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

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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). 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. 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-Wulfstanian lexical features (many of them suggested by the wording of the original Ælfrician passage) amongst predominantly Wulfstanian 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. The dismissal of this idea came a few years later, when he readily presented in his Wulfstanstudien the poem in ChronD 975 as a Wulfstanian composition and that in ChronD 959 = ChronE 959 as one of the archbishop's reworkings of previous texts. Since then the two compositions have frequently been included without much hesitation in the ever-mushrooming Wulfstanian canon.

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'); (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; and (3) his general concern for the well-being of the Church and its representatives. 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, it is very easy to imagine a scenario in which Wulfstan, who held the archbishopric of York from 1002 to 1023, 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.

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, 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. 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.

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. 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 frid 'peace, security, protection' (WHom 19.51) and equivalent phrases with grid '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. AEJudgEp 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 AEJudgEp 82).

2. 'He ararde 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 araeran' [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. In any case, the clause in ChronD 959 = ChronE 959 relies on 'arærde Godes lof on his leode gehwaer' [exalted God's praise everywhere in his nation] (AEJudgEp 83). Notably, 'on his leode gehwaer' 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 underðod '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). The presence of the verb can however be explained by the close similarity between its context and Ælfric's 'him underþeodde to þam ðe 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, 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] (ÆJJudgEp 87) and the presence of δéod in ÆJJudgEp 84 ('ofer Engla δéode' [over the nation of the English]), because this could have prompted a person that way inclined to generate the compound.\(^\text{19}\)

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 Wulfstanian but are also somewhat common outside Wulfstan's compositions; (2) expressions which could be perceived to be Wulfstanianisms; (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).\(^\text{20}\)

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 past [...] [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 Wulfstanian 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 ðα hwile ðe + subject + libban is recorded on eight occasions in the Wulfstanian canon (e.g. WHom 15 21-22) and more than forty times outside the Wulfstanian compositions.

(3) 'Earnode pass georne' [readily merited this] (ChronD 959.4 = ChronE 959.5): the Wulfstanian canon records three contexts with earnian + georne and the same number can be found in non-Wulfstanian 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 pass georne earnian' [to merit this readily from God and all his holy men] (HomS 34 57).

(4) 'God him eac fylste past [...] [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 Wulfstanian works (WPol 3 52) and nine times outside them (e.g. ÆLS [Martin] 1109 and Instr 263-64).
'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 ÆElfrician 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 Wulfstanian canon (including some derivative contexts, e.g. LawVAt 4 = LawAtrVI 2.1) and five times outside it (e.g. ÆCHom I, 18 319.64 and HomM 7 45).21

'Butan gefeohhte' [without battle] (ChronD 959.9 = ChronE 959.11): this phrase goes back to its model 'buton ælcum gefeohhte' [without any battle] (ÆJudgEp 85). Jost notices that Wulfstan did not favour the collocation butan + ælc + noun (it is only recorded three times in his homilies).22 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 Wulfstanian 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-Wulfstanian texts).23

'Eal he gewilde be 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 wiSerwinnan' [controlled his enemies] in vEJudgEp 84), it is also common in the Wulfstanian 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-Wulfstanian texts do record this collocation (e.g. 'Iosue ða gewylde eal 5ast 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).

'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 Wulfstanian 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 Wulfstanian, 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 = LawVIAt 45). Outside the archbishop's works it is recorded on the same number of occasions, including HomU 59 29-30, a text with many Wulfstanian expressions. However, it is much more common both in Wulfstan's compositions and otherwise to find
the collocation *weordian + God* (or something / someone associated with Him): e.g. 'God weordodon' [honoured God] (LawVIII Atr 43), 'we sculon eac hine æfre weordian, Gode to wyrðmintite' [we must also honour Him, according to God's glory] (ÆLet 3 127) and 'geornlicost God weorpige' [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 Wulfstanian compositions, once with negative and once with positive connotations (viz. 'deofol ma and ma manna forlæerde & getihte to heora agenre unpearefe' [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 ylcæn' [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-Wulfstanian 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 + to + dative*: viz. WHom 4 16-17 ('bespannan to his unlarum' [attract to his bad teachings]) and HomM 2 20-21 ('he meeg bonne deoful byder bespanan him sylfum æfre ecelice to genybrunge and to forwyrdre' [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 Wulfstanian canon (WHom 5 81), while it is attested on thirty-three occasions (including derivative contexts) in non-Wulfstanian compositions.

The text contains a clear set of Wulfstanianisms, 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. 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. The typically Wulfstanian expressions in the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem are:

(1) 'Hit godode georne' (ChronD 959.2 = ChronE 959.3): as noted by Jost, *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
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LawVAt 36.1 = LawVIAtr 40.1 = LawIIICn 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).\(^{27}\)

(2) 'Swy5ost bara cyninga be aer 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' [*'swy5ost para cyninga be æfre gewurde'] + 'more than any other king who existed before him' [*'swy5or bonne aenig para cyninga be ær him gewurde']) as further evidence in favour of attributing this poem to Wulfstan.\(^{28}\) He points out that Wulfstan was keen on structures joining ær 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 + be æfre ær '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 + ær ('pæt ðu mæge hrædlicost cumon & eðelicost to þinre agenre cy53e bonan be 5u aer 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 ('pone maeston hearm dydon be efre hirod o55e here innon fri51ande 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), wide 'widely' (2x), swy5e 'very much, exceedingly' (2x), oft and gelome 'often and frequently', wide and side '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.\(^{29}\) 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).\(^{30}\) However, it is not necessary to accept that translation: both Swanton
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and Whitelock interpret the adverb as referring to an excess and translate this phrase as 'too fast' and 'too firmly', respectively.\(^{31}\)

4) 'He dyde swa him pеarf wæs' [he did as was necessary to him] (ChronD 959.4 = ChronE 959.5): the structure \(dоn + swа + \text{a pronoun in the dative} + \text{pearf} + bеon\) 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).\(^{32}\) Notably, however, the aforementioned structure is always followed by a verb in the same tense and mood as \(dоn\) which explains what is or was necessary to do, while here 'earnode (\(pæс georne\))' (see above) presents instead the consequence of Edgar's having done what he had to do.

5) 'Godes lаgе lufode' [loved God's law] (ChronD 959.5 = ChronE 959.6) and 'Godes lаgе 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 \(lаgу\) (< ON \(Ipg\) 'law') instead of the native \(oг\) to refer to divine laws.\(^{33}\) Nonetheless, this usage soon became widespread and even Ælfric employed the phrase \(Gоdеs lаgu\) in his later writings.\(^{34}\) 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 \(Gоdеs lаgе lufian\) is not otherwise recorded in the archbishop's works, while his standard collocation is \(Gоd lufian\) and \(Gоdеs lаgе fylgan\) '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 rіht heonan forо' [may one love God's justice henceforth] in LawVAt 26 = LawVIАtr 30, 'pe Gоdеs æ lufiаd' [who love God's law] in AЕLs [Maccabees] 268 and 'pe Gоdеs bebodаn lufigeô' [who love God's commandments] in Alc [Warn 35] 115). The collocation \((Gоdеs) lаgе smeagan\) is not very common in Wulfstan's works either: it only occurs in HomU 48 18 = LawICn 21 ('Gоdеs lаgа and lаra smeаgеn and спіrіаn' [to meditate on and ask about God's laws and teachings]). Outside the Wulfstanian canon \(sмеаgаn\) collocates in thirteen contexts either with \(æ\) or with \(bebod\) (e.g. 'pæт іс æ bine smeаgе' [that I may meditate on your law] in PPs 118.34, and 'ælсе dæге геornfullice smeаd ðа beбоdu 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:
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(6.a) 'He wearð wide geond þeoldan 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 weordian and weordian. 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-Wulfstanian ðéodland (see above; cp. weordian Godes naman, on which see above).

(6.b) 'þæt his goddaeda swyðran weorðan þonne misdaeda' [that his good deeds may be greater than his misdeeds] (ChronD 959.17-18 = ChronE 959.24-25): the contrast between göddæð (or 'gode dæda' in ChronE 959) and misdæð or other member of the dæð 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 misdaeda' [do penance for your misdeeds] in ÆLS [Memory of Saints] 132); however, non-Wulfstanian compositions do not record the specific contrast between misdæð and göddæð (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 Wulfstanian 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 ofermedium' [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-Wulfstanian texts and three times in the archbishop's works. The collocation of either of these nouns with a member of the lufian word-field is however not common in Wulfstanian 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).

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 + hætan, although both corpora contain similar expressions with a member of the hætan 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 'Dis is seo gærædnys, ðæ þæ尔æræd cyning & his witan gæræddon, 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 geaescum' [through memory and through queries]) and in LibSc 4.44, where it renders L de recordatione 'because of memory'.

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

(4) 'Ane misdaede 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)hætan 'to amend' (e.g. WHom 6 90) and andettan 'to confess' (e.g. WHom 14 30-31), but not with dôn, while this collocation is recorded in LS 9 535-36 ('hædon forgynyennesse 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 dôn responds to the echoic effect which it contributes to create (misdæd – dôn – unsidu) in a passage which is clearly dominated by the dentals /ð/ and /ð/.
(5) 'Hebene beawas innan þysan lande gebrohte' [brought heathen customs into this land] (ChronD 959.15-16 = ChronE 959.21): the phrase *hæðan ðeaw* is not otherwise recorded in the Wulfstanian canon (cp. 'þeawan ælðeodege' [foreign customs] in WHom 11 111 and 'hæpene 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 'elQeodige 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 ælcs 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 beode' [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 I 2.22.13 and Or I 6.25.9). Given that it is likely that the extant prose sections of the Benedictine Office represent Wulfstan's reworking of a pre-existing text, one cannot discard the possibility that the presence of the structure in LitBen 7.1 43 is attributable to constrained usage.
(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 grid (< ON grid) and did not use the native term in any of his compositions, while the phrase to 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 si3e' [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. 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 + geogud ('þæt cild for geogoðe sprecan 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 wipœrsacan' [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) 'be Eadgar kyning het ær þone halgan bispoc Æþælwold gestaðelian' [which King Edgar had commanded the holy bishop Æþælwold to establish] (ChronD 975.15-16): the verb (ge)staðe)lian / (ge)stað(e)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 staðelige' [I shall fix my mind on the Lord] in Jul 221b-22a). 45

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 tōbreccan).

(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. 46 Yet, Bethurum is wrong in stating that the verb 'appears outside this use in the Chronicle only in Wulfstan's work', 47 for it is also recorded in PrudGl I 194, where 'fesigende' renders L exegitans 'forcing out' and persecuens 'persecuting'. Furthermore, its contexts become more numerous if this verb is analysed as a non-West Saxon variant of the verb fysan. 48

(3) 'Wyedian bestryptan oft and gelome' [often and frequently widows were robbed] (ChronD 975.16-17): this clause finds its closest parallel in 'wyedian bestrypāð oft and gelome' [rob widows often and frequently] (WPol 2.1.1 97), as already noted by Jost. 49 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
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sculon retan’ [they must comfort widows and orphans] in WPol 2.1.2 59 = WPol 2.1.1 87), 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 unlag aarysan up siðdan' [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 yfel' 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 unlag aalge ealle 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). Yet, although unlagu is first attested in Wulfstan's works, it was quickly adopted by other eleventh-century authors. In Wulfstan's compositions unlagu tends to appear as the direct object of verbs referring either to 'promotion' (e.g. [a]rēr, 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. aweorpan, as in LawXAtrProl 2, or āffyllan, as in LawXAtr 2 = LawVAtr 1.1 = LawVIAtr 8 = LawCn 1018 3 = LawIICn 1). However, the collocation unriht(wisnes) / unlagu + (ā)rīsan is uncommon in Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions: it is never recorded in the archbishop's works, while unriht(wisnes) appears in this collocation only twice in texts not attributable to Wulfstan ('on þam yfelan timan arið seo unrihtwisnis' [that injustice developed in that evil time] in ÆHom 19 331-32; and the Wulfstan-sounding sentence 'on his dagan ælc riht afeol 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).

(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 + nŷde + yfelian + swyðe (WHom 20.1 5-6 = WHom 20.2 9 = WHom 20.3 9-10, WHom 5 14-15 and 40-41). 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 975.55

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.56 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 LawIVEdg 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').57 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 oþðe 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 bone cristendom mierde leng' [it may impede Christianity longer] in Or 6 7.138.14).

(3) 'Mynstra tostæncton' [dissolved monasteries] (ChronD 975.14): the verb töstencan 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 ÄCHom I, 17 315.60).

(4) 'aa æfter þam' [always after that] (ChronD 975.18): the collocation ð(a) + æfter + dative is not recorded anywhere else in the COE. The most common collocations with the adverb seem to be instead ð(a) + būtan ende [always without end] (e.g. WHom 1b 40, HomU 21 79-80) and ð(a) + siððan [always afterwards] (e.g. WHom 7a 36 and ÄEHom 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).58 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.
I would like to thank Professor David Dumville for having encouraged me to investigate the topic of this paper. I have conducted much of the research for this paper while being a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow; I therefore also wish to express my gratitude to the British academy, without whose financial support this study would not have been undertaken.

1 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://cts.umd.umich.edu/o/occ/>, 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).

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

3 Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 122.


7 See, for instance, LawVIII Atr 43.

8 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.

9 Cubbin, MS D, p. lxiii.


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

12 See above, n. 5.

13 On the scholarly history of the so-called 'Wulfstan's imitators', see Jost, Wulfstansstudien, pp. 110-14.

I owe the phrases *constrained usage* and *active repertoire* to Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So meny 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.


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.

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.


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.
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).

22 Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 118.

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

24 Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 108.


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

28 Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', pp. 111-12.

29 Cp. 'and geutlageden þa calle Frænceisc 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 þe unlage rære oðde 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.

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


33 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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34 M. R. Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', English Studies, 61 (1980), 206-23 (pp. 214-17).


36 The collocation luflan + ðeaw is attested three times in the COE.

37 On the relationship between these texts, see Bethurum, The Homilies of Wulfstan, pp. 304-06.

38 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).

39 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.

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


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

43 On the grid word-field in the Wulfstanian canon, see Pons-Sanz, Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts, ch. 4.

44 Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik'.

45 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 'pe Eadgar kyning het ær þone halgan bispoc', 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.
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46 Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', pp. 119-20; Bethurum, The Homilies of Wulfstan, p. 47.

47 Bethurum, The Homilies of Wulfstan, p. 47.

48 On the forms and etymology of fes(i)an, see further Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'OE fes(i)an / ME fesen Revisited', Neophilologus, 90 (2006), 119-34.


50 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 'pa wuduwan 7 pa stiopcild ne sceðdað ge, ne hie nower deriað' [do not injure widows or orphans, nor ever hurt them'] (LawAfEl 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.

51 But cp. 'swa man swyðor spæc embe rihte lage, swa mann dyde mare unlaga: hy ærerdon 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).

52 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.

53 Cp. 'þurh þæt ponne arising ðe unschentnesse betweoh twam cyningum & twam gebroðrum' [through that then there develops enmity between two kings and two brothers] in HomU 6 8-9.

54 Cp. 'hit wyrsæð wide mid mannum' [it becomes worse widely amongst men] (WPol 2.1.1 181).

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


57 ChronE 975.15 has munucîlf 'monastic life' instead; this compound, which is not recorded in the Wulfstanian canon either, would also have maintained the alliteration.

58 On the 'Northumbrian Grid', see further Pons-Sanz, Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts, pp. 154-55.