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SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS

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SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS

EDITED BY

DOROTHY WHITELOCK



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PREFACE

UNTIL the appearance of Professor Jost's promised work on *Polity* and Miss Dorothy Bethurum's study of the 'genuine homilies', any contribution to general Wulfstan problems can only be tentative. The appeal of the *Sermo ad Anglos*, however, is in some ways wider than that of Wulfstan's other work, and the materials for its proper understanding and appreciation do not lie close to the student's hand. This consideration seems to justify a separate, fully annotated, edition, and the introduction aims at bringing together all existing evidence for Wulfstan's career, and attempts to give some guidance on what works may, in all probability, be regarded as his. Professor Jost's article in *Anglia* lxvi has gone a long way towards the solution of the problem, and all interested in Wulfstan await with eagerness his further publications.

Some scholars have given me assistance on individual matters and to them I have acknowledged my debt in the book. I should like to thank Dr C. E. Wright for the generous bestowal of his time on my palaeographical problems; Miss Bethurum for her interest and her helpful discussion of Wulfstan's work; and, above all, Professor Bruce Dickins, who, in addition to his help and encouragement at all stages of the work from its inception, has most liberally given his time to the laborious tasks of proof-reading and checking. I also owe to him many valuable suggestions.

DOROTHY WHITELOCK

OXFORD, 1938

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

AS will be realized by anyone who consults the additions to the Bibliography, Wulfstan studies have made great advances since the first publication of this book, and it seemed preferable therefore to add a new section on recent work rather than to attempt to dovetail into the existing text the discoveries of the last dozen years. The revision of the book as first written has been mainly confined to a few necessary corrections. I am indebted to Mr. N. R. Ker for help with these.

1952

D. W.

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- Polity* *Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*,
in B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes
of England*, 1840, II. 304-41
- Robertson A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*
(Roman numerals refer to documents)
- RS Rolls Series
- SB F. H. Stratmann, *A Middle English Dic-
tionary*, re-edited by H. Bradley, 1891
- Sievers E. Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik* (3rd
ed. 1898), transl. by A. S. Cook, *An Old
English Grammar*, 1903
- WGerm West Germanic

INTRODUCTION

I. MANUSCRIPTS

VERSIONS of this text occur in five manuscripts,¹ as follows :

I.² British Museum, Cotton Nero A 1, fol. 110 ff. Mr. N. R. Ker assigns the handwriting of this part of the manuscript to the early eleventh century.³ This manuscript contains also laws, parts of *Polity*, and three other Wulfstan homilies (Napier X, XXVIII and XXXIV). It has several sixteenth-century glosses, some by Joscelin. Corrections in an eleventh-century hand have been added, and, in the margin,⁴ a clause which is in the text of MS E. The scribe was careless and many essential letters are written above the line in a different, though contemporary, hand. There are also several erasures, and in some cases examination by ultra-violet light has revealed what was originally written. These have been noted in the textual notes. The manuscript has been attributed to Worcester,⁵ but Liebermann⁶ thought Canterbury possible. It has very close agreement in content with a Worcester manuscript (CCCC 265) and seems at least to have had a Worcester original.

E. Bodleian MS Hatton 113 (formerly Junius 99),

¹ Excluding Junius 102, a transcript by Wanley of six 'Wulfstan' homilies. Moreover, there are passages from this homily embedded in other homilies, and to these I refer in the notes. Special attention must be drawn to Napier XXVII, which is made up of extracts from this homily in a different order

² Throughout I use the same sigla as Napier to designate the MSS. H Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (9th ed.), 88 f, has N for Napier's I, H for E, C I for B, C II for C; he did not use Napier's H

³ Dr R Flower thought it late eleventh century.

⁴ See textual note to l. 81.

⁵ v W Keller, *Die litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester* 65.

⁶ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* I. xxv

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fol. 84 v. ff. This is one of the manuscripts written at Worcester in the latter part of the eleventh century by the *scriptor* Wulfgeat.¹ It is a volume of homilies, including several by Wulfstan.

C. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 201 (formerly S. 18), pp. 82 ff. This is a mid-eleventh-century manuscript consisting mainly of laws and Wulfstan's homilies. Wanley² allotted it to Worcester, Feiler³ to this or a house dependent on it, but Keller (*op.cit.* 65) thinks this cannot be proved. Its compiler had access to much Wulfstan material.

B. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 419 (formerly S. 14), pp. 95 ff. This is an eleventh-century manuscript in the same hand as the companion volume, MS 421. Both contain homilies by various authors. The place of origin is probably Exeter.

H. Bodleian MS 343 (formerly NE. F. iv. 12), fol. 143 v. ff. This is a mid-twelfth-century collection of homilies.⁴

These five versions form three groups, which differ considerably, especially in length. The shortest version is in B and H, and there is a close connexion between them, though neither is derived from the other.⁵ The longest text is represented by I and E, and here also the textual variants show that though they are closely connected each is an independent version of a common original.⁶ In length midway between these groups comes C, sharing with I and E some passages missing in B and H, but not all, and with a little additional matter of its own.

¹ See Keller, *op.cit.* 64–8. It has also glosses in the twelfth-century 'tremulous' hand that glosses in Latin and Middle English many Worcester manuscripts. See S. J. Crawford, *The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the OE MSS in the Bodleian*, Angha lu. 1 ff., and N. R. Ker, *Leeds Studies in English*, vi. 28 f.

² Hickes, *Thesaurus* II, 141. ³ *Das Benediktiner-Offizium* 8.

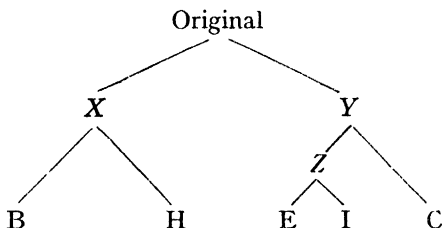
⁴ This manuscript is described by A. S. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood Tree*, EETS, p. ix, and many homilies from it have been published by A. O. Belfour, *Twelfth Century Homilies*, EETS 137.

⁵ See textual note to l. 211.

⁶ For I's independence, see textual notes to ll. 38, 41, whereas at ll. 59, 65, E has preserved the more original reading.

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C is assumed to have a closer connexion with I and E than with B and H both in Becher's scheme ¹ and, by implication, in Napier's reconstructed text, but the evidence for this is not given. It appears to be as follows: C, I and E agree in omitting 7 *Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde*, which is necessary for the balance of the sentence, though it is possible that this omission is deliberate (note to l. 79 f); C and I have essentially the same rubric, and E has a modified version of it; in these three manuscripts this text is immediately followed by the same homily (Napier XXXIV), which is not in B and H; there is a close connexion between the C and E versions ² of other Wulfstan homilies, over against B versions, and C and E have groups of Wulfstan's homilies in the same order, whereas B and H have them scattered, if they contain them at all.³ The following scheme of manuscript transmission is therefore justified: ⁴



with X, Y, and Z representing the lost archetypes of the extant versions. There may, of course, have been intermediate versions.

Sweet, who was apparently the only editor to discuss the varying length of the versions, regarded the process

¹ *Wulfstans Homilien* 71.

² MS I cannot be compared in this respect, as it consists mainly of laws.

³ These arguments would be redundant if C, E and I shared a more original reading than B and H, but none of the variants seem to me to be decisive. It is to be noted that on minor points C often agrees with B and H against E and I, the original of which has evidently altered the reading.

⁴ It does not differ in essentials from that in Becher, *l.c.*

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as one of repeated cutting, and his text is a conflation of all of them. Napier, on the other hand, shows by what he relegates to the footnotes that he regarded as interpolations passages contained in one group of manuscripts only, and in one place he similarly rejects a passage only in C, I, and E.¹ The scheme given above shows that anything omitted by C as well as by B and H can have stood in the original only if of such a nature that independent omission by different scribes is probable.² The sentence in ll. 86-93 may be a case in point, for, while C, B, and H omit it entirely, the scribe of I seems to have hesitated, first going straight on for a few words without it, then inserting it. It may have been thought too outspoken, or untrue. Other explanations are possible, however: it may have been added in Z, not in the text, but in the margin, and the scribe of I failed to notice it in time. There is less reason to assume independent omission by X and C of the other passages in I and E only, and interpolation into Z seems more probable. Yet there is no difference of style to mark off these passages from the rest of the homily; on the contrary, they have close similarities with genuine Wulfstan writings (*v.* notes ll. 166 ff, 184 ff). It seems to me very probable, therefore, that Z was a revision by Wulfstan himself, or that a reviser has added passages from other works of Wulfstan.³ In addition to passages of some length, E and I share many phrases and short

¹ It is not always realized that Napier's text attempts a reconstruction, some editors printing from it under the impression that it represents Hatton 113.

² This argument would be vitiated if there were any sign that C had access to a text of the X type as well as to Y, but it is hard to believe that, if this were so, it would have made such a muddle of the passage at ll. 73 ff (*v.* textual note).

³ If so, it has been very skilfully done. That Wulfstan did sometimes revise his work can be seen in K. Jost, 'Einige Wulfstan-texte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia* lvi. 301 ff. Insertion of parts of his homilies into others by eleventh-century scribes is a common occurrence; e.g. the E version of Napier I has a conclusion similar to the Wulfstan homily, XXV. instead of the ending it has elsewhere.

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sentences absent in the other manuscripts and presumably due to this revision. The one long passage which C shares with I and E (i.e. ll. 102-132) is no doubt part of the original homily; it fits the reign of Ethelred, but not a later date, and there is therefore a motive for its omission from X. The matter peculiar to C can hardly be original.

Because the 'interpolations' in I and E may be Wulfstan's own, and have an intrinsic interest, the text chosen is one of the two longest versions, and of these I is preferred as being supported by the other manuscripts in most places where it differs from E (*v.* also MLR xxxviii. 125 f).

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The only datable reference in the text is that to Ethelred's expulsion, which, though remaining only in B and H, certainly formed part of the original. This expulsion occurred after Christmas 1013. A rubric giving a date was contained in Y, and the form in which it survives in I gives the date as 1014, while C has 1009 and E 'in the days of King Ethelred'. In addition, C has a passage stating that the homily was composed four years before Ethelred died. This occurs awkwardly and C has without doubt incorporated in the text a marginal note. If this note were already in Y it might explain why E alters the definite date of the rubric to a vague phrase, for a scribe knowing that Ethelred died in 1016 might notice the contradiction. Of these dates, only 1014 agrees with the reference to Ethelred's expulsion, and C must have misread or miswritten *MVIII* for *MXIII*. It was, then, an eleventh-century belief that this *sermo* was composed in 1014, and there is no reason for rejecting this. The widest limits are between Christmas 1013 and the accession of Cnut.

The credit for the identification of Lupus with Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, belongs to Wanley,¹ and, if 1014 is the date of this homily, we need not

¹ *op.cit.*, 140 f.

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repeat his refutation of the claims of Æthelwulf of Hereford, who died in 1012. Indeed, there is no other bishop with a name containing the element *wulf* who is not ruled out by this date. The identification is supported by the connexion of some manuscripts of the homilies with Worcester; by the version of the 'pastoral letter' in MS C, beginning *Wulfstan arcebisceop greted . . .*, for it continues in the style of the *sermones Lupi*; by the close parallels between the latter and those codes of Ethelred which mention Wulfstan's instigation (*v. infra* pp. 15 f); and finally, by the use of the name *Lupus* by Wulfstan, Bishop of London, when he issued penitential letters,¹ since there are strong reasons for identifying Wulfstan, Bishop of London from 996, with the future archbishop (*v. EHR* lii. 460-5).

We have no definite evidence for Wulfstan's career before he became a bishop. Though Florence of Worcester² is wrong in giving him the title of abbot in 1002, it is possible that it would have been correct at an earlier date in Wulfstan's life, but he never signs charters with this title, nor does his name appear in any monastery's list of abbots. Some early connexion with the east of England seems suggested by the fact that, though he died at York, he was buried at Ely, which is not in any of the dioceses he had governed. The twelfth-century Ely chronicler³ gives a tale of a miracle befalling him there to account for this choice of burial-place. He was held in very great esteem at Ely; it was claimed that miracles were performed at his tomb, and as late as the reign of Edward III an effigy was placed over his remains when, along with those of six other early benefactors, including the aldorman Brihtnoth, they were built into the north

¹ These letters survive in CCCC, MS 265, p. 110 (*v. M. Bateson, in EHR* x. 728), and also, as Mr. N. R. Ker tells me, in the Copenhagen MS, Kgl. 1595, 4^o, folio 41 (*v. E. Jørgensen, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Ævi Bibliothecæ Regiæ Hafniensis* 43-6). Miss E. Rathbone has drawn my attention to a version in the Bodleian MS Barlow 37 (S.C. 6464), fol. 12.

² Ed. B. Thorpe, I. 156.

³ *Historia Eliensis* II. 87.

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wall of the choir.¹ His obit (28th May) is entered in an Ely calendar.²

The abbey of Peterborough also claimed Wulfstan as a benefactor; Hugo Candidus³ states that he had 'given himself and all his possessions' to Peterborough, but had fallen ill at Ely, when visiting the tombs of the saints, and died there. The latter part of this statement can be proved erroneous, but the entry at least shows that Wulfstan's memory was honoured in the Fenland monasteries, and some connexion with one of them or with the locality before he became bishop seems a plausible explanation of his interest in them. He cannot have been abbot at Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, or Ramsey, for we know the succession of abbots of these houses; the early history of Crowland is obscure, but its records preserve no memory of any connexion with Wulfstan. He may, however, have been a monk at any of these foundations except Ely.⁴

¹ Before the removal of the choir wall in 1770 drawings of these effigies were made and can be seen in the supplement to J. Bentham, *A History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*, edited by W. Stevenson in 1817, plate facing 69, or in R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* I, plate facing cxlvi instead of clvi. An account of this removal is contained in Bentham, *op.cit.*, Addenda 23, and C. W. Stubbs, *Historical Memorials of Ely Cathedral* 92. The bones were placed in Bishop West's chapel, where they still remain.

² Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.2.1. Professor Bruce Dickins has examined this manuscript for me. Wulfstan's obit is entered also in the calendar in Hatton 113 (Worcester or Evesham) and in that drawn up for Ælfwine before 1035, when he became abbot of Newminster, Winchester, in Brit Mus Cotton MS, Titus D xxvii.

³ Ed. J. Sparke, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptorum Varii* 45. This passage was noted by W. H. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, ed. J. Raine, I. 133 note, but has been ignored by later writers on Wulfstan.

⁴ Neither the *Historia Elyensis* nor the Ely Calendar calls him a brother of the house. The foundation charter of Ramsey Abbey, dated 28 December 974, has a *Wulstan presbiter* among the signatures (see BCS 1311). But this charter survives only in fourteenth-century copies, and it is unusual to have signatures of priests and none of *ministri*. Four of the names of the priests, including Wulfstan, occur in other charters of the period with the title *minister*. In any case, a man old enough to be priest in 974 is rather old to be our archbishop.

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In contrast to the esteem in which he was held in the east, he had a bad reputation in the Worcester diocese in the twelfth century. A list of Bishops of Worcester in an Evesham manuscript (Harley MS 229, fol. 15), calls him *impius*, and another in a Worcester register¹ gives him the epithet *reprobus* and adds *Nam nimis erravit dum nos rebus spoliavit*. The reason for this accusation is not known. It may have had its origin in the conflicting interests of the two sees Wulfstan held simultaneously. William of Malmesbury² blames him for this plurality, though he has excused his predecessors Oswald and Ealdulf; Wulfstan, he says, *sanctitate discrepabat et habitu* from them. This is possibly the source of the statement that he was not a Benedictine monk.³ Yet the *Historia Eliensis* (*l.c.*) calls him a monk, the Benedictine foundations of Ely and Peterborough claim him as a benefactor, and he is said to have reformed the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester.⁴ It cannot therefore be doubted that he belonged to the reformed Benedictine party.

From 996, when he became Bishop of London (ASC 996F), until his death in 1023, Wulfstan's signatures are common. While in London he was left the estate of Barling by Leofwine, Wulfstan's son, in 998.⁵ Probably Wulfstan left it to St. Paul's, for they were holding land here in 1066.⁶ As Bishop of London he issued some penitential letters (*v. supra* p. 6), and an anonymous letter⁷ written to him at this time shows that already he had acquired a reputation as a writer or preacher in the vernacular. The writer has

¹ Register 1 belonging to the Dean and Chapter, fol. 2b.

² *Gesta Pontificum*, RS, 250.

³ e.g. B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics* xxxix.

⁴ *Historia Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, RS, I.8.

⁵ A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford Charters* 22.

⁶ I doubt the authenticity of KCD 913, which claims that Edward the Confessor granted to St. Paul's the *libertas* of 8 hides there. In Domesday Book Barling is assessed at 3½ hides.

⁷ W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, RS 404 f and BCS. 897. v. EHR lii. 463; the folio reference to Vespasian A xiv there mentioned should be fol. 148b

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been asked by Wulfstan to translate some documents from Latin into English, and in his refusal speaks with high praise of the bishop's own eloquence.

After Archbishop Ealdulf's death in June 1002 Wulfstan was translated from London to Worcester and York, probably before the end of the year.¹ He held the see of Worcester until 1016, when Abbot Leofsige of Thorney was appointed to succeed him,² and York until his death on 28 May 1023.³ There are several references to his activities during this period. Three documents issued by him about Worcester estates survive: one a lease of Perry to a *matrona* Wulfgyfu,⁴ the second a lease of Bentley to his brother Elfwig in 1017 (KCD 1313), the third an agreement made with a certain Brihtric when he married Wulfstan's sister.⁵ Three other Worcester charters of Wulfstan's once existed, dealing with estates at Wolverton, Throckmorton, and Tidmington, respectively, the first of these issued in 1017.⁶ In another charter we find him taking a different part; he is asked by the king to set down in writing the agreement reached by the Bishop of Hereford and a certain Leofric about estates in Worcestershire, not later than 1011.⁷ According to the *Historia* of St. Peter's

¹ I have discussed this date in EHR lii 461 f.

² FIWig, ed. Thorpe, I. 180. Leofsige issues a charter in 1016 as Bishop of Worcester (KCD 724). Yet in 1017 Wulfstan issues two leases of Worcester lands. A Hamilton Thompson (*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* xliii. 86 note) suggests that the separation of dioceses was due to the division of England between Edmund and Cnut.

³ FIWig I. 183 f; *Historia Eliensis*, l c.; J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, RS, II. 342, &c.

⁴ *British Museum Facsimiles* IV. 13

⁵ KCD 738: Robertson LXXVI. It falls between 1014 and 1016 and is witnessed by Brihteh the monk, probably Wulfstan's sister's son, Bishop of Worcester, 1033-8, who had a brother Ægelric, who received from him many Worcester estates, and a kinsman Atsere (v. Robertson 458 f).

⁶ Dugdale's list of charters once at Worcester, first printed in Hicke's *Thesaurus* II. 299 f, items 8, 15 and 23. Cf pp. 30 f below.

⁷ KCD 898: Robertson LXXXIII. I cannot date this precisely, but it cannot be later than 1011 as Archbishop Ælfheah was present,

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at Gloucester, he reformed this monastery in 1022, but this date is doubtful.¹

We hear less of Wulfstan in his northern diocese, but this may be due to the scantiness of records from this area. According to Symeon of Durham² he was present when the gift of Darlington made by Styr, Ulf's son, to St. Cuthbert's was confirmed at York. He was in York on 16 February 1014, when he consecrated Ælfwig to the see of London (ASC 1014 D). He consecrated a bishop for Durham about 1020.³ The Law of the Northumbrian Priests⁴ may date from his episcopate. It survives in a manuscript which contains a lot of Wulfstan material.

His interests were not confined to his own dioceses, however, for we find him active in various parts of England and prominent in affairs of state.⁵ By 1008 he took a leading part in the issue of codes of law, and Ethelred's later codes and Cnut's laws are written in his style. His frequent witnessing of charters shows that he was often at court. He appears both as executor and legate in the will of Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury, receiving a pectoral

and he was taken prisoner by the Danes before Michaelmas of that year. The name of another witness, Bishop Æthelstan of Hereford, must be a mistake for his predecessor, Athulf, or else the charter (KCD 719) with the latter's signature in 1012 is wrongly dated.

¹ This *Historia* survives only in two fifteenth-century copies. While the reformation by Wulfstan is dated 1022, he is called Bishop of Worcester. It probably took place not later than 1016, and the date given may come from the immediately following document, witnessed by Wulfstan, which purports to be an agreement made at Gloucester in 1022.

² RS, I. 83. The *Historia de S. Cuthberto* (Surtees Society) 150 f., names Ælfric, Wulfstan's successor, as the archbishop present, but in Symeon the king concerned is Ethelred.

³ Symeon of Durham, RS I. 86.

⁴ I can find no evidence for the statement of Pitseus, quoted in Dixon, *op.cit.* I. 133, that Haymo (= Aimoin of Fleury) studied under him at York. Does it originate in a confusion of *Floracensis* with *Eboracensis*?

⁵ This is stated in the *Historia Eliensis, l.c.*, which also claims that the kings Ethelred, Edmund and Cnut loved him as a brother and honoured him as a father.

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cross.¹ When the Ætheling Edmund wished in 1012 to obtain an estate from the monks of Sherborne, it was Wulfstan who acted as their spokesman before the king.² In 1020 he consecrated the church at Ashingdon which Cnut built in thanksgiving for his victory there.³ Lyfing, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in the same year and Wulfstan consecrated Æthelnoth as his successor. His letter informing Cnut and Emma that he has done so is extant (KCD 1314). He was at Winchester when, about 1020, he consecrated Edmund as Bishop of Durham (*v. supra*). According to the *Historia* of St. Peter's, Gloucester, he was there in 1022. He died at York in 1023.

The greater part of Wulfstan's life coincides with a stormy period of English history. Danish raids had recommenced in 981 and were a very serious menace by 996, when Wulfstan succeeded to the bishopric of London. The king, who had come to the throne as a child after the murder of his brother Edward in 978, showed himself incapable and untrustworthy when he came of age. Desultory efforts to resist the invaders were unsuccessful, except for the defence of London, and in 991 and 994 the Danes had been bought off at a heavy price. During Wulfstan's episcopate in London a resistance planned on a large scale in 999 came to nothing, and in 1001 the forces of the western counties fled before the invaders. The year of Wulfstan's translation to Worcester and York saw the massacre of the Danes resident in England on St. Brice's Day, and the Chronicle for the next few years is a gloomy record of almost yearly harrying and defeat, of the paying of tribute and the treachery of leaders. Ælfheah, Archbishop of Canterbury, was made prisoner when Canterbury was taken in 1011, and murdered in the following April; and finally, Swegn was accepted as king, first by the people of the Five Boroughs and of Northumbria, before August,

¹ Cf D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* 52 1.

² KCD 1302 : Robertson *LXXIV*.

³ ASC (CD), FlWig, and many chronicles based on him, *sub anno* 1020; *Historia Eliensis*, l.c.

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1013, and later by the western thegns and last of all by the people of London. Ethelred was for a time with the fleet in the Thames, spent Christmas in the Isle of Wight and then went to Normandy. It is to this exile that Wulfstan refers in this homily. Ethelred's return was made possible by Swegn's death at Candlemas 1014. It is not surprising that it was Wulfstan's northern diocese that led the way in accepting Swegn; for it had received a big influx of Scandinavians in the ninth and early tenth centuries and up till 954, except for brief intervals, had had Scandinavian kings of its own. Even after this, it retained many Scandinavian customs, and heathenism had not been eradicated by the eleventh century (*v.* note to l. 140). We have no evidence where Wulfstan was at the time of the submission, but he was at York within a fortnight of Swegn's death, and we may suspect that he used his influence to win back the province to the English king.¹

Ethelred's return did not bring peace. The struggle continued until Cnut's great victory at Ashingdon late in 1016. But, after Ethelred's death, his son Edmund had made an effective resistance to the Danes, so that, even if we reject the evidence of the rubric for the date of this homily, its tone does not suit his reign. Cnut proved a capable ruler and Wulfstan appears to have been on good terms with him. Cnut's laws show the influence of Wulfstan's writings (see p. 22 below).

III. WULFSTAN'S LITERARY WORK

The letter received by Wulfstan when Bishop of London shows that his literary career probably began a few years earlier than has hitherto been supposed, but none of the extant homilies can be confidently allotted to the London period, though it may well be that Wulfstan began to

¹ For further information on the events of this reign see the Chronicle, especially the portion edited by M. Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents relating to the reign of Ethelred the Unready* 38 ff and notes 90 ff, and for details the notes to the text (*infra*) *passim*. See also F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 368-87.

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write his eschatological sermons in the 'nineties, when Ælfric also was preaching on the imminent end of the world. Wulfstan did, however, write in this strain after 1000.

An interest in the canons of the Church and in the reform of ecclesiastical practice is revealed already in the early years of the eleventh century, for an answer by Ælfric to a lost letter of Wulfstan's, clearly containing queries on matters of this kind, must be dated between 1002 and 1005.¹ Wulfstan is already archbishop, and it may be that it was the conditions he found in his northern see that roused him to the need for action; for there were prevalent there customs, especially relating to marriage and divorce, in direct opposition to the teaching of the Church, and the monastic reform of the tenth century seems hardly to have touched the north. But, whether he was thinking in the first place of this diocese or not, Wulfstan was very anxious for the reform of the clergy, and Ælfric later wrote two pastoral letters for him.²

The canon of Wulfstan's own writings is difficult to fix and this is not the place for a detailed discussion of it. The title 'the four genuine homilies' is often given to the two (Napier *II* and *III*) which in four manuscripts follow immediately on the rubric *Incipiunt sermones Lupi*, together with our present text and Napier *XXXIV*, both assigned to Lupus by their rubrics.³ Napier adds (*Dissertation* 13 ff), almost certainly correctly, *XIX* to *XXII* (the so-called pastoral letter), which begins *Wulfstan arcebisceop greted* in MS C. Jost⁴ has shown convincingly that *V* and *X*, with their Latin sources *IV* and *IX*, are Wulfstan's, and I should add the eschatological homilies *XII* to *XVI*,⁵ and

¹ B. Fehr, *op.cit.* xxxix f, 222 ff. Taking 1003 as the date of Wulfstan's accession to York, he dates it 1003-5.

² Edited by Fehr, *op.cit.*

³ Napier, *Dissertation* 7.

⁴ *Op.cit.* This important article has thrown much light on Wulfstan's method of work, for it shows how carefully he collected his material from various Latin canonical writings.

⁵ Probably excepting part of *XVI* (Napier 98 l. 13-101 l. 5) which relates to the legend of St. Peter and St. Paul.

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also *XVII* and *XXXII* and parts of *LIV*, on stylistic grounds. Moreover *VI*, a series of denunciatory passages from *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, with free translation, and *XXVIII*, a similar treatment of extracts from *Leviticus* *xxvi*, seem to show both Wulfstan's phraseology and his method of work. It is possible that as much of *XXXVII* as is contained in MS E (as item 31) is genuine. It is a homily written by a bishop (or archbishop) and it reads like Wulfstan's work.¹ All these homilies consist of simple, competent, exposition of essential doctrines, of practical instruction and of exhortation, with warnings of the imminent judgment, and a continual insistence on the responsibility of the bishops to preach against the sins of the people. Besides homilies, a good case for Wulfstan's authorship of the 'poems' in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 959 DE and 975 D, has been made by Jost,² and it is

¹ On additions to the canon of Wulfstan's work, see pp. 22-7 below. *XXIII*, *XXIV*, *XLI*, *XLIII*, *L*, *LIX-LXI* and part of *XXXVII* used to be rejected on the ground that they used Cnut's laws; but see p. 22 below. *XXXIX* is the OE version of VII Atr, and *XXXV* and *XXXVI* are connected with it. *XXVII* is made up of parts of the *Sermo ad Anglos*. Many texts in Napier are in styles very different from Wulfstan's, though passages from his genuine work have often been added; *XXIX* is largely based on the poem *Be Domesdæg*, *XXX* and *XL* are compilations using homilies in the Vercell MS, while *XLIX* is found in this manuscript and its beginning (the rest is lost) in the Blickling MS. Wulfstan was not responsible for the homilies on Sunday observance, *XLIII*, *XLIV*, *XLV*, *LVII*, nor for the translation of Adzo's *Libellus de Antichristo* in *XLII*, nor for *XLVI*. *VIII* is Ælfric's *De septiformi spiritu*, *VII* is Wulfstan's revision of it, and *XVIII* his revision of *De falsis deis*. *LV* combines *Catholic Homilies* II 98 ff with Napier *II*, and *XXXI* is an extract in Ælfric's style. *LII* and *LIII* are versions of *Polyt* c. 19, *LVI* is from the introduction to the *Confessionale Ps. Egberti* (R. Spindler, *Das altenglische Bussbuch*), also used in *XXIX*. The second part of *XLVII* occurs at the end of Byrthferth's *Manual*, and *XLVIII* is the *Ammonitio amici* which follows this. On *I*, see p. 25 below. For further details, see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*.

² 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik' in *Anglia* *xlvi*. 105 ff.

WULFSTAN'S LITERARY WORK

probable that he is also responsible for an Old English version of the Benedictine Office,¹ and for the revision of Ælfric's first pastoral letter to him contained in MS 201 at Corpus Christi, Cambridge.²

As regards the date of his work, Jost³ has shown that a first version of *V*, and also *X*, were written by 1008, and that *XIII* was used by our present text and so is before 1014. I think it also probable that our text borrows from *XXVIII* (v. note to l. 56 *infra*). In 1008 we have the first datable evidence for his connexion with legislation. The preamble to the Latin paraphrase of Ethelred's sixth code speaks of *archipresulumque Aelfeahi et Wulfstani hortatu instigante*, while the conclusion has: *idcircoque ego N (Wulfstanus)*,⁴ *gratia Domini disponente Eboracensium archiepiscopus, eadem* (i.e. the previous statutes) *ad sequentium memoriam, necnon et ad praesentium vel futurorum salutem, litteris infixi. . .* Ethelred's fifth and sixth codes, which may be varying versions of the statutes promulgated in this year, have a very close connexion with the *Sermo ad Anglos*. First, they, and no previous code, are full of the mannerisms of style that occur in all Wulfstan's writings, but most pronounced in this homily, e.g. the frequent use of intensives like *mid ealle*, *mid rihte*, *georne*, *ealles to spyðe*, &c, and of tags such as *spa him þearfis*, *æzhpær on earde*.⁵ Then there are words, especially compounds, that occur only in Wulfstan's writings, in the

¹ E. Feiler, *Das Benediktiner-Offizium*, and B. Fehr, 'Das Benediktiner-Offizium und die Beziehungen zwischen Ælfric und Wulfstan' in *Englische Studien* xlvi. 337 ff.

² B. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe* lxxv-lxxxii. He lists the Wulfstan characteristics but attributes them to an imitator, because he thinks the relation to *Polity* shows it to be too late for Wulfstan himself. But Jost, reviewing Fehr in *Englische Studien* lii. 105 ff, says that *Polity* is not as late as the version in Thorpe suggests, and thinks the reviser was Wulfstan.

³ In the article in *Anglia* lvi, cited above.

⁴ Written above in an eleventh-century hand

⁵ Wulfstan's style is discussed, e.g. in B. Fehr, *op.cit.* lxx-lxxxii, Becher, *op.cit.* 25-31, J. P. Kinard, *A Study of Wulfstan's Homilies* 19-31. See also pp. 26 f below.

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codes of Ethelred that have his mannerisms, and in Cnut's laws (see p. 22 below).¹ Further, long phrases that are almost or quite identical with some in these codes occur in the homily²; and, finally, the whole range of the subject-matter of these two codes is covered in the *Sermo*, except for the omission of all relating to the behaviour of the clergy, of an injunction against too hasty application of the death penalty, and of details about church dues and measures for the defence of the land. Reasons of date make it necessary to assume that it is the homily that is the borrower, and unless we allow that Wulfstan wrote these laws, we can only assume that the author imitated his style, as already revealed in homilies V and X, and that Wulfstan then used his imitator's work in composing this homily. This seems an unnecessary complication, considering that his name is actually mentioned in connexion with the laws in question.³

One might expect that a homily written in 1014 would show a closer resemblance to the later codes, especially VIII Ethelred, which is dated 1014. Resemblances there certainly are, but more in style than in matter. This is because the code of 1014 merely repeats and expands the ecclesiastical part of V and VI Ethelred, with which the homily was not concerned. If a secular code was issued at the same time—and, as the extant code begins: 'This is one of the ordinances'⁴ this seems likely—it has been lost; and if, like the surviving ordinance, it was based on that of 1008, it may have been the immediate source of the homily; but in the absence of the secular laws of this year this must remain mere conjecture.⁵

¹ E.g. *unforporht, mannsylen, lah-, hād-, fæsten-, frēols-bryce*.

² See notes to ll. 44 f., 86 ff., 107, 137.

³ Wulfstan is probably the author of the treaty of Edward and Guthrum. See p. 22 below.

⁴ A. J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England* 117; see F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* III. 181.

⁵ Some close connexion between Wulfstan's homilies and Ethelred's later codes has, of course, long been recognized, but many authors are cautious about its precise nature; see, e.g., F. Lieber-

SOURCES

IV. SOURCES

In so far as these are legal they are dealt with in the preceding section. To a fair amount of material from Ethelred's codes Wulfstan added an introductory passage made up of phrases from his eschatological sermons, especially *XIII*, and this homily supplied also his passage on the decay of kinship¹ and some isolated phrases elsewhere. There is also a general similarity between the list of calamities in the *Sermo ad Anglos* and that in *XXVIII*, a free translation and expansion of *Leviticus* xxvi. For other additions, Wulfstan seems to have drawn on his own experience of conditions in England, and few men could have had such opportunities of knowing these. In the notes I have tried to show how far his statements on the prevalence of treason, traffic in slaves, heathenism &c, can be corroborated from contemporary evidence. Finally, he has added a normal homiletic conclusion.

So far we have considered his indebtedness to his own earlier writings only. He borrowed a passage from one of Alcuin's letters (see note to l. 84). Sermons attributing present evils to the sins of the people are not uncommon. A Latin passage of this kind in an Exeter manuscript² may have been known to him, and he was doubtless familiar with Ælfric's Mid-Lent Sunday homily³; but, except that this also quotes *Matthew* x. 21, there is no more than a

mann, *op.cit.* III. 166, 168; Napier, *Dissertation* 6; Becher, *op.cit.* 21; Keller, *op.cit.* 45. Belief in Wulfstan's authorship is implied by Jost in *Englische Studien* lii. 108, note, while Febr, *Hirtenbriefe* lxxii considers it probable. Kinard, *op.cit.* 43, also holds Wulfstan to be the writer of these laws, and he explains similarities to Cnut's codes in the same way. See D. Whitelock, *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 4th series xxiv. 35-8, *EHR* lxiii. 433-52.

¹ See note to l. 62.

² CCC, MS 190, p. 142. It is printed by Bateson, *EHR* x 731. On this MS see p. 27 below.

³ W. W. Skeat, *Lives of Saints* I. 294, 394.

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general similarity of subject.¹ Ælfric attributes existing conditions chiefly to the decay of monasticism. The end of the *Life of St. Neot*² affords a closer parallel, for it refers to pestilence, bad crops, loosening of the ties of kinship, strife between father and son, the imminence of doomsday, at times in phraseology very like Wulfstan's.³ Although there was perhaps a conventional type for sermons on this theme, the similarity here seems to be too close to be accidental,⁴ but as the date of the *Life* is uncertain, one cannot be sure which is the borrower. It seems more probable that the passage in the *Life* is a reminiscence of Wulfstan's famous sermon.

V. LANGUAGE

Many variant forms and spellings occur in the five versions of this homily, but, as they are mainly late West Saxon variants or are due to the scribes of the later manuscripts,⁵ they do not necessarily throw light on the language of the author.

¹ Professor Dickins suggests a comparison with stanza 45 of the Edda poem, *Völuspá*, which is so similar in content.

*Bróþr munu berjask ok at þonum verþusk,
munu systrungar sífjum spilla ;
hart's í heimi, hördómr mikill ;
[skeggjöld, skalmöld, skuldr 'u klofnir,
vindröld, vargöld, áþr veröld steypisk ;]
mun engi maþr öþrum þyrma.*

² Ed. by R. P. Wülcker in *Anglia* iii. 102 ff.

³ e.g. *for folces synnen ; þide on eorðe ; Jodes laze ne zemed spa spa man scolde.*

⁴ This argument is strengthened by the fact that the one part of the St. Neot passage that has no parallel in our *sermo*, *7 se þincð nu þærrest and zeapest, þe oderne mæriȝ bespican*, is identical in meaning and similar in expression to a sentence in another Wulfstan homily, XXXIV, which follows the *Sermo ad Anglos* in three manuscripts : *ac nu þincð ðe þærra 7 micela þe snotera, se ðe can mid leasunȝan þæperðlice perian* (Napier 168 ll. 20 f).

⁵ Thus the twelfth-century H has undergone considerable modernization. The language of this manuscript is discussed by A. S. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood Tree* xlvi-lviii. MS C often alters *y*, of whatever origin, to *i*, though *y* is often retained, or

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The language that lies behind all five versions is late West Saxon, and there are only a few features that are alien to the purest West Saxon texts and which seem to go back to the original of the extant versions. First, all manuscripts except B have occasionally *æ* instead of *e* as the mutation of *d* before a nasal, i.e. *ænde*, *sæmæn*, *mæn* in I, *ȝeȝræmedan* in I and E, *acpæncan* in E, C and H, *scændað* (twice) and *bændað* in C.¹ This feature is not uncommon in eleventh-century manuscripts,² and it occurs fairly frequently in the D MS of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle³ and in the C MS of Wærferth's translation of Gregory's Dialogues, and occasionally in the O MS.⁴

Secondly, I and B have in this text always *peor* before a consonant instead of the pure West Saxon *pur* (Luick § 286), while E has *pur* only once; C and H prefer *pur*, but each has one example of *peor*. This spelling is common in Worcester MSS. The texts mentioned above have instances both of *eo* and *u* in this position (Flohrschütz §§ 23, 54, Hecht 19).

Thirdly, except in B, simple back vowels are normally written after *sc* (Luick § 254). I has *sceand-* once, but

written for original *i*, before a nasal (e.g. *pirse*, *nide*, *fir*, but *þyncan*, *ȝebrynȝeð*). The loss of initial *h* before *r*, the occasional weakening of unstressed back vowels to *e* and the resultant inverted spelling *a* for final *e* (e.g. *enȝla*, nom.pl., *dæda*, d.sg.), and the syncopated forms *porld*, *porlde*, seem also due to the C scribe. The chief modernization of B is the weakening of unstressed vowels to *e*.

¹ Not including *mæniȝ(-)*, which occurs in pure West Saxon texts and on which see Luick §§ 112 note, 303 note 3.

² e.g. in Cotton MSS, Otho B II of the *Cura Pastoralis*, and Julius E VII of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*; see further W Schlemilch, *Beiträge zur Sprache und Orthographie der spätaltenglischen Sprachdenkmäler der Übergangszeit* 7 f. Luick § 186 considers it southern, but not pure West Saxon or Kentish; K. D. Bulbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* § 171 calls it south-east Saxon *patois* but notes its sporadic occurrence elsewhere in the south.

³ A. Flohrschütz, *Die Sprache der Handschrift D der angelsächsischen Annalen* § 38.

⁴ H. Hecht, *Die Sprache der altenglischen Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* 10 ff.

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otherwise only *a* after *sc*, and E, C, and H have no forms with *ea*. Similarly, I, E and C, always have *scolde*, *scoldon*, and E and C *sculon*, whereas I has late West Saxon *scylon* (*subj.*) beside *sculon* (*indic.*). *Sceolde*, *sceoldon*, *sceolon* occur only in B and H. E has *bisceopa* at l. 190.

Instead of late West Saxon *y*, *i* (as the mutation of the broken diphthong *ea*) *e* occurs only in *ȝepelede* l. 125, beside *ȝepylede* E, *ȝepilede* C, and for the mutation of *ēa*¹ only in *ȝesene* l. 53, where, however, its occurrence in four manuscripts suggests that it was in the original. I also has *ȝesæne* (C *ȝesene*) at l. 132, and H *ȝesæne* where other manuscripts have *ȝesyne* at l. 100. No importance is to be attached to these forms, as even the best West Saxon manuscripts have sporadic instances of this *e*.

e, for *ǣ* as mutation of *ā*, occurs only in *lepe* l. 164 (besides *synleapa*, a late West Saxon form, l. 166) and *ȝelepede* l. 167. *ȝeleped* occurs in Ælfric's *Heptateuch*.

Instead of *y* as the mutation of *ū* we get *e* only in the *pælcerian* of E and the *berst*, *berste* of C, and in any case this development is widespread before *r*.² *feseð* l. 115, which is taken by H. Dunkhase³ and others to represent OE *fȳseð*, may be from ON **feysa*.

The form *lifiendne* l. 77 is often called dialectal, but it occurs in good Ælfric manuscripts⁴ and Sievers (§ 416 note 2) recognizes it as an occasional variant in West Saxon.

Finally, beside a number of syncopated forms of the singular present indicative of strong verbs and weak verbs of class I, the following unsyncopated forms occur: *heapeþ* l. 70, *hyrpeð* l. 155, *tæleð*, *ȝeȝreteð* l. 156, *ȝebringeð* l. 160. The absence of mutation in *heapeþ* shows it to be a new analogical formation, and possibly the others are too.

¹ Sievers, § 222, 2; otherwise NED s. v. *sene*.

² L. Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik* § 127.

³ *Die Sprache der Wulfstan'schen Homilien in Wulfgeats Handschriften* 49, 75.

⁴ e.g. frequently in the *Heptateuch*. See J. Wilkes, *Lautehre zu Ælfrics Heptateuch und Buch Hiob* § 6.

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Such forms are alien to Ælfric's usage, but not uncommon in eleventh-century southern texts.¹

This text, therefore, deviates little from literary West Saxon of the eleventh century and, where it is not in complete agreement with the purest examples of this, it uses forms that were probably current in the Worcester scriptorium. Phonology will not help to decide the author's place of origin until more work has been done on the scribal practices of Worcester MSS, and perhaps not even then. The vocabulary, which shows more Scandinavian influence than most Old English texts,² can be accounted for by Wulfstan's connexion with York, though it is even more understandable if he were trained at one of the Fenland abbeys.

In common with other late Old English texts, this homily shows some weakening and confusion. Thus *-an* often represents earlier *-on* (*pæran*, *dydan*, &c), *-en* (*synzian*, *forpyrcan*, subj.pl.) and *-um* (*synnan*, *þenan*, *zesibban*, &c); the neuter plural is *-a* in *zerihla*, and the plural of the *i*-stems *a* in *dæda*; the nom.acc.pl. of the adjective is *e* for all genders; and finally there is a tendency to reduce the back vowel of verbs of class 2, giving *lehtreð* l. 155 as 3rd person sg., *þeopede* l. 46 and probably *zelepede* l. 167 as p.pt.pl.³

¹ See Sievers § 358, note 2 and E. Vogel, *Zur Flexion des englischen Verbums im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert* § 3; J. Hedberg, *The Syncope of the Old English Present Endings* (Lund Studies in English XII).

² In addition to the loanwords *zriðian*, *zriðleas*, *þræl*, *fesian*, *pælcyrre* and probably *picinz*, the compounds *þezenzyld*, *nyðzyld*, and perhaps *nyðmaje* look like translations from ON (see notes on these words); while the expression *of life forræde*, which is unique in OE, may be compared with ON *ráða af lífi*. Menner, *Mod. Lang. Notes* lxiii. 1-9, claims that Wulfstan's vocabulary is predominantly Saxon.

³ Wulfstan has *tofesiað*, but preterite *tofesede* in *XXVIII*. For the new formation *ðpelode*, see Sievers § 407 note 2. Note also that the p.pt.pl. of a long stemmed verb of class 1 ends in *-ede* in *zehynede* l. 43.

SUMMARY OF RECENT WORK ON WULFSTAN

VARIOUS studies have led to the enlargement of the canon of Wulfstan's authentic work. To deal first with his legal compositions, we can add the code usually called the laws of Edward and Guthrum, a set of regulations concerning the observation of ecclesiastical laws, especially in the Danelaw, with a preface explaining that these were agreed on in the earliest days of Danish settlement.¹ Then there is a text in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 201, which was regarded by Liebermann as a late combination of parts of Ethelred's laws and those of Cnut, which I am convinced is what its rubric says it is, namely, the agreement that 'took place as soon as King Cnut with the advice of his councillors completely established peace and friendship between the Danes and the English', probably at the Oxford gathering of 1018. It is, therefore, earlier than Cnut's code, for which it was one of the sources. Moreover the style, sources and method of work employed by the compiler of this document and of Cnut's laws suggest that he should be identified with Wulfstan; Liebermann's dating of these laws as after 1027 (Wulfstan having died in 1023) is not based on strong evidence.²

Jost has recently examined very minutely the relationship between V and VI Ethelred, two of the codes written

¹ D. Whitelock, EHR lvi 1-21

² For these views on Cnut's laws, and on the version in CCCC 201, see D. Whitelock, EHR lxxiii. 433-52. They have been accepted by D. Bethurum, in *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, p. 102; JEGP xlix. 440-63; and by A. McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose' (*Proc Brit Acad xxxiv*) 36. Jost, in his most recent work, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 94-103, opposes them, but I do not consider his objections valid, as I propose to show in detail elsewhere. His arguments have failed to convince Miss Bethurum and Professor McIntosh, who have reviewed Jost's book.

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in the Wulfstan style, and the Latin text very similar in content to VI Ethelred, which mentions Wulfstan's participation and names the place of issue Enham.¹ He has shown that V Ethelred, which one manuscript dates 1008, is partly based on Latin originals, and that the Latin account of the council at Enham makes use of V Ethelred, but also of the Latin excerpts used by it. VI Ethelred, on the other hand, is based on the Latin version. Jost has strengthened the attribution of this Latin version to Wulfstan, which most scholars already held, by a comparison between it and the penitential letters issued by Wulfstan; has emphasized its importance as an account of an Anglo-Saxon council by one present at it; and has pointed out the influence of Aldhelm, the use made of the Benedictine rule, and the reliance on Frankish sources.² Jost's conclusion that VI Ethelred represents a mere private work, Wulfstan's record of the statutes, not as they actually were issued at Enham, but as he would have liked them to have been issued, seems to me quite untenable. If so busy and practical-minded a prelate drew up a set of statutes in such circumstances, it would surely be with intent to use it later, and how can we know that he had no opportunity of so doing? Jost has also drawn attention to the importance of Napier *LI*, which he suggests is an address to the witan.³

Other codes have been convincingly attributed to Wulfstan by Professor Bethurum,⁴ namely *Grið*, which deals with penalties for violating the peace of the Church, and a series of five shorter texts, those known as *Geþyncðo*, *Norþleoda laga*, *Mircna laga*, *Að*, and *Hadbot*, which all

¹ Jost, *op. cit.* 13-44

² I am not convinced that he is right, when, following Liebermann, he takes V Atr to be the statutes issued at Enham, and therefore dates this council 1008. V Atr could be the statutes of a meeting earlier than that at Enham, and the latter could be at any date between 1008 and Whitsuntide, 1011. I hope to deal with this question elsewhere.

³ Jost, *op. cit.* 104-9.

⁴ JEGP xlix. 449-63.

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deal with rank and status, secular or ecclesiastical. They betray Wulfstan's style, though he clearly incorporated earlier legal texts. All these codes, as Miss Bethurum notes, fit in with Wulfstan's general preoccupation, seen especially in his other legal writings and in *Institutes of Polity*, with 'an orderly arrangement of society'. In another article¹ the same writer makes a strong case for Wulfstan's authorship of a Latin letter sent by the English bishops to the pope to protest against archbishops being made to travel to Rome to fetch the pallium. This letter, which Wilhelm Levison showed to belong to the early eleventh century,² and to be made up of extracts from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and one of Alcuin's letters, survives in a manuscript compiled for Wulfstan.

As regards Wulfstan's other writings, some additions can be made to the remarks on pp. 13-15 above. There can be no reasonable doubt that he is the author of the work known as *Institutes of Polity* in both its versions ;³ and of Napier *LIX*, entered, perhaps as early as Wulfstan's lifetime, at the end of the York Gospels, under the rubric *Sermo Lupi*.⁴ This text and some others were rejected by Liebermann on the ground that they used Cnut's laws ;⁵ but if my dating of these laws is accepted, this objection vanishes. Jost, who does not accept this dating, nevertheless believes in the authenticity of *LIX*, and also of *XLI* and *LI*, ascribing the resemblance to Cnut's laws to borrowing in the reverse direction or use of a common source. In another case, however (*XXIV*), where he finds parts of Cnut's laws combined with passages where Wulfstan's style cannot be denied, he assumes the work of a compiler with access to Wulfstan writings which have not survived. It is, of course, possible enough that some of Wulfstan's work has been lost ; but the simpler view that

¹ *Philologica : The Malone Anniversary Studies*, 97-104.

² *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, pp. 241-8.

³ See Jost, *op.cit.* 73-86, 116.

⁴ D. Whitelock, *EHR* lxiii 451 f ; Jost, *op.cit.* 86-94.

⁵ F. Liebermann, 'Wulfstan und Cnut', *Archiv* ciii. 47-54.

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this homily was Wulfstan's own composition can be held if Cnut's laws were compiled in his lifetime. Napier *XXIII* also may be genuine, and I am unconvinced that *L*, taken by Jost to be a later compilation because of the way it combines sentences and passages from a great number of Wulfstan works, could not be mainly his own work.¹ *XXXV* and *XXXVI*, variant versions of injunctions regarding fasting and penance to be undergone 'if it should happen that serious disaster befall the nation on account of men's sins,—ravaging and famine, burning or bloodshed, failure of crops or storms, murrain or pestilence, etc.', which are obviously connected with the Old English version (Napier *XXXIX*) of VII Ethelred, a code imposing a fast on all the nation 'when the great army came to the country', are considered by Jost to come from a lost synodal decree of Wulfstan's based on this code, and not directly from it.² He thinks that Wulfstan would not have 'played with the thought of a possible national misfortune', when his land was actually being attacked. I do not find this a strong argument. His purpose may have been to state that the scheme drawn up for one particular calamity could also be followed whenever occasion called for such measures. Jost includes in his canon *XXV*, an undistinguished short text on baptism, and *XXVI*, on the paternoster and creed, and he has shown that while Homily *I* begins with some unknown writer's version of a chapter of Gregory's *Dialogues*, Wulfstan has added matter from the next chapter of these and has provided a homiletic conclusion. Jost is probably correct when he draws the first part of *XLVII*, close though it is to the *Sermo ad Anglos*, from a lost Wulfstan homily. Wulfstan has revised the work of Ælfric in *LIV*, on the dedication of a church,³ as well as in *VII*, *XVIII*, and the version of

¹ Is it possible that some apparent combinations of his various statements are due to his remembering phrases he had used before, rather than deliberate comparison of written texts?

² Jost, *op. cit.* 211-16.

³ Jost, *op. cit.* 148-50

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Ælfric's *Pastoral Letter* in CCC MS 201,¹ and in the 'poem in the D and E versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 959. A homily in Hatton MS 114 (fols. 97* v ff) should also be noticed. It is called *De letania maiore*, but only the first few sentences come from Ælfric's homily on this subject,² and they are expanded and altered in the Wulfstan manner. The theme of the opening of this homily was one of interest to Wulfstan, for Ælfric explains how the observance of a three days' fast at Rogation Days was first established after an earthquake and other calamities at Vienna. The Hatton MS adds details—the giving of alms, the following of the relics barefoot in procession—in a passage reminiscent of VII Ethelred and Napier XXXV and XXXVI. In XXXII, Wulfstan revises an anonymous translation of a passage by Abbo of St. Germain.³

Two things have made it possible to speak more definitely on the canon of Wulfstan's writings: more detailed work on the peculiarities of his language and style,⁴ and closer study of manuscripts connected with him. He had pronounced preferences in vocabulary, using, for example, *lagu* and not *æ*, *beorgan*, not *arian*, *gesælig*, not *eadig*, *lac*, not *onsægdness*. He uses some words frequently, e.g. *fadian*, *afyllan*, *forfaran*, *forrædan*. He has peculiarities of syntax, *gebugan* with a direct object, *deofol* without a definite article, *ænig*, not *nænig*, in negative sentences, and so on. Though one might imagine someone reproducing the obvious features of Wulfstan's style, such as his use of intensives like *georne*, *to wide*, *ealles to swyðe*, of set phrases like *gime se þe wille*, *swa hi betst mihton*, and of nouns in pairs, often linked by alliteration, as *here and hungor*, *mana and misdæda*, *word and weorc*, &c, it is

¹ See pp. 14 ff above.

² *Catholic Homilies* I. 244. The Hatton homily, which has not, to my knowledge, ever been printed, deserves a detailed examination.

³ D. Bethurum, PMLA lvii 925; Jost, *op.cit.* 150 ff.

⁴ Dealt with in great detail in Jost, *op.cit.* especially pp. 155-68; but articles by D. Bethurum and D. Whitelock entered below in Section III of the Bibliography should also be consulted, and R. J. Menner, PMLA lxii. 583-97.

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extremely unlikely that anyone would have troubled to imitate the minor peculiarities, or, indeed, would even have noticed them. Jost writes strongly in refutation of the notion that there were 'Wulfstan imitators'. Professor McIntosh's valuable study of the rhythm of Wulfstan's prose has given us another criterion for testing the authenticity of texts ascribed to him, for he shows that Wulfstan's prose can be differentiated from other forms of rhythmical writing, including that of Ælfric, and that it consists 'of a continuous series of two-stress phrases related in structure to the classical half-line, and severely restricted in somewhat the same fashion to certain rhythmical patterns',¹ which he examines in detail.²

As for the manuscripts connected with Wulfstan, we now know that one part of *Vespasian A XIV*, the older portion of *Nero A 1*, and probably the *Copenhagen MS Gl. kgl. S. 1595*, were compiled for his use,³ and that there must once have existed what Miss Bethurum has called Archbishop Wulfstan's commonplace book, that is a collection of texts and excerpts of use to him in 'his attempt to regulate the practices of both bishops and lesser clergy under his supervision', which survives in greater or smaller extent in the *Corpus MSS 190* and *265*, *Bodley MS 718* (S.C. 2632), *Junius 121* (S.C. 5232), *Nero A 1*, *Bibl. Paris MS Fonds 3182*, *Bodleian MS Barlow 37*, and the *Copenhagen manuscript*.⁴ The *Corpus MS 201* also had access to material collected by him, mainly of a legal nature,⁵ and the *Boulogne MS 63* includes texts used by him, as well as a letter from Ælfric to him.⁶ There are other manuscripts, listed by Napier, which contain some of his homilies and other writings. Express reference is made to Wulfstan in two manuscripts: *Vespasian A XIV* has

¹ *Op. cit.* 8.

² *Op. cit.* 8 ff, 31 f

³ See D. Whitelock, *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 4th Series, xxiv. 30-4; D. Bethurum, *PMLA* lvii. 916-29.

⁴ D. Bethurum, *loc. cit.*

⁵ D. Whitelock, *EHR* lxiii. 433-52.

⁶ See works cited in note 3 above.

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a poem addressed to him,¹ and there are three Latin verses punning on his name in Tiberius A XIII.²

A discovery with very far-reaching implications for Wulfstan studies has been made by N. R. Ker,³ who points out that in several manuscripts connected with Wulfstan certain entries, interlineations and marginalia have been made in a single handwriting, 'not so much a professional as a scholar's hand'. It enters the poem addressed to him in Vespasian A XIV, and a passage in his style in the Copenhagen manuscript.⁴ It makes corrections in Nero A I and interlineations in Claudius A III, i.e. the manuscript which contains VI Ethelred and the Latin account of the Council of Enham, both accepted as Wulfstan's work. It is found in other Worcester manuscripts, Hatton 20, the copy of Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care* which he sent to Bishop Werferth, Hatton 42, a collection of canons, and Tiberius A XIII, the well-known cartulary which used to be attributed to Hemming, but which Ker has shown to consist of two parts, of which only the second is Hemming's work. The hand we are considering occurs in the older, early eleventh-century portion, where it makes some additions to a homily (Napier 1), and writes in the margins of the charters the names of the estates concerned. It is found also making

¹ BCS 896; W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, p. lv, note. See D. Whitelock, *EHR* lii. 463

² N. R. Ker, in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, p. 71. It is less certain whether, as Miss Bethurum (*PMLA* lvii. 917) claims, the reference to Wulfstan in the profession of a monk entered in CCC 265 is to our archbishop, rather than to Wulfstan II of Worcester

³ *Ibid* pp. 70-2. It is to be hoped that he will soon publish his material in full.

⁴ I believe this to be genuine. Jost (*op cit.* 268-70) rejects it because it contains some words and usages not paralleled in his writings. But Jost depends on a faulty printed version. Mr. Ker informs me that the manuscript reads *þyses lyllan* in line 1, not *þyses lyden* to which Jost naturally took objection. The question of authenticity must wait further discussion when we have a reliable text.

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interlineations in a list of lands once belonging to the see of York, drawn up by Archbishop Oswald,¹ which survives in Harley MS 55. Some of the entries in this hand in various manuscripts are in line with Wulfstan's practice, and McIntosh notes that some show 'the same careful attention to rhythmical considerations as that in the revisions of Ælfric'.² It is very likely that this hand is Wulfstan's own; at the very least, it must belong to someone closely connected with him.

As a result of work on manuscripts and sources, we are now able to form a much clearer picture of Wulfstan's learning and interests. Jost showed already in 1932³ that Wulfstan was very familiar with Frankish sources, and further work supports this conclusion. The manuscripts with material collected by Wulfstan contain Frankish capitularies and penitentials, and works of scholars such as Theodulf of Orleans, Amalarius of Metz, Rabanus Maurus and Abbo of St. Germain, authors from whom Wulfstan borrowed. Jost has recently demonstrated his debt to a work of Pirmin, the eighth-century founder of Reichenau.⁴

But perhaps of even greater interest is his familiarity with earlier English authors. His Latin style was influenced by Aldhelm, he knew Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, he used a letter of St. Boniface, and the genuine penitential of Archbishop Egbert of York, as well as the works (the *Excerptiones*, *Confessionale* and *Poenitentiale*) which are mainly later Frankish work, but were attributed to this prelate.⁵ The canons of the councils at Hertford (672) and Chelsea (816), and the Constitutions of Archbishop Odo of Canterbury (941-58) are included in Vespasian A XIV,⁶ and he used the last of these, and the report of the papal legates of 787, in his Latin writings

¹ A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, No. LIV.

² *Op cit.* p. 32

³ *Anglia* lvi. 265 ff.

⁴ *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 45-62.

⁵ Jost, *op cit.* 13-26, 64.

⁶ D. Whitelock, *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 4th Series, xxiv. 30.

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and excerpts.¹ Alcuin was most frequently used. Many of his letters were entered in Vespasian A xiv, and some of particular interest to him in his 'Commonplace Book'; one supplied him with a passage in his *Sermo ad Anglos*.² He draws also on Alcuin's *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis* and his outline of the baptismal rite.³ If the handwriting discussed above is really his, he read Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great, though he read the works of this and other Fathers of the Church in Latin. His indebtedness to Ælfric and his exhaustive familiarity with earlier Anglo-Saxon legal texts require no further demonstration. All subsequent work has shown how right Jost was in 1932 when he drew attention to the learning that lay behind Wulfstan's writings and to the care with which he selected excerpts from various Latin sources; in his last book Jost has proved how well he knew the *Benedictine Rule*.⁴

If the hand that annotated the cartulary of Tiberius A XIII and the document concerning the York estates is Wulfstan's, we get a glimpse of him as an administrator of the lands of his two sees, and perhaps it is in this context that we should note the similarity between his style and that of the documents on the management of a great estate, i.e. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* and *Gerefa*, which both Miss Bethurum and Professor McIntosh have observed.⁵ The fact that Wulfstan issued a lease of Worcester lands *after* the appointment of his successor Leofsige,⁶ suggests to me that he regarded him merely as his suffragan, and if so, it would be unsafe to take 1016 as a final date for Wulfstan's activities, literary or otherwise, connected with Worcester. To the evidence given above⁷ for his dealings with the lands of this see should

¹ Jost, *op.cit.* 26, 63.

² See p 51 *infra*.

³ D. Bethurum, *Philologica: Malone Anniversary Studies*, p. 98.

⁴ *Op.cit.* 22 f, 51 and note 3

⁵ D Bethurum, *JEGP* xlix 456 note; A. McIntosh, *op.cit.*, 20.

⁶ See above, p. 9 and note.

⁷ See p. 9 above.

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be added a remark in the boundaries of Bengeworth in an Evesham cartulary: 'Within this boundary are the five hides which Archbishop Wulfstan gave to Ælfric.'¹

It has become increasingly clear that Wulfstan was a far more important political figure than historians previously realized,² especially if we can attribute to him the drawing up of Cnut's laws, for this suggests that his was the influence that made a pious king out of a young Viking. Another result of importance to historians is the light Wulfstan studies have thrown on how Anglo-Saxon assemblies were conducted and laws made. Jost's examination of the Latin document relating to the council of Enham, and his interpretation of Napier *L* as an address to an assembled witan, give us an insight into the procedure, while from the prologue to the version of Cnut's laws in the Corpus MS 201 we learn something of what happened at that most important gathering at Oxford in 1018.

¹ KCD 1358.

² On the neglect of Wulfstan by historians, see D. Whitelock, *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 4th Series, xxiv. 25 f.

A NOTE ON THE TEXT AND TEXTUAL NOTES

The punctuation and the use of capitals is modern. The abbreviations expanded are \sim over a vowel to represent a following \bar{m} , \bar{p} for $\bar{p}\bar{x}t$, $\bar{x}ft'$ for $\bar{x}fter$, $\bar{p}o\bar{n}$ for $\bar{p}onne$, xp' - for $cris-$, and occasionally \bar{m} for men . The Latin abbreviations in the rubric have also been expanded. In order to make it possible for the student to see the relation of the MSS, and the significant variants, I have given only a minimum of textual notes, ignoring unimportant differences in forms and spellings. All these differences can be consulted in Napier's edition

SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS QUANDO DANI MAXIME PERSECUTI SUNT EOS, QUOD FUIT ANNO MILLESIMO XIII AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CRISTI

Leofan men, gecnapað þæt soð is : ðeos porold is on ofste, 7 hit nealæcð þam ende, 7 þy hit is on porolde áá spa lenz spá pyrse, 7 spa hit sceal nyde for folces synnan ær Antecristes tocyme yfelian spyþe, 7 huru hit pyrð þænne egeslic 7 grimlic pide on porolde. Understandað eac

TEXTUAL VARIANTS : ¹ The rubric in C is identical, except that it has VIII for XIII and that *quod* has been corrected from QUOS. E replaces ANNO . . . CRISTI by IN DIES ÆÐELFREDI REGIS, to which *Anno Chri.* 1009 has been added in a late, probably seventeenth-century, hand. B has as rubric only LAR SPELL, and H SERMO. ² C, B and H omit *for folces synnan* ; after *synnan* E adds *fram dæge to dæge*. ³ After *spyþe* C adds *þis pæs on Æþelredes cynninges dazum zedriht, feoper zeara fæce ær he forðferde. ðime se ðe pille hu hit þa pære 7 hpæt siððan zepurde*. ⁴ C, B and H omit *7 huru . . . pide on porolde* ⁵ E adds *Ʒ* (the abbreviation for *Leofan men*) before *Understandað*.

(*Italicized figures refer to the textual variants*)

⁴⁻⁵ *ðeos porold . . . pide on porolde* . this passage is made up of phrases almost identical with some in the eschatological sermons, Napier XII, XIII, XV and XL. See especially Napier 79, ll. 12 f, and cf 81, ll. 7 f, 83, ll. 10 ff, 189, ll. 5 f. These homilies contain some of the phrases which in our text occur in E and I only, or in E alone, e.g. *fram dæge to dæge* Napier 79, l. 12, *for folces synnan* ib. 81, l. 8. The passage ib. 189, ll. 7 f, *forþam ðe heo (þeos porold) is on ofstum 7 hit nealæcð þam ende 7 þi heo pære purde þæt hi z æni z man ne lufode*, shows that the first *hit* in l. 5 is better taken as a formal subject than as a false concord with the feminine noun *porold*

⁶ *spa lenz spá pyrse* : cf (*peox*) *spa lenz spa spyðor*, which is Ælfric's rendering of *Ex xix 19, paulatim (crescebat) in maris*.

⁷ On Antichrist see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* s.v. *Man of Sin*, or *Encyclopædia Britannica* s.v. *Antichrist*. Besides the

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georne þæt deofol þas þeode nu fela Ʒeara dþelode to spyþe,
 10 7 þæt lytle Ʒetreopþa pæran mid mannum, þeah hy pel
 spæcan, 7 unrihta to fela ricsode on lande ; 7 næs a fela
 manna þe smeade ymbe þa bote spa Ʒeorne spa man scolde,
 ac dæƷhpamlice man ihte yfel æfter oðrum 7 unriht
 rærde 7 unlaga maneƷe ealles to pide Ʒynd ealle þas þeode.

⁹ dþelode : H dþolede. ¹¹ spæcan : MS spæcan ; ricsode : H
 rixoden ; a : C na, H ná. ¹² smeade : C, H hoƷode, B hoƷade
¹⁴ rærde : H rædde, C arærde.

homilies mentioned above, Napier *XLII* also deals with this subject. It is a translation of Adzo, *Libellus de Antichristo* (v. M. Forster, *Archiv* cxvi. 308), to which has been added a conclusion in Wulfstan's style. In the tenth century references to the end of the world as imminent are common. Continental sources, quoted in B. Thorpe, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* I. 621, and in G. G. Coulton, *A Medieval Garner* 4 ff, expressly mention the year 1000 as the date of the end, this view being based on a literal interpretation of *Revelation* xx. 2, 5. In English sources the nearness of the end is mentioned in charters (e.g. BCS 665, dated 929, BCS 1115, dated 963, KCD 657, dated 987), in the Blickling Homilies X and XI, of which the latter was written in 971, in the *Life of St. Neot* (*Anglia* iii. 114), and very frequently in Ælfric's writings (e.g. *Catholic Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I. 2, 298, 476, 608-18, *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, I. 304, 352). No precise reference to the year 1000 in this connexion in English records is known, and Wulfstan certainly continued to regard contemporary conditions as a sign of the approaching doom after this year: þusend Ʒeara 7 eac ma is nu aƷan . . . 7 Antecristes tima is pel Ʒehende (Napier *XIII*). Yet Ælfric, in his homily, *In Natale Sanctarum Virginum* (Thorpe, *op.cit.* II. 568), now opposes this opinion: 'Often men say, "Even now comes doomsday" . . . There is no creature who knows the time of this world's ending.' This change of tone and Byrhtferth's statement in his *Manual* (ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS, 240) that the thousand years (of *Revelation* xx. 2) have gone by 'according to human calculation' suggest that there were in England, as abroad, people who had expected the world to end in 1000.

⁹ deofol : the use of this word without an article is one of the characteristic features of Wulfstan's style.

¹¹ fela with the verb in the singular is common in Alfred's writings and in poetry, but rare in Ælfric.

¹⁴ unlaga : not 'bad laws', but 'violations of law', 'injustices', as in V Atr 24 : spicollice dæda 7 ladlice unlaga ascuniƷe man's piðe,

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7 pe eac forþam habbað fela byrsta 7 bysmara ȝebiden, 7 ¹⁵
 ȝif pe ænige bote ȝebidan scylan, þonne mote pe þæs
 to ȝode ernian bet þonne pe ær þysan dydan. Forþam mid
 miclan earnunȝan pe ȝeearnedan þa yrmða þe us on
 sittað, 7 mid spyþe micelan earnunȝan pe þa bote motan
 æt ȝode ȝeræcan, (fol. 110b) ȝif hit sceal heonanforð ²⁰
 ȝodiende peorðan. La hpæt, pe pitan ful ȝeorne þæt to
 miclan bryce sceal micel bót nyde, 7 to miclan bryne
 pæter unlytel, ȝif man þæt fyr sceal to ahte acpencan ;
 7 micel is nydþearf manna ȝehpildum þæt he ȝodes laȝe
 ȝyme heonanforð ȝeorne 7 ȝodes ȝerihhta mid rihte ȝelæste. ²⁵
 On hæpenum þeodum ne dear man forhealdan lytel ne
 micel þæs þe ȝelazod is to ȝedpolȝoda peorðunȝe ; 7 pe
 forhealdað æȝhpær ȝodes ȝerihhta ealles to ȝelome. 7 ne
 dear man ȝeþanian on hæpenum þeodum inne ne ute
 ænig þæra þinga þe ȝedpolȝodan broht bið 7 to lacum ³⁰

¹⁵ byrsta : C bersta. ¹⁶ þæs : C þæt. ¹⁶¹ þæs to ȝode :
 H to Gode þæs. ¹⁷ ernian · E, C earnian, B ȝearnian, H
 ȝearmian. ¹⁸ ȝeearnedan : n added above the line. ¹⁹ bote :
 H dedbote. ²³ to ahte : H to eahte, with to altered to pe in a
 late hand. ²⁴ After nydþearf E adds eac ; manna : MS mana.
²⁵ After ȝeorne E adds bet þonne he ær dyde. ²⁶ dear : a added
 above ; lytel ne micel : C micel ne litel. ²⁸ B and H have the
 æȝhpær after ȝodes ȝerihhta. ²⁹ dear : a added above. ³⁰ broht :
 C, B, H ȝebroht ; lacum : H lace.

þæt is : falsa ȝepihhta . . . 7 lease ȝepitnessa. Instances could be
 multiplied, while there is no clear case of its use as 'bad laws'.
 ON *úlog* meant 'violation of law'. Un- in OE can either have a
 negative force, as here, or, as in *uncræft, unræd*, &c, it can be
 pejorative ; v. NED, s.v. un-¹.

²⁰¹ sceal . . . ȝodiende peorðan : 'is to start to improve'.
 Exact parallels are lacking, but cf J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax* . . .
Alfreds des Grossen II. § 402, who cites *Cura Pastoralis* 405. 25 :
ðin eazan peorðað ȝesionde ðinne bebiðend.

²⁵ ȝodes ȝerihhta . . . ȝelæste : 'pay God's dues'. V Atr 11
 (= VI Atr 16 ff) shows what these consisted of. It says :
ȝelæste man ȝodes ȝerihhta ȝeorne, and defines them as plough-
 alms, tithe of young livestock, tithe of the fruits of the earth,
 Peter's pence, light-dues and payment for the souls of the dead.

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betæht bið; 7 þe habbað Ȝodes hus inne 7 ute clæne berypte. 7 Ȝodes þeopas syndan mæþe 7 munde zepelhpær bedælde; 7 zedpolȝoda þenan ne dear man misbeodan on ænize pisan mid hæþenum leodum, spa spa
⁸⁵ man Ȝodes þeopum nu deð to pide, þær cristene scoldan Ȝodes laze healdan 7 Ȝodes þeopas ȝriðian.

Ac soð is þæt ic secze, þearf is þære bote, forþam Ȝodes ȝerihhta panedan to lanze innan þysse þeode on æȝhpylcan ænde, 7 folclaza pyrседan ealles to spyþe, 7 halignessa

³² After *beryppte* B and H add *ælcria ȝerisena* (H *ȝerysna*); 7 *Ȝodes . . . syndan*: E 7 *eac syndan Ȝodes þeopas* ³³ *ȝepelhpær*: H *ȝehpær*; before *zedpolȝoda* E adds *sume men seczad þæt*; *zedpolȝoda*: E, C *zedpolȝodan*, H *zedpolȝadæ* ³⁵ *deð* altered from *dæð* by erasure. ³⁶ B and H omit 7 *Ȝodes þeopas ȝriðian*.

³⁷ B and H omit *þearf is þære bote, forþam*. ³⁸ *to*: C, B, H *nu*; *þeode*: E *earde*. ³⁸ B and H omit *innan þysse þeode . . . ænde* ³⁹ *folclaza*: H *folces laze*; after *spyþe* E adds *syððan Eadȝar ȝeendode*

³¹⁻⁶ *þe habbað . . . ȝriðian*: this passage seems to have been used in *Polity* c. 25

³¹ *clæne berypte*: we hear of churches which had to sell their treasures and alienate estates in order to meet the payment of Danegeld (e.g. KCD 689, which is concerned with a Christchurch estate, or William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, RS, 411, concerning Malmesbury) The most interesting statement is Hemming's, because he refers to Wulfstan's own church of Worcester; he says (ed. T. Hearne, 248): *omnia fere ornamenta hujus ecclesie distracta sunt, tabule altaris, argento et auro parate, spoliata sunt, textus exornati* (sic), *calices confracti, cruces confiate, ad ultimum etiam terre et villule pecunias distracte sunt*. But some churches also claimed to have been despoiled by the rapacity of powerful magnates. See, for example, *Chronicon Abbatæ de Evesham* RS, 81, and BCS 1273 and 1274, which are versions of a papal letter threatening the aldrman Ælfric with excommunication on account of his spoliation of Glastonbury.

³² *Ȝodes þeopas*. this expression is defined in V Atr 4 (= VI Atr 2) as including 'bishops and abbots, monks and nuns, priests and women under religious vows'.

³⁹ Addition in E, *syððan Eadȝar ȝeendode*: this phrase occurs in *Polity* c. 12. The deterioration since Edgar's death is mentioned also in VIII Atr 37 and in the poem (by Wulfstan?) in ASC 975D, in a phrase reminiscent of l. 7: 7 *áá æfter þam hit yfelode spiðe*.

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syndan to ȝriðlease pide, 7 ȝodes hus syndan to clæne 40
 berypte ealdra ȝerihra 7 innan bestrypte ælcra ȝerisena ;
 (fol. 111) 7 pydepan syndan fornydde on unriht to ceorle,
 7 to mæneȝe foryrmde 7 ȝehynede spyȝe ; 7 earne men
 syndan sare bespicene 7 hreoplice besyrpde 7 ut of þysan

⁴⁰ H omits *hus* and a fifteenth-century hand has added *bybode* above the line.

⁴¹ *ealdra* : C *ealra* ; *bestrypte* . second *t* added above, E *beryppte* ; *ȝerisena* : E. *rysena* ; after it C, B and H add 7 *ȝodcunde hadas pæron* (H *peron*) *nu lanȝe spide forsapene* (H *forsæȝene*).

⁴² C, B and H omit *syndan*, E adds *pide* after it. ⁴³ C B and H omit 7 *ȝehynede spyȝe*.

⁴⁴ C, B and H omit *syndan sure* ; after *besyrpde* B and H add *ȝe æt fremre ȝe æt fóstre ȝe æt féo ȝe æt feore* (H *fóre ealles* (H *alles*) to *ȝelome* (H *ilome*)).

⁴⁰ *ȝriðlease* : this compound is not otherwise recorded in OE, but cf ON *gríðalaus*, 'without safe-conduct'. For the Anglo-Saxon regulations relating to sanctuary see especially Ine 5, Af 2, 5, IV As 6.1, VIII Atr 1.5, I Cn 2-3a.

⁴² *pydepan syndan . . . fornydde . . . to ceorle* : a widow could not marry within a year of her husband's death without forfeiting her 'morning gift' and inheritance from him ; even if married by force she could retain these possessions only if she left her husband (v. II Cn 73 f and cf V Atr 21.1 = VI Atr 26.1). After a year she is to 'choose what she herself wishes' (V Atr 21 = VI Atr 26) and Ethelred puts her under the king's special protection. Again Cnut's laws try to protect a woman from being forced into a marriage distasteful to her (II Cn 74). The Church refused its blessing on second marriages. The despoiling of widows is one of the accusations levelled against the anti-monastic party after Edgar's death by the author (Wulfstan?) of the poem in ASC 975 D.

⁴⁴ *ut of þysan earde pide ȝesealde* : already in the early eighth century it was forbidden to sell a slave across the sea, 'even though he be guilty' (Ine 11) and a letter of Pope Gregory III to Boniface in 732 complains of the sale of Christian slaves to the heathen, who bought them for sacrificial victims (v. H. M. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin* 27, note). Ine's statute is repeated in substance in V Atr 2, VI Atr 9, II Cn 3, almost in Wulfstan's words (Cnut omits the limiting *unforporhte*). VII Atr 5 pronounces excommunication on any who sin in this way, and so does an addition to the Penitential of Pseudo-Ecgbert (ed. J. Raith 70). Yet the foreign slave trade continued ; St Wulfstan of Worcester tried to suppress it at Bristol towards the end of the eleventh century (*Vita Wulfstani* II. c. 20), and it is prohibited in the *Ten Articles of William I* c. 9 (early twelfth century).

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⁴⁵ earde pide gesealde spyþe unforporhte fremdum to
gepealde ; 7 cradolcild zeþeopede þurh pælhreope unlaga
for lytelre þyþþe pide zynd þas þeode ; 7 freorihht fornumene
7 þrælriht zenyrpde 7 ælmæsriht gepanode ; 7, hrædest

⁴⁷ C omits *for lytelre þyþþe*, but has an erasure of about ten letters after *unlaga* ; C, B and H omit *pide zynd þas þeode*. ⁴⁸ After *gepanode* C adds *Friþe men ne motan pealdan heora sylfra, ne faran þar hi pillað, ne atean heora azen spa spa hi pillað. Ne þrælas ne moton habban þæt hi azon on azenan hpilan mid earfeðan gepunnen, ne þæt þæt heom on Jodes est jode men zeudon, 7 to ælmesgife for Jodes lufan sealdon. Ac æghpild ælmesriht þe man on Jodes est scolde mid rihte zeorne zelæstan, ælc man zelillað odde forhealded, forþam unriht is to pide mannum gemæne 7 unlaga leofe.*

⁴⁵ *unforporhte* : Liebermann understands this as 'not having incurred the death penalty', although *forporht* seems merely to mean 'guilty'. If he is right, Wulfstan and the laws of Ethelred allow the sale to the heathen only of the criminal condemned to death ; if, however, BT is correct in taking this term as 'not criminal', 'innocent' (see also A. J. Robertson, *Laws of the Kings of England* 79), the distinction drawn is between the penal slave in general and other slaves, and the former can apparently be sold to the heathen. Cnut's statute leaves out this word and so makes the prohibition general. Besides penal slaves and those who were born slaves, the unfree class in Anglo-Saxon times contained persons enslaved for debt, or who had sold themselves into slavery in time of famine (see KCD 925), and further on Wulfstan speaks of the selling of one's kindred. This is placed by the Penitential of Pseudo-Ecgbert (ed. J. Raith 57) on the same level as selling Christians to the heathen.

⁴⁶ *cradolcild zeþeopede* : this may be a reference to the responsibility of the thief's family, rather than to theft by minors. Ine 7. 1, states that if a man steal with the knowledge of his household, all are to go into slavery. II Cn 76, 2 f legislates against a too rigid application of this. It reads, in Miss Robertson's translation (*op.cit.* 215), 'It has been the custom up till now for grasping persons to treat a child which lay in the cradle, even though it had never tasted food, as being as guilty as though it were fully intelligent. But I strictly forbid such a thing henceforth.' According to Ine 7.2, a child of ten can be accessory to a theft ; twelve is the age of responsibility for theft in II As 1, VI As 1.1, Hn 59.20, while in VI As 12.1 no one under fifteen can be put to death.

⁴⁸ *þrælriht zenyrpde* : the C insertion gives among other things one instance of the curtailing of the rights of slaves, namely their right to their own earnings. Ethelred's edict enjoining on the nation a three days' fast has in its Latin version the injunction :

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is to cpeþenne, ȝodes laza laðe 7 lara forsapene ; 7 þæs
 pe habbað ealle þurh ȝodes yrre bysmor ȝelome, ȝecnape ⁵⁰
 se þe cunne ; 7 se byrst pyrð ȝemæne, þeh man spa ne
 pene, eallre þysse þeode, butan ȝod beorȝe.

Forþam hit is on us eallum sputol 7 ȝesene þæt pe ær
 þysan oftor bræcan þonne pe bettan, 7 þy is þysse þeode ⁵⁵
 fela onsæȝe. Ne dohte hit nu lanȝe inne ne ute, ac þæs
 here 7 hunȝer, bryne 7 blodȝyte on ȝepelhpylcan ende oft
 7 ȝelome ; 7 us stalu 7 cþalu, stric 7 steorfa, orfþealm 7

⁴⁹ forsapene : a second *n* has been erased, E *forsepene*, CB *for-*
sapene, H *forseȝene*. ⁵⁰ An *a* at the end of *bysmor* has been
 erased. ⁵¹ The first *se* added above the line ; *byrst* : C *berst*.

⁵² The *re* of *eallre* has been added ; *beorȝe* : E *ȝebeorȝe*, B *byrȝe*,
 H *burȝe*. ⁵⁵ *onsæȝe* : H *un sæȝe* ; *lanȝe* : E *lance*. ⁵⁶ *here* :

glossed *tharste* in a fifteenth-century hand in H ; about three letters
 have been erased before *bryne*.

' all slaves shall be exempt from work on those three days so that
 they . . . may make what they want for themselves ' (VII Atr 2.3).
 Extant manumissions in which slaves buy their own or their rela-
 tions' freedom show that in practice the slave's right to possessions
 was sometimes admitted (v. KCD 933, 934, 935).

⁴⁸ Addition in C, *Friȝe men ne motan pealdan heora sylfra . . .*
hi pillað : this perhaps indicates that difficulty is being felt in
 keeping clear the distinction between personal commendation and
 actual dependence of tenure ; cf P. Vinogradoff, *English Society*
in the Eleventh Century 346 f, where Domesday Book examples of
 depression of status are given. The phrases used in our text are
 very similar to Domesday formulae such as *non poterant recedere*,
 or *nec dare vel vendere potuerunt*.

⁵⁶ *here 7 hunȝer &c* : lists of this kind are common in Wulfstan's
 writings. There is an interesting parallel in Napier *XXVIII*, a
 homily based mainly on *Leviticus* xxvi and showing great similarity
 to our text in another passage also (v. note to l. 108). Closer to
 our homily, and probably derived from it, are the introductions to
 two versions of an address based on VII Atr (Napier *XXXV*, *XXXVI*).
Here 7 hunȝer is a common formula and survives into ME (v.
 B. Dickins in *Leeds Studies in English* iv. 75 f), but the list of
 calamities in the Lambeth Homily II (R. Morris, *Old English*
Homilies I. 13) is merely a ME translation of Napier *XXVIII*.

⁵⁷ *stric* : this occurs only here and in similar passages in *Polity*.
ȝestric occurs in the Leechdoms, where it glosses *seditionem* (v. BT) ;
 the dictionaries suggest 'plague' as an alternative as forming a
 better parallel with *steorfa*. See also p. 53.

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uncoþu, hól 7 hete 7 rýpera reafiac derede spyþe þearle,
 7 unzylda spyþe gedrehtan, 7 us unpedera foroft peoldan
 60 unpæstma ; forþam on þysan earde pæs, spa hit þincan
 mæg, nu fela (fol. 111b) geara unrihta fela 7 tealte getrypða
 æzhpær mid mannum. Ne bearh nu foroft zesib zesibban
 þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his bearne, ne hpilum bearn his
 azenum fæder, ne broþor oþrum ; ne ure ænig his lif
 65 fadode spa spa he scolde, ne gehadode rezollice, ne læpede
 lahlice. Ac porhtan lust us to laze ealles to gelome, 7

⁵⁹ The other MSS have *us* before *unzylda* ; *us* is added above the line ; *unpedera* : H *pe dærvæ*, with erasure of two letters before *p* and one before *d*. ⁶¹ *getrypða* : MS *getryða* ; in II, *ze* is glossed *eny*. ⁶² The first *þe* · B *þa* ; *bearne* : B *suna*, H *sune* ; *hpilum* : C *hpilc* ⁶⁴ *u* of *ure* added above. ⁶⁵ The other MSS have *ne* before *fadode*. ⁶⁶ C, B and H omit *Ac porhtan . . . pe scoldan*.

⁵⁸ *hól* : this is usually rendered 'calumny', but 'malice' seems to suit the recorded instances, especially the alliterative formula *ne for hete ne for hole* (Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* I. 396) which, like the *vor rihte niþe 7 for fule onde* of the *Owl and Nightingale* l. 1096, corresponds to the Latin *odium et alia* ; see Atkins' edition 93

reafiac : this term survived in ME (v. NED s v. *reflac*), especially in Scots as a legal term. B. Dickins calls attention to its use in Henryson's *Fables* l. 486 ; see the note in H. H. Wood's edition 230.

⁵⁹ *unzylda* : for the heavy taxation of the period see ASC s.a. 991, 994, 1002, 1007 (when the Danegeld reached £30,000), 1011, 1014 ; in 1008 there was a levy of ships and equipment. Further evidence of the pressure of the Danegeld is afforded by the will of King Fadred (F. E. Harmer, *English Historical Documents XXI*) and in that of Archbishop Ælfric (*Anglo-Saxon Wills XVIII*), as both testators make bequests to lessen this burden ; see also note to l 31 f.

⁶⁰ *unpedera foroft peoldan unpæstma* : famine, storms, bad seasons are recorded in ASC s.a. 986, 1005 and 1014.

⁶¹ *tealle getrypða* · Wulfstan uses this expression in XIII (Napier 82, l 12).

⁶² *Ne bearh nu foroft zesib zesibban &c* : K. Jost (*Anglia* lvi. 302 note) shows that, while both this and the very similar passage in XIII (Napier 86, ll. 5-7) are renderings of *Matthew* x. 21, the one in XIII keeps the order of the original and is in a better context, so that Wulfstan has probably used XIII when composing this *Sermo*.

⁶⁶ *Ac porhtan* : a subject, *pe*, has to be supplied from *ure ænig* above.

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naþor ne heoldan ne lare ne laze Ȝodes ne manna spa spa
 pe scoldan. Ne æniȝ pið oþerne ȝetryplice þohte spa rihte
 spa he scolde, ac mæst ælc spicode 7 oþrum derede pordes
 7 dæde ; 7 huru unrihtlice mæst ælc oþerne æftan heapeþ ⁷⁰
 mid sceandlican onscytan, do mare, ȝif he mæge. Forþam
 her syn on lande unȝetrypþa micle for Ȝode 7 for porolde,
 7 eac her syn on earde on mistlice pisan hlafordspican
 maneȝe. 7 ealra mæst hlafordspice se bið on porolde þæt
 man his hlafordes saule bespice ; 7 ful micel hlafordspice ⁷⁵

⁶⁸ B and H add *ne* before *þohte*. ⁶⁹ H has *dæri* + *odrum*.
⁷⁰ After *unrihtlice* C adds 7 *unþeȝenlice*, with the 7 above the line.
⁷¹ After *onscytan* E adds 7 *mid prohlacan*. ⁷² B and H omit *her* ;
syn : C *sind*, H *beoð* ; before *porolde* three letters (*eor* ?), added
 above the line, have been erased. ⁷³ *h* has been erased before
eac ; *syn* : C *sind*, H *beoð* ; *h* of *hlaforð-* added above the line.
⁷⁴ C omits *on mistlice pisan hlaforðspican maneȝe* 7 here and in-
 serts it, except 7, after *earde* on l. 78. ⁷⁵ *hlaforðspice* : B *hla-*
forðspica. ⁷⁶ *i* of *his* added above the line ; after *bespice* the MS
 adds 7 *ful micel hlaforðspice eac bið on porolde þæt man his hlaforðes*
saule bespice, and these words have been crossed through later ;
hlaforðspice : B *hlaforðspica*.

⁷³ *syn* : Wulfstan uses this form where the subjunctive mood is
 out of place, e.g. l. 109 where a verb in a co-ordinate clause is
 indicative. Some MSS replace *syn* by *synd*, *syndon*, &c. H. M.
 Flasdieck ('Das altgermanische Verbum Substantivum unter
 besonderer Berücksichtigung des Altenglischen' in *Englische*
Studien lxxi. 343) regards *syn* as a simplification of the final
 consonant group *nd* to *n* and gives instances in other writers

⁷⁴ *hlaforðspican* : the frequency of references to treachery is one
 of the most striking features of the records of this period. Leaving
 aside the aldormen Ælfric and Eadric, who may have been regarded
 as national scapegoats, there is mention of an Essex conspiracy,
 as early as 994, to accept Swegn as king (D. Whitelock, *Anglo-*
Saxon Wills XVI (2)), and in 1006 the Berkshire estates of a king's
 thegn, Wulfgeat, were forfeited because he was leagued with the
 king's enemies (KCD 1310, cf ib. 1305, ASC 1006, FlWig 1006).
 In 1009 Wulfnoth the South Saxon is in open rebellion (ASC) and
 before 1012 a certain Leofric, in Wiltshire, had forfeited his lands
 for rebelling against the king's troops (KCD 1307). Treachery
 towards one's lord incurs the death penalty in the laws (Af 4,
 II As 4, III Edg 7.3, II Cn 57, 64 and 77) ; V Atr 28-31 goes into
 more detail on this offence, but only as directed against the king.

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eac bið on porolde þæt man his hlaford of life forræde,
 oððon of lande lifendne drife; 7 æȝþer is ȝeporden on
 þysan earde: Eadpeard man forrædde (fol. 112) 7 syððan
 acpealde 7 æfter þam forbærnde, [and Æþelred man
 80 dræfde ut of his earde]. 7 ȝodsibbas 7 ȝodbearn to fela
 man forspilde pide ȝynd þas þeode; 7 ealles to mæneȝe

⁷⁶ eac: B se, H þe; of life forræde: B, H on life bespice.
⁷⁷ oððon: C, H oððe; of: H on; lifendne: E lifendum, C
 lifizendne, B, H lifizende; C omits 7; on: E innan. ⁷⁹¹ and
 Æþelred . . . his earde is supplied from B; it is missing from I,
 E and C (see p. 3 *supra*). ⁸¹ After þeode E adds *toecan oðran*

⁷⁸ Eadpeard: Edward the Martyr, Edgar's son by his first wife,
 and his successor in 975. He was murdered at Corfe on 18 March,
 978, according to some authorities, 979 according to others (*v. J.*
Earle and C. Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel II. 166),
 and hastily buried at Wareham. The following year, Ælfhere,
 Aldorman of the Mercians, translated the body to Shaftesbury.
 Miracles at his tomb are reported before 1005, and V Atr 16
 (= VI Atr 23.1) enjoins that his festival be kept through all
 England. Later authorities attribute the murder to his step-
 mother, Ælfthryth, but the author of the *Vita Oswaldi*, writing at
 Ramsey before 1005, gives us no reason to suppose that he has
 heard of any such explanation (J. Raine, *Historians of the Church*
of York and its Archbishops, RS I. 449). He has previously men-
 tioned Edward's unpopularity with his household, but neither he nor
 the Chronicle offers any explanation of the murder. Wulfstan's
 statement that the body was burned is not borne out elsewhere;
 ASC 979DEF merely stating that it was buried without honour;
 but presumably this remark represents a general opinion, and it is
 not impossible that an attempt was made to dispose of the body.
 The *Vita Oswaldi* declares it to have been uncorrupt at its transla-
 tion, and this, though a commonplace of hagiographical literature,
 was the version most likely to survive.

⁷⁹¹ Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde: the omission of this from
 the common original of I, E and C may have been accidental, but
 the same thing has occurred in the eleventh-century OE MS of
 Ethelred's 6th code, whereas in the Latin version the king's name
 stands. Policy may have dictated the omission, if made in Cnut's
 reign. Ethelred had after all been driven out in favour of Cnut's
 father. This passage gives us a *terminus a quo* for our homily;
v. Introduction supra p. 5.

⁸¹¹ *to mæneȝe halige stopa pide forpurdan*: it is not certain
 whether this is a reference to foundations held by secular canons,

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halize stopa pide forpurdan þurh þæt þe man sume men
 ær þam zelozode, spa man na ne scolde, gif man on Jodes
 griðe mæþe pitan polde ; 7 cristenes folces to fela man
 zesealde ut of þysan earde nu ealle hpile ; 7 eal þæt is ⁸⁵
 Jode lað, zelyfe se þe pille. 7 scandlic is to specenne þæt
 zeporden is to pide, 7 egeslic is to pitanne þæt oft doð to
 manege, þe dreogað þa yrmþe, þæt sceotað tozædere 7 ane
 cpenan gemænum ceape biczað gemæne, 7 pið þa ane fylþe
 adreogað, an æfter anum, 7 ælc æfter oðrum, hundum ⁹⁰
 zeliccast, þe for fylþe ne scrifað, 7 syððan pið peorðe
 syllað of lande feondum to zepealde Jodes zesceafte 7
 his azenne ceap, þe he deore zebohte. Eac pe pitan
 zeorne hpær seo yrmð zepearð þæt fæder zesealde bearn
 pið peorþe, 7 bearn his modor, 7 broþor sealde oþerne ⁹⁵
 fremdum to zepealde ; 7 eal þæt syndan micle 7 egeslice

ealles to manezan þe man unscylðige forþfor ealles to pide. In I this is added in the margin in the hand discussed on pp. 28 f, but it has been partly erased and partly cut by the binder. ⁸² *pide* : C *eac ða*. ⁸³ *þam* : C *spa* ; *spa* : C *spa spa*. ⁸⁴ *cristenes* : H *cristes*. ⁸⁵ *zesealde* : C *sealde* ; *þysan* : E *ðam* ; *eal* : C *eac*. ⁸⁶ After *pille* the MS has here *Eac pe pitan zeorne hpær seo yrmð zepearð* (see ll. 93 f), as if the scribe at first intended to omit 7 *scandlic* . . . *deore zebohte* (l. 93), which is missing from C, B and H. A later glossator has put a line round the redundant words. ⁸⁷ *en* of *zeporden* added above the line. ⁸⁸ After *yrmþe*, *hpilum* has been erased. ⁸⁹ *feondum* : E *fremdum*. ⁹⁰ C has *And* before *Eac* ; after *pitane* C and B add *ful*. ⁹¹ *ze* of *zesealde* added above ; after *zesealde* C adds *his* ⁹² C, B and H omit *sealde*. ⁹³ After *zepealde* E adds *ut of ðisse þeode*.

instead of Benedictine monks, or merely to unsuitable admissions into monasteries.

⁸⁸⁻⁹³ 7 *scandlic* . . . *deore zebohte* : on the omission of this passage from some MSS, v. *supra* p. 4. It uses a phrase from V Atr 3, though in a different context : (*Jodes handzepeorc*) 7 *his azenne ceap þe he deore zebohte*. BCS 1279 (= Robertson LIV) seems to refer to an offence of the kind mentioned in this passage (v. Robertson 359).

⁸⁸ *sceotað tozædere* : 'club together' ; see BT s.v. *scēotan VII*.

⁹¹ *scrifað* : 'trouble about'. It is usual for *scrifan* in this sense to govern the genitive.

⁹⁴ *fæder zesealde bearn* &c. : see note to l. 45.

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dæda, understande se þe pille. 7 gyt hit is mare 7 eac
 mænigfealdre þæt dereð þysse þeode: mænige synd
 forsporene 7 spyþe forlozene, 7 ped synd tobrocene
 100 (fol. 112b) oft 7 zelome; 7 þæt is zesyne on þysse þeode
 þæt us Ȝodes yrre hetelice on sit, zecnaþe se þe cunne.

7 la, hu mæz mare scamu þurh Ȝodes yrre mannum
 zelimpan þonne us deð zelome for azenum zepyrhtum?
 Ðeh þræla hpylc hlaforde æthleape 7 of cristendome to pic-
 105 inze peorþe, 7 hit æfter þam eft zepeorþe þæt pærnzeprixl
 peorðe zemæne þezene 7 þræle, zif þræl þæne þezen fullice
 afylle, licze æzylde ealre his mæzðe; 7, zif se þezen þæne
 þræl þe he ær ahte fullice afylle, zylde þezenzylde. Ful

⁹⁷ C omits *eac* ⁹⁸ *mænigfealdre*: E *manige flealdre*; *synd*:
 the *n* is added above and *ð* is erased after *d*. ¹⁰¹ *sit*: H
sit; *zecnaþe*: MS *zecneþe*. ¹⁰² B and H omit *7 la, hu mæz*
. . . sputol 7 zesæne? (l. 132), C omits *7*. ¹⁰⁴ *hpylc*: MS *pylc*;
a of *æthleape* written above. ¹⁰⁴ *picinze*: a letter has been
 erased before *c*

¹⁰²⁻³² *7 la, hu mæz . . . sputol 7 zesæne*: cf Introduction *supra* p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ðeh . . . to picinze peorþe*: in both AGu 5 and II Atr 6.2
 Danes and English agree not to receive deserters, servile or free,
 from the other side.

¹⁰⁶ *þezen*: by this date used as a general term for a man of the
 upper classes, a *þelfshynde* man.

¹⁰⁶ *fullice afylle*: with this expression cf the verb *fullslean* in
 BT Suppl.

¹⁰⁷ *licze æzylde*: i.e. no wergild was to be paid to his kinsmen.
 Cf. V Atr 31.1: *licze æzylde eallum his freondum*.

¹⁰⁸ *þezenzylde*: this is the only recorded instance of the word
 in OE; cf ON *þegnigildi*. The wergild of a man of the upper class,
 namely twelve hundred shillings, is meant. II Atr 5 states that an
 Englishman who slays a Danish freeman must pay £25, i.e. 1200 West
 Saxon shillings (cf. also AGu 2). Apparently the grievance here is
 the exaction by the Danes of the same price even when the slain
 man was a deserting English slave. Wulfstan is thinking of settle-
 ments after brawls and private feuds, not slaying in battle.

¹⁰⁸⁻¹⁶ *Ful earhlice laza . . . eal for urum synnum*: this passage
 has close similarities with Napier *XXVIII*, based on *Leviticus* xxvi
 (cf note to l. 56), and the unhappy addition in C may eventually be
 due to a reminiscence of texts such as verse 8 of this chapter, or
 still more of *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 30: *Quo modo persequatur unus
 mille, et duo fugent decem millia*?

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earhlice laza 7 scandlice nydzyld þurh ȝodes yrre us syn
 gemæne, understande se þe cunne; 7 fela ungelimpa ¹¹⁰
 gelimpð þysse þeode oft 7 ȝelome. Ne dohte hit nu lange
 inne ne ute, ac pæs here 7 hete on ȝepelhpilcan ende oft
 7 ȝelome, 7 Enȝle nu lange eal sizelease 7 to spyþe ȝeyrigde
 þurh ȝodes yrre; 7 flotmen spa strange þurh ȝodes þafunȝe
 þæt oft on ȝefeohhte an feseð tyne, 7 hpilum læs, hpilum ¹¹⁵
 ma, eal for urum synnum. 7 oft tyne oððe tþelfe, ælc æfter
 oþrum, scendað to bysmore þæs þegenes cþenan, 7 hpilum
 his dohtor oððe nydmanȝan, þær he on (fol. 113) locað, þe
 læt hine sylfne rancne 7 ricne 7 ȝenoh ȝodne ær þæt
 ȝepurde. 7 oft þræl þæne þegen þe ær pæs his hlaford ¹²⁰
 cnyt spyþe fæste 7 pyrçð him to þræle þurh ȝodes yrre.
 Ðala þære yrmðe 7 pala þære poroldscame þe nu habbað
 Enȝle, eal þurh ȝodes yrre! Oft tweȝen sæmæn, oððe
 þry hpilum, drifað þa drafe cristenra manna fram sæ to sæ,
 ut þurh þas þeode, ȝepelede toȝædere, us eallum to ¹²⁵

¹⁰⁹ *earhlice*: E *earmlice*; *syn*: C *sind*. ¹¹³ *ȝeyrigde* has
 the *i* written above, E *ȝeyrpde*, C *ȝeyrȝde*. ¹¹⁵ *an feseð*: C
afealled; after *tyne* C adds 7 *tþezen oft tþentȝ*. ¹¹⁷ After
scendað C adds 7 *tapiað*, and *micclum* after *bysmore*. ¹¹⁹ *læt*:
æ corrected from *e*. ¹²¹ *cnyt*: C *cniht*. ¹²³ *þurh*: C *for*;
 C adds *And* before *Oft*. ¹²⁴ C repeats *hpilum* ¹²⁵ *ȝepelede*:
 E *ȝepylede*, C *ȝepilede*; *re* in *toȝædere* added above

¹⁰⁹ *nydzyld*: cf ON *naudgjaldr* 'forced payment'.

¹¹⁵ *feseð*: perhaps ON **fevsa* (v. NED s v *freeze*¹ and Luck § 384.4) This verb and its compound *tofesian* have, outside texts certainly or probably written by Wulfstan, been recorded only as a gloss in a Prudentius MS

¹¹⁸ *nydmanȝan*: otherwise recorded only in Ethelred's and Cnut's laws, but the masculine *nydmæȝ* is used by Ælfric and the collective *ȝenydmanȝas* in one MS of EGu. With *nyd-* in this sense may be compared ON *naud-* in *naudleyti* 'close relationship', but ON *naudmaðr*, which is sometimes compared, means 'a husband forced on a woman against her will' (v. J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*). See also p. 54 below.

¹²⁴ *drafe cristenra manna*: one is reminded of the prisoners taken at Canterbury in 1011: *þæt pæs unasecȝendlic ænȝum menn hu mycel þæs folces pæs* (ASC)

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poroldscame, gif þe on eornost ænige cuþon ariht under-
 standan ; ac ealne þæne bysmor þe þe oft þoliað þe
 zyldað mid peorðscipe þam þe us scendað : þe him zyldað
 singallice, 7 hy us hynað dægþamlice ; hy herziad 7 hy
 130 bærnað, rypaþ 7 reafiað 7 to scipe lædað ; 7 la, hpæt is
 ænig oðer on eallum þam zelimpum butan Jodes yrre ofer
 þas þeode sputol 7 zesæne ?

Nis eac nan pundor þeah us mislimpe, forþam þe pitan
 ful georne þæt nu fela geara mænn na ne rohtan foroft
 135 hpæt hy porhtan pordes oððe dæde ; ac pearð þes þeod-
 scipe, spa hit þincan mæg, spyþe forsynzod þurh mæniz-
 fealde synna 7 þurh fela misdæda : þurh morðdæda 7
 þurh mándæda, þurh zitsunza (fol. 113b) 7 þurh zifer-
 nessa, þurh stala 7 þurh strudunza, þurh mannsylena 7
 140 þurh hæþene unsida, þurh spicdomas 7 þurh searacræftas,

¹²⁸ *poroldscame* : MS *polodscame* ; after *ænige* C adds *scame* ;
cuþon : C *cude* ; after *cuþon* E adds *oððon þe poldan*, C *oððe á*
poldan ; *ariht* : C *riht*, with *á* added in the margin. ¹²⁹ *i* in
herziad written above. ^{129f} *hy bærnað* : C *heapað*, *bændað* 7
bismriað. ¹³⁰ *la* in C after *is*. ¹³² E omits 7. ¹³³ After
pundor H adds *nu*. ¹³⁵ *ac* : B, H *eac*. ¹³⁶ In H a fifteenth-
 century hand has added *þo* after *hit* ; *h* in *þurh* added above.
¹³⁷ After *fela* H adds *pundræ*. ¹³⁸ *mándæda* : H *mondæde* 7.
¹³⁹ *strudunza* : C *strutunza* ; *mannsylena* : E *mánsylena*.

¹³⁷⁻⁴⁸ *þurh morðdæda* 7 *þurh mándæda* &c. : this list is an expan-
 sion, with some alterations, of that in V Atr 25 (= VI Atr 28.2).
 It is used by Napier *XXVII*.

¹⁴⁰ *hæþene unsida* : heathen superstitions are often mentioned
 in OE penitentials, but as these are translated from older sources
 they are not safe evidence for the eleventh century. The Law
 of the Northumbrian Priests, however, of the first half of the
 eleventh century, not only names penalties for sacrifices, divination,
 any kind of witchcraft and idol-worship, but also regulates the scale
 of payment according to the contemporary ranks of society, thus
 showing that it regarded heathenism as an actuality. This law
 refers to a *fridzeard*, or sanctuary, 'about stone or tree or well, or
 any such foolishness' (for place-name evidence on this point *v.*
 A. H. Smith in *Leeds Studies in English* ii. 72 ff). Wulfstan speaks
 again of heathen worship in *XVI* and *XXII*, and Napier *XLII* trans-
 lates Adzo's *Jove* and *Mercurius* by the Scandinavian names
Dor and *Owðen*. Ælfric has passages on heathen superstitions in

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þurh lahbrycas 7 þurh æspicas, þurh mægræsas 7 þurh manslyhtas, þurh hadbrycas 7 þurh æpbrycas, þurh siblezeru 7 þurh mistlice forligru. 7 eac syndan pide, spa pe ær cpædan, þurh aðbricas 7 þurh pedbrycas 7 þurh mistlice leasunga forloren 7 forlozen ma þonne scolde; ¹⁴⁵ 7 freolsbricas 7 fæstenbrycas pide zeporhte oft 7 zelome. 7 eac her syn on earde apostatan abroþene 7 cyrichatan

¹⁴³ þurh : C for. ¹⁴⁴ First þurh : MS þur. ¹⁴⁷ syn on : synd has first been written, then *d* altered to *o*, C, B synd on, H beoð on; after earde C adds *á* *Ʒodes piðersacan*, B and H *á* *Ʒodes piðersacan* and omit *apostatan abroþene*.

his *De Augurns* (*Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat I. No. XVII, ll. 129 ff, 148 ff), which are not in his source, but they appear to be based on the Penitential of Pseudo-Ecgbert II. 22 and IV. 16. In Cnut's laws, also, it is necessary to forbid heathen worship, and a comprehensive list is given (II Cn 5).

¹⁴¹ æspicas : from this form a m. i-stem *æspice* is assumed, with some meaning such as 'breach of divine law', 'adultery', but it is never recorded elsewhere, whereas there is an OE m. noun *æspic*, which glosses *scandalum*, *insimulatio*, *accusatio*, while *to æspice* glosses *ad decipiendum*.

mægræsas : several penitential letters are extant which are written for persons doing penance for the slaying of a kinsman. Two, issued by Lupus, Bishop of London (*v supra* p. 6), refer respectively to parricide and fratricide, and this latter crime is the occasion for the writing of a papal letter to Wulfstan. W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan* 408, has similar letters written by Wulfstan, Bishop of Sherborne, 992-1001

¹⁴² hadbrycas : almost always rendered 'violation of holy orders' or some equivalent phrase, but though etymologically possible, this is not its meaning in Anglo-Saxon law. BT has *hādbryce* correctly as 'an injury done to persons in holy orders' and this meaning is made certain by the definition given in the *Instituta Cnuti* (*v. BT Suppl. s.v.*).

¹⁴²¹ þurh siblezeru : the disregard in his northern diocese of the Church's laws on marriage within the prohibited degrees may partly account for Wulfstan's remarks on incest, just as the frequency and ease of divorce there may explain why he thought adultery so prevalent. On the penalty for incest see EGu4.

¹⁴⁶ freolsbricas 7 fæstenbrycas : a list of the fasts and festivals to be observed occurs in V Atr 12.3 ff (= VI Atr. 22 ff).

¹⁴⁷ apostatan abroþene : as regards the variant readings here, it would appear that *apostatan*, as an unfamiliar word (used only in

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hetole 7 leodhatan grimme ealles to manege, 7 oferhogan
pide zodcundra rihtlaga 7 cristenra þeapa, 7 hocorpyrde
¹⁵⁰ dysize æghpær on þeode oftost on þa þing þe Ʒodes bodan
beodaþ, 7 spyþost on þa þing þe æfre to Ʒodes laze zebyriað
mid rihte. 7 þy is nu geporden pide 7 side to ful yfelan
gepunan þæt menn spyþor scamað nu for Ʒóddædan þonne
for misdædan, forþam to oft man mid hocere Ʒóddæda
¹⁵⁵ hyrpeð 7 Ʒodfyrhte lehtreð ealles to spyþe, 7 spyþost man
tæleð 7 mid olle zezreteð ealles to zelome þa þe riht lufiað
7 Ʒodes ege habbað be ænigum dæle (fol. 114). 7 þurh
þæt þe man spa deð þæt man eal hyrpeð þæt man scolde
heregian 7 to forð laðet þæt man scolde lufian, þurh þæt
¹⁶⁰ man zebringeð ealles to manege on yfelan gepance 7 on
undæde, spa þæt hy ne scamað ná, þeh hy synzian spyðe
7 pið Ʒod sylfne forpyrcan hy mid ealle, ac for idelan

¹⁴⁸ ne of manege written above. ¹⁴⁹ hocorpyrde : H hocorpurðe.
¹⁵⁰ second on : MS of; þa : H þam. ^{150f} C, B and H omit þe
Ʒodes bodan beodaþ 7 spyþost on þa þing. ¹⁵¹ æfre : E zeornost,
C, B, H spidost. ¹⁵³ B and H omit spyþor and nu; Ʒóddædan :
C, B Ʒódan dædan, H gode dædan; B adds after this spyþor, H
spidor. ¹⁵⁴ misdædan : B yfelan dædæn, H yfele dæden; Ʒóddæda :
C Ʒóda dæda, B Ʒóde dæda, H gode dæde. ¹⁵⁵ Ʒodfyrhte :
MS Ʒodfyrhte. ¹⁵⁶ þa : C ðe. ¹⁵⁷ After habbað C adds 7
syndæda eartrað. ¹⁵⁸ þe : C se; man eal : B eal man, H omits
eal. ¹⁵⁹ to forð laðet : B to forð laðeð, H for læpeð. ¹⁶¹ hy ne :
MS hyne, H heom. ¹⁶² hy : H heom; ac : C 7.

Wulfstan's homilies and *Pohty*), was glossed *Ʒodes piðersacan*, and that the original of B and H preferred the simpler term, whereas C inserted the gloss into the text. In XII Wulfstan defines *Ʒodes piðersaca* as 'he who deserts God's law and doctrine and by the devil's instruction deserts what belongs to his Christianity and soils himself too much in sin, or leads another man into sin'.

¹⁴⁹ hocorpyrde : 'scornful of speech', cf e.g. *wis-*, *hræd-*, *motorpyrde*. The noun *hokerword* is recorded in Lagamon, ll. 19595, 29020.

¹⁵⁶ olle : on this word see A. S. Napier, *OE Glosses*, note to No. 2000, where the phrase *on oll 7 on edpit* is quoted and a connexion with ME *ollen* 'to pour contempt on' suggested.

¹⁵⁹ laðet : this has often been mistaken for the 3rd pers. pres.indic. of *lāðian*, though BT places it correctly under *lāþettan*. It is shown to be the true reading by the form *laþette* of XXXIV, which has borrowed the whole passage, but turned it into the past tense.

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onscytan hy scamað þæt hy betan heora miðdæda spa spa
bec tæcan, gelice þam dpæsan þe for heora prytan lepe
nellað beorgan ær hy na ne maþan, þeh hy eal pillan. ¹⁶⁵

Her syndan þurh synleapa, spa hit þincan mæþ, sare

¹⁶³ *hy*: H *heom*; *heora miðdæda*; *heo* first written and *re miðdæda* added in the margin, B glosses it *vel synna*, H replaces by *heoræ synnen*; three letters (*sæc*?) erased after *spa spa*.
¹⁶⁴ *prytan lepe*: E *prytanle pe*, C *pritan sare*, in H *prutan* appears to have been written, and *t* altered, perhaps to *d*. ¹⁶⁶ C omits *Her syndan* . . . *forsynþodan þeode* (l. 176), B and H from the same place to *ealles to lanþe* (l. 180).

¹⁶⁴ *bec*: i.e. the penitential books in use in the Anglo-Saxon Church, on which v. T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline*, especially ch. 5, and the literature there cited. For OE penitentials of the tenth century, mainly translated from Frankish sources, v. J. Raith, *Die altenglische Version des Haitgar'schen Bussbuches* (i.e. the Penitential of Pseudo-Ecgbert) and R. Spindler, *Das altenglische Bussbuch* (i.e. the Confessional of Pseudo-Ecgbert).

prytan lepe: the MS variants here are due to the unfamiliarity of the word *lepe*. Both it and *synnleap* are not on record elsewhere, though the compound *limlæp* occurs in penitential literature; cf also *limlæpeo*, EGu 10 (for *limlæped*).

¹⁶⁶⁻⁷³ *Her syndan þurh synleapa* . . . *ünþerim ealra*: this list of criminals, probably added in the common original of E and I, is clearly akin to the enumeration of sinners who will be found in hell in Napier *III*, 26, ll. 14 ff, *XXII*, 114, ll. 12 ff, which has also been added to the translation of Adzo, Napier *XLII*, 203, ll. 21 ff. There are some differences in our text, the most interesting being the introduction of the *pælcyrian*. The list in *III* is more logical, ending as it does with *hrædest to secþanne ealle þa manfullan*, where our version changes suddenly from the sinner to the sin. *III* is, therefore, probably the original context of this passage. In its turn *III* appears to have been influenced by EGu 11. Cnut's proclamation of 1020, c. 15, which refers to *mæþslazan 7 morþslazan 7 nansporan 7 piccean 7 pælcyrian 7 æþbreccan 7 sybleþeru*, may be the source of the reference to *pælcerian*, but the borrowing may be the other way round. Napier *LVII* has another similar list, probably copied from the one in the E version of our *sermo*; it includes *yrchatan 7 sacerdbanan*, as well as *pyccan 7 pælcyrian* and also the *uðbreccan 7 æþbreccan* of the E MS. *Ryþeras 7 reaferas 7 þas poruld-truderias* occurs also in *Polity* c. 2.

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zelepede to manege on earde. Her syndan mannsłazan
 7 mæğslazan 7 mæsserbanan 7 mynsterhatan, 7 her
 syndan mánsporan 7 morþorpyrhtan, 7 her syndan
 170 myltestran 7 bearnmyrðran 7 fule forlezene horingas
 manege, 7 her syndan piccan 7 pælcyrian, 7 her syndan
 ryperas 7 reaferas 7 porolstruderan, 7, hrædest is to
 cpeþenne, mána 7 misdæda úngerim ealra. 7 þæs us
 ne scamað na, ac us scamað spyþe þæt pe bote ađinnan
 175 spa spa bec tæcan, 7 þæt is ġesyne on þysse earman for-

167 After *syndan* E adds *spa pe ær sædon*. 168 *mæsserbanan* :
 E *sacerðbanan* ; after *mynsterhatan* E adds 7 *hlaforðspican* 7 *æbers*
apostatan. 169 After *morþorpyrhtan* E adds 7 *her syndan háðbreccan*
 7 *æþbreccan* 7 *ðurh siblezgeru* 7 *ðurh mistlice forlizeru forsyzgode*
spyde. 170 *r* of *myltestran* added above. 171 A letter erased
 after *manege* ; *pælcyrian* : *e* erased after *c*, E *pælcerian*. 172 After
porolstruderan E adds 7 *ðeofas* 7 *þeodscadan* 7 *pedlozan* 7 *pærlozan*.
 174 After *ac* E adds *þæs* ; *ađinnan* corrected from *ađunnan*.

167 *zelepede* : this word, which occurs also in *XVI*, and the *zeleped* in
 Ælfric (S. J. Crawford, *Heptateuch* 268), which renders *debilitatum*,
 are better taken as p.pt. of a derivative verb from *læp* 'blemish'
 than as from *læpan* 'to betray'.

170 *bearnmyrðran* : Professor Dickins has suggested that the
 Scandinavian custom of exposing infants may be included in this con-
 demnation ; for this see Margaret Schlauch, *Romance in Iceland* 96.

171 *piccan* 7 *pælcyrian* : except in Napier *LVII* and the Cnut
 proclamation (*v.* note to ll. 166-73), this phrase is not otherwise
 recorded in OE, but it appears as *wychez and walkyries* in the
 fourteenth-century alliterative poem, *Purity*, l. 1577 (*v.* BT s.v.
wælcyrge). *pælcyrie* is used to gloss classical names (i.e. of the
 Furies, a Gorgon, Bellona and once Venus), first in the eighth-century
 Corpus Glossary and commonly in the tenth and eleventh centuries.
 (Cf ON *valkyrja*, on which see *Snorra Edda*, *Gylfaginning* c. 36, tr.
 A. E. Brodeur.) Wulfstan presumably means by it some kind of
 witch, though the glosses show that it could refer to a supernatural
 being. The OE *pælceaseja* 'chooser of the slain' occurs in the
 poem *Exodus*, l. 164, but is applied to a bird of carrion.

References to witchcraft are common in church laws and peni-
 tentials, and occur also in *X* and in Ælfric's *De Auguriis* (*Lives of*
Saints, ed. W. W. Skeat I. *XVII*, ll. 110 ff). The most interesting
 example of belief in witchcraft is in a charter (BCS 1131 = Robert-
 son *XXXVII*), which mentions the outlawry of a man and the drown-
 ing of a woman for an offence that comes under this heading (cf.
 II As 6).

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syngodan þeode. Eala, micel maȝan maneȝe ȝyt her-
toeacan eaþe beþencan (fol. 114b) þæs þe an man ne mehte
on hrædinge asmeaȝan, hu earmlice hit ȝefaren is nu ealle
hpile pide ȝynd þas þeode. 7 smeaȝe huru ȝeorne ȝehpa
hine sylfne 7 þæs na ne latige ealles to lange. Ac la, on ¹⁸⁰
ȝodes naman, utan don spa us neod is, beorȝan us sylfum
spa þe ȝeornost maȝan, þe læs þe ætȝædere ealle for-
peorðan.

An þeodpita þæs on Brytta tidum, ȝildas hatte, se
aprat be heora misdædum, hu hy mid heora synnum spa ¹⁸⁵
oferlice spyþe ȝod ȝeȝræmedan þæt he let æt nyhstan
Engla here heora eard ȝepinnan 7 Brytta duȝeþe fordon
mid ealle. 7 þæt þæs ȝeþorden, þæs þe he sæde, þurh ricra
reaflac 7 þurh ȝitsunȝe pohȝestreona, þurh leode unlaga

¹⁷⁶ ne of maneȝe added above. ¹⁷⁷ an man ne mehte on
hrædinge : C ic ana on rædinge ne mihte fullice. ¹⁷⁸ pide ȝynd
þas þeode : C innan þisse earman forsinȝodre þeode ; ȝeorne ȝehpa :
C ȝehpá ȝeorne. ¹⁸⁰ latige : C ȝelatige ; la : omitted in H, C nu.
¹⁸⁴ C, B and H omit An þeodpita . . . þinȝian ȝeorne (l. 199).
¹⁸⁷ fordon : MS fordom. ¹⁸⁸ þæs added above ; after sæde E
adds þurh ȝelævedra rezolbryce 7 þurh læpedra lahbryce.

¹⁷⁸ on hrædinge : this is the reading of two of the three MSS and
the third, C, tends to omit *h* before *r*. In Napier III, 22, l. 14, the
phrase clearly means 'hurriedly, quickly', and, as this makes sense
here, there is no reason to emend, with Sweet, to *rædinge* 'reading'.

¹⁸⁴⁻⁸⁹ An þeodpita . . . þinȝian ȝeorne : though in E and I,
this passage seems to bear the marks of Wulfstan's style ; cf e.g.
the description of the destruction and captivity of the Jews in
Napier II 14, and the account of the flood ib. 10 : ȝod to þam
spyde ȝeȝræmedon, þæt he let æt nehstan flod ȝan ofer ealne middaneard.
The expression, *clumiað mid ceafum þær hy sceoldan clyprian*, is
used in Napier XXXVII, in a part of it which may be by Wulfstan,
and in XLI and in *Polity* 5. The source is a letter of Alcuin (ed.
Dümmler, p. 47), and both the whole letter and the part used here
occur in Wulfstan MSS. See D. Whitelock, *MLR* xxxviii. 125 f.

¹⁸⁴ ȝildas : the author of the *Liber Querulus de Excidio Britanniae*,
in 537, if 493 is the correct date of the battle at *Mons Badonicus*.
Another view would put the year of this, which is also the year of
Gildas's birth, 23 years later, and so date his book 560. It is a tirade
against the crimes of his countrymen ; Alcuin also used it to point
the moral that the Viking raids were a punishment for the sins of
the people.

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- 190 7 þurh pohdomas, þurh biscopa asolcennesse 7 þurh
 lyðre yrhðe Ʒodes bydela, þe soþes zespuȝedan ealles to
 zelome 7 clumedan mid ceafsum þær hy scoldan clypian.
 Þurh fulne eac folces ȝælsan 7 þurh oferfylla 7 mænigfealde
 synna heora eard hy forporhtan 7 selfe hy forpurdan.
 195 Ac putan don spa us þearf is, parnian us be spilcan ; 7 soþ
 is þæt ic secȝe, pyrsan dæda (fol. 115) þe pitan mid
 Englum þonne þe mid Bryttan aþpar ȝehyrdan ; 7 þy
 us is þearf micel þæt þe us beþencan 7 pið Ʒod sylfne
 þingian ȝeorne. 7 utan don spa us þearf is, ȝebuȝan to
 200 rihte, 7 be suman dæle unriht forlætan, 7 betan spyþe
 ȝeorne þæt þe ær bræcan ; 7 utan Ʒod lufian 7 Ʒodes
 laȝum fylȝean, 7 ȝelæstan spyþe ȝeorne þæt þæt þe
 behetan þa þe fulluht underfenȝan, oððon þa þe æt
 fulluhte ure forespecan pæran ; 7 utan porð 7 peorc
 205 rihtlice fadian, 7 ure inȝeþanc clænsian ȝeorne, 7 að 7
 ped pærlice healdan, 7 sume ȝetrypða habban us be-
 tpeonan butan uncræftan ; 7 utan zelome understandan
 þone miclan dom þe þe ealle to sculon, 7 beorȝan us
 ȝeorne pið þone peallendan bryne helle pites, 7 ȝeearnian
 210 us þa mærþa 7 þa myrhða þe Ʒod hæfð ȝeȝearpod þam þe
 his pillan on porolde ȝeþyrcað. ƷOD URE HELPE. AMEN.

¹⁹⁰ *biscopa* corrected from *biscopas* ; after *asolcennesse* E adds 7 *unsnortnesse*. ¹⁹⁶ *s* of *pyrsan* added above ¹⁹⁷ After *Englum* E adds *sume ȝeþordene* ¹⁹⁸ *pið* added above the line. ¹⁹⁹ *þearf* : H *neod* ; 7 · H *ac on Godes nome*. ²⁰⁰ After *unriht* C adds *ascunian* 7 ; *spyþe* : in B *spide* is written over the erasure of a longer word. ²⁰¹ Something has been erased after *ȝeorne* in B ; after *bræcan* C adds *Uton creopan to Criste 7 biȝendre heortan clypian zelome 7 ȝeearnian his mildse* ; first 7 omitted in C ; *Ʒodes* · C *his* ²⁰² *laȝum* : B *laȝa*, H *laȝe*. ²⁰³ *oððe* : C, H *oððe*. ²⁰⁴ *porð* corrected from *peord*. ²⁰⁶ *miclan* : MS *miclam*. ²¹⁰ First *þa* added above the line. ²¹¹ B omits *Ʒod ure helpe* and adds *Him simble sy lof 7 puldor in ealra porulda poruld a butan ende* ; after *Amen* C adds *Sit nomen domini benedictum et reliqua*.

²⁰³¹ *þa þe fulluht underfenȝan . . . ure forespecan pæran* : cf Napier X 67, ll. 8 f, XIX 109, ll. 14 ff. Most of the passage, up to *on porolde ȝeþyrcað* (l 211), is amplified in *Polity* c. 24 (B Thorpe, *Ancient Institutes* II. 338, ll. 6 ff).

²⁰⁷ *uncræftan* : cf BCS 1308 (= Robertson L), where it speaks of alienating a gift from a monastery *mid æneȝum uncræfte*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

⁴⁴ Addition to B and C, *ge æt fremre ge æt fóstre ge æt féo ge æt feore*, &c This should be compared with III Edg 4. 'And if anyone wishes to accuse another wrongfully, so that he is the worse *aþor oððe feo oððe fremre . .*', where two manuscripts read *feore* instead of *fremre*, but one of them (Harley 55) adds *vel fremre* above it II Cn 16, which repeats this law, seems to have originally had *aþor oððe feo oððe fremre*, but one Latin translator has *pecuniam aut uitam*, while *Quadripartitus* renders the Edg passage *vita vel commodo*, omitting *feo*. The author of the *Leges Henrici Primi*, using this chapter of Cn, renders the phrase *uite racturam uel honoris detrimentum pateretur*, and Miss Robertson (*The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 25; cf p 304), translates *fremu* as 'reputation' on the assumption that it is this to which the *honoris detrimentum* refers

⁴⁵ *unforworhte* Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 44 note, points out that the translation of *unforworht* by *insons* in the Latin account of the council of Enham supports the interpretation 'innocent'. I now doubt whether a distinction is implied between penal slaves and those of other origin. Wulfstan is more probably distinguishing those who have committed a crime when in servile condition, whether this condition originated from penal slavery or not, from those with a clean record

⁴⁶ C insertion. The slaves' right to earn is admitted already in Alfred 43, which says: 'And the four Wednesdays in the four Ember weeks are to be given to all slaves, for them to sell to whomsoever they please anything of what anyone may give them in God's name, or what they can earn in any of their leisure moments.' The uncommon usage in this insertion in C of *agon* as a perfect auxiliary may be compared with lines 27 f in *The Seafarer*: *se þe ah lifes wyn zebiden in burzum*

⁴⁷ Mr. Ker calls my attention to the occurrence of *stric* in Napier XIII, p 86, where lines 11 f read: *bryne and blodzyte and styrnlíce styrunza, stric and steorfa and fela unzelimpa*. I would translate *stric* as 'sedition' or 'rioting', for it is probably only the alliteration that has linked it to *steorfa*.

⁴⁸ *hól*. One should also compare *for hole and for æfste*, in Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* (ed. Hecht, p 122)

⁴⁹ With this reference to the betrayal of the soul should be compared various passages in Ælfric, e.g. *Wite zehwa se ðe oðerne*

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to leahtrum forspend, þæt he is manslaga, þonne he ðæs oðres sawle forpærð þurh his yfelum tihingum (*Catholic Homilies* II. 226); or: . . . wa ðam menn ðe oðerne æt his æhtum, oððe æt his feore beswicð, and ðam bið wyrs, þe mid yfelum tihingum oðres mannes sawle to ecum forwyrdum beswicð (*ibid.* I. 516). Cf also *ibid.* II. 208; *Saints' Lives*, I. 304.

⁷⁹¹ *Æþelred man dræfde ut . . .*: The parallel drawn with VI Atr in the note on this passage is hardly valid. Though I do not believe, with Jost, that this code was a private compilation only, there may have been special circumstances that caused it to be promulgated in the name of the witan alone. But V and VIII Atr certainly went out in the king's name, and yet Ethelred is not mentioned by name in the manuscripts.

¹¹⁸ *nydmazan*. The reference to Ælfric's use of *nydmæg* should be deleted, for it occurs only in that version of his *Pastoral Letter* which Wulfstan revised. As EGu also is probably by Wulfstan, all instances of *nyd-* in this sense come from his writings. One might compare the Latin *necessarius* 'kinsman, close friend'.

¹⁶⁴¹ *þe for heora þrytan lewe nellað beorzan*: As McIntosh suggests, *lewe* should be taken as the direct object of *beorzan*. He would translate: 'are prevented by their pride from curing their spiritual infirmities' ('Wulfstan's Prose', p. 33). I would prefer to omit 'spiritual', for Wulfstan is comparing people who will not undergo penance for their sins with those who will not seek healing for their *bodily* infirmities until it is too late.

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¹ Some authors (e.g. Wülker 481, Brandl 1112) refer to an edition by Elstob in 1701. Dr J. A. W. Bennett has informed me that Michel (*Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne*, 1837) says he knows of one copy only, then in the possession of the bookseller Pickering. This was probably a detached portion of Hickes.

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GLOSSARY

In the glossary words will be found under the forms in which they occur in the text, except that nouns and adjectives will be found under the nom sg.(m.) and verbs under the infinitive (except that the present forms of 'to be' will be found under *beon*, the pret. forms under *wæs*); pronouns under the nom.sg.m. (except the 1st and 2nd pers. of the personal pronouns which will be found under the nom sg. or nom.pl.). Irregular grammatical or phonological forms likely to offer difficulty are noted in their proper places with cross-references to the words under which they are dealt with. References are to the lines of the text, except the italicized figures, which refer to the textual variants. An *n* after a line reference indicates that the word is discussed in the note to this line.

The order of letters is alphabetical; *æ* is treated as a separate letter after *a*; *þ*, *ð* after *t*. The OE characters *ȝ*, *ƿ*, are replaced by *g*, *w*. The prefix *ge-* is ignored in the arrangement of the glossary. Abbreviations are the commonly accepted ones (see *Deor*, ed. Kemp Malone, p. 32, or *Waldere*, ed. F. Norman, p. 49).

Reference is made to the *New English Dictionary* by printing the NED word (under which the OE word is discussed) as the first meaning in capitals; if this word is not the true phonological descendant of the OE form in the glossary it is italicized. Unless it provides the meaning required by the context it is followed by a semicolon and the meaning required in ordinary lower-case type. If it is radically different in meaning or if it is obsolete or archaic it is enclosed in square brackets. Unless otherwise stated, the NED reference is to the same part of speech as the word in the glossary. If an OE word survives into ME but is not entered in the NED, reference is made to *A Middle-English Dictionary* by F. H. Stratmann, revised by H. Bradley, abbreviated SB.

A

ǣ 11 &c, **áá** 5, *adv.* [O]; always, ever

ǣbrēopan, *v.*(2), [BRETHE]; fail, degenerate, fall away;

abroþene, *p.pt.* 147

ac, *conj.* [AC]; but 13, 37, &c

ǣwellan, *w.v.*(1b), [AQUELL]; kill 79

ǣwencan, *w.v.*(1b), [AQUENCH]; quench, extinguish 23

ǣdrēogan, *v.*(2), [ADREE]; practise 90

ǣfyllan, *w.v.*(1b), [AFELLE]; slay 107, 108, 115

ǣgan, *pret.pres.*(7), [OWE]; own 108; as perfect auxil. 48

ǣgen, *adj.* OWN 64, 93, 103, 48

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āgen, *n a-stem*, property 48
āginnan, *v.(3)*, [ONGIN]; begin
 174
āht, *n.(orig.f.)i-stem*, AUGHT²,
 anything; to ahte, at all 23
āhwār, *adv.* [OWHERE]; any-
 where 197
ān, *num.* ONE 88, 115, 177;
indef.art. A 184; *adj.* alone
 177f; *pron* ONE 89, 90
and, *conj* AND 79; otherwise by
 the ampersand 7
apostata, *m.n-stem*, APOSTATE
 147, 168
āriht, *adv.* ARIGHT, properly, 126
āscunian, *w.v.(2)*, [ASHUN];
 avoid, eschew 200
āsmēagan, *w.v.(2)* (*orig* (3)),
 investigate, devise 178
āsolcennes, *f.ǰō-stem* [ASWOLKE-
 NESS]; sloth, laziness 190
ātēon, *v.(2)*, [ATEE]; deal with,
 dispose of 48
āð, *m.a-stem*, OATH 205
āðbrice, *m i-stem* [OATH +
 BRUCHE¹]; breaking of oaths,
 perjury 144
āwritan, *v.(1)*, [AWRITE]; write
 down 185

Æ

æbære, *adj.* [EBER]; manifest,
 open, notorious 168
æfre, *adv.* EVER 151
æftan, *adv.* [AFT]; from behind,
 in the back 70
æfter, *prep.w.dat.* AFTER 13, 79,
 90, &c
æghwær, *adv* [AYWHERE];
 everywhere 28, 62, 150
æghwiltc, *adj.* EACH, every 38, 48
ægþer, *pron.* EITHER, both, 77
ægylde, *adj.* receiving no 'wer-
 gild', unpaid for 107n
ælc, *pron.* EACH, everyone 90,
 116; *mæst ælc*, almost every-
 one 69, 70

ælc, *adj.* EACH, every 41, 32, 48
ælmesgiftu, *f ð-stem*, [ALMS +
 GIVE]; charity 48
ælmesriht, 48, **ælmæsriht**, 48,
n a-stem, [ALMS + RIGHT];
 charitable obligation
ænde, see **ende**
ænig, *pron.* ANY 30, 64, &c
ænig, *adj.* ANY 16, 34, &c
ær, *adv.* ERE, before, formerly
 108, 120, &c
ær, *conj.* ERE, before 119, 7;
 until 165
ær, *prep.w.dat* ERE, before 7,
 17, 53
æswic, *m.a-stem* (?), offence,
 fraud, deception 141n
æt, *prep.w dat.* AT 186, 203;
 from 20, 44
ætgedere, *adv.* together 182
æthlēapan, *v.(7)*, [AT-² + LEAP];
 run away, escape 104
æwbreca, *m n-stem*, [EAU-
 BRUCHE²]; adulterer 169
æwbryce, *m.i-stem*, [EAU-
 BRUCHE¹]; adultery 142

B

bændan, *w.v.(1b)*, [BEND]; bind
 129f
bærnan, *w.v.(1b)*, BURN¹ 130
be, *prep.w.dat.* BY 195; about,
 concerning 185; *be ænigum*
dæle, to any extent 157
bearn, *n.a-stem*, BAIRN, child 63,
 94, 95
bearnmyrðra, *m.n-stem* or
bearnmyrðre, *f n-stem*,
 [BAIRN + MURDER]; killer of
 a child 170
bedælan, *w.v.(1b)*, [BEDEAL];
 deprive of, strip 33
behātan, *v.(7)*, [BEHIGHT];
 promise, vow 203
bēodan, *v.(2)*, BID, command
 151

GLOSSARY

- bēon**, *anom.v.* BE; **bið**, 30, 31, 74, 76, **is** 4, 5, &c 3 *pers pres. sg.* is; **nīs**, [NIS], is not 133; **syndan** 32, 40, &c, **synd** 98, 99, **syn** 72, 73, 109, 147, *pres. pl.* are; **sƿ**, *pres.subj.sg.* may be 211
- beorgan**, *v.(3)*, *w dat.* [BERGH]; protect, save 181, 208; *w.obj.* understood 52; seek a cure for 165; spare 62
- berƿpan**, *w v.(1b)*, [BE- (*sense* 3) + RIPE *v.2*]; despoil 32, 41
- bestriƿan**, *w v.(1b)*, BESTRIP, strip, plunder 41
- beswīcan**, *v.(1)*, [BESWIKE]; deceive, betray 44, 75, 76
- besyrwan**, *w.v.(1b)*. ensnare, defraud 44
- bet**, *adv., comp.* [BET]; better 17, 25
- bētan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [BEET]; amend, compensate, atone 54, 163, 200
- betæcan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [BETEACH]; deliver, make over 31
- betwēonan**, *prep.w.dat.* BETWEEN, among 206
- beþencan**, *w.v.(1b)*, BETHINK; remember, call to mind 177; *refl.* reflect 198
- biçgan**, *w v (1b)*, BUY 89
- gebiçgan**, *w.v.(1b)*, [I-BYE]; buy, obtain, pay for 93
- gebīdan**, *v.(1)*, BIDE, experience, suffer 15; obtain 16
- bifiçgan**, *w v (2) (orig.(3))*, [BIVE]; tremble 201
- biscop**, *m.a-stem*, BISHOP 190
- bismrian**, *w.v (2)*, [BISMER]; revile, insult 129f
- bið**, see **bēon**
- blōdgyte**, *m.i-stem*, [SB BLOOD-GÜTE]; bloodshed 56
- bōc**, *f.monos-stem*, BOOK 164, 175
- boda**, *m.n-stem*, [BODE¹]; messenger 150
- bōt**, *f.ō-stem*, [BOOT¹]; remedy, relief, compensation, atonement 12, 16, 19, &c
- brecan**, *v.(4) (orig.(5))*, BREAK, transgress 54, 201
- bringan**, *w v (1b)*, BRING 30
- gebringan**, *w v.(1b)*, BRING, lead 160
- brōþor**, *m.r-stem*, BROTHER 64, 95
- bryce**, *m.i-stem*, [BRUCHE¹]; breach, violation, offence 22
- bryne**, *m.i-stem*, [BRUNE]; burning, conflagration 22, 56, 209
- gebūgan**, *v.(2)*, BOW¹, turn 199
- būtan**, *prep.w dat* [BUT]; without 207, 211; except 131
- būtan**, *conj.* BUT; except, unless 52
- bydel**, *m.a-stem*, [BEADLE]; officer, messenger 191
- gebyrian**, *w.v.(1a)*, [BIR, I-BURE]; pertain to, befit 151
- byrst**, *m i-stem*, [BURST]; loss, injury 15, 51
- bysmor**, *m.a-stem*, [BISMER]; disgrace, insult 15, 50, 117, 127

C

- ceafi**, *m.a-stem*, JOWL¹; jaw 192
- cēap**, *m.a-stem*, [CHEAP]; bargain, purchase 89, 93
- ceorl**, *m.a-stem*, CHURL; man, husband; *fornȳdde . . . to ceorle*, forced to marry 42
- clæne**, *adv.* CLEAN, entirely 31, 40
- clænsian**, *w.v.(2)*, CLEANSE, purify 205
- clumian**, *w.v.(2)*, [cf CLUM sb.¹]; mumble 192
- clȳplan** 192, **clīplan** 201, *w.v.(2)*, [CLEPE]; cry out, call
- gecnāwan**, *v.(7)*, [YKNOW]; KNOW, perceive 4, 50, 101

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cnyttan, *w.v.(1b)*, [KNIT]; bind 121
cradolcild, *orig.n.os-stem*, [CRADLE + CHILD]; infant, child in the cradle; *pl.* 46
crēopan, *v.(2)*, CREEP; kneel 201
cristen, *adj.* [CHRISTEN]; CHRISTIAN 35, 84, 124, 149
cristendōm, *m.a-stem*, CHRISTENDOM, Christianity 104
cunnan, *pret.pres.(3)*, [CON¹]; CAN¹, know how to, be able to; **cunne**, *pres.subj.sg.*, 51, 101, 110; **cūpon**, *1st pers.pl. p.t.*, 126
cwalu, *f.ō-stem*, (QUALE¹); killing, murder 57
cwene, *f.n-stem*, [QUEAN]; woman 89, 117
cwēpan, *v.(5)*, [QUETHE]; say 49, 144, 173
cynīng, *m.a-stem*, KING 7
cyrichata, *m.n-stem*, persecutor of the Church 147

D

dæd, *f.i-stem*, DEED, action 70, 97, &c
dæg, *m.a-stem*, DAY 6, 7
dæghwāmlīce, *adv.* daily 13, 129
dæil, *m.i-stem*, DEAL¹; part; *be ænigum (suman) dæle*, to any (some) extent 157, 200
dædbōt, *f.ō-stem*, [DEEDBOTE]; amends, repentance 19
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