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## **A Paw in Every Pie: Wulfstan and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Again**

Sara M. Pons-Sanz

More than eighty years ago Karl Jost published his seminal article on the poems (if they can be called so) included in annals 959 in the D- and E-texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (hereafter ChronD 959 and ChronE 959, respectively) and 975 in the D-text (hereafter ChronD 975).<sup>1</sup> His main concern was to establish the relationship between ChronD 959.2-19 = ChronE 959.3-26 and Ælfric's epilogue to his translation of the Book of Judges (= ÆJudgEp). Jost concluded that the author of the poem must have relied on the Ælfrician text and not the other way round.<sup>2</sup> He reached this conclusion by comparing the language of the text with that of the compositions by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York and noticing that the poem shows some non-Wulfstaniaan lexical features (many of them suggested by the wording of the original Ælfrician passage) amongst predominantly Wulfstaniaan phraseology, i.e. the lexical traits which one might expect in one of the archbishop's reworkings. Despite the stylistic similarities which the two poems share with the works commonly included in the archbishop's canon, Jost was not yet prepared to discard completely the possibility that the poems might have been written by someone other than Wulfstan who was familiar with his style.<sup>3</sup> The dismissal of this idea came a few years later, when he readily presented in his *Wulfstanstudien* the poem in *ChronD* 975 as a Wulfstaniaan composition and that in *ChronD* 959 = *ChronE* 959 as one of the archbishop's reworkings of previous texts.<sup>4</sup> Since then the two compositions have frequently been included without much hesitation in the ever-mushrooming Wulfstaniaan canon.<sup>5</sup>

The attribution of these compositions to the archbishop is indeed in keeping, from an extra-linguistic point of view, with (1) his tendency to rework previous compositions, mainly by Ælfric (cp. his version in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 of the first Pastoral Letter in Old English which Ælfric

sent him [hereafter *WÆLet* 2], *Cnut 1020* or the so-called 'compilation on status');<sup>6</sup> (2) his deep admiration and respect for Edgar as an example of a rightful king who established just laws in accordance with the divine commandments;<sup>7</sup> and (3) his general concern for the well-being of the Church and its representatives.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, given that the version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which lies, broadly speaking, under those recorded in London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B.iv (= MS D) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud MS Misc. 636 (= MS E) is supposed to have been in the province of York between 966 and ca1031,<sup>9</sup> it is very easy to imagine a scenario in which Wulfstan, who held the archbishopric of York from 1002 to 1023,<sup>10</sup> could have composed these texts and had them entered in the local version of the Chronicle. Finally, Wulfstan's involvement in this nationalistic work would not be at odds either with his wide-ranging interests.<sup>11</sup>

From a linguistic perspective, this assignation is much more problematic, on the one hand, because of the above-mentioned presence of lexical items and collocations which are not recorded anywhere else in Wulfstan's *oeuvre*; and on the other hand, and closely associated with this, because the identification of Wulfstan's canon does not rely on fully unproblematic principles, which leaves some texts in grey areas of authorship (as exemplified by the two poems discussed here). The analysis in this paper will have to rely on the study of the vocabulary of the works which are currently accepted to have been composed or reworked by Wulfstan,<sup>12</sup> an approach which necessarily imposes some limitations on the reliability of the conclusions.

Jost did study many of the lexical issues dealt with in this paper in detail. However, as has been noted above, his main concern was the relationship between the text in ChronD 959.2-19 = ChronE 959.3-26 and the Ælfrician composition, whereas the relationship of the poems with the Wulfstanian works *per se* and other Old English texts was not duly analysed. The present paper follows this line of research further so as to reassess whether the poems should be assigned to Wulfstan himself or should rather be attributed to someone else who was familiar with his extremely catchy style.<sup>13</sup> One has to remember that Wulfstan was a very influential figure in eleventh-century England and it is therefore not strange that his linguistic traits permeated (through conscious or unconscious means) the language of later authors.<sup>14</sup>

The analysis of the lexical choices of the poem recorded in ChronD 959.2-19 = ChronE 959.3-26 should leave aside those non-Wulfstanian expressions which have been suggested by the original Ælfrician text, given that, as stated above, the

presence, because of constrained usage, of lexical items which do not belong to Wulfstan's active repertoire is a well-known feature of his reworkings.<sup>15</sup> Thus, one should exclude the following phrases and clauses from any argument on authorship:

(1) 'Wunode on sibbe' [dwelled in peace] (ChronD 959.3 = ChronE 959.4): albeit recorded more than one hundred times in the *Corpus of Old English* (hereafter COE), the phrase *on sibbe* is not attested in Wulfstan's canon; instead, the archbishop's works record once an equivalent phrase with *frīð* 'peace, security, protection' (WHom 19 51) and equivalent phrases with *grið* 'truce, peace, protection' on various occasions (e.g. WHom 19 50, WHom 20.1 75 = WHom 20.2 86 = WHom 20.3 82). Even though this collocation is not present in the text which is the direct source of the poem (viz. *ÆJudgEp* 82-87: 'Eadgar [...] wide geond land'), it appears immediately before in a context referring to King Æthelstan ('he on sibbe wunode sibban mid his leode' [he dwelled in peace afterwards with his people] in *ÆJudgEp* 82).

(2) 'He arærde Godes lof wide' [he exalted God's praise widely] (ChronD 959.4-5 = ChronE 959.6): the only comparable context in the Wulfstanian canon belongs to LawCn 1020 3 ('ic scolde gæhwær Godes lof upp aræran' [I should everywhere exalt God's praise]), which is included in the part of the Cnutian proclamation that maintains the text of Cnut's letter 'substantially as issued' and hence cannot be directly associated with Wulfstan.<sup>16</sup> In any case, the clause in *ChronD* 959 = *ChronE* 959 relies on 'arærde Godes lof on his leode gehwær' [exalted God's praise everywhere in his nation] (*ÆJudgEp* 83). Notably, 'on his leode gehwær' has been replaced by 'wide', an adverb much in Wulfstan's taste (but see below).

(3) 'Wurdon underþeodde to þam ðe he wolde' [were subjected to that which he wanted] (ChronD 959.8-9 = ChronE 959.10-11): Wulfstan's original works do not otherwise attest the verb *underðeodan*, while the noun *underðeod* 'assistant, suffragan' is only recorded once (WHom 9 98), in a text which is a reworking of an Ælfrician homily where the noun occurs twice (*ÆSpir* 51-52 and 59-60).<sup>17</sup> The presence of the verb can however be explained by the close similarity between its context and Ælfric's 'him underþeodde to þam þe he wolde' [subjected them to that which he wanted] (*ÆJudgEp* 86).

(4) 'Wide geond þeodland' [widely throughout the land of the nation] (ChronD 959.10 = ChronE 959.13): despite Wulfstan's taste for compounds with *ðeod-* 'people, nation' as the determinant,<sup>18</sup> *ðeodland* is not recorded anywhere else in his canon, while it is attested on fourteen occasions in works by other authors (e.g. HomU 35.1 9). Yet, one could explain the wording in *ChronD* 959 =

*ChronE* 959 by relying on Ælfric's 'wide geond land' [widely throughout the land] (*ÆJudgEp* 87) and the presence of *ðēod* in *ÆJudgEp* 84 ('ofer Engla ðeode' [over the nation of the English]), because this could have prompted a person that way inclined to generate the compound.<sup>19</sup>

Once these phrases and clauses are left aside, the wording of the *ChronD* 959 = *ChronE* 959 poem can be divided into three categories: (1) expressions which are not exclusively Wulfstian but are also somewhat common outside Wulfstan's compositions; (2) expressions which could be perceived to be Wulfstianisms; (3) expressions which are not otherwise common in the archbishop's works. The following lines analyse the lexis of the poem in this order. When considering the figures provided below the reader should bear in mind that the archbishop's works account for approximately 2.3% of the *COE* (i.e. approximately 1/43).<sup>20</sup>

The first group comprises the following expressions:

(1) 'God him geuðe þæt [...]' [God granted him that [...]] (*ChronD* 959.3 = *ChronE* 959.3-4) and 'ac God him geunne þæt [...]' [but may God grant him that [...]] (*ChronD* 959.17 = *ChronE* 959.24): the combination of a personal pronoun in the dative + *geunnan* + *ðæt* is found on two occasions in the Wulfstian canon (*WHom* 11 232-33 and *LawVIIaAtr* 8) and on more than forty occasions outside it (e.g. *ÆHomM* 8 15-16 and *Beo* 1661a-62a).

(2) 'Þa hwile þe he leofode' [as long as he lived] (*ChronD* 959.3 = *ChronE* 959.4): a similar structure with *ðā hwīle ðe* + subject + *libban* is recorded on eight occasions in the Wulfstian canon (e.g. *WHom* 15 21-22) and more than forty times in non-Wulfstian compositions.

(3) 'Earnode þæs georne' [readily merited this] (*ChronD* 959.4 = *ChronE* 959.5): the Wulfstian canon records three contexts with *earnian* + *georne* and the same number can be found in non-Wulfstian texts; thus, a clause such as 'ecre reste earnie man georne' [may one readily merit eternal rest] (*WHom* 10c 183) is comparable to 'to Gode 7 to eallum his halegum þæs georne earnian' [to merit this readily from God and all his holy men] (*HomS* 34 57).

(4) 'God him eac fylste þæt [...]' [God also helped him so that [...]] (*ChronD* 959.7 = *ChronE* 959.9): the structure nominal phrase / pronoun in the dative + (*ge*)*fylstan* + *ðæt* is recorded once in the Wulfstian works (*WPol* 3 52) and nine times outside them (e.g. *ÆLS* [Martin] 1109 and *Instr* 263-64).

(5) 'Cyningas and eorlas georne him to bugan' [kings and earls readily submitted to him] (ChronD 959.7-8 = ChronE 959.9-10): while the coordinated nouns derive from the Ælfrician source (cp. *ÆJudgEp* 85), the structure (*ge*)*būgan* + prepositional phrase with *tō* + a member of the *georne* word-field is attested twelve times in the Wulfstian canon (including some derivative contexts, e.g. LawVAtr 4 = LawAtrVI 2.1) and five times outside it (e.g. *ÆCHom* I, 18 319.64 and *HomM* 7 45).<sup>21</sup>

(6) 'Butan gefeohte' [without battle] (ChronD 959.9 = ChronE 959.11): this phrase goes back to its model 'buton ælcum gefeohte' [without any battle] (*ÆJudgEp* 85). Jost notices that Wulfstan did not favour the collocation *būtan* + *ælc* + noun (it is only recorded three times in his homilies).<sup>22</sup> Yet, the tendency towards the ellipsis of the adjective in similar structures is widespread throughout the *COE* (e.g. whereas 'butan ælcum ende' [without any end] occurs once in the Wulfstian corpus and fifteen times outside it, 'butan ende' [without end] is recorded eighteen times in the archbishop's works and more than one hundred and seventy times in non-Wulfstian texts).<sup>23</sup>

(7) 'Eal he gewilde þe he sylf wolde' [he controlled all that he himself wanted] (ChronD 959.9 = ChronE 959.12): while the verb (*ge*)*wyldan* is already present in the source (cp. 'gewilde his wiðerwinnan' [controlled his enemies] in *ÆJudgEp* 84), it is also common in the Wulfstian canon (it occurs approximately fifteen times) and other Old English texts. However, it is noteworthy that in Wulfstan's compositions it does not collocate with inanimate objects (e.g. 'wylde hine sylfne' [may control himself] in *WHom* 10c 175-76), while non-Wulfstian texts do record this collocation (e.g. 'Iosue ða gewylde eal ðæt widgylle land' [Joshua then controlled all that extensive land] in *Josh* 11.16 and 'he him to þeowdome gewylde ealle Ispanie 7 ealle Africe' [he subdued into his service all Hispania and Africa] in *Or* 5 4.119.2-3).

(8) 'He weorðode Godes naman georne' [he readily honoured God's name] (ChronD 959.11 = ChronE 959.14): while the closest structure to the wording of this clause in the Wulfstian canon is 'on Godes naman weorðunge' [in honour of God's name] (*WHom* 17 17), the collocation of *weorðian* + *Godes* + noun is attested on four occasions in the Wulfstian canon, including one derivative context ('hy Godes þeowas symle werian & weorðian' [that they may always guard and honour the servants of God] in *HomU* 48 62-63 = LawVIAtr 45). Outside the archbishop's works it is recorded on the same number of occasions, including *HomU* 59 29-30, a text with many Wulfstian expressions. However, it is much more common both in Wulfstan's compositions and otherwise to find

the collocation *weorðian* + *God* (or something / someone associated with Him): e.g. 'God weorðodon' [honoured God] (LawVIIIAttr 43), 'we sculon eac hine æfre weorðian, Gode to wyrðminte' [we must also honour Him, according to God's glory] (ÆLet 3 127) and 'geornlicost God weorþige' [may honour God most earnestly] (ChristA,B,C 433).

(9) 'Hider in tihte' [attracted hither] (ChronD 959.16 = ChronE 959.22): (*ge*)*tihtan* meaning 'to invite, persuade, attract, entice', not 'to accuse', is otherwise recorded twice in Wulfstian compositions, once with negative and once with positive connotations (viz. 'deofol ma and ma manna forlærde & getihte to heora agenre unþearfe' [the devil misguided more and more people and enticed them to their own ruin] in WHom 6 57-58 and 'his gingran georne tihte to ðam ylcan' [may readily encourage his dependants to the same] in WHom 8c 141-42, respectively). It is recorded on more than one hundred and sixty occasions in non-Wulfstian texts, Ælfric being particularly fond of it (e.g. ÆLS [Agnes] 355 and LS 17.2 17-18).

(10) 'Bespeon to þysan earde' [attracted to this country] (ChronD 959.17 = ChronE 959.23): only two other contexts in the *COE* record the collocation *bespanan* + *tō* + dative: viz. WHom 4 16-17 ('bespannan to his unlarum' [attract to his bad teachings]) and HomM 2 20-21 ('he mæg þonne deofol þyder bespanan him sylfum æfre ecelice to genyþrunge and to forwyrd' [he may then eternally attract the devil by himself to humiliation and ruin]). The structure formed by *spanan* or other verbs with *spanan* as the root + a prepositional phrase with *tō* is recorded once in the Wulfstian canon (WHom 5 81), while it is attested on thirty-three occasions (including derivative contexts) in non-Wulfstian compositions.

The text contains a clear set of Wulfstianisms, i.e. terms and collocations which are repeated time and again in the archbishop's compositions and which make his style so idiosyncratic. As already noted by Jost, they do not occur exclusively in Wulfstan's texts, but his compositions show a particularly high proportion of them.<sup>24</sup> However, it is precisely their recognizable character that makes them very easy to imitate and they frequently crop up in texts which are not attributable to the archbishop.<sup>25</sup> The typically Wulfstian expressions in the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem are:

(1) 'Hit godode georne' (ChronD 959.2 = ChronE 959.3): as noted by Jost,<sup>26</sup> *gōdian* in an intransitive and impersonal use is characteristic of Wulfstan; it occurs eight times in the archbishop's corpus (including four times in derivative contexts: WHom 20.1 17 = WHom 20.2 23-24 = WHom 20.3 22-23 and

LawVAtr 36.1 = LawVIATR 40.1 = LawIICn 11.1), while it is only recorded once in non-Wulfstanian texts ('freaum frodade, fromum godade' [for the free wisdom increased, for the bald goodness prevailed] in Rim 32).<sup>27</sup>

(2) 'Swyþost þara cyninga þe ær him gewurde' (ChronD 959.6 = ChronE 959.7-8): Jost adduces the combination of two structures in this expression (i.e. 'most of all kings who ever existed' [\*'swyðost þara cyninga þe æfre gewurde'] + 'more than any other king who existed before him' [\*'swyðor þonne ænig þara cyninga þe ær him gewurde']) as further evidence in favour of attributing this poem to Wulfstan.<sup>28</sup> He points out that Wulfstan was keen on structures joining *æ̅r* and the superlative instead of the comparative degree of an adjective or adverb. Indeed, this structure is recorded on five occasions in Wulfstan's texts, always in the construction superlative + *þe æ̅fre æ̅r* 'who ever before' + verb (WHom 3 53-54, WHom 4 8-9, WHom 5 71-72 and 84-85, and WHom 18 22-23). Jost was not able to find any similar structures elsewhere, but they do exist. While one non-Wulfstanian context exhibits the same association of a superlative + *æ̅r* ('þæt ðu mæge hrædlicost cumon & eðelicost to þinre agenre cyððe þonan þe ðu ær come' [so that you may go to your native land quick[er] and mo[re] nobly than you went before] in Bo 41.146.28-29), another context also uses the superlative degree where one would expect the comparative ('þone mæston hearm dydon þe æfre hired oððe here innon friðlande don sceolde' [did more harm [lit. the most] than a court or an army should do in a land at peace] in ChronE 1097.27-28).

(3) The concentration of intensifying adverbs and adverbial phrases as well as echoing doublets is often mentioned as one of Wulfstan's most characteristic traits. This poem records *georne* 'readily, eagerly' (4x), *wīde* 'widely' (2x), *swyðe* 'very much, exceedingly' (2x), *oft and gelōme* 'often and frequently', *wīde and sīde* 'widely and extensively' and *for Gode and for worolde* 'before God and the world'. However, such high number of intensifying terms seems slightly suspicious because no other Wulfstanian composition accumulates so many of his most typical terms in such a short space. These terms should be associated with 'oftost a symble' [very often, always continuously] (ChronD 959.13 = ChronE 959.17), which does not occur anywhere else in the canon (see below) and which might point towards someone wishing to make this passage so similar to Wulfstan's style that he/she goes even further than the archbishop himself.<sup>29</sup> Jost identifies the use of the adverb *tō* meaning 'very' rather than indicating an excess as very typical of Wulfstanian compositions and it is in this sense that he would like to interpret the adverb in the phrase 'to fæste' (ChronD 959.16 = ChronE 959.21).<sup>30</sup> However, it is not necessary to accept that translation: both Swanton



and Whitelock interpret the adverb as referring to an excess and translate this phrase as 'too fast' and 'too firmly', respectively.<sup>31</sup>

(4) 'He dyde swa him þearf wæs' [he did as was necessary to him] (ChronD 959.4 = ChronE 959.5): the structure *dōn* + *swā* + a pronoun in the dative + *þearf* + *bēon* is recorded on thirty-nine occasions in texts attributed to Wulfstan, while it is only recorded on twelve occasions in non-Wulfstanian compositions, always in texts where the influence of the archbishop's works can be seen directly or indirectly (e.g. ChronF 954.5-6, HomU 32 2, HomS 41 63, HomS 30 191 and Scrib 3.13).<sup>32</sup> Notably, however, the aforementioned structure is always followed by a verb in the same tense and mood as *dōn* which explains what is or was necessary to do, while here 'earnode (*þæs georne*)' (see above) presents instead the consequence of Edgar's having done what he had to do.

(5) 'Godes lage lufode' [loved God's law] (ChronD 959.5 = ChronE 959.6) and 'Godes lage smeade' [meditated on God's law] (ChronD 959.11 = ChronE 959.15): it is well-known amongst Wulfstan scholars that he was—as far as one can tell from the extant Old English texts—the first author to employ consistently *lagu* (< ON *lǫg* 'law') instead of the native *ǣ(w)* to refer to divine laws.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, this usage soon became widespread and even Ælfric employed the phrase *Godes lagu* in his later writings.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, it is not only the presence of this phrase but also the verbs it collocates with that one should pay attention to. The collocation *Godes lage lufian* is not otherwise recorded in the archbishop's works, while his standard collocation is *God lufian* and *Godes lage fylgan* 'to love God and to obey God's law' (e.g. WHom 5 115, WHom 10c 40-41 and LawIICn 84.1). Yet, Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions do record the collocation *lufian* + other terms with a similar meaning to *lagu* (e.g. 'lufige man Godes riht heonan forð' [may one love God's justice henceforth] in LawVAtr 26 = LawVIAtr 30, 'þe Godes æ lufiað' [who love God's law] in ÆLS [Maccabees] 268 and 'þe Godes bebodan lufigeð' [who love God's commandments] in Alc [Warn 35] 115). The collocation (*Godes*) *lage smēagan* is not very common in Wulfstan's works either: it only occurs in HomU 48 18 = LawIICn 21 ('Godes laga and lara smeagean and spirian' [to meditate on and ask about God's laws and teachings]). Outside the Wulfstanian canon *smēagan* collocates in thirteen contexts either with *ǣ* or with *bebod* (e.g. 'þæt ic æ þine smeage' [that I may meditate on your law] in PPs 118.34, and 'ælcæ dæge geornfullice smeað ða bebodu halegra gewrita' [each day diligently meditates on the commandments of the holy writings] in CP 22.169.4-5).

(6) The poem also contains some word-plays much in Wulfstan's style:

(6.a) 'He wearð wide geond þeodland swyðe geweorðað for þam þe he weorðode Godes naman georne' [he became widely honoured throughout the land of the nation because he readily honoured God's name] (ChronD 959.10-11 = ChronE 959.13-14): the passage is dominated by the diacope based on *weorðian* and the phonetic similarity between *weorðan* and *weorðian*. Yet, similar word-plays are ubiquitous in the *COE*: e.g. 'he wearð self unweorðlice ofslagen' [he was ignobly killed] (Or 6 9.139.13-14). Furthermore, one has to pay attention as well to the non-Wulfstania *dēodland* (see above; cp. *weorðian Godes naman*, on which see above).

(6.b) 'Þæt his goddæda swyðran weorðan þonne misdæda' [that his good deeds may be greater than his misdeeds] (ChronD 959.17-18 = ChronE 959.24-25): the contrast between *gōddæd* (or 'gode dæda' in *ChronE 959*) and *misdæd* or other member of the *dæd* word-field is recorded on ten occasions in Wulfstan's compositions, including derivative contexts (e.g. 'menn swiðor scamað nu for godan dædan swyðor þonne for misdædan' [men are now more ashamed of good deeds than of misdeeds] in WHom 20.2 145-46 = WHom 20.3 147-48). Similar word-plays are attested more than twenty times in the *COE* (ten times in Ælfrician texts, e.g. 'wyrcað dædbote eowra misdæda' [do penance for your misdeeds] in ÆLS [Memory of Saints] 132); however, non-Wulfstania compositions do not record the specific contrast between *misdæd* and *gōddæd* (as a compound or a phrase).

(7) 'He elðeodige unsida lufode' [loved bad, foreign customs] (ChronD 959.14-15 = ChronE 959.20): this clause contains the typically Wulfstania term *unsidu*, which is recorded five times in his corpus, albeit only in two different contexts (WHom 20.1 92 = WHom 20.2 133 = WHom 20.3 135 and WPol 2.1.2 33 = WPol 2.1.1 39). It is otherwise only recorded in ChrodR 1 22.10 ('ne mid unsidum ne mid ofermedum' [neither with bad customs nor with pride]), while this concept is normally expressed by *undēaw*, which is attested more than two hundred times in non-Wulfstania texts and three times in the archbishop's works.<sup>35</sup> The collocation of either of these nouns with a member of the *lufian* word-field is however not common in Wulfstania compositions (it is only recorded in WPol 2.1.2 39) or outside them (it is only recorded in HomS 49 97-98 and HomU 39 73).<sup>36</sup>

Equally—if not more—revealing are the structures which do not seem to have been favoured by Wulfstan. As far as the *ChronD 959* = *ChronE 959* poem is concerned, these are:

(1) 'Folces frið bette' [improved people's security] (ChronD 959.5-6 = ChronE 959.7): neither in the Wulfstanian canon nor in other Old English compositions can one find the collocation *folces frið + bētan*, although both corpora contain similar expressions with a member of the *bētan* word-field: Wulfstan's 'ealles folces frið wyrðe betere' [the security of all the nation may become better] (HomU 41 3-4) can be compared with 'Ðis is seo gerædnys, ðe æpelred cyning & his witan geræddon, eallon folce to friþes bote' [this is the ordinance which King Æthelred and his councillors have enacted for the improvement of peace for all the nation] (LawIAtr 0.2). These structures are recorded seven times in Wulfstan's texts as opposed to four times in non-Wulfstanian compositions, the records in the two corpora being included mainly in formulaic expressions.

(2) 'Be manna gemynde' [in the memory of men] (ChronD 959.6-7 = ChronE 959.8): the noun *gemynd* tends to collocate with *on* instead of *be* (e.g. LawICn 25, ÆCHom I, 2 194.124-25 and PPs 50.4), while the collocation *be gemynde* is only recorded in Bo 42.148.9 ('be gemynde & be geæscum' [through memory and through queries]) and in LibSc 4.44, where it renders *L de recordatione* 'because of memory'.

(2) 'Wislice ræde oftost a symble' [counselled wisely very often, always continuously] (ChronD 959.12-13 = ChronE 959.17): the collocation *rædan + wīslīce* is not otherwise recorded in the *COE*. Notably, non-Wulfstanian texts record the phrase *wīslīc ræd* 'wise counsel' twice (ÆSpir 50-51 and Intr 210) and the phrase *unwīslīc ræd* 'unwise counsel' once (ÆLS [Cecilia] 209), while the Wulfstanian canon only records the phrase *wīslīc ræd* in WHom 9 81, a context which relies on ÆSpir 50-51.<sup>37</sup> The adverbial list 'oftost a symble' is not recorded in the *COE* in any other context either.<sup>38</sup>

(4) 'Ane misdæde he dyde' [he did one misdeed] (ChronD 959.14 = ChronE 959.19): in the Wulfstanian canon, *misdæd* collocates with (*ge*)*swīcan* 'to cease from, give away' (e.g. WHom 11 195-96), (*ge*)*bētan* 'to amend' (e.g. WHom 6 90) and *andettan* 'to confess' (e.g. WHom 14 30-31), but not with *dōn*, while this collocation is recorded in LS 9 535-36 ('bædon forgyfennesse ealra þære misdæde þe wið him gedon hæfdon' [asked for forgiveness for all the misdeeds which they had done against whim]) and BenRW 4.25.10 ('hyre misdædum, þe heo gedon hafod' [her misdeeds, which she had done]). Admittedly, one could argue that the unprecedented presence of *dōn* responds to the echoic effect which it contributes to create (*misdæd – dōn – unsidu*) in a passage which is clearly dominated by the dentals /θ/ and /d/.

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(5) 'Heþene þeawas innan þysan lande gebrohte' [brought heathen customs into this land] (ChronD 959.15-16 = ChronE 959.21):<sup>39</sup> the phrase *hæðen ðēaw* is not otherwise recorded in the Wulfstanian canon (cp. 'ðeawan ælðeodige' [foreign customs] in WHom 11 111 and 'hæþene unsida' [heathen bad customs] in WHom 20.1 92 = WHom 20.2 133 = WHom 20.3 135; see below), while it is recorded on five occasions in other Old English texts, including one derivative context (ChronA 616.4 = ChronE 616.3). However, given that this phrase emphasises the same idea as 'elðeodige unsida', its use could be associated with Wulfstan's fondness for *commoratio* (i.e. the repetition of the same concept through different terms), or the general tendency towards variation in poetical language. The collocation *bringan* + a prepositional phrase introduced by *innan* is otherwise only recorded in 'innan ciricean gebroht' [brought into the church] (BenR 58.99.17 = BenRWells 58.98.17 = BenRW 58.117.27). In the Wulfstanian canon *bringan* tends to collocate with a phrase introduced by *on* or *tō* instead (e.g. 'we wyllað þæt ælc freoman beon on hundrede 7 on teoðunge gebroht' [we want that each freeman be brought into a hundred or tithing] in LawIICn 20 and 'bringe man þæt to cirican' [may one bring it to church] in LawVIIaAtr 2.3). Furthermore, the prepositional phrases with *innan* + a noun in the dative recorded in the Wulfstanian canon indicate something static rather than movement (e.g. 'freondscipe rihtlice healde innan þysan earde' [may maintain friendship within this land] in LawVAtr 1.1 = LawVIAtr 8 and 'hu earmlice hit gefaran is nu ealle hwile innan þisse earman forsingodre þeode' [how wretchedly it has gone all the time now in this wretched, sinning nation] in WHom 20.2 160-61).

(6) 'Utlændisce' [foreigners] (ChronD 959.16 = ChronE 959.22): this nominalized adjective is not otherwise recorded in Wulfstan's works, but it is attested eight times, including one derivative context (ChronC 1052.42 = ChronD 1052.2.49), in other Old English texts. Still, one might want to explain its presence by referring to the *commoratio* which dominates these lines (see above).

(7) 'Deriende leoda' [damaging people] (ChronD 959.16-17 = ChronE 959.23): a nominal phrase with the present participle of *derian* + noun is only recorded once in the Wulfstanian canon (LitBen 7.1 43) and three times outside it (JDay II 232, AldV 13.1 765 and LibSc 58.53), while *underiende* 'inoffensive' is recorded twice in an equivalent phrase (Or 1 2.22.13 and Or 1 6.25.9).<sup>40</sup> Given that it is likely that the extant prose sections of the *Benedictine Office* represent Wulfstan's reworking of a pre-existing text,<sup>41</sup> one cannot discard the possibility that the presence of the structure in LitBen 7.1 43 is attributable to constrained usage.<sup>42</sup>

- (8) 'To gescyldnesse' [to protection] (ChronD 959.18-19 = ChronE 959.26): *gescyldnes* is not a term for 'protection' favoured by Wulfstan. He was much fonder of the Norse-derived loanword *gridð* (< ON *gridð*) and did not use the native term in any of his compositions,<sup>43</sup> while the phrase *tō gescyldnesse* by itself is recorded eight times in the *COE* (e.g. *ÆCHom* II, 45 336-37 and *Or* 4 10.104.5).
- (10) 'On langsuman siðe' [on the longsome journey] (ChronD 959.19 = ChronE 959.26): whereas the collocation *lang + sið* is not uncommon in the *COE* (e.g. 'on langne sið' in *GenA,B* 68b and *Dan* 68b), the adjective *langsum* is not recorded in the same context anywhere else (cp. 'on þære langsuman fare' in *ÆCHom* II, 12 121.376). In general, one notes that, while *Ælfric* was very fond of *langsum*, Wulfstan only employed it in three different contexts (viz. *WHom* 8b 10, *HomU* 40 50 = *WPol* 2.1.2 31 = *WPol* 2.1.1.38 and *WPol* 2.1.1 128).

Jost insists that the author of the *ChronD* 959 = *ChronE* 959 poem is very likely to be the same person who composed the *ChronD* 975 poem because both texts start with the phrase 'on his dagum' [in his days] and share many of the traits which characterize the Wulfstanian language.<sup>44</sup> The phrases of the *ChronD* 975 poem, therefore, need to be classified in the same three groups as those suggested for the previous poem. The following structures can be said to be common in Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions alike:

- (1) 'On his dagum' (*ChronD* 975.11-12): the various versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle record thirteen phrases containing *on + genitive + dagum*, excluding those from this annal and *ChronD* 959 = *ChronE* 959, but including seven derivative contexts (e.g. *ChronA* 787.2 = *ChronC* 787.2 = *ChronD* 787.2 = *ChronE* 787.2); these phrases can be compared with Wulfstan's 'on *Æðelredes cyninges dagum*' [in King *Æthelred*'s days] (*WHom* 20.2 10).
- (2) 'For his iugoðe' [because of his young age] (*ChronD* 975.12): Wulfstan's works record once a similar prepositional phrase with *for + geoguð* ('*þæt cild for geogoðe sprecaþ ne mage*' [the child may not be able to speak because of his young age] in *WHom* 13 27), while it is attested on three occasions in non-Wulfstanian works (e.g. 'for untrumnesse oððe for geogoðe' [because of infirmity or young age] in *HomS* 13 59-60).
- (3) 'Godes wipærsacan' [God's enemies] (*ChronD* 975.12): this phrase is recorded four times in the archbishop's works, including one derivative context (*WHom* 20.1 99 = *WHom* 20.2 140), and ten times outside them (e.g. *ÆCHom* I, 26 394.176).

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(4) 'Ðe Eadgar kyning het ær þone halgan biscop Æþælwold gestaðelian' [which King Edgar had commanded the holy bishop Æthelwold to establish] (ChronD 975.15-16): the verb (*ge*)*sta(ðo)lian* / (*ge*)*sta(ðe)lian* can similarly be found three times in the texts attributed to Wulfstan, although two of the contexts are derivative ('ac staðelige man and strangige and trimme hi georne mid wislicre Godes lage' [but one should make them steadfast, and strengthen and readily fortify them with God's wise law] in WPol 2.1.2 31 = WPol 2.1.1 38 = HomU 40 48-49), and more than two hundred and eighty times outside them (e.g. 'ic to drihtne min mod stapelige' [I shall fix my mind on the Lord] in Jul 221b-22a).<sup>45</sup>

Like the poem in *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959*, the poem in *ChronD 975* has some structures which are characteristic of the archbishop's works; however, again as in the previous case, not all of them argue equally strongly in favour of Wulfstan's authorship of the poem:

(1) 'Godes lage bræcon' [broke God's law] (ChronD 975.12-13): the presence of the phrase *Godes lagu* could make one think of Wulfstan immediately; however, the caveats suggested above should be borne in mind here. Furthermore, while the collocation *Godes lage + brecan* (with or without a prefix) is indeed recorded twice in the archbishop's canon (WHom 15 38 and WHom 19 5), it is also recorded on the same number of occasions outside it (*ÆHomM* 7 146 and 153, where the verb is *tōbrecan*).

(2) 'Godes þeowas fesedon' [put to flight God's servants] (ChronD 975.15): both Jost and Bethurum highlight the presence of the verb *fēs(i)an* in this context as further evidence in favour of the association of this poem with Wulfstan because the verb (with or without the prefix *tō*) is also recorded in WHom 19 55 and 63, and WHom 20.3 112.<sup>46</sup> Yet, Bethurum is wrong in stating that the verb 'appears outside this use in the Chronicle only in Wulfstan's work',<sup>47</sup> for it is also recorded in PrudGl 1 194, where 'fesigende' renders L *exegitans* 'forcing out' and *persequens* 'persecuting'. Furthermore, its contexts become more numerous if this verb is analysed as a non-West Saxon variant of the verb *fȳsan*.<sup>48</sup>

(3) 'Wydewan bestryptan oft and gelome' [often and frequently widows were robbed] (ChronD 975.16-17): this clause finds its closest parallel in 'wydewan bestrypað oft and gelome' [rob widows often and frequently] (WPol 2.1.1 97), as already noted by Jost.<sup>49</sup> This context could be said to provide further evidence in favour of the archbishop's authority of the poem: (1) Wulfstan's concern for the well-being of widows is recurrent in his works (e.g. 'wuduwan and steopcild hi

sculon retan' [they must comfort widows and orphans] in WPol 2.1.2 59 = WPol 2.1.1 87);<sup>50</sup> and (2) the verb *bestrypan* is recorded in three different contexts in the Wulfstanian canon (WHom 20.1 36 = WHom 20.2 42 = WHom 20.3 41, WPol 2.1.2 108 = WPol 2.1.1 213 and WPol 2.1.1 97), but only in one outside it (ChronC 1065.18).

(4) 'Fela unrihta and yfelra unlaga arysan up siððan' [many wrongs and evil injustices rose up afterwards] (ChronD 975.17): whereas the word-play involved in the pair *fela* – *yfel* is ubiquitous in the *COE* (e.g. 'fela yfela' in WHom 3 9 and Conf 1.1.25, 'fela yfelu' in *ÆLS* [Maccabees] 4), the contrast between *unriht* and *unlagu* is only recorded in Wulfstanian compositions (e.g. 'unriht rærde 7 unlaga manege ealles to wide geond ealle þas ðeode' [committed many wrongs and unlawful acts all too widely in this nation] in WHom 20.1 11 = WHom 20.2 17-18 = WHom 20.3 16-17).<sup>51</sup> Yet, although *unlagu* is first attested in Wulfstan's works, it was quickly adopted by other eleventh-century authors.<sup>52</sup> In Wulfstan's compositions *unlagu* tends to appear as the direct object of verbs referring either to 'promotion' (e.g. [*ā*]ræran, as in WHom 20.1 11 = WHom 20.2 17 = WHom 20.3 16 and WPol 2.1.1 97) or to 'rejection' and 'extinction' (e.g. *āweorpan*, as in LawXAtrProl 2, or *āfyllan*, as in LawXAtr 2 = LawVAtr 1.1 = LawVIAt 8 = LawCn 1018 3 = LawIICn 1). However, the collocation *unriht(wīsnes)* / *unlagu* + (*ā*)rīsan is uncommon in Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions: it is never recorded in the archbishop's works, while *unriht(wīsnes)* appears in this collocation only twice in texts not attributable to Wulfstan ('on þam yfelan timan arist seo unrihtwisnyss' [that injustice developed in that evil time] in *ÆHom* 19 331-32; and the Wulfstan-sounding sentence 'on his dagan ælc riht afeoll 7 ælc unriht for Gode and for worolde up aras' [in his days every justice fell and every injustice developed before God and the world] in ChronE 1100 13-14).<sup>53</sup>

(5) 'Hit yfelode swiðe' [it became much worse] (ChronD 975.18): this clause offers a good *comparandum* for 'hit godode georne' in ChronD 959 = ChronE 975 and does seem to establish a relationship between the two compositions. The Wulfstanian canon records the use of (*ge*)*yfelian* in an impersonal construction on five occasions (including two derivative contexts), all of them with the structure *hit* + *sceal* + *nȳde* + *yfelian* + *swȳðe* (WHom 20.1 5-6 = WHom 20.2 9 = WHom 20.3 9-10, WHom 5 14-15 and 40-41).<sup>54</sup> The archbishop's works show the highest concentration of this usage, for *hit* + (*ge*)*yfelian* is otherwise only attested in ChronD 1066.83 ('a syððan hit yflade swiðe' [afterwards it always got much worse]), while the grammatical subject is elliptical in ChronD 1053.14 ('him geyfelode' [he became ill]) and ChronE 1086.43 ('him geyfelade' [he became ill]).

Interestingly, all the non-Wulfstanian contexts are recorded in passages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which would have been composed after Wulfstan's death. One could claim that the use of these structures has been influenced by Wulfstan's practice, but the same could be said about *ChronD* 975.<sup>55</sup>

Like the *ChronD* 959 = *ChronE* 959 poem, this composition contains some terms and collocations which are not frequent in the archbishop's works:

(1) 'Ælfere ealdorman and oþre manega' [Ealdorman Ælfhere and many others] (*ChronD* 975.13): Whitelock notes that Wulfstan departs from common early-eleventh-century usage in that, other than when his lexical selection follows constrained usage, he prefers the Norse-derived semantic loan *eorl* (cp. ON *jarl*) over the native *ealdormann*.<sup>56</sup> Yet, it is likely that the selection of the native term in this case responds to the fact that Ælfhere was commonly referred to by this title (cp. *ChronE* 980.1 and *LawIVEg* 15.1).

(2) 'Munucregol myrdon' [impeded monastic rule] (*ChronD* 975.13-14): this collocation is not recorded anywhere else in the *COE*. *Munucregol* is also otherwise unattested in the Wulfstanian canon, while it is recorded twice in other Old English texts (e.g. *ÆLS* [Basil] 145). The presence of this compound could however be accounted for by referring to the alliteration which it contributes to create and the fact the Wulfstanian canon does attest other complexes with *regol* (e.g. *regollic* 'regular, canonical' and *regollagu* 'monastic law').<sup>57</sup> The verb (*ge*)*myrran*, on the other hand, is not uncommon either in Wulfstan's works, where it occurs three times, including one derivative context ('Godes lage wyrde oððe folclage myrre' [he may violate God's law or impede public law] in *WPol* 2.1.2 14 = *WPol* 2.1.1 17); or outside them, where it is recorded more than fifteen times (e.g. 'hie þone cristendom mierde leng' [it may impede Christianity longer] in *Or* 6 7.138.14).

(3) 'Mynstra tostæncton' [dissolved monasteries] (*ChronD* 975.14): the verb *tōstencan* is not otherwise attested in the archbishop's compositions, while it is recorded more than one hundred and fifty times in non-Wulfstanian texts (e.g. 'mine sceap sind tostencte' [my sheep are scattered] in *ÆCHom* I, 17 315.60).

(4) 'aa æfter þam' [always after that] (*ChronD* 975.18): the collocation *ā(a)* + *æfter* + dative is not recorded anywhere else in the *COE*. The most common collocations with the adverb seem to be instead *ā(a)* + *būtan ende* [always without end] (e.g. *WHom* 1b 40, *HomU* 21 79-80) and *ā(a)* + *siððan* [always afterwards] (e.g. *WHom* 7a 36 and *ÆHom* 6 153).



When one discards the non-Wulfstanian features which follow constrained usage, the expressions which are common in both Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions and those which are not otherwise recorded in either corpora, as well as those features which, while having been identified as clearly Wulfstanian or clearly non-Wulfstanian, are problematic, one is left with only a handful of structures. Those which, given the extant records, may argue most strongly in favour of Wulfstan's authorship are *hit + gōdian / yfelian*. However, the two poems, especially that in *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959*, the longer of the two, contain a reasonable number of expressions which make one doubt this attribution. This situation allows for several speculative solutions for the puzzle presented by these compositions:

- (1) They are both by Wulfstan and the non-Wulfstanian traits are to be left aside as minor deviations from his common lexical choices; they could be authorial or they could have been included in the process of transmission.
- (2) Wulfstan should only be attributed the *ChronD 975* poem, while the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem was composed by someone else well-acquainted with his language, who developed a companion text (cp. the relationship between *Grid*, a Wulfstanian text, and the so-called 'Northumbrian *Grid*', which, despite only being recorded in a manuscript annotated by the hand identified as Wulfstan's, should not be assigned to him).<sup>58</sup> This would explain the unprecedented attack on a king for whom Wulfstan had otherwise only expressed great admiration and respect (at least as far as suggested by the extant sources).
- (3) Neither poem was actually composed by Wulfstan, but by someone who was able to reproduce most of the archbishop's lexical traits (sometimes by simply copying his texts) but was betrayed by a few of his/her own choices. This is a pattern seen in so many other texts that hardly needs any further comment. His/her work could have been commissioned by Wulfstan or could have been carried out independently from him.

It is extremely difficult to decide between these three suggestions, but it is precisely this difficulty that should prevent us from attributing these poems to Wulfstan without any further caveats. Wulfstan might have liked to have a finger—or a paw, if one wants to continue with the word-play based on his name which he started himself—in almost every pie, but our eagerness to attribute Old English texts to known Anglo-Saxon authors should not lead us to present him as a person suffering from what one could describe as *generic polydactyly*.

NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> The titles of Old English texts are abbreviated in accordance with the online version of *The Complete Corpus of Old English in Machine Readable Form (TEI Compatible Version)*, ed. by Antonette di Paolo Healey, <<http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/o/oc/>>, accessed from 6 April 2006 to 20 July 2006. The editions used in this article coincide with those employed in the corpus; therefore, no bibliographical references are given for them. In *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 6: *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996), pp. 45 n. 2, and 47 n. 3, Cubbin explains that there is nothing in the manuscript to suggest that *ChronD 959* and *ChronD 975* contain verse; accordingly, he prints the texts as prose. Similarly, one can read in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1: *c. 500-1042*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 225 n. 4, that the passage in *ChronD 959 2-19* = *ChronE 959 3-26* is written in 'alliterative prose' much in Archbishop Wulfstan's style. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 7: *MS E*, ed. by Susan Irvine (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), p. 56, on the other hand, prints *ChronE 959 3-26* as poetry, in keeping with the study by Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Textual Histories: Readings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 97-98, on the form of the compositions. For the sake of convenience, they are here referred to as *poems*, the most widely accepted term to describe them; see Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1950), 111-42 (p. 117).

<sup>2</sup> Karl Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia* 47 (1923), 105-23 (p. 123).

<sup>3</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten: Swiss Studies in English 23 (Bern: Francke, 1950), pp. 116-17.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 47-48. On the works which are commonly attributed to Wulfstan, see Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts: Wulfstan's Works, a Case Study*, North-Western European Language Evolution, Suppl. 22 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2007), ch. 1. For some voices against such an extensive attribution, see C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service Books in the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester*

and Regularis Concordia, ed. by David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 60-93 and 217-27 (p. 225); A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57-81 (p. 65); and Winfried Rudolf, 'Style and Composition of Napier XVIII—A Matter of Person or a Matter of Purpose?', in *Authors, Heroes, and Lovers: Essays in Medieval English Literature and Language: Selected Papers from the Studentage zum englischen Mittelalter SEM I & II (Postdam, 1999 & 2000)*, ed. by Thomas Honegger, Variations 2 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 107-49.

<sup>6</sup> For an edition of *WÆLet 2*, which is not included in the *Corpus of Old English*, see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernhard Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 (Hamburg: Grand, 1914), rpt. with a Supplement to the Introduction by Peter Clemoes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. 68-140. On Wulfstan's reworking of Ælfric's Pastoral Letter, see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 133-48; and Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 90-97. On Wulfstan's reworking of *Cnut 1020*, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 72-85. On his 'compilation on status', see Dorothy Bethurum, 'Six Anonymous Old English Codes', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 49 (1950), 449-63; and Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 391-94.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, LawVIIIAt 43.

<sup>8</sup> It is precisely on these grounds, i.e. the focus on ecclesiastical rather than political matters, that Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, p. 109, suggests that the poem in the annal for 1011 in the C-, D- and E-texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may as well be a Wulfstanian composition despite not showing any of the archbishop's typical traits other than the echoic phrases *for Gode and for worolde* 'before God and before the world'; cp. Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 123 n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Cubbin, *MS D*, p. lxiii.

<sup>10</sup> On Wulfstan's career, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 55-68; Andy Orchard, 'Wulfstan the Homilist', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 494-95; Dorothy Whitelock, 'A Note on Wulfstan the Homilist', *English Historical Review*, 52 (1937), 460-65; and *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, rev. edn (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976), pp. 7-17.

<sup>11</sup> Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 61, describes him as a 'statesman, reformer, canonist, legislator, and homilist'.

<sup>12</sup> See above, n. 5.

<sup>13</sup> On the scholarly history of the so-called 'Wulfstan's imitators', see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 110-14.

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<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, the Wulfstanizing efforts of the author of *HomU* 27, explored by Donald Scragg, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homily XXX: Its Sources, its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and its Style', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 197-212 (p. 208); and Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford: Whitkins, 1992), pp. 199-217 (pp. 210-11).

<sup>15</sup> I owe the phrases *constrained usage* and *active repertoire* to Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So many people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Medieval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55-106. They use the phrases to refer mainly to orthographic and phonetic features, however, whereas the phrases are applied here to lexical items. On Wulfstan's tendency to retain in his reworkings terms which are not normally part of his active repertoire, see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 90-98, 100, 102-03, 153-54, 176-81, 189-90.

<sup>16</sup> Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays by Jonathan Alexander, Patrick McGurk, Simon Keynes and Bernard Barr* (London: [n. p.], 1986), pp. 81-99 (p. 96).

<sup>17</sup> Wulfstan kept the verb (as well as the noun) in WÆLet 2 116. On the relationship between *WHom* 9 and Ælfric's homily on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 304-06.

<sup>18</sup> For a summary of Wulfstan's stylistic traits, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 87-98; and A. P. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239-64.

<sup>19</sup> On Wulfstan's word-formation ability, see Don W. Chapman, 'Motivations for Producing and Analyzing Compounds in Wulfstan's Sermons', in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics (1996)*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Marcin Krygier, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 112 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 15-21; idem, 'Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning in Wulfstan's Echoic Compounds', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 101 (2002), 1-18; and Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'For Gode and for worolde: Wulfstan's Differentiation of the Divine and Worldly Realms through Word-Formation Processes', *English Studies*, 85 (2004), 281-96.

<sup>20</sup> While the Wulfstanian canon comprises approximately 66,600 Old English terms, the whole of the *COE* contains 3,029,324 Old English words. I would like to thank Professor Antonette di Paolo Healey for her generous help in the compilation of these figures.

<sup>21</sup> I use the term *word-field* as an equivalent to *word-family*, i.e. it refers to a group of terms made up by a simplex and the complexes which have that simplex either as their base (in derivatives) or as one of their lexemes (in compounds).

<sup>22</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 118.

<sup>23</sup> In WÆLet 2 13 Wulfstan replaced the Ælfrician phrase 'butan ælcere synne' [without any sin] (ÆLet 2 13) with a completely different phrase, viz. 'on fulre clænnesse' [with full purity].

<sup>24</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 108.

<sup>25</sup> Cp. Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', in *Essays in Medieval History: Selected from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society on the Occasion of its Centenary*, ed. by R. W. Southern (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 42-60 (p. 44).

<sup>26</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 109.

<sup>27</sup> The translation of the Riming poem relies on that provided by Ruth P. M. Lehmann, 'The Old English Riming Poem: Interpretation, Text and Translation', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 69 (1979), 437-49 (p. 444). The intransitive and impersonal use of *gōdian* is also recorded in ChronF 958.2, but this context follows ChronD 959.2 = ChronE 959.3 verbatim.

<sup>28</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', pp. 111-12.

<sup>29</sup> Cp. 'and geutlageden þa ealle Frencisce men þe ær unlage rærdon and undom demdon, and unræd ræddon into ðissum earde' [and outlawed all the Frenchmen who had earlier promoted illegality and passed unjust judgement and counselled bad counsel in this country] (ChronC 1052.51-53 = ChronD 1052.58-59), where Wulfstan's 'and se ðe unlage rære oððe undom gedeme' [and whoever promotes illegality or passes unjust judgement] (LawIICn 15.1) is taken one step further; see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 234-35.

<sup>30</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 115; cp. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, §159.

<sup>31</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. and ed. by Michael Swanton, new edn (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 115; Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042*, p. 225.

<sup>32</sup> On the influence of Wulfstanian compositions on the last three contexts, see *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, King's College London Medieval Studies 4, 2nd edn (London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 1989), pp. 90 and 104-07; and Neil Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; rpt. 1990), p. 162 (no. 130), respectively.

<sup>33</sup> See Andreas Fischer, 'Lexical Change in Late Old English: From *æ* to *lagu*', in *The History and the Dialects of English: Festschrift for Eduard Kolb*, ed. by Andreas Fischer, *Anglistische Forschungen* 203 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1989), pp. 103-04.

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<sup>34</sup> M. R. Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', *English Studies*, 61 (1980), 206-23 (pp. 214-17).

<sup>35</sup> The adjective *unsideful* is recorded twice in the *COE* (viz. *ÆGI* 321.12 = *AntGI* 6 153, where it renders *L impudicus* 'shameless, unchaste'); on the relationship between Ælfric's *Glossary* and the glosses in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 32 and London, British Library, MS Additional 32246, see Robert George Gillingham, 'An Edition of Abbot Ælfric's Old English-Latin Glossary with Commentary' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1981), pp. 38-71.

<sup>36</sup> The collocation *lufian + ðēaw* is attested three times in the *COE*.

<sup>37</sup> On the relationship between these texts, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 304-06.

<sup>38</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 108, suggests that the closest phrase in the Wulfstanian canon is 'wel oftost aa' [fully most often always] (*WHom* 6 110).

<sup>39</sup> On the policies of Edgar to which this statement is likely to refer, see Shashi Jayakumar, 'Some Reflections on the "Foreign Policies" of Edgar "the Peaceable"', *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001), 17-37.

<sup>40</sup> The adjective *deriendlic* 'hurtful, mischievous' is much more favoured, particularly by Ælfric, whose works record a nominal phrase with this adjective on fourteen occasions.

<sup>41</sup> See *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), p. 25; Karl Jost, Review of *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure, *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 10 (1959), 75-77; Peter Clemoes, 'The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration', *Anglia*, 78 (1960), 265-83; and Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>42</sup> Cp. the presence of *æ* in *LitBen* 7.6 3; see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>43</sup> On the *grið* word-field in the Wulfstanian canon, see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, ch. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik'.

<sup>45</sup> The presence of this verb in *ChronD* 975 might have been influenced by the fact that the same verb appears in *ChronE* 975. Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 121, considers the latter to be the original text from which the poem was developed because of the irregular rhythmical form of 'þe Eadgar kyning het ær þone halgan biscop', which appears in the two texts. The relationship between the two texts is still unclear, though. In *The Peterborough Chronicle: The Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1954), p. 28, Whitelock argues instead that *ChronE* 975 represents a summary of *ChronD* 975; cp. Irvine, *MS E*, p. lxi.

<sup>46</sup> Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', pp. 119-20; Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 47.

<sup>47</sup> Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 47.

<sup>48</sup> On the forms and etymology of *fēs(i)an*, see further Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'OE *fēs(i)an* / ME *fēsen* Revisited', *Neophilologus*, 90 (2006), 119-34.

<sup>49</sup> *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten: Swiss Studies in English 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959), p. 82.

<sup>50</sup> This concern is not restricted to his works, though: cp. 'helpe earmra manna georne, wuduwan and steopcildan and ælþeodigra manna' [help of poor men, widows, orphans and foreigners] (Conf 4 29.364-65) and 'þa wuduwan 7 þa stiopcild ne sceððað ge, ne hie nawer deriað' [do not injure widows or orphans, nor ever hurt them] (LawAfeI 34); see further Stephanie Hollis, "'The Protection of God and the King": Wulfstan's Legislation on Widows', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 443-60.

<sup>51</sup> But cp. 'swa man swyðor spæc embe rihte lage, swa mann dyde mare unlaga: hy arerdon unrihte tollas, & manige oðre unriht hi dydan' [the more one spoke about just law, the more one committed unlawful acts: they levied unjust tolls and did other wrongs] (ChronE 1086.26-28).

<sup>52</sup> For example, ChronC 1052.52 = ChronD 1052.2.59 and Ch 987 5 (cp. 'unlagagelde' in ChronE 1090.19); see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 234-35 and 247-48.

<sup>53</sup> Cp. 'þurh þæt þonne arised unsehtnesse betweoh twam cyningum & twam gebroðrum' [through that then there develops enmity between two kings and two brothers] in HomU 6 8-9.

<sup>54</sup> Cp. 'hit wyrsað wide mid mannum' [it becomes worse widely amongst men] (WPol 2.1.1 181).

<sup>55</sup> The ChronD 975 poem is much more restrained in its use of intensifying and echoic adverbs and adverbial phrases. It only records *oft and gelōme*, which seems to have been taken directly from the *Institutes of Polity* context (i.e. WPol 2.1.1 97), and *swyðe*.

<sup>56</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Francis Peabody Magoun*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger and Robert P. Creed (London: Allen, 1965), pp. 214-31 (p. 226).

<sup>57</sup> ChronE 975.15 has *munuclif* 'monastic life' instead; this compound, which is not recorded in the Wulfstania canon either, would also have maintained the alliteration.

<sup>58</sup> On the 'Northumbrian *Grið*', see further Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 154-55.