A Critical Study of the Works of Wulfstan Archbishop of York (1002-1023)

by

Richard Douglas Monaghan

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Name: Richard Douglas Monaghan

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Examining Committee:

Joseph Gallagher
Senior Supervisor

James Sandison
Examining Committee

John Mills
Examining Committee

Date Approved: August 5, 1970

Abstract of Thesis

The title of the thesis is: A Critical Study of the Works of Wulfstan Archbishop of York (1002-1023). The thesis itself is centred around a conception of literature and literary art as ideology, which leads to the conclusion that the primary concern of a literary artist is social relations; or political theory is the core of literature.

The paper begins by examining the political situation of the north of England at the close of the tenth century. The two major movements are the Scandanavian expansion and the institution of the Benedictine Reform. The second chapter establishes the relationship of Wulfstan to the struggle for a catholic hegemony over the whole of Europe, but particularly Danish England. Chapter three is an item by item analysis of the works attributed to Wulfstan by scholars, works which I also consider to be his. There is next to no analysis of texts which have been attributed to him which I do not consider to be genuine. There are sixty-eight items under consideration: forty homilies, twenty institutional pieces (including laws, canons, and institutes), a short liturgical item, and incidental letters, charters and poems. Grounds for ascription are stylistic, linguistic, and the commonality or sources.

The final chapter analyzes the policy of the Canon, and

the implications of the conclusions reached takes us back to the statement of the thesis.

Contents

Manuscript Sigla

A	CCCC 421	M	BM Otho B x
B	CCCC 419	N	BM Cleopatra B xiii
C	CCCC 201	P	BM Harley 55 *
D	CCCC 302	R	Rochester, Textus Roffensis
E	Bodleian Hatton 113	S	CCCC 383
F	Bodleian Hatton 114	V	BM Vespasian D ii
G	Bodleian Junius 121	W	CCCC 190
H	Bodley 343	X	CCCC 265
I	BM Nero A i *	Y	York Minster *
K	BM Tiberius A iii	Bar	Bodleian Barlow 37 (6464)
L	BM Claudius A iii *	Cop	Copenhagen Gl. Kgl. S. 1595 *
		Uc	CUL Additional 3206

The standard sigla used for MSS containing legal material are different. I use the above, but references are facilitated by keeping the following in mind:

D	CCCC 201	N	BM Tiberius A iii
G	BM Nero A i	X	Bodleian Junius 121

The mark * indicates that the MS contains notations in Wulfstan's hand.

The Wulfstan Canon

	Bethurum	Napier	Wanley	MSS
1.	Ia lat.	XI	16 lat.	CEVCop
2.	Ib	XII	16	CEGH
3.	II	XIV	19	CE
4.	III	XV	20=36	ACE
5.	IV	XVI	21	CEH
6.	V	XIII	18	CEH
7.	VI	II	1	BCEHM
8.	VII	III	2	BCE
9.	VIIa	XXVI	51	GKC
10.	VIIIa lat.	IV	7 lat.	CWXBarCop
11.	VIIIb	-	-	D
12.	VIIIc	V	7	BCEH
13.	IX	VII	15	EC
14.	Xa	-	-	G
15.	Xb lat.	IX	8+40 lat.	CE
16.	Xc	X	8+40=17	BCEI
17.	XI	VI	13+14	CECop
18.	XII	XVIII	23	E
19.	XIII	XIX-XXII	24, 44i 44ii=9,44iii	BCEKM
20.	XIV	XVII	22	E
21.	XV	XXXII	28	E
22.	XVIa lat.	-	-	I

23.	XVIb	XLI	-	C
24.	XVII	XXXVII	31+29	NE
25.	XVIII	LIV	54	NF
26.	XIX	XXVIII	55	CGI
27.	XX	XXXIII	5	BCHI
28.	XXI	XXXIV	6	CEI
29.		XXIII	47	BCK
30.		XXIV	56+45+46	BCEK
31.		XXV	50	CEK
32.		XXXIX	12	C
33.		XLVII	32	A
34.		L	35	A
35.		LI	49	K
36.		LIX		Y
37.		LX-LXI		Y

	Title	MSS
38.	Complaint (Klage)	I
39.	D version of Aelfric's Pastoral Letter II	C
40.	De letania maiore	F
41.	Canons of Edgar	CGUc
42.	Institutes of Polity	CGIKUc
43.	Laws of Edward and Guthrum	RS
44.	V Atr	CI
45.	VI Atr	CLY

46.	VI Atr	L
47.	VIII Atr	C
48.	IX Atr	(BM Cotton Otho B X)
49.	X Atr	(Vatican City MS Reg. Lat. 946)
50.	I Cn	SIPCG
51.	II Cn	SIPC
52.	Northumbrian Priests' Law	C
53.	Rectitudines Singularum Personarum	S
54.	Gerefa	S
55.	Gebincbo	CR
56.	Norbleoda laga	CR
57.	Mircna laga	CRW
58.	Að	CRW
59.	Hadbot	CRW
60.	Grið	IC
61.	OE Benedictine Office (Prose section)	GC
62.	Letter of protest to the Pope	(BM Cotton Vespasian A xiv)
63.	Charter	
64.	Charter	
65.	Letter to Cnut	
66.	Poem in ASC 959 D	
67.	Poem in ASC 975 D	
68.	Letters in Bethurum pp. 374-75	XCopBar

Acknowledgement

I had intended to dispense with an acknowledgement altogether. It seemed a chauvinist gesture until I recognized that I seldom take opportunities to express affection for those I love, those I have struggled with, those who have loved me, and those who have struggled with me. So I express my love for the Wheeler Collective in Montreal and the Dumont Collective in Vancouver, who are daring to win.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis began as an attempt to indicate the "social" character of the homilies of Wulfstan Archbishop of York, and the relation of those homilies to his legalistic works. I had thought of the homilies as being more or less imaginative, and the other work as being more or less practical. As I became involved in the work of analysing the arbitrary distinction I had begun with, it grew more and more obvious that the legal material was no less imaginative than the literary material, and the literary material was no less practical than the legal material. Both were expressions of the ideological hegemony of medieval christianity. The problem I became involved in dealing with is the relationship of Wulfstan to his ideological and social milieu. In broader terms, it is a study of the relationship between literature and ideology, the imagination and the state. The focus of the thesis, as it now stands, is that legislators are the unacknowledged poets of the world. Wulfstan is such a legislator.

It has been almost a thousand years since Wulfstan wrote the sermons, laws, institutes, canons, letters, and notes which this paper studies. The history of the scholarship which has gone on about his work is almost as fascinating as the Canon itself. The outline of the man

which emerges after centuries of speculation and detective work traces an intellect of remarkable order and purposiveness, an imagination of phenomenal austerity, and a man of immense dedication to the well-being of his fellows. This paper intends to add slightly to the outline; inasmuch as it does, it is part of the history it describes.

Wulfstan scholarship began in the eleventh century with Wulfgeat, a scribe in the Worcester scriptorium, who assembled several of Wulfstan's sermons for the use of our Wulfstan's successor, St. Wulfstan Bishop of Worcester (1062-95). The scholarship was of a very practical sort, and consisted merely of publishing the sermons of a popular preacher. Some of these sermons were preached well into the twelfth century, and were being read well into the fifteenth century. How much of this later reading was purely antiquarian is moot, but the stylistic force of the homilies was probably as intriguing for Tudor readers as it is now.

A less practical, and perhaps more scholarly interest in the sermons of one Lupus was exhibited in the seventeenth century by Francis Junius (1589-1677), antiquarian, philologist, and close friend of John Milton. Junius copied out a series of Lupus's homilies into a manuscript which he later donated to the Bodleian Library

at Oxford. Lupus escaped the zealous attention of seventeenth century theologians, and emerged again in 1705 as the author of fifty-six homilies listed in a catalogue of manuscripts. Humfrey Wanley, (1672-1726), collator of the catalogue, established the identity of the mysterious Lupus as Wulfstan Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester. There was no attempt made by Wanley to publish the Wulfstan homilies. His catalogue remained the standard reference to the contents of OE MSS until 1957, when N.R. Ker published his monumental Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon.

The first edition of the homilies ascribed to Wulfstan by Wanley appeared in Berlin in 1883, edited by Arthur Napier. Napier published Wanley's ascriptions as well as a few more he felt should be included. In 1840, Benjamin Thorpe published some of Wulfstan's non-homiletic works, and from 1903-16, Felix Liebermann published more material which had not yet been attributed to Wulfstan. The twentieth century has seen substantial scholarship around the work of Wulfstan. The importance of the contributions of Bethurum, Whitelock and Jost will be obvious in what follows.

Until this century, practically nothing was known with any degree of certainty about Wulfstan. The first two chapters of this paper will concentrate on the life and

times of the man. The third will concentrate on establishing his Canon. The fourth chapter will indicate what I feel is the significance of Wulfstan to his own age and to ours.

Chapter I

Northern England in the Tenth Century

The two most significant events in tenth century Europe were the Benedictine Reform and the Scandanavian Expansion. Over a period of several centuries, Europe had been slowly and effectively christianized. There had developed a cultural shift, a profound change in the economic base of social relations and the ideology which accommodated the change in social relations.[1] The new cultural entity radically departed from the old in political practice, religious and social ideals, and the image of man. The new cultural entity strove for a centralized theocracy in tune with a metaphysical image of man, a catholic community of mutual and abstract goals. There were, of course, some cultural groups who were not easily assimilated into this grand political structure, and who maintained the values and aspirations of materially sparse economies in opposition to spreading civilization. The Vikings posed a serious threat to the emerging notion of a top-down utilization of power espoused and propagated by the Roman Church.[2] In helping to pacify Europe, by establishing an ideological hegemony and ensuring the continuity of that hegemony by means of

monopolizing the intellectual function of the state in managerial and educational capacities, the Church became the sine qua non of European civilization. When the vested interests of the Church were challenged, it used main force to counteract the threat. When political power was threatened, an alliance of temporal figures with the timeless Church was effected to ensure a strict adherence to hierarchical political philosophy. The Church required for its continued functioning an absolute insistance on obedience to its unquestionable authority. When, in the tenth century, this authority had begun to dissipate and the exemplary communities of christian life became closer to secular norms by phasing out the continual sacrifice that supposedly kept the whole fabric together, an enterprizing series of individuals launched a reform movement which was to consolidate the Church's authority and interests.[3] By the tenth century, there was much to be consolidated. And always, offstage, the hungry Vikings watched the material wealth of the Church and christian culture accumulate. Unsympathetic to the demands made of them by civilization, still underpopulated enough not to feel the need for strict and theocratic self-government, not entirely convinced of the need for self sacrifice, the Vikings eyed the wealth of their southern neighbours. They were strong enough not to need the Church

for support. By the middle of the eleventh century, the Vikings had been incorporated into the body politic (communion of saints) of the Church. For this, the Benedictine Reform was largely responsible.

Viking invasions and forays were not unknown in England before the tenth century.[4] The Anglo-Saxon settlement was, practically speaking, a Viking invasion which stayed. The Danish raids which are distressingly recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle were seasonal phenomena. Come spring, come the Danes. A large raiding party settled in East Anglia after 865 and spread into Northumbria, and this area became a base of operations over the next century. Alfred's rout of the here of 896 slowed the raids for a few years. But Alfred was King only of Wessex. The political organization called England did not become a geographical approximation of what we now refer to as England until Raegnald, Norse king of the Scandanavian Kingdom of York, submitted to Edward, King of Wessex, Mercia, the Danelaw, and a few lesser kingdoms, in 920. York slipped in and out of English hands with dizzying rapidity over the next thirty-nine years, and it was not until Eadwig, King of Wessex, died and was succeeded by his brother Edgar, who was king of the remainder of England, in 959, that the greater kingdom could be considered as one.[5] It was this greater

kingdom that the English had now to protect and maintain in the face of continued expectations of the Danish and Norse pestilence. By the end of the century, Edgar's reign was considered a Golden Age of peace and plenty, virtue and orthodoxy, a sort of idealized Byzantium somewhere in the not so distant past. Concerted and constant raids launched by Olaf Tryggvason, future King of Norway, and Swegn Haroldson, a Dane and future King of England, tore the vision of Byzantium to shreds from 991 to 1014.[6] By Christmas 1013, Swegn was overlord of what had once been Edgar's realm. He died in the following February. The Danes of his army immediately elected Cnut to succeed him, and the rest of England followed their example initially, but Ethelred returned from exile in Normandy to become King of Wessex. Cnut and Ethelred divided England between them for a short time, and at Ethelred's demise Cnut shared the kingdom with Edmund Ironside. Edmund died in 1016, and Cnut became sole King of England and Denmark. He also became a christian.

The ideal of a static society, organized (mechanized) into a pyramid with a primal father presiding, scaled ever downwards in a hierarchy of responsibilities, was faced with this sort of political situation and accompanying scurry for security. Security was most readily accomplished by capitulating to Viking demands and repudiating

christian values. The Benedictine Reform attempted to re-establish those relinquished values.

Early in the tenth century, monasteries in Burgundy, and Upper and Lower Lorraine instituted a drastic disciplinary reformation of monastic life.[7] Penitentials of the age indicate that the ideals of celibacy and obedience were not quite so convincingly maintained as they should have been. Wealth was accumulated at astounding rates by the abbots and monks, in gold, property, serfs, and chattels. Literacy was dropping as well. The monks were not a good example to the secular community. The reformation was well under way by the middle of the century when Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, was exiled from England by King Eadwig. The year was 956.

Cluny was founded in 910, the year of Dunstan's birth, by William, Count of Auvergne and Duke of Aquitaine. Shortly afterward, William abandoned the <u>abbatia</u> to allow the monastery to flourish outside of the control of lay authorities. Cluny, through dispensations from the Pope, also freed itself from episcopal control and allied itself with the papacy against any outside control whatsoever. The keynote of this reorganization was discipline. In addition to expanding the offices, concentrating more effort into relieving poverty, training clerks for civil and ecclesiastical service, the reform set itself the task of

organizing (mechanizing) administration of other monasteries under the direct control of the abbot of Cluny. The papal philosophy of hierarchical centralization was promulgated with such unqualified zeal that by the twelfth century the abbot of Cluny was in control of over three hundred monasteries in Europe. This urge to centralize authority is at the very core of the whole Benedictine Reform. The social necessity of the ideal is amply demonstrated when set before the ravages of the Norse and Danish rovers. The psychological necessity was necessitated by education in a theocratic and legalistic culture. There were, in effect, no alternatives to even consider, much less act upon. The concept of autonomous social institutions was as impracticable as it was alien to cultures striving to maintain their survival.

Before Dunstan was installed Abbot of Glastonbury by King Edmund, he had spent many years in royal service, where he had formed a lasting and genuine friendship with Eadwig's brother Edgar.[8] When Edgar supplanted Eadwig, Dunstan was recalled from exile and the following year, 960, installed by Edgar as Archbishop of Canterbury. The friendship between Dunstan and Edgar grew over the years and had profound effects on the civil and ecclesiastical structures of England. During Edgar's reign, it became increasingly obvious that the king was no less than God's

minister on earth, responsible for the physical as well as spiritual protection and sustenance of the people entrusted to his care. Edgar was ordained and anointed by Dunstan in 973. It was hardly a coincidence that his coronation was effected on his thirtieth birthday, when he was theoretically of age to be ordained. The use of holy oil in the ceremony was calculated to show that his trust was a sacred one. (The importance of ceremonials to indicate the authority of the Church over secular power cannot be overemphasized. The act of Dunstan consecrating Edgar said more to those who saw the spectacle than any number of learned tomes on the subject.)[9] Dunstan's ceremonial was so impressive that it served as a model for coronation orders on the continent. Edgar, in the meantime, exerted all possible energy to reforming and founding monasteries throughout his domain. It is no wonder that Wulfstan practically idolized this best of all kings. If willingness, ability and power to further the aims of the Church are the criteria for grading the greatness of kings, Edgar earns an incredibly high grade.

Dunstan's reforms swept southern England. In 963, Oswald was installed as Bishop of Worcester and Athelwold was made Bishop of Winchester. In 972, Oswald was made Archbishop of York, a see which had been dominantly Scandanavian and which remained somewhat impervious to the

Benedictine Reform.[10] Northern nobles were not quite ready to renounce the abbatia. They had been convinced that the foundation of religious houses and the prayers that issued from those houses were an insurance of everlasting painlessness, and they were not so loyal supporters of the kings to the south to have the prayers transferred to his salvation. In the south, Athelwold ejected noble monks from the Old and New Ministers in Winchester and replaced them with clerks dedicated to the new rule and to the king. This reorganization of the fledgeling chancery could only further the reformation. Athelwold also drafted the Regularis Concordia, the English Benedictine customal.[11] It was, of course, written in Latin. It differed from previous and subsequent customals in the emphasis it paid to the duty of praying for the king and his family. It is not necessary to go too deeply into the reforms instituted by Edgar, Dunstan, Oswald, and Athelwold, beyond saying that they attempted successfully to integrate the functions of church and state in Anglo-Saxon society. Their success is made all the more impressive when we consider the obstacles which yearly raided their hopes for stasis.

This rather loose introduction is trying to set the stage for a more analytical endeavour. Wulfstan was heir to the reformation. Together with Aelfric of Eynsham and

Byrhtferth of Ramsey, he represents the second generation of reformers. There were, of course, many more men who carried on the work of the reform, but these three men are prominent because they are survived by their written works. Aelfric's homilies and pastoral letters, his collection of homiletic material, and his personal correspondence marks him as the most erudite of the three. Byrhtferth wrote the famous Manual,[12] which indicates a side of Anglo-Saxon culture which is not often seen, and which is as fascinating as it is obsolete. Wulfstan survives in his homilies and other writings, as well as in the legal documents of the age. He was by far the most active and most effective of the three, and contains the dialectic of the culture most concisely.

Chapter II

Biographical

Wulfstan was installed as Bishop of London in 996.[1] There is next to nothing known about him before this date, and for some time it was not known whether he was an abbot or just another flash in history, one of those curious phenomena that appear out of nowhere. Later in this chapter, I will propose that Wulfstan served a long apprenticeship in the service of the king before he was installed at London, but will first discuss what is actually known and what has been suggested about his activities after his installation. His signature is recorded in a great number of charters from 996 to 1023, the year of his death, and the transactions which are recorded by the charters are indicative of the social influence he acquired over the years.[2]

As bishop of a wealthy metropolis over a period of six years (996-1002), Wulfstan came into daily contact with travellers from the continent, merchants from his own island, and the problem of preaching effective sermons to a populace which enjoyed a favorable advantage over the rest of the kingdom. He quickly established himself as a reputable orator, a fact which is attested to by an

anonymous letter declining the honor of translating some Latin into the vernacular.[3] The letter, printed by Bethurum, praises Wulfstan to the skies and begs that the writer be excused from this commission on the grounds that he would be sure to disappoint the bishop. There is a note of irony in the letter, which is extremely florid, perhaps too florid, but the indication that Wulfstan had gained a reputation for his preaching is undeniable. Bethurum suggests that the sermons for which he won this reputation are the "Eschatological Homilies" which she edits first in her collection of genuine sermons.[4] The violence of the homilies is perhaps partly explained by the special position of the London parishoners, who were building tiny economic empires which they expected to flourish. Wulfstan bends them to their knees with images of the apocalypse.

While at London, Wulfstan was left the estate of Barling in Essex by the son of another Wulfstan, Leofwine.[5] He was a frequent signatory of documents issued from the Witan, where he used his actual name, Wulfstanus Episcopus. Several letters which have been preserved, and are printed by Bethurum, indicate that he frequently used the pseudonym Lupus while bishop of London.[6] The city was not directly threatened by the Danish raids which ravaged the south coast in 997, or Kent in 999, but Wulfstan could still have

been in London at the time Ethelred gave orders for the slaughter of the Danes on St. Brice's Day, 1002. It was the same year he was translated to Worcester and the archbishopric of York.

Dorothy Whitelock established the date of Wulfstan's translation in 1937.[7] As far as I can determine, this is the first identification of Wulfstan of London and Wulfstan of York. In Searle's Onomasticon and Stubbs's Registrum, the two Wulfstans are considered as separate individuals.[8] Even in the Royal Historical Society's Handbook of Chronology (albeit based on Stubbs), there is a separate entry for both Wulfstans. The confusion is based mainly on a remark made by Florence of Worcester.[9] Florence mentions in passing that Wulfstan was abbot of a monastery before becoming Archbishop of York. He does not specify which monastery. In addition, the Liber Eliensis indicates that Wulfstan was an abbot, but makes no reference to the fact that he was Bishop of London.[10] Whitelock considers that both these sources err.[11] In 1910, Becher claimed to have found a Wulfstan abbas in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticis (K. 707).[12] Whitelock argues that Kemble's reading was at fault and that he has printed Wulfstan from the MS Wlfgar.[13] One of Whitelock's most convincing arguments for identifying the two Wulfstans as one is the extraordinary interest which the Worcester

scriptorium paid to the works of Wulfstan Bishop of London.[14] The year of the translation from London to Worcester is also a problem. It was assumed that the reference in Florence made 1002 too early a date for Wulfstan to succeed Ealdulf. Kemble dates one charter with Wulfstan's signature as an archbishop (K. 715) 1006. Whitelock claims that it cannot be dated later than 1002. To add to the confusion, it is not certain whether Wulfstan continued to hold the see of London as late as 1004, when the first verifiable signature of his successor is recorded.[15]

From London to Worcester and York was a significant jump. York was a sprawling Danish settlement far to the north, which had been a source of booty to the here and which had sporadically resisted inclusion in to the larger kingdom. Earlier in the tenth century, another Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, was instrumental in having a Norseman elected king of York.[16] Since then, the southern kings had been careful to install east country clerics in the see. Presumably, Wulfstan was an east country man himself, as was Ealdulf, as was Oswald.[17] York had suffered mightily at the hands of the Danes, and scarcely supported itself. Since Oswald, the see was held in plurality with Worcester. Worcester was rich and had suffered little from the invaders. It was far enough out of the way to discourage

attacks, and had the added advantage of being close to Wessex and the protection of the king. The protection of the king worked both ways, however, and a recalcitrant northern archbishop was likely to have his funds cut off if he did not please the king.

The library at Worcester was one of the most impressive on the island. No doubt Oswald added greatly to its collection. He had been educated at Fleury, and brought Abbo from there to teach at Ramsey, a dependent house. Byrhtferth's sources give a fair indication of the extent of the library, which consisted of tomes ranging in subject matter from the Carolingian canons to a whole spate of Latin poets. It was to the principal house that Wulfstan moved. Wulfstan's interests were primarily canonical and patristic, and Bethurum gives a list of authors he was most familiar with.[18] She includes: Gregory, Augustine, Alcuin, Adso, Jesse of Amiens, Theodulf of Orleans, Amalarius of Metz, Rabanus Maurus, Abbo of St. Germain, Isidore, Atto of Vercelli, Pirmin of Reichenau, Aelfric, and Bede. There is also evidence of his interest in laws and the encouragement he lavished upon the scriptorium to disseminate the practical literature of running a kingdom or a see. It is interesting to note that Wulfstan's predecessors at Worcester were Oswald and Dunstan. As yet, I have been able to unearth nothing about the career of Ealdulf, but

assume that he too was intimately involved in the reform movement which so firmly attached itself to Worcester. Fourteen years after he was translated to the see of Worcester, Wulfstan consecrated Leofsige as his successor, and withdrew to York for the remainder of his life.[19] It was a time of political upheaval, but the archbishopric seemed to be able to support Wulfstan and his penchant for settling things in order. He remained attached to Worcester in a puzzling way, and was accused by William of Malmesbury of plurality and disposing of Worcester property. I will come back to this later.

The Liber Eliensis indicates that Wulfstan was close to Ethelred, Edmund and Cnut:

> Floruit autem temporibus Aeðelredi, Aedmundi et Canuti regum Anglorum, quibus singulis eque amabatur ut frater, eque honorabatur ut pater, et ad maxima regni negotia, utpote doctissimus consiliarius, frequenter vocabatur, in quo ipsa Dei sapientia, quasi in quodam spirituali templo, loquabatur. [20]

He was close to Ethelred between the years 1008 and 1012, as witnessed by his signature on documents.[21] He is undoubtedly author of Ethelred's codes, V-X Atr. In 1014, he consecrated Aelfwig to London at York; he was present at the Oxford council of 1015; he consecrated Athelnoth to Canterbury and Edmund to Durham in 1020, as well as consecrating Cnut's victory chapel at Ashington the same year. In 1018, he was instrumental in having Edgar's Laws accepted by the Oxford assembly, and in 1022 was known to

have been at St. Peter's, Gloucester. He moved about quite a bit. His friendship with Cnut is not surprizing. Bethurum suggests that Wulfstan acted as counsellor to "the brilliant young barbarian," and shaped his law codes much as he shaped Ethelred's. There is a curious document which I will be commenting on in another chapter which could indicate the extent to which Wulfstan acted as counsellor to Cnut. It is Napier's Homily L, and is a condensation of much of Wulfstan's later writing. It is not quite a homily, not quite a letter, but more like a statement of principles which would be invaluable to a new king in a new land. Wulfstan's friendship with the Danish overlords of York and Worcester, Eric and Hakon, could only further his association with Cnut. There is also a letter to Cnut from Wulfstan which shows a genuine respect for the young king.[22] Doubtless they both realized that they needed the support of one another in order to accomplish their mutual project, political stability.

The claim of friendship with Edmund is puzzling. Edmund and Cnut made an agreement which gave Edmund the kingdom of Wessex and Cnut the rest of the island. Edmund was king from April 1016, when he was elected in London, to 30 November 1016, when he died and was succeeded by Cnut. But he was Ethelred's son and may have been familiar with Wulfstan in connection with his father. It might be that Wulfstan acted as a middleman in the negotiations for a

truce.

It seems that the archbishop lead an exemplary life. Except for the acrimonious accusations of William of Malmesbury and the anonymous scribe who wrote reprobus beside Wulfstan's name in a Worcester history, there seems to be nothing against the man.[23] Scholars dislike having their subjects slandered; Dorothy Bethurum is no exception. She argues convincingly that the York-Canterbury dispute is at the basis of the accusations, and that the confusion of York and Worcester estates, made inevitable by their being held jointly, was unintentional. Someone, of course, had to be blamed. She does not defend Wulfstan against the attack of plurality, but illustrates that the recriminations of the later historians are suspect. I am inclined to think that Wulfstan was not particularly concerned with the illegality of annexing estates, and was probably as guilty as his contemporaries in that respect. It matters little.

Wulfstan's public life was active and influential. But there is a personal, familial aspect to the man that should be mentioned. It is known that he was friendly with Aelfric of Eynsham, Aelfric of Canterbury, Leofwine, as well as with many of the higher nobility. He probably had two brothers: Elfwige, to whom he leased an estate; and Wulfmaer, who is referred to as "the bishop's brother" in

another charter involving Wulfstan. He certainly had two sisters: one was married to a gentleman called Wulfric; the other was the mother of Brihteah, who later became Bishop of Worcester and ordained St. Wulfstan.[24] Our Wulfstan is recorded as being a benefactor of Ely and Peterborough, and was buried at Ely beside Byrhtnoth of Essex. He died on 28 May, 1023, at York; his body was taken directly to Ely. His burial is recorded by Florence and the Liber Eliensis, and his death is noted in the Chronicle as well as an Ely calendar.[25]

The period of Wulfstan's life before 996, when he became Bishop of London, is a complete blank. It is suspected that he was of a noble family. He was buried at Ely, and was a benefactor of Ely and Peterborough in the Fenlands, which suggests that he was from the east country. This suspicion is reinforced by the fact that his predecessors at York were from the east, and his successors were from the east as well. There are Anglian elements in the language of the MSS which have not gone through many copyists.[26] Both he and his brother Wulfmaer were connected with Aelfhelm, a benefactor of Ely and Ramsey. Which all goes to show that he was probably from a noble family of the east.

There is no questioning the claim that he was a monk. In the first place, it would have been improbable to be

raised to the episcopacy at London if he were not a Benedictine. He is also responsible for reforming the monastery at Gloucester. All archbishops of York were Benedictine. But Florence says abbas, and the Liber Eliensis says, "Primo monachus, deinde abbas...."[27] There is no record of an abbot Wulfstan in any of the eastern monasteries, but the records are not complete.[28] It is possible that he was an abbot, but not at Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, or Ramsey. Crowland is dubious. Bethurum suggests that he might have had some connection with Ethelred before 996, possibly as a scribe, and bases her guess on Wulfstan's later career.[29] I am inclined to agree with her. The following speculation is open to daily revision, but I think it fits.

Charters from 965 to 996, not all, but a large proportion, witness the signature Wulfstan minister in one form or another.[30] Sometimes it is Wlstan, Wlfstan, Uulfstan or Wulfstan. It appears beside the name of Byrhtnoth of Essex several times, which may or may not imply a relationship. It appears under the names Edgar, Edward, and Ethelred as well as the archbishops and bishops of those kings. The name stops appearing as Wulfstan minister in 996, and is replaced by Wulfstan Episcopus, just as this is replaced after 1002 by Wulfstan Archiepiscopus. The term minister can mean anything from thegn to

clerk. It is applied indiscriminately to members of the king's household. I mentioned earlier that Athelwold replaced the Old and New Minister scribes with Benedictine monks. Athelwold was placed in charge of the Winchester chancery by Edgar in 963, at the request of Dunstan. I consider it quite probable that Wulfstan was one of those bright young monks was attached to the king almost immediately he entered the monastery. This would account for his phenomenal zeal in carrying out the reforms set in motion by Dunstan, Athelwold and Edgar, his own expert legal training, as well as his unquestioning devotion to Edgar throughout his life. It is curious that all references to Edgar and Edgar's Laws appear in MSS that are clearly related to Wulfstan. This romantic picture of a wide-eyed young monk moving about in the circles of power and carrying around the initial impressions of a golden age for the remainder of his life is very appealing. But there are still questions.

How old was Wulfstan when he died? He had to be at the very least thirty years old in 996. He could not have been ordained earlier. That would make him 57 years old in 1023, which is a fairly respectable age. But if he were, let us say, 15 years old in 965, he would be 73 in 1023. If he were 20 years of age in 965, he died at the age of 78. It is not improbable for a man of his energy to live that

long. Dunstan, for instance, lived to the ripe old age of 78. If we set a birth-date somewhere around 945, it is conceivable that the romantic image of the young Wulfstan would hold up.

How many Wulfstans are there? It could be that Wulfstan minister is another gentleman of the same name. Wulfstan minister might well be Leofwine's father. Indeed, there is a possibility that all the many Wulfstan ministers are different men, but this is unlikely. It is unlikely that there are more than three.[31] It would be of great advantage to look at the signatures on the MSS themselves, if any of the charters are preserved in their original form. It is impractical to do this now, however, I suspect that the many Wulfstans are one, and will go into the problem some other time. Access to the MSS is important to establish stema and dates of Kemble's editions.

The following picture begins to emerge. A young Anglian noble attaches himself to the court of Edgar and moves with the Benedictine reform to an episcopacy in London and the archbishopric of York. He is intricately involved in the affairs of the kingdom and is flexible enough to advise and counsel a young pagan conqueror, who becomes a christian and re-establishes the relative peace of the young noble's youth.

Chapter III

The Canon

The importance of establishing the Wulfstan Canon is obvious. It simply would not do to ascribe to him certain questionable texts and then proceed to talk about the man's attitude and imagination on the basis of those texts, any more than one could adequately describe Dickens's contribution to English Literature after ascribing Middlemarch or Nostromo to him. It works the other way as well: if we did not ascribe Hard Times to Dickens, our image of him would be far from complete. With someone like Dickens, however, it is relatively easy to establish a canon. There are ample documents which we can refer to: letters, publishing contracts, copyright data, original MSS , and numerous other objective criteria which establish what and when Dickens wrote. Failing that, there are stylistic considerations which indicate authorship of particular works. There is, moreover, a tone to Dickens's work which is inescapable, various themes which he uses consistently, and a peculiar psychology of the family. (When I refer to style, I mean rhetorical as well as thematic devices.) It was an application of these considerations which lead scholars to

accept Fielding's authorship of Shamela, for instance, and to accept many of Swift's works. The same sort of criteria are applied to a mass of OE and Anglo-Latin texts in order to establish their authorship, but the criteria are more sophisticated, more "objective" than their bald statement would imply. There are no names of authors conveniently stamped on the spines of OE MSS , and rarely does the name of an author appear in the MSS themselves. Consequently, the establishment of a canon which we can ascribe to one author is a fascinating exercise in detective work. The investigation is conducted on very strict lines in order to ensure a relative certainty about its conclusions. There is alwasy the possibility that the conclusions are a little off-base; that the investigation is not so scientific as it is hoped to be; that, in fact, the whole endeavour is a hideous mistake; but that need not deter the scholar from conducting it. If he or she has strayed hopelessly beyond ascertainable truth, someone else will pick up the thread and carry on at a later date, wiser for the mistakes of his or her predecessor. This section is devoted to an explanation of the criteria used to establish the Wulfstan Canon, and will be followed by a detailed analysis of the Canon itself.

a) Criteria

In 1705, Humfrey Wanley attributed fifty-six homilies in Old English, some only fragments, and three Latin texts to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester.[1] According to rubrics in three MSS, B, C, and E, Lupus episcopus was responsible for homilies 1-10, 12, 13, 15-21, 27, 28, 32, and parts of 24 and 30, as well as Napier's XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XXXVIII and XXXIX.[2] He added another fifteen homilies which he considered similar to those above, and several non-homiletic pieces from MSS G, I, and C, including the poetic Pater Noster in C, and one short piece from K. 3. Most of Wanley's ascriptions were correct, and though he did not specify his criteria for judging the genuineness of the homilies, except by following the rubrics and guaging the tone of other pieces, his feel for what was and what was not Wulfstan's work is phenomenal. His catalogue was considered the standard reference until just recently, but was first questioned by Napier in 1882 in his critical edition of homilies 7, 8, and 19.[4] Napier's criteria were much the same as Wanley's (i.e., manuscript attribution), and he added homilies 27 and 28 on the same basis. By establishing without doubt the genuineness of these five homilies, Napier gave later scholars a solid textual basis for linguistic and stylistic analysis of other texts. The

following year, Napier published all of the homilies attributed to Wulfstan by Wanley, and added homilies 23, 36, 37, as well as his LVII, LVIII and LXII.[5] This volume is invaluable to the study of Wulfstan. Napier promised to publish a second volume containing notes, but it never appeared.[6]

In 1897, J.P. Kinard published a study of Wulfstan's homilies.[7] Using Napier's dissertation as his basis, Kinard added homilies 2-6, 12, and 16 to the Canon. He also included Napier's XXVII, which sounds like Wulfstan's but has been rejected by Jost and is ignored by Bethurum.[8] It is made up of fragments from 27, the famous Sermo Lupi.[9]

In 1910, Richard Becher published a dissertation on the homilies and added the following works to those added by Kinard to Napier's dissertation: 13, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 33, and Napier's XL, XLV, XLVI, XLVIII, LVII.[10] In ascribing these last five homilies to Wulfstan, Becher ignored sourcework and seems to have misunderstood Wulfstan's distaste for heavy allegory.

By 1910, there had been four linguistic studies of Wulfstan's homilies, two on syntax and two on vocabulary.[11] There was little distinction made between the genuine and pseudo-Wulfstanian texts, but the studies established another criterion for fixing the Canon more precisely and

scientifically. Worcester, the scriptorium which produced the MSS most closely related to Wulfstan in time and place, developed a striking variety of LWS mixed with Anglian, Kentish, and Mercian elements.[12] Bethurum summarizes all the research and conclusions in a short chapter, but does not stress Wulfstan's characteristic vocabulary, which I will go into later. It is sufficient to say now that barring thematic considerations, Wulfstan's work is easily distinguishable from Aelfric's on a study of vocabulary alone.

In 1932, Karl Jost published a revolutionary article on Wulfstan's use of sources.[13] He established beyond doubt that Wulfstan was the author of homilies 10-12, and 14-16. Jost later applied his technique to other Wulfstan material, and has been responsible for establishing practically all of the Canon. His study indicated that Wulfstan gathered his material about particular themes and collated patristic and Carolingian sources into rhetorical patterns. In close connection with Jost's method appeared a series of articles on Wulfstan's Commonplace Books.[14] These are MSS which contain a large proportion of Wulfstan's sources and have been connected with the scriptotium at Worcester. There are nine MSS which are similar in content, and all contain material directly relating to episcopal functions. The collocation of many

of these fragments in the MSS is incomprehensible if we do not recognize that they are sources for pieces in Wulfstan's work. The series of articles dealing with the Commonplace Books are not intimately connected with Jost's work, but together they give a solid basis for establishing the Canon through common sources.

The nine MSS, two of which were prepared at Worcester, are: Bar, Cop, I, G, W, X, BN Cottonian Vespasian A xiv and Bibl. Nat. Paris Fond Latin 3182. They contain the Frankish Capitulare episcoporum (otherwise known as the Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti), Aelfric's Pastoral Letters, Amalarius' De regula, Theodore's Penitential, and some of Wulfstan's letters. Neil R. Ker has suggested that three of the MSS contain marginalia in Wulfstan's hand.[15] The importance of this observation is obvious. Vespasian A xiv, I, and Cop, if Ker's conclusion is correct, must be considered as definitive texts. Unfortunately, they are not anthologies of homilies and the task of the critic is only made slightly easier.[16]

So far I have indicated that there are textual, linguistic, stylistic, and sourcework criteria for establishing the Wulfstan Canon. The Canon has so far been defined as homiletic, which gives a rather lopsided view of it. Wulfstan's authorship of the laws of Ethelred and Cnut is based on textual as well as stylistic criteria.[17]

Passages occur in these laws which are identical with passages in several homilies, and the dating of MSS indicates that the laws were the borrowers. The same is true of item 41, Laws of Edward and Guthrum.[18] Comparison of passages from homilies that have been accepted as genuine with other homilies and legal writings has been the most conclusive method of establishing the authorship of most of the latter material. Combined with the criteria mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, this method is the most effective and fool-proof way of building the Corpus, or paring it.

In 1948, Professor Angus McIntosh delivered a lecture about Wulfstan's striking rhythm.[19] Wulfstan used a double-stress phrase, often in pairs, and it is this double-stress pattern which distinguishes the archbishop's translations and transcriptions from the work of Aelfric and his contemporaries. The pattern is similar enough to OE poetic traditions to have lead some scholars to believe that Wulfstan's homilies were poetic. Alliteration and rhyme played an important role in the stress pattern, which did little to dispel the "poetic" theory. McIntosh's study indicated that this "poetic" style was a carefully developed and highly polished oratorical style. (I have noticed a similar double-stress phrasing with repitition in the sermons of a certain thundering retreat-master in

Montreal.) It is a highly emotive style, and most effective. An example from Polity I, which is not homiletic in the strict sense, indicates that the habit of the style persisted in Wulfstan's work:

> 7 þrìdde þaet he eàdmod sỳ wið gòde
> 7 feòrðe þaet he stìðmod sỳ wið ỳfele.
> (I 42, 20)[19]

From the Sermo:

> 7 mìcel is nỳdþearf mànna gehwìlcum
> þaet he Gòdes lage gỳme heònanforð geòrne
> 7 Gòdes gerìhta mid rìhte gelaèste
> (27, 24-25)[20]

Needless to say, these examples are not drawn randomly from the texts; the obvious examples of highly stylized rhythm are easy to find, but are not characteristic of all of Wulfstan's work. He was too much of a stylist to persist in the rocking phrases, which are interspersed with less poetic rhythms for contrast. Jost has reservations about McIntosh's work; ironically the former's diplomatic edition of the Polity is printed in half-columns and often gives the illusion of being poetic in the OE tradition.

In connection with the rhythmic elements of Wulfstan's style, something should be said about his use of tags, or short formulae, and intensives. He made frequent use of such set phrases as: oft 7 gelome, for Gode 7 for worulde, lare 7 lage, egeslic 7 grimlic, wide on worulde, ealles to swyðe, and wealdend 7 wyrhta. Phrases like this made

double-stress more obvious and acted as intensives. A large number of intensifying adverbs and adjectives liberally sprinkle Wulfstan's work: aefre, swyðe, georne, geornlic, mid rihte, ofer ealle oðre þing, se þe wille, and wide are only a few examples.

Jost's monumental Wulfstanstudien appeared in 1950.[21] So far, it is the most complete study of Wulfstan's Canon. He lists the texts which he considers genuine Wulfstan material, homiletic and in English, on page 116, but adds to it in later considerations of Napier's edition. One of the more important sub-chapters is devoted to Wulfstan's vocabulary. Jost shows how Wulfstan's choice of verbs differs quite significantly from Aelfric's, and uses the differences to weed out several non-Wulfstanian homilies from the Canon. Wulfstan, for example, prefers the use of beorgan and mildsian to arian; geberan to cennan and its compounds; gecnawan to on- and tocnawan; namian to hatan; and gifan to forgifan. He prefers lagu to ae, lac to onsaegdness, and deofol without the article. His transcriptions from Aelfric indicate a propensity to duplicate nouns by alliteration. Jost's comparison of Aelfric to Wulfstan is extremely rewarding; it verifies the feeling that there is something impersonal about Wulfstan which does not allow him to indulge in metaphorical and allegorical homiletics. Wulfstan plays down

the subtleties which Aelfric obviously enjoys and is constantly reducing Aelfric's distinctions to their easiest and most understandable ground, that is, a forthright statement by the archbishop that "This is so." I shall be referring to Jost quite frequently in the next section, and the importance of his Wulfstanstudien will be more obvious in my references than in description.

Jost considered the following homilies as genuine: 1-10, 12, 13, 15-28; 31, part of 33, 35, 36, and 38. Of the remainder, he considers 39, 41, 42, 44-48, 61, 65 and 67 to be genuine Wulfstan texts. The Polity was edited by him in 1959.

In 1957, Dorothy Bethurum published a collection of Wulfstan's Homilies which had been generally accepted by Wulfstan scholars.[23] She added two homilies which seem to have missed their attention, 11 and 22. Her copious notes are invaluable, and the introductory chapters summarize practically all the important work which had been done on Wulfstan until 1957. The same year, James M. Ure published an edition of the OE Benedictine Office (61).[24] Ure argues that Aelfric is responsible for a translation of the Latin source of the Office, and Wulfstan revised Aelfric's text, added the poetic translations of the prayers, and had the completed version published. In a review of Ure's addition, Peter Clemoes

questions Ure's argument and suggests that Wulfstan, not Aelfric, is responsible for the translation from the Latin source.[25] Jost makes substantially the same argument.[26]

Aside from Jost's 1959 edition of the Polity, there has been little of consequence published about the Canon, or Wulfstan, since Bethurum's edition of the homilies and Ure's editon of the Office.[27]

The following section is a cursory study of the Canon. It aspires to a relative completeness, but can only hope for adequacy. The question of authorship for several pieces is rather confusing, owing to medieval scribal practices and Wulfstan's own methods of composition. At some points it will be obvious that Wulfstan gathered sources and rewrote the collation into his own inimitable style; at others it will be just as obvious that Wulfstan pulled together material from his own previous work and incorporated it into the public documents which quickly lost the stamp of their originator (this is particularly true of 35). It would be silly to argue that the authorship of the legal codes, if it were not for the fact that the man who was responsible for their content and phrasing was also responsible for their publication. For our purposes, it matters little whether he wrote the pieces with his own hand or oversaw their composition. The confusion which surrounds the relationship among 44, 45,

and 46 is a good example of the sort of difficulty attribution of texts runs into. We are certain that all three bear Wulfstan's stamp, and are mainly concerned over the depth of the impression on each of the texts.

For the purpose of this exercise, I will be using the words "homily" and "sermon" interchangeably. Properly speaking, a sermon follows a text and is an elaboration on that text. A homily is an exhortation. Wulfstan was not overly concerned with the distinction in practice, and a theoretical distinction here would only muddy matters. 34, for instance, could be a homily, letter, tract, notes for a homily, or notes for an address. Even the distinction between homilies and laws becomes rather blurry, as indicated by extensive use of identical sources for each. The interchange of legal and homiletic material is not a peculiar characteristic of Wulfstan; it has parallels on the continent.[28] The practice of publishing edicts from the king and witan by priests in the rural areas and bishops in the more developed areas is primarily responsible for the confusion, if such we can call it. It is probably my own preoccupation with form that leads me to think of the lack of clear distinction as confusion, even where no distinctions are necessary or helpful.

Much has been made of Wulfstan's peculiar style. As it is the most obvious characteristic of a text that we

intend to claim as part of the Canon, it should be noted that one of the principal drawbacks in establishing the Canon has been the belief that there are several items that are the work of Wulfstan-imitators (Wulfstannachahmer). Becher is the most ardent promoter of this particular red herring. Jost devoted Wulfstanstudien to the relegation of Becher's proposal "ins Reich der Fabel."[29]

b) Works

The order of the homilies, as near as can be determined, is set out by Bethurum. 1-6 are probably from the last decade of the tenth century. Before 1008, the order seems to be: 3, 4, 1, 2, 5, 6, 14, 7, 8, 13, 17, 10, 11, 15, 16, 45, 12, and 27 is dated 1014, approximately the same date as 19; both were written after 20-21 and before 28, which might be of the same date as 42. The subject is in need of careful work, as this is about as far as it goes. 46-52 undoubtedly follow 41; 44 and 55 were prepared after 1002; 29-40 need further study before they can be fixed. The table does not pretend to be chronological, and is intended only to facilitate references. 1-28 follow Bethurum's order, 29-37 Napier's, 38-61 are in no particular order but form a group in contrast to 62-68, which are fragments, letters and charters. I have not included those charters which have Wulfstan's signature appended to them, but it is important to know that they exist.

The following section will be divided in eight overall headings, and the individual pieces considered under several headings. The intention is to establish the genuineness of the pieces and provide a critical apparatus for their further study.

i) Eschatological Homilies

Homilies 1-6 deal with a common theme, the coming of the end of the world, and were probably delivered by Wulfstan while he was Bishop of London. Bethurum was the first scholar to characterize the group thematically, and indicated the close relationship of the themes propounded by Wulfstan in these early homilies with his subsequent work. She stresses as well the rhetorical figure traductio, which is Wulfstan's favourite device for inducing agreement, and shows that its frequency is not accidental. She points out that the whole focus of this group of sermons is "the necessity for repentance and good works in view of the immanence of the Last Day," and reiterates the critical acceptance of Wulfstan's moralistic temperament.

Line references are to Bethurum's edition, unless otherwise stated.

Homily 1 appears in C, pp. 66-67; E, ff. 31b-36; V, ff. 28b-29; and Cop, ff. 51-52. It is titled "De Anticristo" and is a collation of Adso, Gregory, Isidore, and the Vulgate. Napier numbers it XI, Wanley 16 lat., and Bethurum Ia. Evidence for Wulfstan's authorship rests mainly in the fact that this is the basis for 2, which is a translation of the same sources in the same order. It had never been studied independently until Bethurum's

examination and edition. Jost includes it in his Canon, p. 116, but does not pay any particular attention to it.

There are two stylistic peculiarities about this homily worth mentioning. Bethurum states that it is a "merest digest" of Adso's Libellus Anticristi, a tenth century collection of pertinent material, parts of which occur in two OE MSS connected with Wulfstan, W and V. Wulfstan edited-out the biographical information supplied by Adso in favour of a severe condensation of general statements. It is characteristic of Wulfstan to avoid imagistic material. A second peculiarity is the appearance of the phrases "si fieri potest" and "fieri non potest," which are indicators of Wulfstan's later affection for the phrases "se þe wille," "þe he wille," and similar statements of probability and improbability.

Homily 2 appears in C, pp. 67-68; E, ff. 33-34; G, ff. 136b-37b; and H, f. 142b. The rubric "De Anticristo" appears only in G. It is not a direct translation of 1, but a translation of the sources of 1. Napier XII, Wanley 16, and Bethurum Ib. Kinard, Whitelock, and Jost accept it as genuine, as does Bethurum. The grounds for ascription are Wulfstan's characteristic address, Leofan men; his usual concluding utan-phrase, l. 35; the thematic rihtne cristendom motif; and phrases such as lare 7 lage, þeos woruld is fram daege to daege a swa leng swa wyrse,

the intensive wide, and typical use of sy. The general progress of the homily is characteristically Wulfstan's: he begins by stating that the need for knowing how to live as a christian is of the utmost importance for saving oneself, then indicates what traps which pervert knowledge are in store for the unwary, calls on his audience to help one another avoid pitfalls, and exhorts them to keep in mind the reward awaiting those who suffer diligently in this world.

Bethurum indicates Wulfstan's omission of "a theological subtlety" in this version. It is characteristic of Wulfstan to avoid complicating his subject matter, even when addressing the clergy (see l. 28). He had no illusions about the sophistication of his audience.

Homily 3 appears in C, pp. 71-72 and E, 47b-49b. The rubric "Lecti Sancti Evangelii secundum Matteum" occurs in E only. It is Napier's XIV, Wanley's 19, and Bethurum's II. This homily, preached on the third Sunday of Lent, is a good example of a classic commentary, or sermon. Most of the homily is a translation of the text cited (Matt. 24), and concludes with a passage which appears again in 31. The grounds for ascription are practically the same for 2, and it has been accepted by Kinard, Whitelock, Jost and Bethurum. If Bethurum's proposed order of the homilies is correct, this is the

first Wulfstan homily we have. It's simplicity is striking, and the relative scarcity of rhetorical devices argues for a very early composition. Wulfstan's habit of translating a single Latin word by an alliterative or rhyming pair of OE words is evidenced already: eorðstyrunga 7 earfoðnessa appear for pseudoprophete, grimlic 7 sorhlic for iniquites, and waqicgean 7 warnian for uigilate.

Homily 4 appears in A, pp. 221-24; C, pp. 72-74; E, 49b-52. The rubric "Secundum Lucam" appears only in E. Napier's XV, Wanley's 20 and 36 (the same homily), and Bethurum's III. It is a commentary on Luke 21, and is accepted by Kinard, Whitelock, Jost and Bethurum. Grounds for ascription are again practically the same for the previous three homilies, although ll. 14-15, "And ðy hit is on worulde a swa leng swa wyrse, þaes þe we sylfe gecnawað ful georne," would be enough to lead one to suspect Wulfstan's authorship alone. Ll. 45-53 are puzzling, because their heavy allegory is usually alien to Wulfstan's work. Bethurum describes 4 as a "highly rhetorical sermo ad populum whose purpose is to convince the people that the national calamities are punishment for sin, and to warn them of the approach of the Day of Judgement." She suggests a comparison with Aelfric's Catholic Homilies, i 608 ff., and ii 538-42, which comment on the same texts.

The implied comparison with Gildas is unavoidable, although the attitude that political events is divinely ordained is unfortunately still with us.

Homily 5 appears in C, pp. 74-78; E, ff. 52-56b; H, ff. 142b-43b. The rubric "De Temporibus Anticristi" appears only in E. Napier's XVI, Wanley's 21, and Bethurum's IV. The principal source is Aelfric's Preface to the Catholic Homilies, which Wulfstan later reworked in 6. It is accepted by Kinard and Whitelock. Jost devotes a short chapter to a study of the homily, and though he does not include it in his Canon on p.116, accepts it as genuine (Jost, 188-94). Bethurum omits three pages of Napier's text (98/5 - 101/5) on the grounds that it does not appear in H, and that it is a translation of a portion of the Acts of Peter and Paul (ed. Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, III. 632) not made by Wulfstan (Bethurum, fn. p. 132). Jost comments on the inappropriateness of the exemplum and refers it back to Aelfric's CH I. The exemplum concerns Simon the magician in Nero's court as an agent of hell. The story is a little too exotic for Wulfstan in the first place, but the rambling prose of the translation indicates that it is an interpolation. The lost "X" version of the homily must be the source for the interpolated passage. (See Bethurum's notes on the stemma of the MSS, pp. 13-14.)

Homily 6 appears in C, pp. 68-71; E, ff. 44-47b; H, 141b-42b. The rubric "Secundum Marcum" appears in both E and H. Napier's XIII, Wanley's 18, and Bethurum's V. The emblem is Mark 13, and the principal source is Aelfric's Preface to the Catholic Homilies, which Wulfstan reworked for 5. The theme, of course, is the millenium. Bethurum says that 6 is the most completely developed sermon on the Last Days. It is tremendously slick; the double-stress rhythmic patterns are dominant; and Wulfstan's characteristic use of intensives enforces an extremely effective sense of urgency throughout the sermon.

There are three sections of this sermon which have several parallels in other, possibly later, works by Wulfstan. The most obvious is the alliterative catalogue of 140/102 ff.; then there is another alliterative catalogue (not so well handled) from MS H following 135/20. 136/38 ff. is echoed repeatedly throughout the canon. It stresses the superlativeness of the christian life and establishes an absolute superiority of Christ as man and the christian God over all and any alternatives. When Wulfstan wishes to indicate the absolute superiority of anything over anything else, he uses parallel phrasing to express it.

The Eschatological Homilies express Wulfstan's early pre-occupation with "holding fast" (gehealdenne) to

christianity. The image of a degenerating society, accelerated by an increasing number of agents from hell altering an already touchy balance, is counterposed to a possibility of individuals saving themselves from eternal damnation through adherence to a righteous life. There is no hope for saving the world, but each man's soul is still capable of being saved. The next series of sermons go into the necessity for knowing what the christian life is and what the christian is expected to avoid.

ii) Catechetical Homilies

Homilies 7 to 18 form a group. They have been accepted as genuine by practically all the Wulfstan scholars. 7 and 8 are attributed to Wulfstan and with 18, 27 and 28, form the basis for establishing the genuineness of the others (Bethurum, p. 30). The emphasis Wulfstan places on the necessity of learning what the precepts of the christian life are characterizes the group. If Bethurum's dating of the homilies is correct, these sermons were probably delivered by Wulfstan after he had been translated to Worcester. The shift in emphasis from the sermons delivered while he was in London, from holding-on to the faith, to the sermons delivered after 1003, to what the faith consisted of, indicates a certain amount of flexibility in the man. It is likely that a shift in locale and congregation was as much responsible for the new approach to sermonizing as was Wulfstan's own progression. It is all very well and good to talk about the punishment one can expect for stepping out of line, so long as the line is adequately defined. This group of homilies pivots around two words: understandan and laeran. The first homily outlines the history of the world; the rest relate the past to the present to the absolute future, on þam toweardan life.

The grounds for ascription are based on stylistic

peculiarities, such as the use of intensives and the redundant verbs, as well as on the rhythmical features and the contextual bases which have been mentioned earlier.

Homily 7 appears in C, pp. 10-15; B, pp. 134-61; E, ff. 4-10b; H, ff. 144b-6b. 142/1 - 144/31 appear in M, f. 23. The rubric "Incipiunt Sermones Lupi Episcopi" appears in all the MSS. Napier's II, Wanley's 1, and Bethurum's VI. The principal sources are Aelfric's homily "De initia Creature" and a tract by Pirmin, Abbot of Reichenau. Jost devotes several pages to the relationship between this homily and Pirmin in Wulfstan-studien (pp. 55-61). Besides Wulfstan's characteristic changes in style, there are a few significant contributions to the text which indicates Wulfstan's particular concern. One is the reference to Cain (l. 53), which appears in neither of the sources. It is a concrete instance of the incorporation of a figure familiar to English congregations as an example of the man drawn astray þurh deofles lare, where a single man is held responsible for Godes yrre on the whole of society. Ll. 77-95, which do not appear in the sources either, stress the same theme. The efficacy of this sort of sermon is mentioned by Aelfric, and is worth repeating:

> Hwa maeg aefre on life ealle gereccan Godes maerlican mihte, ðe he mannum cydde fram Adames anginne oð þisne

anweardan daeg?
(CH II, 224/13-15).

The history is of God's mercy and the wiles of the devil. From Wulfstan's vantage point, the devil is winning.

Homily 8 appears in B, pp. 161-82; C, pp. 15-19; and E, ff. 10b-16. The rubric "De Fide Catholica" appears in B and C; in E it appears as "Item Sermo. De Fide." Napier's III, Wanley's 2, and Bethurum's VII. There is no specific source for the homily, although Aelfric produced at least two versions on the same topic. It was considered as a first demand of catechumens that they know the Credo and Pater by Carolingian writers and the Reformists of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Bethurum's comment on the sermon reveals a basic difference between Wulfstan and Aelfric: "The principal difference between Aelfric's and Wulfstan's treatments is that Aelfric's is in line with the traditional content of sermons on the Creed in developing the grounds for Trinitarian faith, while Wulfstan's, as is typical of his lack of interest in theology, has nothing to say of the Trinity and turns the force of its statement to moral teaching (p. 301).

Wulfstan's translation of the Credo begins on l. 27. The introduction this far is repeated, in parts, in I Cn and the Canons of Edgar (items 50 and 41 respectively in the Canon), which indicates the seriousness with which

Wulfstan held and enforced the Carolingian practice. He ends his translation at l.96. Ll.96 to the end depends a lot on the eschatological homilies, and sections re-appear sporadically in items 39 and 40 of the Canon.

The structure of the homily follows a simple rhetorical pattern. The initial emphasis is on the necessity for understanding rihtne geleafan, exemplified by the Credo. The Credo is followed by an eschatological strain, which in turn is followed by the positive promise of bot. Wulfstan concludes the sermon with his usual Utan formula, and the promise of everlasting happiness in the world to come.

Homily 9 appears in G, ff. 64-65v; K, ff. 92v-93; C, p. 23 (in part). The rubric "To Eallum Folke" appears in C; G reads "Be Ðaes Halgan Sunnandaeges Gebeda." The sermon is a translation of the Pater and Credo, with the Gloria included in the introduction. The translation is straightforward and contains characteristic Wulfstanian phrasing and interpolation. The conclusion of the piece differs substantially from MS to MS, which would indicate that there was never any consistent original of the sermon. The structure of the whole unit is, in fact, tripartite: the Pater and Gloria, with the standard Wulfstanian address leofan men and the formulaic conclusion, although that is part of the prayer; the Credo, with the leofan men address

and formulaic conclusion, as above; and the third section, the conclusion, which refers only to the Credo in all three MSS. The units stand by themselves and do not form the consistent whole that 8, for instance, does. I am surprised that Bethurum accepts it as a sermon, although it most certainly is from Wulfstan's hand.

Homily 10 appears in C, p. 103; W, p. 159; X, p. 180; Bar, f. 36; and Cop, f. 78. The rubric "Incipit de Baptisma" is missing in W and X. The sources of this Latin text are Jesse of Amiens, Theodulf, and Amalarius. The use of these sources in a systematic way is the essential criterion for establishing this work as Wulfstan's (Jost, 1932). Bethurum suggests that this work is Wulfstan's first re-working of the Carolingian material on Baptism and that it follows the orthodox procedure initiated by Ethelwold, Oswald and Dunstan. Wulfstan's interest again lies in the moral significance of the rite, rather than in its more metaphysical symbolic value. Napier's IV, Wanley's 7 (lat.), and Bethurum's VIIIa.

Homily 11 appears in D only, pp. 40-42, with the rubric "Dominica IIIIa Vel Quando Volueris." It is published only in Bethurum, and is the first translation of homily 10. It is an English tract for priests and deals with their duties, rather than the more abstract analysis presented in the Latin original. The emphasis

on the process of the rite, and the subjectivity of the initiators of the rite, gives the sermon a benign tone which is refreshing. Printed by Bethurum only as VIIIb.

Homily 12 appears in B, pp. 112-34; C, pp. 105-8; E, ff. 16-21; H, ff. 132-3; and M, f. 23 (only a few lines legible; the fire of 1731 practically destroyed the MS). The rubric "Sermo de Baptismate" appears in B and H. Napier V, Wanley 7, Bethurum VIIIc. This third sermon on Baptism is delivered to eallum cristenum mannum. It is the most explicit and complete of the three sermons, and attempts to correlate the baptismal ceremony with every-day living. Wulfstan borrows some material from Aelfric and his own homily 16 after l.99, when he departs from his Carolingian sources. Practically all of the homily after l.99 re-appears (or is borrowed from) in items 14, 16, 41, 43-5, 47-9, 51 and 52. Inasmuch as this particular homily is extremely compact, and directed to a congregation which, it would seem, is barely christianized (ll.165 ff.), it is a goldmine for those with interests in ritual and liturgy.

Homily 13 appears in E, ff. 27-31b; C, pp. 65-6 (in part; ll. 69-151); and B, pp. 198-204 (in part; ll.107-151). The rubric "De Septiformi Spiritu" appears only in E. Napier VII, Wanley 15, Bethurum IX. The immediate source of this homily is Aelfric's text on the gifts of the holy

spirit (Napier VIII, pp. 56-60), which in turn is based on Gregory. The confirmation rite could only be administered by a bishop, and Wulfstan's restatement of Aelfric's work adds a short section on bishops, as well as a concluding reference to Antichrist. Bethurum includes the Latin prologue to Aelfric's text at the beginning of Wulfstan's text. Her edition leaves much to be desired, although it is the most complete version available.

Jost divides the text into two sections. He ascribes the first half to Wulfstan, who is dependent on Aelfric's text; he is not convinced that the second half of the homily is Wulfstan's (the B text, ll.107-151), and prefers to treat it as Aelfric's (pp. 117-29). The conclusion of the homily lacks the peculiar Utan formula, which may mean nothing, but which could raise doubts as to the genuineness of the two concluding paragraphs. The B version, however, strikes the characteristic Wulfstanian note in concluding. Bethurum indicates it as a variant, but makes no comment on either it or Jost's hesitation.

Homily 14 appears in G alone, ff. 55b-7b, with the rubric "De Regula Canonicorum." It appears in print only in Bethurum, as Xa. It is a translation from Amalarius, and is a good example of Wulfstan's technique. There are the typical rhying double-stress alliterative phrases, repititions, and the lists of social monsters. The last

line, which succeeds the translation proper, reiterates the parallel construct of man and God as judges of behaviour, which becomes more frequent in the homilies and legal writing from this point on.

Homily 15 appears in E, ff. 34-38 and C, pp. 53-56 with the rubric "De Cristianitate" in both MSS. The source of this Latin treatment of the decalogue is Pirmin's Scarapsus. The opening sentence echoes 12/100-101, Pirmin 44.6, I Corinthians xxii 27, Ephesians iv 15, and Aelfric's CH i 260.41 which is a fairly good indication of the sort of interdependence homilists thrived on. Napier's IX, Wanley's 8, 40 (lat.), and Bethurum's Xb. 15 was established as part of the Canon by Jost in 1932.

Homily 16 appears in B, pp. 204-89; C, pp. 55-60; E, ff. 38a-44a; and I, f. 76b-88b. There is marginalia in I which may be in Wulfstan's hand. The rubric "Her Ongynð be Cristendome" appears in B, C and E. It is a translation of 15 which includes new material drawn from Atto of Vercelli's De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis, from the Benedictine Rule, and from 14. According to Bethurum:

> "Wulfstan's (outline of Christian teaching) is one of the most completely developed of its kind in Old English, and among his own works the most basic in that it treated the things he seems to have been most concerned with. From it he took much of the

material for V-VIII Ethelred, and it contributed likewise to Polity, especially to the section on monks...(p. 307)."

Napier X, Wanley 8, 40-17, and Bethurum Xc.

Item 17 appears in C, pp. 61-64; E, ff. 21-27; and Cop, ff. 65v-66v (ll.1-87 only). The rubric "Incipit de Visione Isaie Prophete Quam Vidit Super Iudam et Hierusalem" is in E. Napier VI, Wanley 13-14, and Bethurum XI. 17 is an odd piece. It is a series of translations and rhythmical exercises from Isaiah and Jeremiah, and cannot possibly be considered a sermon. The double-stress pattern and alliterative balance is more highly developed here than anywhere else in the Canon; it is as close to heroic poetry as Wulfstan gets. The fifteen Latin selections deal mainly with punishment for national sins with national problems, and the rewards of righteousness.

Homily 18 appears only in E, ff. 58b-61, under the rubric "De Falsis Deis." Napier XVIII, Wanley 23, Bethurum XII. It doesn't appear to be a sermon. Aelfric's complete version appears in MS CCCC 178; this is a "cool and unimpassioned" rewrite of that version, from which Wulfstan omits almost 600 lines.

Jost is hesitant about accepting this piece as Wulfstan's (pp. 129-33), although Bethurum intimates that he accepts it unquestioningly.

The catechetical homilies emphasize the individual responsibility of each christian man to *myneqian 7 laeran sculan þaet manna gehwylc to Gode buge 7 fram synnum gecyrre*. *Godes folc*, the clergy, must take on the responsibility of teaching men to turn from sin, and will be held accountable for those souls that have been lost. Wulfstan repeatedly mentions that the devil is the cause of temptation, and it is the devil himself who must be turned away in order that men may live in harmony. *Aelc yfel cymð of deofle 7 aelc broc 7 nan bot* is repeated in one form or another throughout the Canon. The insistence on teaching is carried through the catechetical sermons in particular; these sermons are educational in character. The number of *ungelaered man* seems to be steadily decreasing, in theory. Wulfstan is acutely aware of the difference between understanding and practice, between *cristendomes gescead* and *rihtne geleafan*, and seldom mentions one without the other.

The content of these sermons is centred about the practical aspects of christianity; around moral teaching rather than theological controversy which Wulfstan avoids (above p. 49). There is the Credo, Pater, Gloria, the Apostles' Creed, Baptismal vows, significance of the Eucharist, the seven gifts and seven sins, canonical discipline, the decalogue, social responsibilities, and the

two laws of the new testament. All of this is set against the counter-values and real social ills initiated by the devil: theft, usury, poverty, drunkenness, murder, rape, disloyalty, gluttony, and on and on. Wulfstan considers civil law and Godes word one and the same thing; the latter is merely a more universal expression of the former. Until the eleventh century, riht was used consistently for expressing both civil and ecclesiastical regulations. It was only after lagu was incorporated into the northern vocabulary and thence south, that there was a separate word for civil regulatory decrees. (See Bethurum, p. 357, n. 39). Wulfstan frequently used the words interchangeably. His own intimate connection with legislative processes could only serve to reinforce this attitude, so that his insistence on riht, rihtwisnesse, and unriht indicate moral as well as legal approbation or disapproval. He translates iustus, legis, and rectitudinis as riht. Wulfstan saw morality as a practical measure, incidentally rewarded in the everlasting whatever with eternal bliss. His conception of law was the expression of divine justice rather than civil custom.

iii) Archiepiscopal Functions

Homilies 19-25 form a group about the central concern of archiepiscopal functions. The group includes a pastoral letter, liturgical studies, the duties of priests, the consecration of a bishop and the dedication of a church. The homilies are closely related to Wulfstan's legal and institutional writings, which will be gone into later. The grounds for ascription are the usual, with some complications which are indicated.

Homily 19 appears in B, pp. 229-46; C, pp. 19-25; E, ff. 61-66; K, ff. 86b-92; and M, a few lines from the beginning and end. The rubric "Sermo Ad Populum" is in E. Preceding the address in C is an introductory statement which indicates that 19 was also circulated as a pastoral letter. It begins, "Wulfstan arcebisceop greteð freondlice þegnas on ðeode...." The main sources for this piece are Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, and items 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, and 48. It does not form a cohesive whole, but does hold together in a tenuous way. The most interesting section of the piece is the description of hellish torments (ll. 84 ff.).

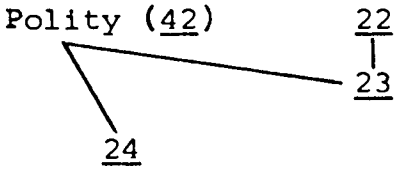
Napier published a critical edition of 19 in 1881. It is a collation of four separate pieces, printed as one by Bethurum. Napier XIX-XXII, Wanley 24, 44i, 44ii=9, and 44iii, Bethurum XIII.

Homily 20 appears in E, ff. 56b-58b only, with the rubric "Sermo in xl." Napier XVII, Wanley 22, and Bethurum XIV. The main sources are Abbo and item 21. It ends abruptly. 20 is one of the two homilies proper to the calendar; 21 is the other. This sermon was delivered on Ash Wednesday and is directed at those who are to be expelled for the season of Lent. There is a latin version and translation of a sermon to be delivered the same day in MS W, pp. 253-8; 353-9, which Wulfstan must have referred to before composing 21. There is an interesting warning against drunkenness on ll.23-8.

Homily 21 appears in E, ff. 81-83b only, under the rubric "Sermo de Cena domini." Like 20, it is proper to the calendar, but falls on Maundy Thursday where 20 falls on Ash Wednesday. Its source is Abbo and the translation which appears in W. Like the sermon on confirmation, its main function is to conform English practice to continental models. The ceremony accompanying this sermon would be extremely impressive, and the force of the sermon itself would be complemented by it. Napier XXXII, Wanley 28, and Bethurum XV.

Homily 22 appears in I, f. 125 under the rubric "Verba Ezechielis Prophete de Pastoribus no Recte Agentibus." It is a latin fragment about the duties of priests taken from Ezechiel and Isaiah. The establishment of this item in the

Canon is ingeneous, and rests on the relation between 22, 23 and Polity. The passages from Isaiah and Ezechiel are translated in 23 in the same order in which they appear in 22, and the initial passage is expanded in the translation to include a sentence directly following the sentence which the original closes with. Stylistic peculiarities establish Wulfstan's authorship of 23, and the closeness of 23 to 22 indicates that the same author is responsible for them both. The relationship to Polity is more complicated, and best expressed by Bethurum's graphic:



(p. 349).

Ll. 20-38 of 23 are identical with I Polity chs. 48-51 and II Polity chs. 65-8; and with I Cn, 26-26.4. 22 is printed by Bethurum only.

Homily 23, the OE translation of 22, appears in C, pp. 80-1 under the rubric "Verba Ezechiel Prophete De Pigris Aut Timidis Vel Neglegentibus Pastoribus." Napier XLI, Wanley does not include it, Bethurum XVIb.

Homily 24 appears in N, ff. 38-41b; E, ff. 93b-4b (ll.1-43), and ff. 83b-4b (ll.39-79). The rubric "Lectio Secundum Lucam" and the sub-heading "Be Biscophadum" appear

in both MSS. Napier XXXVII, Wanley 31, 29, and Bethurum XVII. Napier's 178/19-79/32 are omitted from Bethurum's edition on the grounds that they are inorganic to the whole. The sermon is about the consecration of a bishop, and could have been delivered at any one of three dates that Wulfstan is known to have performed the rite. The first part of the sermon (to l.35) is an explantion of the rite and is similar to 9 and 21; the remainder of the text is practically identical with Grid xxix-xx and II Polity chs. 42-57. It is noteworthy that the only complete homilies in MS N relate to archiepiscopal functions. Item 64, the letter from Wulfstan to Cnut, may be a follow-up to this sermon.

Homily 25 appears in N, ff. 31-8; and F, ff. 246-6v (ll. 124-49 only) under the rubric "De Dedicatione Ecclesiae," which appears in N alone. Napier LIV, Wanley 54, Bethurum XVIII. The source is Aelfric's sermon "De Dedicatione Ecclesiae," but it is not handled in the way Wulfstan usually treats Aelfric's work. The rhythm is not maintained, and the repitition of the leofan men address five times could indicate that the homily was hastily compiled from various sources (which the subject matter would warrant) and never put into a completed form, at least in writing. Jost does not immediately include the homily in his Wulfstancanon, but comes out in favor of

accepting it into the Canon on pp. 148-50. The part of the sermon which is covered by the text F echoes previous homilies, particularly 12. The church to which the sermon refers could well have been Cnut's church at Ashington, which was dedicated by Wulfstan in 1020.

The sermons on archiepiscopal functions, when compared with the eschatological homilies, indicate a consistent treatment of Wulfstan's concern with social practice and a more highly and closely defined analysis of how social practice based on a christian image of the world is most efficiently effected. Wulfstan has become much less reliant on the Carolingian paradigms for his sermons and ideas, although he strives for a re-establishment at least, and at most an establishment of continental liturgical norms in the English church and state. The effectiveness of four of the sermons would have depended to a large degree on the ceremonies which pre- or succeeded them. The sermon delivered on Maundy Thursday, where the bishop welcomed the penitent back into the fold, would be followed by an impressive gesture of humiliation undertaken by the bishop himself. The significance of the gesture was easily grasped by all who witnessed it, and the function of the bishop with regard to his congregation graphically illustrated by a ritual based on Christ's washing the feet of his disciples.

iv) Evil Days

Bethurum entitles the section devoted to the next three homilies "Evil Days." The three sermons treat of the punishment a nation is subjected to when its faith dwindles. The first is a bysne about God's threats and the Israelites, appropriately called a warnung. The second is the relatively well known Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, which is a highly emotional indictment of the English people and their responsibility for the Danish invasion. The third is a short warnung 7 myngung which Wulfstan evidently feels the people are sorely in need of, and recalls the people to their christian duties. The theme of all three is "ba hit waes on beode for Gode and for worulde wislic 7 weordlic, ba man riht lufode 7 unriht ascunode," but this was no longer the case.

Curiously, the three following homilies, 26-8, are all contained in MS I, which we believe to have been notated by Wulfstan himself. I also contains more admonitory material, notably 16, 22, 38, 42, 44, 50-1, and 60. Wulfstan's interest in preserving these particular pieces gives a weight to 26-8 which we might easily overlook. There is a strain of old testament prophet in the archbishop, thundering doom on the chosen for failing to maintain the covenant.

Homily 26 appears in C, pp. 26-7; G, ff. 59-61b; I, f. 85-6b. G and I supply the rubric "Be Godcundre Warnunge." Napier XXVIII, Wanley 55, Bethurum XIX. The sermon is a translation of passages selected from Leviticus xxvi, and as such is similar to 17. The appearance of Latin selections, some of which are paraphrases, would indicate that this sermon was delivered to the clergy. The stylistic features are highly developed, with rhyming phrases and double-stress patterns moving along easily and unobtrusively. The idea of kingship is specifically Anglo-Saxon, and the relevance of the sermon to English ecclesiastical and national history is well evidenced by the fact that the sermon appears again in the thirteenth century, in Middle English, practically unchanged. It is interesting to note that Wulfstan's translations from Leviticus, by transposing Hebraic ideas of kingship to English concepts of kingship, did much to strengthen the association of the English peoples with the Hebraic covenant. The parallel in continental history is Jerome's translation of the Bible in Roman legalistic imagery (Ullman, pp. 19-44).

Homily 27 appears in B, pp. 95-112; C, pp. 82-6; E, ff. 84b-90b; H, ff. 143v-4v; and I, ff. 110-15. It is best known as the "Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos," but the rubrics are as follows: H, "Sermo;" I, "Larspell;" C, "Sermo Lupi

Ad Anglos Quando Dani Maxime Persecuti Sunt Eos Quod Fuit Anno Millesimo .VIIII. Ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Jesu Cristi;" E, "Item sermo lupi ad anglos quando dani. maxime. persecuti sunt eos. quod fuit. in dies aeþelredi regis;" and I, "Sermo lupi. ad anglos quando dani. maxime. persecuti sunt eos quod fuit. anno millesimo. XIIII ab incarnatione domini nostri iesu cristi." Napier XXXIII, Wanley 5, Bethurum XX(BH), XX(C), and XX(EI). Bethurum prints three versions of the Sermo. Whitelock's edition of the Sermo says practically all there is to say about its ascription and significance and relation to other works in the Canon. Essentially, the sermon talks about the necessity of each man to live as an exemplary christian, for the faults of one become the faults of the nation and of christendom itself. The topicality of sections of the sermon, the whole of which pivots about the concept of loyalty (troth in later societies), are peculiar to this sermon, and were probably a result of the extreme conditions of the time and the archbishop's equally extreme reaction to them.

Homily 28 appears in E, ff. 90b-1b; I, ff. 115b-116 and C, pp. 26 and 86 (both times completely). The rubric "Her is gyt rihtlic warnung 7 soðlic myngung ðeode to ðearfe," appears in E. C^1 reads "Sermo Lupi." Napier XXXIV, Wanley 6, and Bethurum XXI. This last homily in

Bethurum's edition is a poetic admonitio to those with wealth urging them to engage in pious works. The conclusion of the piece stresses the interdependence of religious piety and harmonious secular affairs. The sermon is highly poetic, and the care Wulfstan lavished upon it is echoed by the fact that it appears in I and twice in C.

v) Homiletics

(Unedited by Bethurum)

The following twelve items are parts of the Wulfstan Canon which were not edited by Bethurum, for various reasons ranging from their non-homiletic character to the fact that she was not totally convinced that they were indeed the work of Wulfstan. There is no attempt to characterize the group as she does the others, and the order simply follows the order of appearance the homilies are published in by Napier. Line references are to Napier's text.

Item 29 appears in B, pp. 242-6; C, pp. 24-5; and K, f.91rv (Nap.116/1-18 only) under the rubric "To eallum Folke." This short piece lists the dates of the various payments due the Church, and seems to be collated from the laws of Ethelred, Cnut, and Edgar. Napier XXIII, Wanley 47. Whitelock added it to her Canon in 1952 (p. 14, fn.), but Jost rejected it in 1951 because it seemed to rely on Cnut's laws, which he does not accept as Wulfstan's (pp. 196-9). His objections disappear if we accept Wulfstan's authorship of Cnut's laws, which we will go into later. The emphasis is placed on the þearf of the weak and their protection.

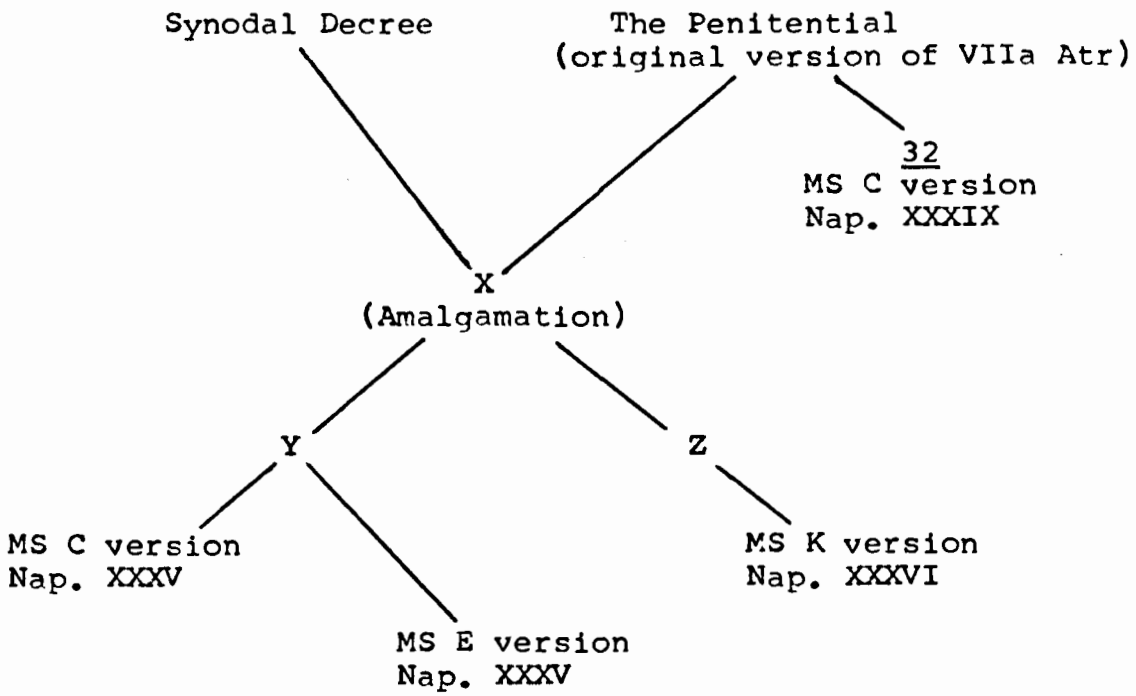
Item 30 appears in B, pp. 246-51; K, ff. 88v-90rv; E, ff. 64-5; and C, p. 22 (Nap. 119/12-121/5 only; Wanley's

56). The rubric "To Eallam Folke" appears in K alone. Napier XXIV and Wanley 56, 45, and 46. The piece is divided into three paragraphs; the first treats of loyalty to one's station and the duty to protect children. The second treats of the childhood of Christ. And the third is the standard eschatological threat. Whitelock accepted the piece on the grounds of language and content, which are my reasons, while Jost rejected it, again because of the parallels with Cnut's laws.

Homily 31 appears in C, pp. 22-4; E, ff. 65-6; K, f. 92v. The rubric "To Folce" appears in C. Napier XXV, Wanley 50. The homily is unmistakeably Wulfstan's and bears a close relationship to 12's first paragraph. Jost accepts it unreservedly. The very short sermon discusses the baptismal vows and the image of the crucifixion. Bethurum rejects it as irrelevant because, like 29 and 30, it relies too heavily on material that appears elsewhere, and cannot be construed as an anywhere near completed sermon.

Item 32 is tricky. Jost refers to Napier's XXXV, XXXVI and XXXIX as Das Poenitenzedikt von Bath, the Bath Penitential, and Liebermann published it as VII Atr, using only Napier XXXIX. Jost declares the Penitential "sprachlich echt, literarisch unechte," although he considers Nap. XXXIX "echt" (p. 216). Bethurum accepts

it as genuine but non-homiletic, and Whitelock accepted it in 1952 (p. 14, fn.). Jost sketches the relationship between the three fragments thusly:



(p. 215)

Item 32 is the C version, Napier's XXXIX and Wanley's 12. It appears on p. 30 with the rubric "Þis man geraedda ða se miccla here com to lande." It calls on all estates to do penance and pay into the war effort, .xxx.penigan, þrael mid his hide, þegn mid xxx scillingan. Wulfstan's perceptions of the interrelatedness of secular and ecclesiastical power could hardly have been more explicitly stated.

Item 33 appears in A, pp. 150-1. It consists of 23 lines about the degeneration of the world, under the rubric "Larspel and scriftboc," and is Napier's XLVII, Wanley's 32. Napier's text includes another 57 lines from Byrhtferth's Manual (MS Bodleian Ashmole 328, pp. 247-51, repeated in A, pp. I51-9) which Jost has shown to be "unecht" (p. 240).

Item 34 appears in A, pp. 209-21 under the rubric "Larspell." Napier's L, Wanley's 35. The most puzzling of all the items in the corpus is all found elsewhere in the Canon, except for two passages from Aelfric's Pastoral Letters. Jost says it is the work of a compiler, but the integration of one passage into the other is so skillfully handled, and the progression from thought to thought so regular that it is difficult to believe that anyone but a person intimately familiar with the sources could have made such a compilation. And why, for instance, is all the sourcework but two sections from Wulfstan's work alone? We can go more deeply into the nature of this item after going through some sourcework.

Ker's Catalogue listing gives a good indication of the extent of cross referring that goes on:

> ...Pr. Napier 266 (no. 50). Napier 267/9-24 agrees with Thorpe 1840, ii. 306-8/7 (Polity); Napier 268/20-32 with Napier 128/14-129/12 (part of no. 27); Napier 270/21-29 with Thorpe 1840, ii. 334 (part of Polity 23); Napier 271/8-17 with Napier 308/4-13 (part of no. 59) (p. 118).

Translated into our references, that runs:

Nap. 267/9-24	-	I Polity chs.24-32 (pp. 55-8) II Polity chs.31-39 (pp. 55-8)
Nap. 268/20-32	-	Nap. 128/14-129/12 (no change: I am not yet fully convinced that this homily is not Wulfstan's -- Nap. XXVII)
Nap. 270/21-29	-	II Polity chs.161-3 (p. 119)
Nap. 271/8-17	-	36, Nap. 308/4-13

Jost is more thorough: 266/2-6 = 48.1 (IX Atr.1); 266/6 = 45.1; 266/8 = 45.1; 266/10 = I Polity ch. 100, II Polity ch. 205, and 45, 13-14; 266/12-267/8 = II Polity ch. 4-16 (minus ch. 15); 276/9-24, as above; 267/25-268/1 = II Polity chs. 85-6; 268/3-32 = 27/67 ff, (in tenor); 269/1 = 44. 4,1; 269/3 = 44. 7 and 45,2, 2 and 50. 6a; and so forth (pp. 249-61). The end of the piece borrows extensively from the eschatological homilies after a series of loans from Aelfric's Pastoral Letters.

Bethurum objects to calling it a sermon and prefers to think of the compilation as Wulstan's notes for a sermon to be delivered to an assembly of notables (p. 41). Whitelock is not unconvinced that Wulfstan compiled the work, some of it by memory rather than transcription from the sources (p. 25, and fn. 1 same page). It strikes me as a sort of state-of-the-nation tract, possibly compiled for the use of Cnut or his household by Wulfstan himself. Given Wulfstan's friendship with the young king, and their

mutual interest in maintaining a relative calm in the realm (see Bethurum, p. 45), it would not be unusual in the least for Wulfstan to prepare a document such as the Larspell for the edification of the new monarch.

Item 35 appears in K, f. 92rv under the rubric "To eallan folke." Napier's LI, Wanley's 49. It is a short text on Godes riht and woruldriht and the channels of redress. The text is quite distinctly removed from the original, as spellings such as syq, jorne and kinedom show. Bethurum suggests that it is an outline delivered to the Witan for the formulation of X Atr. It seems likely, but the text could stand on its own as a valuable guide to the congregation about their legal and ecclesiastical rights. It may have been a reaction to a specific situation and delivered at the time that the bishop usually used to inform his people of the laws.

Homily 36 appears in Y, f. 158rv, under the rubric "Sermo Lupi." Napier LIX, not in Wanley. Practically all of this homily appears elsewhere in the canon, in 24, 34, 45 and 50. It is much like 35 in that it outlines the legal and ecclesiastical rights and duties of the congregation. Jost and Whitelock accept Wulfstan's authorship, as does Bethurum, who does not print it because she does not consider it a homily.

Homily 37 appears in Y, ff. 159-9v under the rubric

"Be haeðendome" (f.159) and "Be cristendome" (f.159v). Napier's LX-LXI, not in Wanley. The sources are from the Canon: 16, 43, 45 and 52. Jost says that 37 is probably a collection of notes for a sermon or pastoral letter, and although he does not attribute the collation to Wulfstan, indicates that it is by the same author as 34. Bethurum does not consider the text a sermon or a "composition" of Wulfstan's, but says that "Wulfstan could have assembled the material and probably did." The list of outlaws is the rhyming list that runs through the Canon, and the list of fines is familiar.

Homily 38 appears in I, ff. 100v-02, following Incipit de sinodo. Sections were printed by Jost in 1923, and the whole is printed by him as an appendix to Polity, entitled "Ermahnung an die Bischöfe" (pp. 262-67). He refers to it as "Klage" in Wulfstanstudien (p. 116). The sources are 23, 42, Aelfric, Gregory, and Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgbetti. It is a short and telling admonition to bishops, urging them to fulfill their duties to their people.

Item 39 appears in C, pp. 31-40, under the rubric "To Gehadedum Mannum." It is Wulfstan's version of Aelfric's second pastoral letter to Wulfstan. Printed by Fehr, 1914, pp. 68-140. In the MS it is preceded by 32 and followed by 45, pp. 110 ff.. The grounds for

ascription are stylistic, based on Wulfstan's other rewritings of Aelfric's originals. See Jost, Wulfstanstudien, pp. 133-48. Both Bethurum and Whitelock accept Jost's conclusions.

Item 40 appears in F, ff. 97v-102v under the rubric "De letania maiore." It has not yet been edited. It is based on a similar homily by Aelfric, where he explains the origins of the three day Rogationtide fast. Whitelock notes similarities to 46. Ker supplies enough information to reconstruct most of the homily from printed texts, but 76 lines would be missing. I intend to study the homily in depth in the fall.

All but one of the preceding twelve items have been accepted by at least two Wulfstan scholars. The exception is 40, which has been suggested by Whitelock.

vi) Civil and Ecclesiastical Institutes

The following twenty items are established works which are all legalistic, in the sense that they incorporate into Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical and civil law the admonitions and regulations which were intended to regulate society and social practice. The original appearance of these items in manuscript is cited from Liebermann and Ker, occasionally Thorpe. The dearth of systematic research into Anglo-Saxon law and legalistic writing is particularly evident when one considers that the most recent edition of the laws appeared in 1903.

Item 41 appears in C, pp. 97-101; G, ff. 25v-31v; and Uc, pp. 1-4 (fragment). The rubric in C reads, "Be gehadoda manna liffadunge"; G reads "Synodalia decreta." Thorpe (1840) calls it "Canons of Edgar." Jost established it as the work of Wulfstan in the "Quellen" article, and it has been accepted since. The Canons of Edgar are sixty-seven short articles on the duties of priests, penitents, and the modes of administering the sacrament (Thorpe, pp. 395-415).

Item 42 appears in I, ff. 70a-98b; ff. 102a-105a; ff. 93a-b only (fragment); Uc, pp. 1-4 (incomplete, as 41 above); G, ff. 9a-59a; and C, pp.87-93. It was first published by David Wilkins in 1721 under the title

"Liber Constitutionum," and appeared again in 1840 in Thorpe's Laws as "Institutes of Polity: Civil and Ecclesiastical." Jost's edition, under the same title, appeared in 1959, after 25 years of intensive work on Wulfstan. Jost's edition is exemplary, in spite of the fact that it could have been more regularly organized. He was dying of cancer at the time of the publication, which explains the rather slap-dash appearance of his text. The Polity is the most complicated and most important of Wulfstan's works, in that it incorporates and synthesizes so much of the rest of the Canon in a solid and comprehensive unit, and draws extensively from the sources which he relied on for the homilies.

There are two versions of Polity, appropriately referred to as I Polity and II Polity. I Polity is the earlier version, and is contained practically in toto in the later recension. It outlines in detail the duties of the king, bishops, earls, priests, nuns, monks, and laymen. II Polity adds to the outline a warning to the laity against doing what the bishops do rather than what they say, what is expected of bishops in their day to day activities, the degeneration of society since Edgar, misuse of church funds by married priests, and the antics of monks. "Thus II Polity affords many glimpses into contemporary conditions when I Polity was content to speak

of duties only (Whitelock, p. 26). The arrangement of chapters in Jost's edition does not conform to their order in the MSS, but to what he rightly considers to be their most logical order. He does not, for instance, include "VIII. Incipit de synodo," ff. 15b-17a of G, because the style and tenor of the piece does not fit into the extremely tight-knit (geschlossenen) progression of section to section. In the sense that the Polity does not occur in MSS as an uninterrupted whole, there is no such thing as the Polity outside Jost's brilliant reconstruction of it. As it stands, it is unique. It is one of the earliest of courtesy books and defines social relations with an integrity that is astounding in the eleventh century.

Wulfstan's concern with the relationship between secular and ecclesiastic power, a concern which runs through the whole of the Canon, finds its most complete expression here. The image he projects of the king is that of a protector of the Church (its grið, funds, property, personnel, and values, as well as its laws), shepherd of the flock, scourge, and the heroic paradigm of folces frofer (Beowulf). In short, he is the material expedient of God's interests, which in turn are defined by the Church (by tradition, revelation, Rome, material needs, and an ideal image of man -- forms of authority

both concrete and abstract) through the bishops. The image of God as ece cyning reinforces the concept of eorðlicum cyning as functionary. Once the metaphor has been established, viable social relations depend on an active participation of all the functions of that society in legitimizing it, by myth or force, sometimes both. This requires a faith in the metaphor, and loyalty to that faith.

I shall be more specific about Wulfstan's central concerns and how they relate to his functions as ideologue and administrator in the final chapter. An analysis of the Polity is central to the study of Wulfstan and his relation to the corpus of English literature.

Item 43 appears in R, ff. 40-41v; and S, pp. 7-10. The R rubric reads, "þis syndon þa domas ðe aelfred cyncg 7 guþrum cyncg gecuran;" S reads "Eft his. 7 Guðrumes 7 eadwardes." Liebermann prints it as "Laws of Edward and Guthrum." It was established as Wulfstan's by Whitelock in 1941. The text is supposed to be the record of an agreement between Aelfred's son and the King of Anglia, Guthrum, about ecclesiastical observances, which would be referred to by Wulfstan as authority for establishing ecclesiastical observances in his own predominantly Scandanavian archbishopric. This ingeneous tactic was popular in the continental Church, the most

gross example of which is the Donation of Constantine (see Ure, pp. 58-66).

Item 44 appears in C, pp. 48-52; and I, ff. 89-92v. The rubric in I is "II nomine domini. anno dominicae incarnationis .M. VIII." It is printed in Liebermann as V Atr. This and the next code, 45 (VI Atr), display stylistic traits characteristic of Wulfstan, and were established as Wulfstan's by Whitelock in 1942. Jost presents a more thorough study in Wulfstanstudien, pp. 13-44. The OE version of V Atr, our 44, is based on a Latin original which has been lost. It should be noted that the Latin original was probably a collection of extracts, which Wulfstan was fond of accumulating, and might have been the same source for 46 below.

Item 45 appears in L, ff. 35v-38v; Y, ff. 158-59v; and C, pp. 126-30. Item 46 appears immediately before 45 in L, ff. 31-38. They are printed by Liebermann as VI Atr. 45 is a paraphrase rather than a translation of 46. Jost suggests that V Atr is Wulfstan's version of the OE law, and that he draws from a commonplace book and the OE law to arrive at the text we now have, i.e., 44. He also believes that 46 is a paraphrase of 44 and selections from the commonplace book. 45 is for Jost a private document which expresses what he would have preferred 44 to have said (Jost, as above). Sisam suggests the following

relationship: 44 is the law as enacted at Enham in 1008, 45 is the northern version to be promulgated in York, and 46 is the latin version for the upper clergy (Studies, pp. 278-87). It should be noted that there is a close relationship between these three texts and homilies 14-16.

Liebermann's VIIa Atr is homily 32; Thorpe's VIIa is item 60, Grið.

Item 47 appears in C, pp. 93-96. It is printed by Liebermann as VIII Atr. II Polity ch. 222 is practically identical with VIII Atr 44.1. Wulfstan's authorship of this and the two following codes was established by Whitelock in 1942.

Item 48 appears in BM Cotton Otho A. x, art. 3, but the folios have been lost since 1731. Liebermann prints the incipit and explicit supplied by Wanley, p. 232. The code was set att Wudustoce, and concludes with a passage parallel to II Polity chs. 221-2. Liebermann calls the code IX Atr.

Item 49 appears in Vatican City MS Reg. Lat. 946, f. 75v. There are only twenty lines, but they appear to be Wulfstan's. It is a decree of King Ethelred, which begins "An is ece godd."

Item 50 appears with Item 51 in S, pp. 43-72; I, ff. 3-41; and P, ff. 5-13. They are printed by Liebermann as I.II Cnut and have been established by Whitelock (1948) as

Wulfstan's, although Jost questions her judgement (pp. 94-103). I Cn 4, 1-3 appears in C, p. 130 and G, f. 22v/1-14 and reappears as Polity chs. 130-34. A collection of laws in C, pp. 126-30 includes I Cn 6-7; II Cn 1-4; 15, 1-3; and VI Atr 16-28, 1; 30-32,3; 40; 40,1; and 42-49. The fact that several homilies enter into or are excluded from the Wulfstan Canon on the grounds that Cnut's laws are or are not part of the Canon makes the ascription of 50-51 to Wulfstan important. There is an element of chauvinism in Whitelock's and Bethurum's arguments which makes it difficult to accept Whitelock's conclusions wholeheartedly. The characteristic tags and vocabulary which we associate with Wulfstan are in evidence in I.II Cn, and the close association of MSS I, S, and Y (which contains much of 45 and 50 in f. 158rv) with Wulfstan would seem, however, to be enough justification for ascription.

Item 52 appears in C, pp. 43-46 under the rubric "Norðhymbra preosta lagu." Liebermann prints it as the "Northumbrian Priests' Laws." Whitelock attributes it to Wulfstan in 1942, and is supported by Bethurum (tentatively). The content would be typical of Wulfstan to take an interest in, and several stylistic features indicate that if he did not indeed compose the code, he at the very least adopted it.

Item 53 appears in S, pp. 96-102, under the rubric "Þegenes lagu." Liebermann prints it as "Rectitudines Singularum Personarum." It appears directly before item 54 in the MS. Both deal with the specific duties of men of rank and the respect which is due them. Item 54 appears in S, pp. 102-07, under the rubric "Be gesceadwisan gerefan," and is printed by Liebermann as "Gerefa." Both texts were established as Wulfstan's by MacIntosh in 1948, and Bethurum in 1950; the grounds for ascription are principally alliterative style and the vocabulary.

Items 55-60 form a tight-knit group around the theme of rank. They were established as Wulfstan's by Bethurum in 1950. 55-59 appear in that order in C, in another order in R, while 57-59 appear in W, Wulfstan's Commonplace Book.

Item 55 is in C, pp. 101-02 and R, f. 93rv. The C rubric reads "Be wergildum. 7 be gedingðum," while R reads "Be leode geþincðum. 7 lage." Liebermann prints it as "Gedyncðo." This short code sets out the conditions for rising from rank to rank.

Item 56 follows 55 in C, p. 102, and R, ff. 93v-94. The rubrics are "Norðleoda laga" and "Be wergylde" respectively. Liebermann prints it as "Norðleoda laga." The code sets the wergild for the ranks of society in the north.

Item 57 appears in C, p. 102; R, ff. 38v-39v; and W, p. 418/16-23. The C rubric is "Be mircna laga." Liebermann prints it as "Mircna Laga." Like 56, it sets out wergilds.

Item 58 Appears in C, p. 102; R, ff. 38v-39; and W, p. 418/23-26. The C rubric reads "Be mirciscan aðe" and it is printed by Liebermann as "Að." It is a short code and sets out the value of the oaths of the members of each rank. In a society whose legal system depended on oath as the criterion for judging the truth or falsity of the claims of the disputants, the value of an oath is most important. Modern bail procedure comes out of the same tradition of establishing surety.

Item 59 appears in C, pp. 102-3; R, f. 7rv; and W, pp. 418-20. The C rubric is "Be gehadodra manna aðe 7 be hadbote" and the code is printed by Lieberman as "Hadbot." It is short, and outlines the penalties for offenses against the seven ranks of clergy.

Item 60 appears in I, ff. 92v-95v; and C, p. 130/17-27 (in part). The rubric in I is "Be griðe. 7 be munde." Liebermann prints it as "Grið" while Thorpe prints it as VII Atr. Thorpe's reasons are based on the fact that the code appears in I between V and VIII Atr. Textual evidence places 60 after 45 and before 50; Bethurum (1950) suggests this order for four codes: 43, 47, 59 and 60.

One theme which characterizes items 55-60 is the emphasis which Wulfstan places on the necessity of honoring and obeying the clergy. It is a theme which appears frequently in the Canon, notably in 5, 6, 27, 33, 47, 50-51, and, of course, Polity (42). Items 41-60 are all codes of one sort or another. As codes, they were sanctioned by the secular powers in the hundreds' courts as well as the witans. Whether the sanctions were enforced by civil authority is moot, and can only be clarified by a study of whatever records of enforcement have come down to us. The significance of civil enforcement of religious duties cannot be underestimated. What it meant was the legitimization of an ecclesiastical hegemony in England, and the validation of the authority of continental political struggles in terms of insular society.

vii) Liturgy

The following item, the OE Benedictine Office, is one of the two contributions that we have recorded of Wulfstan's interest and activity in establishing continental liturgy in England. The other is homily 10, which fixes baptismal practices. The importance of regularizing and standardizing the Office is primarily a psychological factor.

Item 61 appears in G, ff. 42a-55b; and in C, pp. 112/1-114/35. There have been five editions of the whole text: Hickes, 1705; Thomson, 1849 and 1875; Bouterwek, 1954; Feiler, 1901; and Ure, 1957. There have been at least nine editions of sections from the text. It is known as "The Old English Benedictine Office;" Wulfstan's authorship of the prose sections of the Office (which appears as a unit in C) was suggested by Wanley and Feiler. Both assumed that Wulfstan was also responsible for the poetic translations of the Pater, Creed and Gloria; this has been discredited by Bethurum most convincingly, and less so by Ure (pp. 44-45). The translations of the psalms in the Office are too early to be Wulfstan's, and are based on the same source as BN Paris MS Fonds Latin 8824, which source has been set somewhere in the south of England in the middle of the tenth century (Ure, pp. 17-19).

There is some confusion concerning the source of Wulfstan's translation or revision of someone else's translation of Hrabanus which forms the basis for this OE Office. There seems to be a Latin source in W which would account for the original translation (which Ure takes to be Aelfric's, in spite of the fact that W is Wulfstan's Commonplace Book), but the existence of such a translation is questioned by Clemoes. There is no doubt that the prose sections of the Office are <u>at least</u> revisions made by Wulfstan, and that the Office as a whole was arranged by either him or people working under his direction, at the instigation of Aelfric in his first Pastoral Letter to Wulfstan. What process was involved in arriving at the text which appears in G has yet to be firmly established.

viii) Bits and Pieces

The following seven items are short incidental writings which do little more than indicate that Wulfstan was a man of affairs. There are five letters, two charters and two poems.

Item 62 is a letter of protest from Wulfstan to the Pope objecting to the necessity of travelling to Rome to receive the pallium. It appears among the Latin texts of BM MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, on ff. 178-79. Bethurum prints it as an appendix, p. 375. The letter is not catalogued by Ker, presumably because it appears in a wholly Latin MS. They are examples of the secular powers enjoyed by an Anglo-Saxon archbishop.

Item 65 is a letter from Wulfstan to Cnut informing the king of Aethelnoth's consecration (see above, p.60). It is printed by Kemble as K. 1374, vii, p. 177; Bethurum re-prints it on pp. 352-53 as a note to 24, a homily preached at the consecration of a bishop.

Item 66 is the first of two poems -- "if such they can be called (Bethurum, p. 47)" -- established by Jost (1923) as Wulfstan's. Bethurum notes the structural similarities of 66 and 67 to 3 and 26. 66 appears in the D and E versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle beside the year of the accession of Edgar, 959. Item 67 appears in

the D version only, beside the date of the death of Edgar, 975. It is interesting to note that Whitelock uses this obvious respect for Edgar as part of her argument for attributing Cnut's laws to Wulfstan. The reference to Edgar's laws in I Cn occasions her to comment, "In fact... all references to a return to Edgar's law occur in texts that have some connexion with [Wulfstan]" (Whitelock, 1948).

Item 68 is a collection of three short letters from X, Bar, and Cop which are printed by Bethurum, pp. 374-75. All three are penitential letters, in Latin, and occur in the MSS with similar letters from Aelfric. The letters are formulary and give no indication of being Wulfstan's outside of the fact they are addressed from "Lupus episcopus."

Explicit de Canonis

c) Synthesis

The Canon then, as we have it, consists of forty homiletic pieces, twenty-three institutional pieces, two poems and a few letters, all contained in about two dozen MSS. The question of originality of composition is not particularly relevant, and the most practical criterion for judging whether a work is or is not the product of Wulfstan is actually the criterion for establishing whether or not he had anything to do with the text as it has been preserved, i.e., the style of the piece. For several texts, it is a matter of deciding whether Wulfstan edited them, collated them, revised them, or assigned them to be collated, revised, or preserved. In the case of the institutional writings, we can determine only whether Wulfstan is responsible for the final form the laws, codes, and institutes assumed. Wulfstan's contribution ends up being essentially the contribution of form to an already extant content, and the form is as much an expression of the ideas contained within it as the explication of those ideas.

The final chapter of this paper deals with the social relations with which the Canon is so preoccupied. Like all men, Wulfstan attempted to understand his world. Like all imaginative men, he attempted to communicate the image he developed. The last chapter deals with the

structure of that image, and the way in which Wulfstan communicated it.

Chapter V

Significatio

There is a phenomenon in social structure which social-psychologists call the primal canon. The term describes a paradigm which is established by a social group and which permeates the structure of social relations in that group. The authoritarian structure of a militarist state, for instance, would be echoed in the family structures which constitute that state. What exactly the primal canon for western civilization is we cannot really say. We are aware of secondary canons, of metaphors for social relations which have achieved the status of authority and have been the basis for a re-organization of our perceptions of social relations. The poetry of Languedoc in the twelfth century instituted a conception of femininity which still finds expression in contemporary advertising: women are objects of veneration and exploitation; to be admired by a woman is to be more of a man. That approach to one aspect of social relations is an example of a secondary canon. Freud's work on sexuality is a secondary canon; it has permeated our perceptions of social relations to a high degree in North America and has been adapted to fit

twentieth century American social relations while retaining its original premises. The metaphors supplied by these canons are used to justify extant social relations or, sometimes, to serve as a basis for re-organizing them. But the metaphors remain. They may become the core of a new canon, or peripheral appendages, but they work within the compass of the primal canon. Marcuse's work on Freud is an example of this in secondary terms: the Marcuse canon utilizes the metaphor of sexuality to explain the perception that a society based on competition and exploitation is frustrating creativity. But Marcuse recognizes Freudian analysis of social relations are based on perceptions that assume the values of competition and exploitation to be commendable. He rejects that assumption and establishes a new, secondary, canon. But within the terms of the canon which precedes it.

What has this to do with Wulfstan.

The propagation of the teachings of one Iesus Nazarenus by a cadre of dedicated men and women, and the mystification of those teachings, supplied the basis for a new canon. The canon essentially stated that all men and women were brothers and sisters of the same father and mother, and ultimately of a primal father. The extant canon demanded authority for such a statement, and that authority was supplied by a claim that the primal father

himself endorsed it. The authority of revelation. The authority was also supplied by institution. Roman law was utilized to institute a body of men as the Church, and the language and methods of using that language of Roman law gave the form of authority to the statements of the institution. The task of catholicizing the new metaphor of social relations, that we are all brothers and sisters, involved struggles for power to do so. The canon by this time (eighth century) had incorporated the justification by institution appealed to the authority of its own existence, the authority of tradition, and the authority of revelation, as well as the authority of its own substantial military power to justify its need to catholicize the metaphor. By the ninth century, western Europe had become sufficiently catholicized to merge secular and ecclesiastical, civil and ethic values, into the new canon. The male king became father, the male bishop mother; both were responsible to the primal father for the brothers and sisters. This, of course, is grossly oversimplified, but a more analytical approach would indicate the same movement.

In the tenth century, there was a resurgence of paganism in Europe. The most obvious cause was the Viking expansion and the imbalance which it threw social relations into. The ordered image of christianity was

threatened from without by the Viking forays and from within by mounting problems of discipline. The exemplary christian communities, the monasteries, reflected the problem of discipline most acutely. Out of the challenge to christianity grew the Benedictine Reform. In England, the principal figures were Dunstan, Oswald, and Aethelwold. The second generation of Reformers included Aelfric and Wulfstan. Both were apologists for the new canon. Wulfstan took on the tasks of legislating northern England into a joint secular and ecclesiastical system of social relations, and consolidating christian values to allow that system to continue functioning.

While Bishop of London, Wulfstan preached to his metropolitan congregation on the coming of the Antichrist. He appeals to Matthew and the Apocalypse for authority, as well as to a contemporary, Adso. Wulfstan argues that the end of the world is near at hand, and the final judgement is only around the corner. He warns everyone to avoid the devil's wiles and enjoins the clergy to hear everyone's confession. The most pressing need of all is to love God and do his will, otherwise the final judgement will not be to one's advantage. These homilies were delivered to a congregation that was aware of complex rules it was enjoined to adhere to. The metaphor of society as family appears in 6: Ne byrhð þonne broðor oðrum hwilan

ne faeder his bearne ne bearn his agenum faeder ne gesibb gesibban þe ma be fremdan. The strength of this sort of image relies heavily on an assumption of the sanctity of the family. Even Godes widersaca is deofles; bearn; Wulfstan's source, Adso, has him spring from an incestuous union of father and daughter.

Homily 7 is a history of the world, from creation (on fruman) and the fall of Lucifer to the death of Christ. Lucifer, þurh his ofermodignysse, became a devil. Adam and Eve fell þurh deofles lare, as did Cain later. This insitence on the devil's responsibility for evil runs through the homilies. Aelc yfel cumð of deofle 7 aelc broc 7 nan bot is consistent with a belief in the perfect state of Adam and Eve before their fall. Baptism exorcises the devil from christians, and they regain a sort of innocence. If it weren't for the devil, everything would be fine. In another context, Wulfstan parallels the egress from Eden with apostasy. The implication is that the Church is the perfect society, a temporal model of the ideal social relations which existed once in the past and will flourish again in the world to come. This implied belief in the perfectability of society could explain the vehemence with which Wulfstan attacked deviations from the laws of the land, of the church, and from custom.

In the same sermon, 7, Wulfstan uses the word cynecynn

to describe the tribe of Judah. The compound has curiously Germanic overtones, and ties into the family metaphor in a tribal way. The association with the royal houses of England's past cannot be accidental. Alfred uses the same word in his translation of Orosius. The curious heroic flavour that surrounds the concepts of king and loyalty also threads its way through the Canon (Wulfstan's), occasionally appearing with reference to Christ. But before we go into Wulfstan's adaptations of christian material to fit the English experience of similar ideas, it would be useful to talk about Wulfstan's relationship to tradition in general.

I mentioned earlier that the ninth century saw a consolidation of the functions of church and state together. The reference, of course, is to the Carolingian renaissance. The MSS that Wulfstan had access to at Worcester, some of which are annotated in a hand suspected to be his own, are filled with Carolingian material. The Commonplace Books (nine of them, notably our G, I, W and X) contain fragments of ecclesiastical canons, the penitential or Pseudo-Theodore, Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberti, Theodulf's Capitula, and sections from Amalarius' De Regula Canonicorum. The source studies of the Canons of Edgar (41) indicate that Wulfstan was also intimate with the Capitula Gaerbaldi and the Capitulare Episcoporum of the Council of

Aachen, as well as segments of the Council of Aquisgranense. Homilies 10 and 15 depend heavily on Jesse of Amiens and Theodulf of Orleans. The influence on Wulfstan of these sources cannot be attributed simply to the fact that the works happened to be the only ones handy. In one way or another, the Commonplace Books treat of the duties and functions of bishops. The existence of (at least) nine copies of roughly the same material indicates that the collation was made and was considered important enough to be reproduced and distributed. Wulfstan's affinity with the work of the Carolingian fathers is based on a common interest in common problems: the integration of the functions of church and state, of secular enforcement of ecclesiastical canons, and ecclesiastical authority over legislation of secular practice. Wulfstan's reliance on the Carolingian writers is a faint echo of the reliance of them on the early fathers, particularly Augustine. It should also be noted that the Commonplace Books contain several letters of Alcuin.

Writing of items 55-60, Bethurum notices the "antiquarian interests exhibited in the laws" Wulfstan wrote. She is referring specifically to the Canons of Edgar, the Laws of Edward and Guthrum, and II Cn, where Wulfstan hearkens back to the more palatable state of affairs under the reigns of Edward and Edgar. Whitelock comments on the

fact that the only references to Edgar's laws appear in MSS which are connected to Wulfstan, and the significant appearance of the two poems, in his hand, beside the dates of Edgar's accession and obit in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (items 66-67). In the Sermo, Wulfstan makes passing reference to the treachery around Edward and Ethelred. V-X Atr and I.II Cn borrow from I.II Edgar, and VIII Atr mentions the widespread decay of ethics since the death of Edgar. If we recall that Edgar was as much responsible for the implementation of the Benedictine Reforms in England as his long and dear friend Dunstan was, we can begin to appreciate Wulfstan's admiration for the man and his longing to be back in those golden years. Wulfstan's admiration for Edgar is probably the reason that Cnut re-instituted Edgar's laws during his own reign. The example of a king such as Edgar, who embodied so many of the virtues Wulfstan imputed to a christian king (possibly from reports of Edgar he gleaned in his own youth), would have been a strong influence on the archbishop, and in turn on those who were closely associated with him.

We have three concrete examples of Wulfstan's relation to the past: the ideal state of paradise, from which the world has steadily degenerated; the civilization of the Carolingian patristic MSS; as well as the veneration for Edgar and the borrowing from his laws.

In Polity, Wulfstan refers to the Councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Effesia, and Calcedonia (Polity 154-63). It is the only indication I can find which refers to the past, between the death of Christ and the acts of the apostles to the reign of Edward (Alfred's son), and indicates that Wulfstan was aware of the fact that that time had actually elapsed.

Outside of the canons and codes, the indications of Wulfstan's peculiarly English context are manifested mainly in his style. The proximity of his rhythm to the poetic rhythm of OE verse lead at least one editor to print the text as poetry. A cursory glance through Jost's edition of the Polity indicates how easy it would be to make that sort of mistake. Other manifestations of his Englishness are subtle: Christ is referred to as folces frofor, counsellors are witega. Generally, Wulfstan uses Anglo-Saxon legal terminology in the places someone like Aelfric utilizes more obviously imaginative devices; and he uses heroic catchwords and phrases where similar homilies expand on exempla.

Wulfstan is responsible for the codification of eight law codes. His codes all bear an ecclesiastical flavour. In addition to the laws of two kings, he also composed the laws of Edward and Guthrum and the Canons of Edgar, which established the precedent of ecclesiastical authority

in the Danelaw. He utilized that precedent in drawing up the codes of Ethelred and Cnut. The principal problem he was faced with was incorporating already extant customs into an expression of justice deriving from the primal father. English courts in the tenth and eleventh centuries were held in open areas, and presided over by the highest authority in the area. In Worcester and York, the gemot would have been presided over by the archbishop. The litigants would present their case, produce witnesses who would swear oaths supporting or condemning one party, the value of the oaths would be weighed and the decision would be delivered. The fines and penances levied would be paid to whichever body had a charter from the king to hold courts in that area. In Wulfstan's case, the fines would go to the cathedral. The highest legislative body in the land was the Witan, where the King, his earls, archbishops, and bishops would deliberate over the regulations for social relations and issue decrees through the Church and its ministers to the people. The diocese of York was not all christian, however. In Wulfstan's writings we see this fact appear regularly in the distinction drawn between folceslage and Godes lage, and the repeated tag, for Gode 7 for worulde, and the appearance of the unprecedented phrase, woruldlice steora. So from the assumption made by the Carolingians that

secular and ecclesiastical power were one and the same power from one and the same source, applicable everywhere, Wulfstan had had to turn to the separation of these powers, while maintaining that there was indeed only one justice.

Throughout his Canon, Wulfstan stresses the importance of individual responsibility for salvation and collective responsibility for levelling social inequities. Again returning to the sacredness of the family, he sees in the neglect of widows, orphans and the poor, deofles lare. Most of the homilies mention at least once that each man is responsible for his own salvation. Social responsibility is stated simply: And riht is þaet aelc cristen man eac oðerne lufie and healde mid rihte, 7 þaet aenig oðrum ne beode butan þaet wylle þaet man him beode. Ne aenig ne syrwe ne oðrum ne swicie, ac healde aelc oðerne mid rihte getrywðe (16/145-49). Later in the same homily, Wulfstan enumerates good works which all men are responsible for: they include prompt payment of tithes, almsgiving, nursing the sick, and the remaining cardinal virtues. He sums up, 7 þearfena gehwylcum helpe man georne. The opposite values and vices re-occur almost as often. The "purple passage" of the Sermo, listing the crimes men are guilty of (þurh deofles lare) is a pungent attack on human inadequacy. Rihtne geleafan, proper social practice, is defined as much by the homilies as it is by the laws and

minor canons. Wulfstan's constant use of the word riht and its compounds suggests an extremely static image of society, echoed today as "Law and Order." Riht means "proper, fitting, just, right, and christian" all in the same breath. When we look at the orderly arrangement of society in Polity and Geðincðo, rihtne geleafan takes on ominous overtones.

Polity is the most important of Wulfstan's works. In it he outlines the duties and functions of all the ranks of the social order from God on down to widows. Three shorter codes, Mircna laga, Norðleoda laga, and Geðincðo set out the price of each ranks' wergild and the means by which a man may move from rank to rank and the criteria to establish that rank. The order runs something like this:

> God; king, 120 pounds of silver; archbishops and princes, 60 pounds of silver; bishops and earls, 32 pounds of silver; king's officers, 16 pounds of silver; priests and thanes, 8 pounds of silver; ceorl, 1 pound of silver or 200 shillings; foreigners bringing treasure to the king, 120 shillings; foreigners with no land, 80 shillings; foreigners, 70 shillings.

In Að, the value of oaths corresponds to the amount of property owned by the person swearing. Property determines the validity of his testimony. A crude method, but one

still in use in Canada. Rihtne geleafan, then, depended on a perpetuation of this static social order based economically on the possession of private property. The inherent contradiction of brotherhood and sisterhood within social forms that are patriarchal is not resolved by good works and charity.

Wulfstan's Canon is at once an expression and justification of the social relations which grew out of the new canon of christianity. The metaphor of God being king becomes at once a theological justification for kingship and a secular justification for Godhead and its voice, the church. Inasmuch as the forms of social relations define the limits of social relations, Wulfstan's frustration at the inefficiency of his ideal was inevitable. As an apologist for existing social relations, Wulfstan was without peer. His highly imaginative vision was tempered by a constant recognition of reality. I can see little or no qualitative difference between the use to which he put his imagination and the use to which authors of bellettristic literature put theirs. His most substantial contribution to the corpus of English literary history was political theory, which, when all is said and done, is the essence of literature.

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Chapter I:

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2. Johannes Brøndsted, The Vikings, Kalle Skov trans. (London, 1967); and Ullman, op. cit.

3. Marshall W. Baldwin, The Mediaeval Church (Ithaca, 1953); Dorothy Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society (London, 1956); R.R. Darlington, "Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late OE Period," EHR, li (1936); D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940).

4. Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1947), pp. 316 ff.

5. There were twelve kings in less than thirty years. The Danes and Norsemen were antagonistic to each other as well as to the English. Brøndsted, pp. 70-82; and "Handbook of British Chronology," RHS, 1939, pp. 28-30.

6. Stenton, op. cit.

7. As reference 3 above.

8. Whitelock, pp. 52 ff.; Stenton, ch. XIII.

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2. J.M. Kemble, ed. Codex Diplomaticis Aevi Saxonici, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48); A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters (London, 1939); Dorothy Whitelock, ed. Anglo-Saxon Wills (London, 1930).

3. It appears in Dorothy Bethurum, The Homilies of Wulfstan (Oxford, 1957), pp. 376-77. See below p. 31. Hereafter, Bethurum.

4. Bethurum, pp. 58, 101-04.

5. Dorothy Whitelock, ed. Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (London, 1952), p. 8. This edition of the Sermo is standard.

6. Bethurum, pp. 374-76.

7. Whitelock (1937).

8. W.G. Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum (London, 1899); W. Stubbs, Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, 2nd ed. (London, 1897), pp. 31-33, 232, 242.

9. Benjamin Thorpe, ed. Florence of Worcester, Vol. I (London, 1848-49), p. 156.

10. E.O. Blake, ed. Liber Eliensis, RHS, V xcii (1962), pp. 155-57.

11. Whitelock, Sermo, p. 6.

12. R. Becher, Wulfstans Homilien (Leipzig, 1910).

13. Whitelock (1937) fn. p. 460.

14. Ibid., pp. 463-64.

15. Ibid., pp. 460-64.

16. There are two Wulfstans Archbishop of York: Wulfstan I (ca. 940-57) and Wulfstan II (1002-23). Wulfstan I was imprisoned by King Eadred in 952 for treason.

Chapter II (continued):

Wulfstan II Archbishop of York is also Wulfstan I Bishop of Worcester. Wulfstan II Bishop of Worcester is usually referred to as St. Wulfstan.

17. Darlington, op. cit.

18. Bethurum, p. 61.

19. Whitelock, Sermo, p. 9.

20. Blake, op. cit., p. 156.

21. This paragraph is a condensation of Whitelock, Sermo, pp. 6-12; and Bethurum, pp. 54-68.

22. See below p. 87.

23. Bethurum, pp. 65-68.

24. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

25. Whitelock, Sermo, p. 7 fn. 2.

26. R.J. Menner, "Anglian and Saxon Elements in Wulfstan's Vocabulary," MLN, lxiii (1948), 1-ff.

27. Thorpe, op. cit.; Blake, op. cit.

28. Whitelock (1937), pp. 460-64); Sermo, p. 7.

29. Bethurum, p. 58 fn. 2.

30. Kemble, charters K. 518, 520, 521, 526, 527 and intermittently from 1231-1275. K. 523 witnesses a Wulftanus miles. Two charters from Edgar's reign (ca. 966) make reference to Wulfstan on Daelham (K. 1254) and a Wulfius abbas sancti Petri Westmonasterii extra Lundoniam (K. 520). There is also mention of a Wulfstan in Edgar's house in K. 518, and the charter also witnesses the signature of Wulfstan minister.

31. K. 1270, the Ely charter, witnesses three signatures of a Wulfstan minister.

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1. Humfrey Wanley in G. Hickes, Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus, vol. II (London, 1705), pp. 140 ff.

2. Napier's numbering follows Arthur Sampson Napier, ed., Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen uber ihre Echtheit (Berlin, 1883).

3. Bethurum's list is incomplete. Cf. Bethurum, p. 25.

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5. Napier (1883).

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7. J.P. Kinard, A Study of Wulfstan's Homilies (Baltimore, 1897).

8. Karl Jost, Wulfstanstudien (Bern, 1950), pp. 199-200.

9. Whitelock, Sermo, p. 14, fn. 1.

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11. Alfred Mohrbutter, Darstellungen der Syntax (Munich, 1885); A.J. Daniels, Kasussyntax zu den Predigten Wulfstans (Leiden, 1904); H. Dunkhase, Die Sprache der Wulfstan'schen Homilien (Jena, 1906); L.H. Dodd, A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies (Yale, 1908).

12. Bethurum, p. 50, from W. Keller, Die litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester (Strassburg, 1900).

13. Karl Jost, "Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen," Anglia, lvi (1932), pp. 265 ff.

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Chapter III (continued):

15. Neil R. Ker, "Hemming's Cartulary," Studies in Mediaeval History Presented to F.M. Powicke (London, 1948), pp. 70-72; and Ker, ed. The Pastoral Care (London, 1956), p. 24.

16. See pp. 63-66.

17. Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut," EHR, lxiii (1948), pp. 433 ff. Cf. Jost (1950), pp. 13-44.

18. Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan and the so-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum," EHR, lvi (1941), pp. 1 ff.

19. Angus McIntosh, Wulfstan's Prose, Proceedings of the British Academy, xxxiv (1948).

20. Karl Jost, Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical," Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959). Jost uses the example on p. 35.

21. Jost (1950).

22. Ibid., pp. 155-67.

23. The text I have been referring to: Bethurum (1957).

24. James M. Ure, ed. The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text (Edinburgh, 1957).

25. Peter Clemoes, "The Old English Benedictine Office...: A Reconsideration," Anglia, lxxviii (1960), pp. 265-87.

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29. Jost (1950), p. 271.

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