bliss, whose edition I mostly follow, have a peculiar view of the structure of this poem. They remark in their edition of *The Wanderer* that "We see *The Wanderer* as a dramatic monologue with the poet intervening at lines 6-7, 88-91 and 111 to indicate the speaker at the main stages, as it were, of his development." Their idea, in short, may be understood as stating that there are two main stages in the poem and that the transition occurs in lines 58 ff., with lines 58-72 representing an intermediate stage; lines 73-87 express the mature wisdom of the wise man, and the following speech, lines 92-110, is the final formal statement of this wisdom. They said also that the wise man is speaking throughout.⁵⁾ Recently, however, the most accepted theory has been that the poem can be divided into two parts between lines 57 and 58. Almost the whole poem is the monologue of the wanderer, and he develops from a state of suffering and sadness to become a wise man.

As I have partly explained above, various divisions of this poem can be proposed. However, *The Wanderer* may be clearly parted, I am convinced into four sections, from the point of view of the poet's intention in each section. The first section is from the first to line 5, which I call the "introduction" for convenience' sake. The second covers lines 6-57, which is the "basic poem", since it forms the foundation of the whole poem. The "developed poem", which I describe so because the poet reveals his purpose to sermonize, is the third section from line 58 to 110. The last part, from line 111 to 115, is the "conclusion." It is my aim to reveal the difference between the poets in the basic poem and the developed poem by clarifying their intentions when they composed each poem, and to construct an idea of the two poems together with the introduction and the conclusion in *The Wanderer*.

II

The Germanic Tradition in the "Basic Poem"

The Wanderer can be regarded as a poem which compounds two different kinds of poem. For there is an explicit contrast in the poets' intentions in the basic poem and the developed poem. The poet of the former no doubt admired Germanic traditions because he is inclined to supply a pagan motif for the audience when he composes it, just like the Germanic custom in the court or the yearning for lost customs. The poet of the latter, though he also used pagan motifs a little, followed the Christian faith throughout in his verse. If it should be insisted that the poem has been written by only one poet, an inconsistency emerges in *The Wanderer* with opposite intentions coexisting therein, as if on the one hand he admires the world of the pagans sympathetically, yet on the other hand he rejects such heathen customs. Considering how little Christian influence there is in the basic poem, we must presume that it is one of the poems which holds firmly to the Germanic tradition.

Then the most important objection to be raised against the theory that Christian influence can be seen in the basic poem is the evidence that the "exile" theme is also familiar in the Germanic tradition. Those who insist on such a Christian influence regard the wanderer as a pilgrim who must endure any sufferings in order to go to the heaven.⁶⁾

Certainly the "exile" theme is the foundation of the basic poem, so that it is plausible that the "exile" theme can be associated with the idea of "pilgrimage" or "Christian voluntary exile" which began to spread in the time of King Alfred. The concept of pilgrimage came to be widespread as Christianity became familiar in Anglo-Saxon times. In the field of literature, however, especially in poetry, we have a very interesting pattern in which the image of "exile" is apt to be attributed to an

“evil” thing in religious poetry. Nevertheless we can find imagery in such religious poetry containing the “exile” theme similar to a certain part of the basic poem of *The Wanderer*, which never treats the wanderer as an “evil” man. For instance, the “exile” theme is adopted in *Genesis*:

Ðu þæs cwealmes scealt

wite sinnan and on wræc hweorfan,
 awyrgeð to widan aldre. Ne seled þe wæstmaseorpe
 wlitige to woruldnytte, ac heo wældreore swealh
 halge of handum þinum; forþon heo þe hrodra oftihð,
 plæmes grene folde. Ðu scealt geomor hweorfan,
 arleas of earde þinum, swa þu Abele wurde
 to feorhbanan; forþon þu flema scealt
 widlast wrecan, winemagam lad." (ll. 1013b-21)"

In this part of the poem God pronounces a sentence of exile upon Cain who killed his brother. He dooms Cain to be deprived of joys and glory and to be exiled from his homeland. Cain answers him thus:

Him þa ædre Cain andswarode:
 "Ne þearf ic ænigre are wenan
 on woruldrice, ac ic forworht hæbbe,
 heofona heahcýning, hylde þine,
 lufan and freode; forþon ic lastas sceal
 wean on wenum wide lecgan,
 hwonne me gemitte manscyldigne,
 se me feor oððe neah fæhðe gemonige,
 broðorcwealmes. . . . (ll. 1022-30a)"

He is grieved to depart losing God's mercy. In these parts of *Genesis* “exile” is the punishment for murder, but it is uttered with pity for Cain by God and with the sadness of Cain being exiled. Such an elegiac mood is shared by the basic poem. The similarity of the circumstance of Cain to that of the wanderer is shown as follows:

Heht þa from hweorfan

meder and magum manscyldigne,
 cnosle sinum. Him þa Cain gewat
 gongan geomormod gode of gesyhðe,
 wineleas wrecca, and him þa wic geceas
 eastlandum on, eðelstowe
 fædergeardum feor, . . . (ll. 1047b-53a)"

Cain must be separated from his kin and exiled far from his homeland in sadness and friendlessness, as well as the wanderer. Moreover the attribution of the "exile" image to the Devil himself is found in much religious poetry, for example in *Juliana*:

Hyre se feond oncwæð,
 wræcca wærleas, wordum mælde: (ll. 350b-51)¹⁰

and some lines later:

Gif ic ænigne ellenrofne
 gemete modigne metodes cempan
 wið flanpræce, nele feor þonan
 bugan from beaduwe, ac he bord ongean
 hefeð hygesnottor, haligne scyld,
 gæstlic guðreaf, nele gode swican,
 ac he beald in gebede bidsteal gifeð
 fæste on feðan, ic sceal feor þonan
 heanmod hweorfan, hropra bidæled,
 in gleda gripe, gehðu mænan,
 þæt ic ne meahste mægnes cræfte
 guðe wiðgongan, ac ic geomor sceal
 secan oþerne ellenleasran,
 under cumbolhagan, cempan sænran,
 þe ic onbryrdan mæge beorman mine,
 agælan æt gupe. . . . (ll. 382-97a)¹¹

The Devil is mentioned as an "exile" here and he flees from the conflict with God's army without joys, and laments for his misfortune. In addition to this, these lines reproduce the tradition of Germanic heroic poetry, in short, the war between God and Devil is represented like the war in *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon*. The Germanic heroic tradition can be aptly associated with such Christian warlike imagery in Anglo-Saxon times. On the other hand, to one's surprise, Satan expresses his great sorrow at being exiled in very similar way to the wanderer in *Christ and Satan*:

Forðon ic sceal hean and earm hweorfan ðy widor,
 wadan wræclastas, wuldre benemed,
 duguðum bedeled, nænigne dream agan
 uppe mid ænglum, þes ðe ic ær gecwæð
 þæt ic wære seolfa swægles brytta,
 wihta wealdend. Ac hit me wyrse gelomp!" (ll. 119-24)¹²

Satan, with misery and despair, must be exiled far away and he knows that his fate is terrible. He is depicted as a mournful exile as follows:

Nu ic eom asceaden fram þære sciran driht,
 alæded fram lechte in þone laðan ham.
 Ne mæg ic þæt gehicgan hu ic in ðæm becwom,
 in þis neowle genip, niðsynnum fah,
 aworpen of worulde. Wat ic nu þa
 þæt bið alles leas ecan dreamas
 se ðe heofencyninge heran ne þenceð,
 meotode cweman. Ic þæt morðer sceal,
 wean and witu and wrace dreogan,
 goda bedæled, iudædum fah,
 þæs ðe ic gebohte adrifan drihten of selde,
 weoroda waldend; sceal nu wreclastas
 settan sorhgearig, siðas wide." (ll. 176-88)³⁰

In *Christ and Satan*, by contrast with *Genesis*, not the resistance of exiled Satan but the lamentation of the exile is emphasized as cited above. Thus its elegiac mood is much closer to that of the basic poem of *The Wanderer*. Satan also longs for his past glory among the happy angels in heaven and bemoans his present misfortune compared with his past happiness. The monologue of Satan shows much similarity to the lamentation of the wanderer in the basic poem.

It may be objected that there is the kind of wandering like Abraham who is beloved by God in *Genesis*. His journey, however, is mostly protected by God and he never despairs even when he experiences hardships. As compared with this, the wanderer clearly feels misery and despair on the paths of his desolate exile as is shown by his words in line 36 "wyn eal gedreas" (joy completely perished). The tragic lament like that of the wanderer is not expressed in the words of Abraham. The tragedy of Satan or Cain is closer to that of the wanderer than the journey of Abraham. The example of the allegorical journey to death in religious poetry may be quoted against me. It is surely found in *Fates of The Apostles* or *Guthlac* and so on. However such a journey to death usually has the destination "heaven," so that the Christian is able to endure any tribulations

before dying and going to heaven. Nothing in the world has worth for them, and yet they are fully valuable to the wanderer. He longs for his past life and glory and seeks what he has lost before, that is, another generous king or the status of retainer. To wish for the glory of the world does not befit the Christian who pursues only the joys of heaven. It seems that the audience would have felt strange emotions if the exile of the wanderer should have necessarily had the implication of a pilgrimage or the voluntary exile of the Christian, because the "exile" image tends to be related to Satan or to great sin in religious poetry, and because the exile is attended with endless sadness and memories of his lost glory. It comes to be rather incongruous with the increase in pilgrims if the pilgrimage had already been expected eagerly in Anglo-Saxon times, as recent scholars have said.¹⁴⁾ If the poet wishes to exhort people to recognize the vanity of the world and to believe in the joys of heaven or of the other world after death as mentioned in the developed poem, to embellish the recollection of the glorious scene of the court would have the opposite effect (ll. 39-57). This is one of the reasons why I separate the basic poem from the developed poem and differentiate the poet of the basic poem from that of the other. The manifest similarity in expression between the lamentation of Satan and that of the wanderer reveals that the wanderer belongs not to the group of saints, pilgrims or devotees of Christian faith, but to the party of Satan, the antagonists of the faith. Therefore the wanderer may be not the pilgrim but the pagan driven from his homeland. The association of the pagan with Satan can be shown in parts of various religious poems. For example, in *Juliana* the word "hæpen" (heathen) is coincidentally used with the devil at line 533 and 536. Moreover the same epithet of devil is found in the Bible here and there. In the basic poem, however, the character of the wanderer is never represented as that of a man of sin, but rather a captivating man who is deprived of

every worldly joy and yearns for his lost life. As compared with this, the character of the developed poem is certainly depicted as a Christian who has no regard for worldly joys. Thus the basic poem could have been composed independently of Christianity and its character, the wanderer, was perhaps one of the heroes of the Germanic traditional poetry, if we pay attention to its more heathen elements and less to the Christianity in the basic poem.

The independence of the basic poem has to be explained on the basis that the character of the basic poem is a heathen retainer, or rather a wandering poet. For the hero of the basic poem assumes a similar attitude to the heroes, the poets, in *Widsith* and *Deor*, which seem to be poems inheriting generally the Germanic tradition, both poems belonging to *The Exeter Book* together with *The Wanderer*. For instance, the first and the last stanzas of *Deor* are as follows:

Welund him be wurman wræces cunnade,
 anhydig eorl earfoða dreag,
 hæfde him to gesippe sorge ond longap,
 wintercealde wræce; wean oft onfond,
 sibban hine Niðhad on nede legde,
 swoncre seonobende on syllan monn.
 Pæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg!

.....

Þæt ic bi me sylfum secgan wille,
 þæt ic hwile wæs Heodeninga scop,
 dryhtne dyre. Me wæs Deor noma.
 Ahte ic fela wintra folgað tilne,
 holdne hlaford, oppæt Heorrenda nu,
 leoðcræftig monn londryht gebah,
 þæt me eorla hleo ær gesealde.
 Pæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg! (ll. 1-7 and 35-42)¹⁵

To use the word "wræce" (exile) in *Deor*, one of the Germanic legendary poems, shows that the "exile" image does not only belong to Christian poetry, but also derives from the Germanic concept of being driven away which is passed down from ancient Germanic society. *Deor* is an exiled poet who is deprived of his job by a new poet, Heorrenda. The poet of *Deor* gathered

up tragic stories from the Germanic legends and compared Deor's laments with them. In the first stanza of *Deor* there appear similar phrases to those of *The Wanderer*, such as "wræces," "wintercealde wræce" and the grief which is caused by exilic anguish. The similar passage in *The Wanderer* is as follows:

swa ic modsefan minne sceolde
 (oft earmcearig, eðle bidæled,
 freomægum feor) feterum sælan,
 sippan geara iu goldwine minne
 hrusan heolstre biwrah, ond ic hean þonan
 wod wintercearig ofer wapema gebind,
 sohte seledreorig sinces bryttan,
 hwær ic feor opþe neah findan meahte
 þone þe in meoduhealle minne myne wisse,
 opþe mec freondleasne frefran wolde,
 wenian mid wynnum. Wat se þe cunnað
 hu sliþen bið sorg to geferan
 þam þe him lyt hafað leofra geholena: (ll. 19-31)¹⁶

The adjective "wintercearig" (wintry sadness) and the phrase "wapema gebind" (wave bound) suggest the northern weather,¹⁷ and can lead to the idea that the origin of the basic poem lies in the north where the sea is iced over; the word "wintercealde" in *Deor* makes the same impression on us. These words can refute at least the idea that the wandering figures the pilgrimage of the Anglo-Saxon to the south, Rome. Moreover the words "sorg to geferan" (sorrow as companion) can be compared with "hæfde him to gesippe sorge ond longap" (to him had sorrow and yearning to companion) in *Deor*. This expression to make sorrow one's companion and the tribulation of exile are features common to *The Wanderer* and the first stanza of *Deor*. Another mutual characteristic is found in the last stanza of *Deor*, that is, the motif of the court. The kenning of a lord "goldwine" (gold friend) and "sinces bryttan" (giver of treasure), which is clearly handed down from the Germanic tradition, is properly used in *Deor* as "eorla hleo" (noble men's refuge). Because his lord was dead, the wanderer set forth to find a new lord who would quench his sadness and entertain him; on the other hand,

Deor was deprived of his lord's favour because of the appearance of a new skilful poet. Both Deor and the wanderer long for life at the court and lament the loss of it. The motif of the court covers the whole basic poem. The most characteristic attitude to the court of the wanderer lies in his reminiscence of his past life with his dead generous lord (ll. 32-57). It comes to be clear from these lines that his heart is filled with lost courtly entertainment and the memory of his kinsmen and that his present grief and sufferings are caused by being deprived of them.

There is another poem which depicts the wandering life of a poet. *Widsith* shows some similarities to *The Wanderer* as well as *Deor*. It is one of the earliest poems in Old English poetry and a poem which recites the history and the names of heroes and of tribes in the Germanic race. *Widsith* is a court-poet who wanders looking for the courts of many countries but is a fictitious character. Though the most of the poem is an enumeration of the names of the Germanic race, he sometimes narrates and explains the life of wandering poets:

Swa scriþende gesceapum hweorfað
 gleomen gumena geond grunda fela,
 þearfe secgað, þoncword sprecað,
 simle suð oppe norð sumne gemetað
 gydda gleawne, geofum unhneawne,
 se þe fore dugupe wile dom aræran,
 eorlscipe æfnan, oppæt eal scæceð,
 leoht ond lif somod; lof se gewyrceð,
 hafað under heofonum heahfæstne dom. (ll. 135-43)¹⁰

Though *Widsith* hardly says anything about lamentation and the anguish of his travels, his hopes that he would meet many generous lords somewhere seem to convey the same impression as the wanderer. It is possible to suppose that the wanderer is one of those poets who are described in *Widsith*. In this poem similar phrases to *The Wanderer* can be seen:

Swa ic geondferde fela fremdra londa
 geond ginne grund. Godes ond yfles
 þær ic cunnade cnosle bidæled,
 freomægum feor folgade wide.
 Forþon ic mæg singan ond secgan spell,
 mænan fore mengo in meoduhealle
 hu me cynegode cystum dohten. (ll. 50-6)¹⁹

The phrases "cnosle bidæled" (be deprived of family) and "freomægum feor" (far from noble kinsmen) bear comparison with the words of the wanderer in line 20b "eðle bidæled" (be deprived of native land) and in line 21a "freomægum feor." The situation of the wandering poet Widsith who is deprived of his family and far from his noble kinsmen can be seen as the same as the state of the wanderer.

As I argued above, this situation of the wandering poet matches the wanderer's search for a new lord. "Wandering" had such a close relation to Germanic poets that it is not necessarily connected with pilgrimage. It seems more probable that the wandering in the basic poem is caused by the death of the wanderer's lord because of the speech in lines 22-24 "long ago my generous lord was covered by the darkness of the earth, and I, wretched and desolate as winter, traveled from there across frozen waves." The motif of the court, one of the famous Germanic customs, penetrates so deeply the whole basic poem, and this part shows so much less Christian influence than the developed poem, that the basic poem can be separated from the rest.

There is, however, a passage which seems apparently to express a Christian doctrine in the basic poem. For example:

Ic to soþe wat
 þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw
 þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde,
 healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille.
 Ne mæg werig mod wyrde wiðstandan,
 ne se hreo hyge, helpe gefremman:
 forðon domgeorne dreorigne oft
 in hyra breostcofan bindað fæste, (ll. 11b-18)²⁰

Greenfield explains "...there is not one person left alive to

whom he dares clearly unburden his mind (9b-11a). This leads to the gnomic reflection in 11b-18 about the noble custom of restraint in grief, . . ."²¹) This "noble custom of restraint in grief" is undoubtedly attributed to Germanic customs. Tacitus described the ways to express lamentation among the Germans in Chapter 27 of the *Germania* thus: "Weeping and wailing are soon abandoned, sorrow and mourning not so soon. A woman may decently express her grief; a man should nurse his in his heart."²²) Therefore in these lines there is no clear reason for thinking that this noble custom is caused by Christianity.

The resemblance of the structure of *Widsith* to that of the basic poem in *The Wanderer* also becomes a reason for thinking that the basic poem is an independent poem. One of the most difficult cruxes for interpreting the structure of *The Wanderer* is the replacement of the first person singular for the third person singular. As regards such an exchange of speakers in Old English poetry, Stanley commented that "The use of the first person singular is the rule in the 'elegies.' It is also the rule in the *Riddles*, though there are exceptions. The frequency with which the first person was introduced without any personal feeling, and the occasional interchange of the first and third person could be used without the poet's feeling personal attachment in individual cases, especially in the 'elegies.'"²³) According to his opinion the third person singular may be used to express a personal mention, without the poet's feeling, of the character who speaks in the first person singular. As he said last, however, in the elegies such a less emotional use of the third person singular may be doubtful. As far as we survey the basic poem, the third person singular is used with equal emotion as the first person singular (ll. 32-57). This consistent emotional versification reveals that the basic poem is a lyric poem written by one poet. For Henry remarked that "The monologues of the *Wanderer* show an approach from the epic to the dramatic method which falls short of transcending the

art form or medium.”²⁴) This means that the use of the third person singular came from the use of it in the “epics.” The common use of the first person and the third person in *The Wanderer* and the epic *Widsith* constitutes one piece of evidence for his opinion. The *Widsith* begins with the mention of the character by the third person singular:

Widsið maðolade, wordhord onleac,
 se þe monna mæst mægþa ofer eorþan,
 folca geondferde; oft he on flette geþah
 mynelicne mappum. Him from Myrgingum
 æþele onwocon. He mid Ealhilde,
 fælre freoþwebban, forman siþe
 Hreocyninges ham gesohte
 eastan of Ongle, Eormanrices,
 wrapes wærlogan. Ongon þa worn sprecan:
 "Fela ic monna gefrægn mægþum wealdan!
 Sceal þeodna gehwylc þeawum lifgan,
 eorl æfter oþrum eðle rædan,
 se þe his þeodenstol geþeon wile. (ll. 1-13)²⁵

This beginning has the same construction as the beginning of the basic poem in *The Wanderer*: “So spoke a wanderer, who was mindful of hardships, of fierce murders in kinsmen’s fall. Often I alone had to lament my sorrow every time before dawns...” Thus *Widsith* begins in the third person singular and changes to the first person singular, then ends in the third person singular in the lines on pp. (11-)12), just as the basic poem does.

Therefore the independence of the basic poem is possible for the reasons I have mentioned. The most important reason is that the basic poem shows the influence of only the Germanic tradition on the whole, as compared with the rest of the poem. Such a “heathen” elegiac mood in the basic poem might have aroused a tendency to connect it with the sadness of Satan among the Anglo-Saxon monks. In addition to this, the pattern of changing speakers in the basic poem also occurs in *Widsith*, which is a mostly traditional epic poem and one of the earliest Old English poems. The poet’s preference for heathenism reveals that the poet of the basic poem is different from the poet of

the developed poem who clearly rejects such paganism, and assumes the attitude of a preceptor. I would never insist that the basic poem was taken over from a Germanic ancestor on the Continent, but it can be imagined that the basic poem was composed by one who had no connection with Christianity. In short, it is possible even if the two poets were contemporary, if one was monk and the other was not.

III

The Preceptive Inclination in *The Wanderer*

The chief reason why I distinguish the basic poem from the next developed part lies in the inconsistency of the contents in the intervenient lines (ll. 58-63) between the two parts. The contents of these lines come to reverse the words of the wanderer in the basic poem if they are taken as the words of the wanderer. I conceive of the intervenient lines as the introduction for his own poem of the poet who wrote the developed poem. For in these lines he turns the longing for the lost life of the wanderer into the misery of an abandoned court from the standpoint of a general perspective, not of personal experience such as that of the wanderer, and then preaches that everything in the world is vain. Thus these lines are an important turning point in the whole poem. The lament of the wanderer is regarded here as an example of the vanity of the world, and a general view takes the place of the personal view:

Forþon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þas woruld
forhwan modsefa min ne gesweorce,
þonne ic eorla lif eal geondþence,
hu hi færlice flet ofgeafon,
modge maguþegnas, swa þes middangeard
ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð ond fealleþ. (ll. 58-63)²⁶⁷

It should be remarked here that the abandoned hall is not mentioned in the basic poem. An exilic sadness surrounds the wanderer always. In his mind his generous lord and kinsmen

are always vivid and entertain him. He never mentions the lost war or the cruel murders of his kinsmen in the basic poem except in the first two lines. Certainly it is explained in the third person singular that "so spoke a wanderer, who was mindful of hardships, of fierce murders in kinsmen's fall." Even if the wanderer speaks in the intervenient lines, the following words do not befit him: "why my mind does not become dark." This words are very strange for the wanderer who has had many troubles and grief. "When he meditates on the all lives of retainers," he has certainly suffered from longing and the sadness of losing them, as described in lines 50-52, "sorrow is renewed—when heart pervades, greets joyfully, looks upon eagerly memory of kinsmen." Most scholars who regard the speaker of the poem as the wanderer only do not pay much attention to this point because these lines are written in the first person singular so that necessarily they come to believe that they are spoken by the wanderer. On the other hand, Pope regarded them as a speech of "the wise man" who is a character in the developed poem. He said this in his first thesis, though he changed his mind to the contrary later because of the emergence of the pilgrimage theory which Whitelock offered: "there are several ways in which this passage gains by being attributed to the second speaker. It was always a little puzzling to find the wanderer giving reasons for the darkening of his mind, as if it had not been darkened long ago by the death of his kinsmen. But the thinker [the wise man], if he is to feel an answering sadness, must explain the ground for it."²⁷) This opinion is more appropriate to the content of the passage, but the attribution of the speech of the wise man cannot be accepted because there is no mention of an explanatory attachment for his speech, such as "swa cwæð . . ." (so spoke . . .), as compared with the later part (ll. 92-97), which no doubt the wise man begins to speak with such an attachment that "pas word acwið" (speaks these words). Accordingly this first person singular

“ic” in the intervenient part may suggest the poet himself of the developed poem, by means of the sudden turning to a general point of view. When he read or heard the basic poem which may have existed already, he may have been moved with compassion at the wanderer’s cruel sadness and then he meditated on Germanic customs. Then in the intervenient lines he confesses he wonders why the cruel slaughter of the noble retainers put his mind into despair. Therefore he had to give a reason for composing the following poem. This opinion can be partly supported by the fact that this passage lies between two dots in MS which suggest punctuation.

There are three points in the developed poem to support the idea that its poet may be differentiated from that of the basic poem. The first of them is the precept to become wise and know that this world has no worth. The poet insists that people should not long for the world’s joy or past glory forever like the wanderer, but wisely realise the nature of the transient world. The poet’s precept is following:

Forþon ne mæg wearpan wis wer, ær he age
wintra dæl in woruldrice. | Wita sceal gebyldig:
ne sceal no to hatheort, ne to hrædwyrde,
ne to wac wiga, ne to wanhydig,
ne to forht, ne to fægen, ne to feohgifre,
ne fæfre gielpes to georn ær he geara cunne:
beorn sceal gebidan, þonne he beot spriceð,
oppæt, collenferð, cunne gearwe
hwider hreþra gehygd hweorfan wille.
Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið,
þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard,
winde biwaune, weallas stondap
hrime bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas. (ll. 64-77)²⁸⁾

The phrase “wise man has to...” may possibly be descended from the Germanic proverbs because some examples remain in the *Edda*. Certainly this passage contains some Germanic influence, as in the words “ne to wac wiga” (not be too weak warrior), but most of the precepts are designed to restrain people’s rude behaviour which was mostly accepted in Germanic

custom. For example, "hatheort" (hot heart means possibly "angry") and "gielpes georn" (eager for glory) which the poet admonishes, would have been rather favorably regarded by the heathen. Regarding this passage, Gordon also mentioned that "the insistence on the virtues of courage, generosity, and prowess may be pagan in age and emphasis, but these are virtues any Christian may admire."²⁹) The poet preaches moderation to people "not be too reckless, but not be too timid" and persuades them to be patient, both of which, moderation and patience, may be Christian virtues. Thus the poet advises people to flee from such rash heathenism, and not to pursue the world's joy with the following words "The wise man has to understand how terrible is, when all wealth of this world stands deserted, just as now in various places throughout this world, walls stand, blown upon by wind, covered with frost, the snow-swept buildings." By emphasizing the world's transience and decay, the poet contrasts the wise man, the Christian who knows the vanity of the world, with the wanderer, the pagan who cannot realize it and pursues the world's glory. Here it can be supposed that the poet uses the pagan wanderer as a symbol for the common people who have not yet been cultivated with Christianity, and figures his wandering as the tribulation to get the faith. Thus *The Wanderer* might be composed to propagate the Christian faith to people who have not yet learnt of it.

The second difference from the basic poem is the borrowing of the style of Latin poetry in the developed poem. This is seen in the wise man's speech:

Se þonne þisne wealsteal wise gebote,
 ond þis georce lif deope geondþenceð,
 frod in ferðe, feor oft gemon
 wælslehta worn, ond þas word acwið:
 Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom
 mappungyfa?
 Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon
 seledreamas?

Eala beorht bune! Eala byrnwiga!
 Eala þeodnes þrym! Hu seo þrag gewat,
 genap under nihthelm, swa heo no wære! (ll. 88-96)³⁰⁰

This style of "hwær cwom..." (where became of...) has been ascribed by J. E. Cross to the "ubi sunt" passages in Latin homiletic works. In these lines the wise man laments the vain heathen wars using Germanic motifs such as "mearg" (horse), "mappumgyfa" (giver of treasure), "symbbla gesetu" (banqueting halls), "seledreamas" (revelry in the hall), "bune" (goblet), "byrnwiga" (mailed warrior) and "þeodnes þrym" (prince's glory), and then he realizes the worthlessness of the world, saying "how the time departed... as if it was not at all!" In this passage there appears also the poet's idea that the lives of the pagans are vain and with decay. That the poet assigns this speech to the wise man in the first person singular may support the opinion that the wise man is a Christian figure whom the poet identifies with. That the style of Latin poetry is not used in the basic poem fortifies the idea that it is a Germanic traditional poem.

In the third place the poet of the developed poem turns the motif of ruin in the Germanic tradition into that of vanity of the world from a Christian point of view. The passage from line 78 to line 84 bears a characteristic relation to Germanic traditional epic poetry:

Woniað þa winsalo, waldend licgað
 dreame bidrorene, dugub eal gecrong
 wlonc bi wealle. Sume wig fornom,
 ferede in forðwege: sumne fugel opbær
 ofer heanne holm; sumne se hara wulf
 deaðe gedælde; sumne dreorigleor
 in eorðscræfe eorl gehydde. (ll. 78-84)³⁰¹

Such a scene of ruin is used frequently in the epic poems inherited from the Germanic tradition, and the role of birds and wolves at the battles is important in such poetry. For example in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, which is a poem written about the conflict between the Anglo-Saxons and an alliance of

the Scots and the Danes, the scenes of both ruin and animals are expressed thus:

Hettend crungun,
 Sceotta leoda and scipflotan
 fæge feollan, feld dænnede
 secga swate, siðpan sunne up
 on morgentid, mære tungol,
 glad ofer grundas, godes condel beorht,
 eces drihtnes, oð sio æpele gesceaft
 sah to setle. Þær læg secg mænig
 garum ageted, guma norþerna
 ofer scild scoten, swilce Scittisc eac,
 werig, wiges sæd. Wesseaxe forð
 ondlongne dæg eorodcistum :
 on last legdun lapum peodum,
 heowan herefleman hindan þearle
 mecum mylenscearpan. Myrce ne wyrndon
 heardes hondplegan hæleþa nanum
 þæra þe mid Anlafe ofer æra gebland
 on lides bosme land gesochtun,
 fæge to gefehte. Fife lægun
 on þam campstede cyningas giunge,
 sweordum aswefede, swilce seofene eac
 eorlas Anlafes, unrim heriges,
 flotan and Sceotta.

 Letan him behindan hræw bryttian
 saluwigpadan, þone sweartan hræfn,
 hyrnednebban, and þane hasewanpadan,
 earn æftan hwit, æses brucan,
 grædigne guðhafoc and þæt græge deor,
 wulf on wealde. (ll. 10b-32a and 60-65a)²²

As compared with *The Wanderer* these scenes in *The Battle of Brunanburh* show less lamentation and more harshness because of its epic characteristics. It turns out, however, that the passage of the developed poem takes such motifs from the traditional epic poems. The poet, borrowing the Germanic style of the epics to emphasize the world's decay, intends to capture the attention of people who still long for such heroic customs. Afterwards he skilfully leads them to his purpose, which is to make them abandon any joy in the world. At the end of the developed poem he preaches explicitly that the suffering and harshness of this world are brought about by the fate "wyrd," and that it drives everything in the world to nothing. The poet's artistic expression of the destruction is given an atmosphere of inevitability as follows:

Stondeð nu on laste leofre dugube
 weal | wundra heah wyrmlicum fah —
 eorlas fornoman asca prybe,
 wæpen wælgifru, wyrd seo mære —
 ond þas stanhleoðu stormas cnyssað;
 þrið hreosende hrusan bindeð;
 wintres woma (þonne won cymeð,
 nipeð, nihtscua) norþan onsendeð
 hreo hægifare hæleþum on andan.
 Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rice:
 onwendeð wyrda gesceaft weoruld under heofonum.
 Her bið feoh læne, her bið freond læne,
 her bið mon læne, her bið mæg læne;
 eal þis eorþan gesteal idel weorþeð. (ll. 97-110)³³

Here the desolation by the inexorable weather which is caused by "wyrd" increases still the sense of the vanity of the world which is depicted in the continuative phrases "her bið ... læne." In this passage the poet stresses that such transience has been ordained in this world, and that there is no refuge for people anywhere. Therefore, after the poet necessarily deepens the anxiety of people, he allays it in the conclusion of the poem which gives people salvation in the Christian faith. Such a way of teaching people about tribulation in this transient world is effectively adopted in the religious poetry, especially in the scene before the Judgement Day. In *Christ* the transient world, just as in *The Wanderer*, is depicted with the motif of a rough sea:

Is us þearf micel
 þæt we gæstes wite ær þam gryrebrogan
 on þas gæsnan tid georne biþencen.
 Nu is þon gelicost swa we on laguflode
 ofer cald wæter ceolum liþan
 geond sidne sæ, sundhengestum,
 flodwudu fergen. Is þæt frecne stream
 yða ofermetæ þe we her on lacað
 geond þas wacan woruld, windge holmas
 ofer deop gelad. Wæs se drohtað strong
 ærþon we to londe geliden hæfdon.
 ofer hreone hrycg. Þa us help bicwom,
 þæt us to hælo hype gelædde,
 godes gæstsunu, ond us giefe sealde
 þæt we oncnawan magun ofer ceoles bord
 hwær we sælan sceolon sundhengestas,
 ealde yðmearas, ancrum fæste. (ll. 847b-63)³⁴

Though the motif of the severity of nature which torments men is stormy weather on the earth in the developed poem, in

Christ it is that on the sea. The poet of *Christ* says that the people's lives are like a dangerous voyage just as they pitch about through "pas wacan woruld" (this frail world). In this poem it becomes clear that the harshness in the vain world is a method of saving the souls of the people. Thus the poet of the *Christ* also preaches that people have been doomed to spend distressful lives in the mutable world, but that Christ conducts and brings them into heaven. Comparing them with the passage from *Christ*, the lines in the developed poem seem to have explicitly the same Christian doctrine, so that the poet may intend to imply God's salvation of men by insisting upon the world's ruin. Especially the last three lines shows the poet's artistic presentation of the powerful irresistibility of fate, "here is transitory property, here is transitory friend, here is transitory man, here is transitory kinsman; all this foundation of the earth becomes worthless."

The poet of the developed poem assumes more or less a Christian attitude. He regards the wanderer as a pagan character who typifies all the people who do not know the faith. He tries to show how the people become wiser than the one who holds pagan customs continuously, if only they endeavour to learn the mutability of the earth and believe in Christianity.

Enumerating the characteristic techniques of the poet, we find that he may have been able to express Christian doctrine and supply freely motifs from the Germanic tradition at the same time. Moreover that he may have been familiar with Latin poetry shows that he had a superior education. For these reasons it is possible to regard him as a monk, because such an education was usually given to people in a monastery at that time. It also can be easily imagined that a monk would add his own poem to a pagan traditional poem. If it was a folktale in the form of a song, the presumption will be more likely. The different intentions in writing, however, between the poet of the basic poem and the one of the developed poem in no way

mars *The Wanderer*, because both of them are unified by an elegiac mood throughout. In such a way that we can appreciate the two kinds of poem, the one is a lyrical lamentation of an exiled retainer and the other is a lyric which treats of the world's decay.

IV

The Framework of *The Wanderer*

The first and the last five lines can be almost separated from the rest of the poem by reason of their narrative tone. However, as for the question of who speaks the sentences, many different interpretations are available, especially of the beginning. To take some examples, Thorpe attributed lines 1-5 to the wanderer's speech, while Greenfield ascribed lines 1-7 to the poet.³⁵ If the opening lines are spoken by the wanderer, he must have experienced God's mercy, but no mention is made of God's grace in his monologue. As I discussed in Chapters I and II, the poet of the developed poem intended to preach Christian doctrine using pagan subjects, so he had to associate the salvation from a cruel "wyrd" (fate) with the Christian God's "mercy" at the beginning. Actually the lesson that people can experience the grace of God if they endure their sufferings establishes a connection with the wanderer's exile in the introduction; likewise the conclusion assuredly exhorts the audience to believe in the faith. Therefore it may be proper to consider that the introduction and the conclusion are spoken by the poet. The poet's purpose to teach the Christian God's "mercy" is revealed in the fact that the word "ar" (mercy) is found only in the first and the last passage of the whole poem. It may suggest the contrast between the idea of a harsh fate in Anglo-Saxon times, which destroys the world, and the Christian God who gives mercy and relieves people from painful fate, and also shows that people will necessarily get mercy from God and

security if they will be wise enough to believe in Christianity.

The reason why I differentiate the introduction from the next part is found in its purpose to associate "sufferings" with a "method to obtain God's mercy." In the introduction, there is an explicit connection of the lamentation and hardships of the solitary man with the Christian tribulation for heaven. Moreover, the poet ascribes the cause of the hardships of the sea journey to the Germanic idea of fate "wyrd." The introduction is as follows:

Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
Metudes miltse, beah þe he modcearig
geond lagulade longe sceolde
hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sæ,
wadan wræclastas: wyrd bið ful arædi! (ll. 1-5)³⁶

Beneath these lines we find an intention to join the hardships on the journey with the way to gain mercy from the generous Christian God. This is shown by the contrast of the words, "ar" (mercy) in first line and "wyrd" (fate) in the last line of the introduction.³⁷ Clearly the poet attributes the cause of the "anhaga's" (solitary man's) hardships on the travel to the "wyrd."³⁸ The first line of this passage must have been exciting to Anglo-Saxon readers because the poet asserts that there exists God's salvation for the suffering people. Nevertheless in the following lines 6-110 no mercy or salvation from God is mentioned by the poet, but only the lamentation of the wanderer and the vanity of this world. In particular, the mention of the hardships on the sea in the introduction is associated only with the basic poem which follows it, ll. 6-57. As opposed to this, the preceptive mood of the wise man which is expressed in the developed poem, ll. 58-110, is related to the conclusion only because of the first sentence "so spoke the wise man." This suggests the poet's device of a framework of a short comment attached to each interposed poem, the introduction to the basic poem and the conclusion to the developed poem.

Moreover it seems to be a very remarkable point that the words "hƿeran mid hondum" lie in the introduction, yet there is no mention of "stiring with hands": in the following lines at all. Therefore this phrase may have been deliberately interposed by the poet. We can recognize Christian imagery in the phrase when we remember the account in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of the three Irish men who came to King Alfred in a boat without any steering gear. The three drifted without oars depending only on God's will, "because they wished for the love of God to be on a pilgrimage, they cared not where."³⁹) It is clear that the association between the wandering and the pilgrimage is created by the poet by means of putting the new phrase therein. In short, the mention of "hƿeran mid hondum" must be a device to combine the wandering image with the Christian pilgrimage. Therefore, when we think over the two kinds of contrast between "God's mercy" and "wyrð," and between "stiring with hands" and no mention as to hands in the basic poem, it seems the introduction was composed to persuade people that the Christian God saves one who experiences tribulation which is already determined by the cruel fate "wyrð."

Another feature of this introduction is the summary of the "exile" image in the basic poem. Greenfield analyzed closely the theme of "exile" in Old English poems and said that *The Wanderer* begins with a general or impersonal image of an "anhaga"; moreover he wished to establish the dimensions of the poetic convention of "exile," as a further contribution to the study of convention and originality in Anglo-Saxon poetry.⁴⁰) The convention of the theme of "exile" in the Anglo-Saxon times can be agreed for many instances in Christian poetry such as *Genesis* (ll. 1049b-51a) and *Juliana* (ll. 389b-90) and so on.⁴¹) The convention of the "exile" theme from the Christian point of view can be applied fittingly in the five lines of the introduction, as I argued above.

In this context, one adequate reason to separate the conclusion from the preceding lines is that only the last five lines are extremely hypermetric in *The Wanderer*. This means possibly that the conclusion is composed as a sermonizing passage. It begins with such words as these:

Swa cwæð snottor on mode, gesæt him sundor æt rune.
 Til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeþ. Ne sceal næfre his
 torn to rycene
 beorn of his breostum acyþan, nempe he ær þa bote
 cunne,
 eorl, mid elne gefremman. Wel bið þam þe him are
 seceð,
 frofre to Fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung
 stondeð.

(ll. 111-15)⁴²

The first line "so spoke the wise man in heart, sat apart in meditation" shows its relation to the wise man's speech in the developed poem. "The one who keeps his faith" in line 112 can be regarded as the wise man who knows the transience of the world, while the wanderer is possibly suggested in the following lines that "man never has to make known his grief from his breast too quickly, advance it zealously unless he beforehand should know the remedy."

Thus *The Wanderer* has the framework of the introduction and the conclusion. Both of them clearly reveal the Christian God's mercy which is not apparently mentioned in the developed poem. The Christian faith is so explicitly found in both, as compared with the rest of the poem, that some suppose they were added later by another hand. Moreover in the introduction the word "hrimceald" shows that this passage might have been written after the Danish invasion at least. Dunning and Bliss commented on it, "it has often been suggested that 'hrimceald' is a borrowing of ON 'hrimkaldr,' and this is no doubt correct."⁴³ But this is not evidence that the poet of the developed poem did not write the introduction. Though that hypothesis is possible, we ought to regard the poet as the one of the developed

poem, until reliable evidence to the contrary is found.

V

Conclusion

The poet of the developed poem, who may have been aware of the Germanic tradition, seems to merge Christian theory into such racial customs because the expansion of Christianity. The poet of *Beowulf* seems to have also composed the poem with such a purpose, with the hero Beowulf shown as a Christian. Thus the Germanic tradition may be used by poets in Anglo-Saxon times as a hint for their imagination. The idea of regarding the basic poem as a medium is supported by some scholars. Stanley observed, though he seems to consider that the basic poem is also didactic, that "The Wanderer and the Seafarer themselves are not the theme of the poems, but the best means of expressing it (the poets' theme)."⁴⁴ It is my opinion that the whole basic poem becomes the means for expressing the poet's theme.

There may of course emerge the suspicion that only one poet depicted both the exilic lamentation of the pagan wanderer and the world's transience from the standpoint of the Christian wise man. If it was so, however, the poet would have shown the wanderer as a man of sin, like Satan in *Christ and Satan*, because of his exilic condition. If the poet believed in the faith at least the "exile" image must have struck him as something wrong. On the contrary the wanderer is expressed as an attractive character who is driven away and has to set forth on the path of exile by misfortune. For this reason I would adhere to the idea that two kinds of poems constitute *The Wanderer*. To fortify my idea, it is clearly necessary to examine the relation of the basic poem to Germanic versification and meter. This is a question which should be resolved in the future.

There is an elegy which is very similar to *The Wanderer*. *The Seafarer* has also the motif of "exile" and "voyage" in the first half of the poem. It is possible that this poem can also be illuminated by the idea that the first half derives from the Germanic tradition, just as that of *The Wanderer* does. However, I intend to carry out a survey of *The Seafarer* next time.

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NOTES

- 1) The small letter "a" means here the first half line and "b" means the second half line.
- 2) Norah Kershaw, ed., *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1922), p. 8 ff.
- 3) J. C. Pope, "Dramatic Voices in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*," M. Stevens and J. Mandel, eds., *Old English Literature* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. 166.
- 4) S. B. Greenfield, "*The Wanderer*: A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure," *JEGP*, 1 (1951), pp. 463-4.
- 5) T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss, eds., *The Wanderer* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1978), pp. 79-80.
- 6) Most scholars who have recognized the Christian influence in this part of the poem have insisted that the exilic mood is associated with the pilgrimage of the Christian in the Anglo-Saxon times.
- 7) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, Vol. I of *The Junius Manuscript* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1931), p. 33. "For this murder you shall receive punishment and wander in exile, accursed into eternity. The earth

will not yield you her fair fruits for your worldly use, for she has soaked up the holy blood of violence from your hands; therefore the green ground will withhold from you in benefits and beauty. Miserable, deprived of grace, you shall depart out of your native land because you became Abel's killer: for that you shall roam far-flung paths, a fugitive, abhorrent to your kinsmen." S. A. J. Bradley, trans. and ed., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1982), p. 40.

- 8) "I need expect no grace in the world, but I have forfeited your favour, exalted King of the heavens, your love and protection; therefore I must bend my footsteps abroad, in expectation of trouble when someone meets me, the criminal, who, far or near, may remind me of this violence, of this brother-murder." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 40.
- 9) "Then he [God] ordered the criminal to depart from his mother, his kinsmen and his family. Cain, then, went wandering away, morbid of mood, out of God's sight, a friendless exile, and afterwards chose for himself a settling-place in lands to the east, a home far from the dwellings of his father." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. 40-1.
- 10) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *ASPR*, Vol. III of *The Exeter Book* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1936), p. 123. "The devil, the faithless outcast, answered her and spoke these words." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 311.
- 11) "But if I meet with a storm of darts any staunch soldier of the Lord, renowned for courage, who is unwilling to flee away far from the battle but, astute in his thinking, lifts up against me a targe, a holy shield and spiritual armour, and is not willing to fail God, but who, bold in prayer, makes a stand, steadfast amid the infantry, I have to retreat far away from there, humiliated and deprived of my pleasure, to bewail my sorrow in the clutch of smouldering fires because I could not by force of strength prevail in the fray, but, downcast, must seek out another, one less courageous among the ranks of battle, a baser soldier whom I can puff up with my leaven and hinder in the fray." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 311.
- 12) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *ASPR*, Vol. I, p. 139. "Therefore I, defected and miserable, shall have to turn further afield and wander the paths of exile, deprived of heaven and segregated from its blessings, not to have any joy on high

among the angels, since I lately declared that I myself was lord of heaven and ruler of its beings—but it turned out the worse for me.” S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 90.

- 13) “Now I am cut off from that radiant company, expelled from the light into this loathsome home. I cannot conceive how I came to be in it, in this abysmal darkness, besmirched wity sins of malice, cast out of the world. I now know that he who is minded not to listen to the King of heaven and obey the Lord will be utterly dispossessed of everlasting joys. I am to endure this punishment, the misery, torment and pain, deprived of blessings, besmirched by my former deeds, because I thought to drive the Lord, the Ruler of the hosts, from off his throne. Now, sorrow-stricken, I must travel the ways of exile, far-flung roads.” S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 92.
- 14) For example, Whitelock observed on the commonness of pilgrimage or wandering in Anglo-Saxon times that “The Irishman Fursey came to England because ‘desiring to lead an exile’s life for the Lord’s sake.’...but Rome was naturally the chief resort. Commenting on Ine of Wessex, who retired there ‘desiring to spend his exile at the time in the neighborhood of holy places in order to merit being received by the saints in heaven,’ Bede adds that many of the English race, ‘highborn, lowborn, laymen, clerics, men and women’ went to Rome for this end: and when he records the similar act of Coenred of Mercia and Offa of Essex he tells how the latter ‘left his wife, family, and country for the sake of Christ and his Gospel, so that in this life he might get back a hundredfold, and eternal life in the age to come:’”. Dorothy Whitelock, “The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*,” M. Stevens and J. Mandel, eds., *Old English Literature* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 206–7.
- 15) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *ASPR*, Vol. III, pp. 178–9. “Weland, by way of the trammels upon him, knew persecution. Single-minded man, he suffered miseries. He had as his companion sorrow and yearning, wintry-cold suffering; often he met with misfortune once Nithhad had laid constraints upon him, pliant sinew-fetters upon a worthier man.—That passed away: so may this.... I want to say this about myself, that for a time I was the poet of the Heodeningas, dear to my lord;

- Deor was my name. For many years I had a good standing and a loyal lord—until now Heorrenda, a man expert in poesy, has received the entitlement to land which the men's protector formerly granted me. —That passed away: so may this." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. 364–5.
- 16) T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss, eds., *The Wanderer* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1978). The following citations of *The Wanderer* are all from this edition. "So I had to bind my soul to fetter (I, often careworn, deprived of native land, and far from noble kinsmen), long ago my generous lord was covered by the darkness of the earth, and I, wretched and desolate as winter, traveled from there across frozen waves, I, sad at the loss of the hall, looked for a giver of treasure, where, far or near, I could find one who would know my thought in meadhall, or would wish to comfort me friendless, and to entertain with delight. He who makes trial of, knows how sorrow as companion is cruel to one who has few dear close friends."
- 17) "Wapema gebind" is interpreted by Dunning & Bliss as "bound waves" meaning the frozen waves and this interpretation of the word "bind" is more meaningful and reliable than others such as "expanse of waves."
- 18) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *ASPR*, Vol. III. "So the people's entertainers go wandering fatedly through many lands; they declare their need and speak words of thanks. Always, whether south or north, they will meet someone discerning of songs and unniggardly of gifts who desires to exalt his reputation and sustain his heroic standing until everything passes away, light and life together. This man deserves glory; he will keep his lofty and secure renown here below the heavens." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 340.
- 19) "Thus I journeyed through many foreign lands throughout this spacious earth. Good and evil I experienced there; separated from family, distant from noble kinsmen, I served far and wide. I can sing, therefore, and tell a tale, and mention before the assemblage in the mead-hall how royal benefactors have been generously kind to me." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 338.
- 20) "I know truly that very noble custom is in man that he would bind his breast firmly, and keep his heart, whatever he wish

- to think. A discouraged mind cannot afford help: and so an anxiety for renown often binds sadness firmly in their heart.”
- 21) Greenfield, *JEGP*, 1, p. 457.
 - 22) Tacitus, *The Agricola and The Germania*, trans., H. Mattingly, rev., S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1983), pp. 123–4.
 - 23) E. G. Stanley, “Old English Poetic Diction and The Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*,” *Anglia*, 73 (1955), pp. 447–8.
 - 24) P. L. Henry, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966), p. 167.
 - 25) “Widsith spoke forth, and unlocked the treasury of his words, he who had travelled through most of the peoples, nations and tribes upon the earth; many a time on the floor of the hall he had received some commemorative treasure. His family were sprung from the Myrgingas, and he had in the first instance gone with Ealhild, the beloved weaver of peace, from the east out of Anglen to the home of the king of the glorious Goths, Eormannic, the cruel troth-breaker. He began then to say many things. ‘I have heard tell about many men ruling over nations. Every prince ought to live ethically—one man governing the land in succession to the other—who presumes to receive its princely throne.’ S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 337.
 - 26) “And so I cannot think throughout this world why my mind does not become sad, when I meditate on all lives of men, how they suddenly abandoned hall, noble retainers, so this world day by day fails and falls.”
 - 27) J. C. Pope, “Dramatic Voices . . .”, p. 169.
 - 28) “Indeed man cannot become wise, before he would possess many winters in the world. The wise man has to be patient: has not to be too angry at all, not be too hasty of speech, not be too weak warrior, not be too reckless, not be too timid, not be too servile, not be too avaricious, not be too eager for self-glorification before he would have experienced in full: man has to wait, when he speaks vow, until, being resolute, he would know clearly whither intention of minds wishes to turn. The wise man has to understand how terrible is, when all wealth of this world stands deserted.”
 - 29) I. L. Gordon, “Traditional Themes in *The Wanderer* and *The*

Seafarer," *RES*, 5 (1954), p. 5.

- 30) "Then he who considered this foundation wisely, and meditates on this dark life deeply, wise in mind, remembers a lot of slaughters often afar back, and utters these words: where became of horse? Where became of young man? Where became of giver of treasure? Where became of banqueting halls? Where are revelry in the hall? Alas bright goblet! Alas mailed warrior! Alas glory of prince! How the time departed, grew dark under shadow of night, as if it was not at all!"
- 31) "Those wine-halls decay, the ruler lies deprived of joy, all valiant noble retainers fell dead beside wall. A war destroyed someones, carried away: a bird carried away someone across the deep sea; the grey wolf handed over someone to death; a sad-faced man concealed someone in grave."
- 32) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *ASPR*, Vol. VI of *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1942), pp. 17-20. "The aggressors yielded; Scots and vikings fell dying. The field grew wet with men's blood from when in the morning-tide that glorious star, the sun, glided aloft and over earth's plains, the bright candle of God the everlasting Lord, to when that noble creation sank to rest. There lay many a man picked off by spears, many a Norseman shot above his shield and Scotsman too, spent and sated with fighting.... Five young kings lay on the battle-field, put to rest by swords, and seven of Olaf's earls too and a countless number of the array of vikings and of Scots." S. A. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. 516-7.
- 33) "Now the wall stands as a vestige of dear retainers which is astonishingly high and decorated with serpent glorious destiny destroyed men—and the storm beats upon these stone walls: falling snowstorm freezes the earth; tumult of winter (when dark shade of night comes, grows dark) from the north drives fierce hailstorm in malice to warriors. All is full of hardships to the realm of the earth: ordained fate overturns the world under the heaven. Here is transitory property, here is transitory friend, here is transitory man, here is transitory kinsman; all this foundation of the earth becomes worthless."
- 34) G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds., *ASPR*, III, pp. 26-7. "A great need is ours: that we earnestly reflect upon our soul's appearance during this barren time before that appalling event. It is at present very much like this: as though we are sailing

- across chill water upon the ocean-flood in ships, over the wide sea in steeds of the deeps, and navigating ocean-going boats of wood. The streaming sea is hazardous, inordinate the waves in which we pitch about through this frail world, and squally the oceans along the deep water-way. Our plight would have been severe before we had voyaged to a landfall across the stormy horizon. Then help came to us, that piloted us to salvation in port, God's Spirit-Son, and granted us grace that we might know a place where we shall secure our steeds of the deeps, our old horses of the waves, securely with anchors over the ship's side." S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 228.
- 35) Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *Codex Exoniensis* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1842), p. 286. S. B. Greenfield, "The Wanderer: A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure," *JEGP*, 1 (1951), p. 455.
- 36) "Often solitary one experiences mercy, Lord's mercy, although he troubled in heart throughout seaway for a long time had to stir with hands ice-cold sea, travel path of exile: fate is completely determined!"
- 37) B. F. Huppé also mentioned this contrast as "it is clear from the opening lines that man is helpless in the grip of Fate, that he can find security only in the mercy of God, and this theme of the insecurity of earthly things is developed in the body of the poem, notably in lines 62b-63b; 85a-87; 106a-110." "The Wanderer: Theme and Structure," *JEGP*, 42 (1943), p. 524.
- 38) Gordon said that "'wyrd' was not a sort of pagan god: it was a poetic term, often personified, for what is a timeless concept, pagan only in its associations, the concept of inescapable event. This is so close to one aspect of the Christian God that 'metod' (ordainer) becomes a term applicable to either.", but here "wyrd" is contrasted with "Metudes miltse" so that "harsh fate" may befit its meaning. I. L. Gordon, "Traditional Themes . . .", p. 5.
- 39) Dorothy Whitelock, "The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*," p. 211.
- 40) S. B. Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Speculum*. 30 (1955), p. 205 and p. 200.
- 41) Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression . . .", p. 201.

- 42) "So spoke the wise man in heart, sat apart in meditation. He who keeps his faith is good. Man never has to make known his grief from his breast too quickly, advance it zealously, unless he beforehand should know the remedy. Who seeks mercy, consolation from God in heaven is well, where all that stability stands to us."
- 43) Dunning and Bliss, *The Wanderer*, p. 61.
- 44) Stanley, "Old English Poetic Diction....", p. 466.