

**Archbishop Wulfstan, his manuscripts, and the texts within: A study
of codicologically independent booklets in eleventh-century episcopal
manuscripts**

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Abstract

This thesis is a codicological study of three manuscripts assembled by scribes working with Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023). Previous scholarship has shown that each manuscript was created out of a series of codicologically independent units, which are referred to in this study as booklets. However, the implications of Wulfstan's use of this method of manuscript construction have never been fully explored. As this thesis demonstrates, Wulfstan used booklets to great effect to create thematic groupings of texts by himself and other authors which he assembled into manuscripts or used as individual unbound compilations.

All three manuscripts are, to varying degrees, considered copies of Wulfstan's *Commonplace Book*, an episcopal miscellany containing a mix of administrative, legal, homiletic, and regulatory texts used by Archbishop Wulfstan in the execution of his archiepiscopal duties.

Chapter 1 examines Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek G.K.S 1595 (4°), an assemblage of pre-existing and newly created booklets likely created as a gift for Bishop Gerbrand of Roskilde in 1022. The manuscript contains Latin texts arranged into thematic groupings using booklets, which would have been essential for a reformist bishop. The texts covered many of the themes shown to be important to Wulfstan through his own work and suggests the manuscripts was an ideological collection as well as a functional one. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, ff. 114-179, which is the subject of chapter 2, is a source compilation of primarily epistolary material personally used by Wulfstan. The manuscript was augmented more than once with additional booklets as Wulfstan expanded his source collection and demonstrates how booklets could be used to create fluid compositions that contradict modern perceptions of the book as a discrete and unchanging object.

Chapters 3 and 4 both examine London, British Library. Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177. The third chapter demonstrates how the manuscript was likely never used by Wulfstan as a single compilation but instead as unbound booklets. The fourth chapter then examines its three Old English booklets to show how Wulfstan compiled vernacular texts into concise ideological pamphlets containing a mix of homiletic, political, and legal material aimed at different areas of late Anglo-Saxon society.

The conclusion of this thesis draws together the themes of the various chapters to propose other avenues for future research relating to modern editing practices of Wulfstan's texts, the prevalence of booklets in other episcopal manuscripts, the presence of trained scribes operating in Wulfstan's administrative entourage, and the implications booklets have for the problematic Commonplace Book theory attached to so many Wulfstanian manuscripts.

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70-177

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List of Manuscript Abbreviations

Add. 3206 - Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3206

Barlow 37 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (S.C. 6464)

Bodley 718 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718 (S.C. 2632)

Brussels 8558-63 - Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 8558-63 (2498), ff. 132-153

BSM 63 - Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 63

Corpus 190 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 190

Corpus 201 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201, pp. 8-160, 167-176

Corpus 265 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 265, pp. 1-268

Corpus 383 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383

Corpus 419 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 419

Copenhagen - Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek G.K.S. 1595 (4°)

CSM 31 - Châlon-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 31

Harley 55 - London, British Library, Harley 55, ff. 1-4

Hatton 42 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42 (S.C. 4117)

Hatton 113 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (S.C. 5210)

Hatton 114 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (S.C. 5134)

Hatton 115 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (S.C. 5135)

Junius 121 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (S.C. 5232)

Nero - London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177

Paris 3182 - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3182

Paris 10575 - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10575

Rouen 1382 - Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1382 (U. 109), ff. 173-198

St. John's B.20 - Cambridge, St John's College B. 20 (42)

Tiberius A. iii - London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii

Tiberius A. xiii - London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii

Tiberius A. xv - London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. xv

Vespasian - London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv., ff. 114-179

Vespasian D. ii - London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. ii

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List of Abbreviations

ASC

- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

ASE

- *Anglo-Saxon England*.

ASMMF

- *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*.

Bethurum, *Homilies*

- Bethurum, Dorothy, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957).

Bullough, *Alcuin*

- Bullough, Donald, A., *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation: Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, 2004).

Cross and Hamer, *WCCL*

- Cross, J. E. and Hamer, Andrew, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge, 1999).

Cross, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*

- Archbishop Wulfstan of York, *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile: Vol. XXV*, eds. James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg (Copenhagen, 1993).

EEMSF

- Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile.

EETS

- *Early English Texts Society*

EHD I

- Whitelock, Dorothy, *English Historical Documents: Volume I: c.500-1042* (London, 1955).

EHR

- *English Historical Review*.

EME

- *Early Medieval Europe*.

Gameson, Book

- Gameson, Richard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume I: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2012).

Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen'

- Gerritsen, Johan, 'The Copenhagen Wulfstan manuscript a codicological study', *English Studies*, 79 (1998), pp. 501-511.

Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist*

- Gneuss, Helmut and Lapidge, Michael, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014).

JEGP

- *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.

JEH

- *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.

Jost, *Polity*

- Archbishop Wulfstan of York, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical": Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, by Karl Jost (ed.) (Bern, 1959).

Ker, *Catalogue*

- Ker, N. R., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1975).

Ker, 'Handwriting'

- Ker, N. R., 'The handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (eds.), *England before the Conquest: Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315-331.

Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*

- Lionarons, Joyce Tally, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan* (Woodbridge, 2010).

Loyn, *Wulfstan*

- Archbishop Wulfstan of York, *A Wulfstan Manuscript (British Library Cotton Nero A. i.: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile Vol. XVII*, Henry R. Loyn (ed.) (Copenhagen, 1971).

Mann, 'Development'

- Mann, Gareth, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in Matthew Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 235-278.

MGH

- *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

Rabin, *Political Writings*

- Rabin, Andrew, *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York* (Manchester, 2015).

Robinson, 'Units'

- Robinson, P. R., 'Self-contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), pp. 231-238.

Robertson, *Laws*

- Robertson, A. J., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge, 1925).

Sauer, 'Transmission'

- Sauer, Hans, 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', in Paul Szarmach (ed.), *Old English Prose: Basic Readings* (London, 2000), pp. 339-393.

TCBS

- *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*

Townend, *Wulfstan*

- Matthew Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004).

TRHS

- *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*.

Tunberg, *Wulfstan*

- Archbishop Wulfstan of York, *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile: Vol. XXV*, (eds.) James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg (Copenhagen, 1993).

Wigorniensis

- *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* (Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection/Excerptiones *Ecgberhti*)

Wormald, 'Æthelred'

- Wormald, Patrick, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', in David Hill (ed.) *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 47-80.

Wormald, 'Holiness'

- Wormald, Patrick, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in Patrick Wormald (ed.) *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225-251.

Wormald, *MEL*

- Wormald, Patrick, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999).

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Introduction

This thesis is a codicological study of three manuscripts which have played an important part in the construction of the identity of Archbishop Wulfstan of York, one of the most important political and religious figures of eleventh-century England. During his lifetime he produced some of the most significant texts of the late Anglo-Saxon period which attempted to guide the country through multiple crises as the nation was wracked by repeated waves of invasion by Vikings compounded by weak governance. The three manuscripts examined in this thesis all offer glimpses into Wulfstan's life and personality, his political philosophy, and his status as an archbishop in the early eleventh century.

Fully understanding the manuscripts, the texts they contain and the way the manuscripts are constructed is essential because Wulfstan is an historical figure constructed through his texts rather than by the historical record. He lacks a contemporary *vita* and very little was known about his early life until recent work by scholars. For a long time his family remained unidentified. Nor was it known whether he was trained as a monk or within the reformist tradition.¹ However, we can now be fairly confident that his family were prominent landowners in the Worcester area and that he was educated at Peterborough.² He became Bishop of London in 996 before ascending to the archbishopric of York only six years later. While much of his activity during his time in London remains uncertain, his swift promotion was a sign of his talents being recognised.³ Wulfstan proceeded to hold

¹ Wormald, Patrick, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State Builder', in Townend, *Wulfstan*, pp. 13-14.

² Cubitt, Catherine, 'Personal names, identity and family in Benedictine Reform England', in Steffen Patzold and Karl Ubl (eds.), *Verwandtschaft, Name und soziale Ordnung (300-1000)* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 234.

³ Rabin, Andrew, 'Wulfstan at London: Episcopal Politics in the Reign of Æthelred', *English Studies*, 97 (2016), pp. 186-206, esp. pp. 201-202.

York in plurality with Worcester until 1016, when he was forced to hand over Worcester to a suffragan bishop named Leofsige.⁴ Despite relinquishing the title, he retained influence over Worcester as we know that he continued to use lands associated with the see as a source of income for some time after 1016.⁵ Wulfstan was one of the few constant figures of power during the chaotic years of Swein's conquest of England in 1013, Æthelred's flight into exile, Sweyn's unexpected death in early 1014, Æthelred's return later that year, and then Cnut's eventual victory in 1016 following Æthelred's death.⁶ It is unclear how Wulfstan negotiated his loyalties during that time, but he undoubtedly played a pivotal role in the transitions of power and remained a prominent figure in the Anglo-Saxon state right up until his death in May 1023.⁷ His burial at Ely is recorded in the *Liber Eliensis*.⁸

During his career Wulfstan wrote a wide array of texts, the most famous of which is his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*,⁹ a homily detailing the moral failings of the English and their rulers, directly tying their abandonment of God's law to the chaotic state of affairs in which the nation found itself. His other surviving sermons can be generally grouped into thematic interests such as eschatology, the Christian faith, and ecclesiastical duty.¹⁰ Wulfstan wrote law codes for both Æthelred (V-X) and Cnut (I-II). Many of his codes for Æthelred had an ecclesiastical character and sought to correct moral failings through penance as much as punishing what we would understand today as crime. Indeed, some of his codes promoted clemency and avoided capital punishment in all but the most extreme cases.¹¹ His codes for

⁴ Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 15.

⁵ Baxter, Stephen, 'Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property', in Townend, *Wulfstan*, p. 163.

⁶ Rabin, *Political Writings*, pp. 7-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸ *Liber Eliensis* ed. Blake, E. O (London, 1962), II, ch. 87.

⁹ *Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, *Methuen's Old English Library* (London, 1952).

¹⁰ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 29-35.

¹¹ Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 341-345.

Cnut are seen by many modern scholars as a culmination of his legal writing and in many ways they were a restatement of much of the content of Æthelred's laws following the return to stable government under the Danish king.¹² Wulfstan's fixation on the correction of society was also present in his political tracts, many of which were edited together into the text known as *Institutes of Polity*.¹³ *Polity* is traditionally understood by modern scholars as a series of chapters which set out the duties for each level of society from the king at the top, all the way down to widows. Much of the work Wulfstan produced was concerned with contemporary society and its failings, which has allowed scholars to understand who he was through his motivations to reconstruct England as a 'Holy Society'.¹⁴

Running parallel to his work as an author is Wulfstan's activity as a compiler of texts. This has been observed within his own writing as some of his homilies, such as the one edited by Dorothy Bethurum as *Isaiah on the Punishment of Sin* (Bethurum XI), take the form of multiple extracts strung together by a few sentences.¹⁵ On a larger scale, Wulfstan's influence has been identified in a canon law collection originally known as *Excerptiones Ecgberhti*, that was later edited by James Cross and Andrew Hamer under the title of *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*.¹⁶ The canon law collection used sources known to Wulfstan such as the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, *Collectio canonum Quadripartitus*, *Ansegisus' Capitularium* and other councils of the church and many other texts, many of them

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 349-352; Richards, Mary P., 'I-II Cnut: Wulfstan's *Summa*?', in Stefan Jurasinski, Lisi Oliver, and Andrew Rabin (eds.), *English Law before Magna Carta: Felix Liebermann and Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 137-156.

¹³ Jost, Karl, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical": Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, (Bern, 1959).

¹⁴ Wormald, Patrick, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in Patrick Wormald (ed.) *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225-251.

¹⁵ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 331-332.

¹⁶ Cross, J. E. and Hamer, Andrew, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge, 1999); for earlier scholarship see Aronstam, Robin Ann, *The Latin Canonical Tradition in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Excerptiones Egberti* (Columbia Univ. D.Phil Thesis, 1974).

Carolingian in origin.¹⁷ Its association with Wulfstan and identification of its sources by Cross and Hamer has been vital for modern understanding of Wulfstan and his influences and is another way that historians have been able to build a picture of who Wulfstan was. The collection survives in two recensions, the earlier of which is a more focused compilation of sources, while the later, larger recension has been significantly augmented with additional sources and has lost its original coherence. Cross and Hamer tentatively ascribed its creation, or at least later augmentation to Wulfstan; however, Michael Elliot's more recent work has provided a strong case for augmentation rather than creation and has proposed that the title be changed to *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* to distance it from the idea that Wulfstan was its original creator.¹⁸

Despite Wulfstan's powerful position in Anglo-Saxon England and the many works he wrote and compiled, he was not afforded a prominent place in historical accounts of the time.¹⁹ Indeed, he remained largely an unknown figure until well into the modern era. He was afforded only three short mentions in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle which relate to his accession as Bishop of London, a dedication of a church at Ashingdon with Cnut in 1020, and his death three years later.²⁰ He was not even identified with the Bishop of London mentioned in the chronicle until the 1930s.²¹ Similarly, Wulfstan's involvement in monastic

¹⁷ Cross and Hamer, *WCCL*, p. 25.

¹⁸ Elliot, Michael, *The Worcester Collection of Canons*, a paper given at the Fourteenth International Congress of Canon Law (unpublished, 2012), http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliot/manuscripts/texts/Elliot_14ICMCL_paper.pdf. Accessed 24th October 2017, 15:15; Elliot, Michael, *Canon Law Collections in England ca. 600-1066: The Manuscript Evidence*, (Toronto Univ. D.Phil Thesis, 2015), pp. 169-187.

¹⁹ Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (1942), p. 25.

²⁰ Wormald, 'Eleventh-Century State-Builder', p. 13.

²¹ Whitelock, Dorothy, 'A Note on the Career of Wulfstan the Homilist', *The English Historical Review*, 52 (1937), pp. 460-5.

reform has been, until recently, either overlooked in favour of depicting him as a 'declamatory moral homilist', or implicitly assumed.²²

Unjust as it might seem that Wulfstan's important role in history was not recognised for so long, there are several factors which offer a degree of justification. His distinguished forebears, Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (d. 984),²³ Archbishop Dunstan (d. 988),²⁴ Archbishop Oswald of York (d. 992),²⁵ were all subjects of hagiographies shortly after their deaths, and were canonised by the Church, which helped to cast long shadows over those who continued their reformist efforts. Wulfstan's relationship to his nephew, the later eleventh-century saint Wulfstan II of Worcester, might also have been intentionally downplayed in the biographies of Coleman and William of Malmesbury, who wished to avoid not only accusations of nepotism against Wulfstan but also the shame which might arise from his father's status as a married priest and his mother's multiple marriages.²⁶ Furthermore, Wulfstan's reputation at Worcester worsened in the following centuries as his alienation of Worcester's lands to family members and holding of the see in plurality with York, were looked upon poorly by later generations.²⁷

It was not until c. 1900 that his impact on the late Anglo-Saxon state began to be recognised, as scholars identified texts written by him. His writing style built a distinctive

²² Hill, Joyce, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?' in Matthew Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 309-24.

²³ Ælfric, *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*, ed. Michael Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972).

²⁴ Both biographies by 'B' and Eadmer of Canterbury are edited together by Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge in *The Early Lives of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012).

²⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, ed. Michael Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009).

²⁶ Cubitt, 'Personal names', pp. 233-234.

²⁷ Baxter, 'Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property', pp. 163-164.

vocabulary, the pairing of specific phrases, and repetitive rhythmic structure²⁸ has allowed more and more texts to be attributed to him over the last century. Several sermons were first attributed to him by Humfrey Wanley in 1705,²⁹ who connected several homilies rubricated as *Sermo Lupi* as being written by the same person due to their distinctive voice. His homiletic writings became the central focus in the establishment of Wulfstan as an historical figure, which led to Arthur Napier's collection of Wulfstan's homilies in 1883.³⁰ Napier's collection assembled all homilies and homiletic fragments which contained trace elements of Wulfstan's style. Decades later, Dorothy Bethurum sought to remove all spurious works from the Wulfstan canon, focusing in on the texts which exhibited sufficient homiletic qualities and were, in her mind, sufficiently Wulfstanian.³¹ However, Bethurum's approach has been strongly critiqued both for producing editions which do not reflect the versions in the manuscripts,³² and for her seemingly arbitrary approach to deciding which texts are sufficiently homiletic. Jonathan Wilcox has more recently offered a nuanced middle ground that reintroduces some of the texts from Napier which he argues were arbitrarily excluded by Bethurum's revision.³³ Wilcox's approach also shows a greater appreciation for the medieval ambiguity of genre, which acknowledges that many texts do not fit the rigid homiletic model established by textual editors of the mid-twentieth century. This is highly

²⁸ Orchard, Andy, 'Crying Wolf: oral style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), pp.239-264.

²⁹ Wanley, Humfrey in George Hickes (ed.) *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus*, Vol. II, (1705), pp. 141-3. Although, as Dorothy Whitelock points out, Wanley incorrectly attributed numerous sermons to Wulfstan, in Whitelock, Dorothy, 'A Note on the Career of Wulfstan the Homilist', p. 460 n. 2.

³⁰ Napier Arthur (ed.), *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, (Berlin, 1883).

³¹ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 24-49.

³² Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', p. 315.

³³ Wilcox, Jonathan, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies', in Carola Hicks (ed.) *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1992), pp. 199-217; For more recent discussion on Wulfstan's homiletic canon see Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*.

pertinent to Wulfstan's work, whose law codes are distinctly homiletic in tone and whose homilies are at times unmistakably legalistic in tone.³⁴

Study of the cultural shifts and development of English law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had left Wulfstan's legal and political contributions largely forgotten and,³⁵ like his homiletic work, it was not until the modern era that his texts began to be attributed to him. In the nineteenth century, Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* and his Canons of Edgar were included in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, although neither was attributed to the archbishop.³⁶ Felix Liebermann's three-volume *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* included many of Wulfstan's texts, but often misdated or not associated with Wulfstan. It was not until 1932 that Karl Jost attributed Canons of Edgar to Wulfstan as well as the Old English *Regula Canonorum*,³⁷ thereafter providing the influential modern edition of *Institutes of Polity*;³⁸ Dorothy Whitelock identified Wulfstan as the author of The Laws of Edward and Guthrum,³⁹ and I-II Cnut;⁴⁰ and Dorothy Bethurum associated him with political tracts on Status (*Gepyncðu, Norðleoda Laga, Mircna Laga, Að, and Hadbot*) and the sanctuary text *Grið*.⁴¹ The identification and attribution of Wulfstan's legal and political texts arguably reached a peak in 2004 with a volume of conference proceedings celebrating Wulfstan's life,⁴² following on from Patrick Wormald's studies of Wulfstan's legal codes and

³⁴ Lawson, M. K., 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the homiletic element in the laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR*, 108 (1992), pp. 565-586.

³⁵ Rabin, *Political Writings*, pp. 46-47.

³⁶ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1840).

³⁷ Jost, Karl, 'Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia*, 56 (1932), pp. 265-315.

³⁸ Jost, Karl, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical": Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, (Bern, 1959).

³⁹ Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *EHR*, 56 (1941), pp. 1-21.

⁴⁰ Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *EHR*, 63 (1948), pp. 433-452; Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *EHR*, 70 (1955), pp. 72-85.

⁴¹ Bethurum, 'Six Anonymous Old English Codes', *JEGP*, 69 (1950), pp. 449-463.

⁴² Townend, Matthew (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004).

his hugely influential *Making of English Law*, which promoted Wulfstan as one of the defining figures of early English legal history.⁴³ Over the course of the twentieth century, Wulfstan has been transformed from an obscure figure into a prominent homilist and statesman of the late Anglo-Saxon era, achieved largely by the identification of his texts in manuscript.

These texts which had been so crucial in the rediscovery of Wulfstan's importance appeared alongside one another in only a handful of manuscripts, many of which were thought to have close associations with Worcester. This pattern was first observed by Mary Bateson,⁴⁴ who recognised that many of these manuscripts contained variations of the same collection of canonical, liturgical, homiletic, legal, political, and regulatory material. Collectively, she identified them as an ecclesiastical Commonplace Book because of the assorted nature of these texts, but that term would not be solidified in its association with the manuscript corpus until Dorothy Bethurum's article in 1942.⁴⁵ This was accompanied by Whitelock's article in which she identified Wulfstan's direct involvement in manuscript compilation,⁴⁶ resulting in the Commonplace Book manuscripts becoming an integral part of the discussion of Wulfstan as a historical figure. It was believed that Wulfstan had been responsible for the original assembly of these texts into a unified compilation. By tracing the Commonplace Book tradition and identifying which version of the collection of texts was the closest to his original, which Bethurum believed to be Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, it was hoped that scholars might gain a better understanding of Wulfstan and

⁴³ Wormald, Patrick, 'Æthelred', pp. 47-80; Wormald, Patrick, 'Holiness pp. 225-251; Wormald, *MEL*

⁴⁴ Bateson, Mary, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections, Made c. 1000 A.D.', *EHR*, 40 (1895), pp. 712-731. Bateson identified Corpus 190, Corpus 201, Corpus 265, Nero, Bodley 718, Junius 121, Paris 3182, Paris 10575, and Rouen 1382.

⁴⁵ Bethurum, Dorothy, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), pp. 916-929.

⁴⁶ Whitelock, 'Homilist and Statesman', pp. 30-31.

the timeline of how his texts developed. Wulfstan's association with various of the manuscripts was made even clearer with Neil Ker's identification of Wulfstan's hand at work in several books and others which contained examples of texts used as sources for many of Wulfstan's own works.⁴⁷

Throughout the twentieth century the idea of a "Commonplace Book" was frequently mentioned in studies which examined Wulfstan's texts but was rarely the central focus of dedicated research.⁴⁸ The first major advance in scholarship on the subject was Hans Sauer's work defining the parameters of the Commonplace Book by cataloguing the texts and manuscripts associated with the tradition.⁴⁹ Sauer took Barlow 37 as his base manuscript: a late twelfth-century manuscript with a possible Worcester origin⁵⁰ which contains entirely Latin texts, including a copy of *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*. Barlow 37 had been attributed to the Commonplace Book tradition decades earlier by Bethurum but had never been fully investigated because of its late date.⁵¹ Sauer then sought out any manuscripts containing

⁴⁷ Ker, Neil, 'Handwriting', pp. 315-31. The manuscripts identified by Ker are Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S 1595 (4°); London, British Library, Additional 38651, ff. 57-58; London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii, ff. 31-86, 106-150; London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii., ff. 1-118; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv., ff. 114-179; London, British Library, Harley 55, ff. 1-4; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42 (S.C. 4117); York, Minster Library, Additional 1.

⁴⁸ Fowler, Roger, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace-Book' and the "Canons of Edgar'", *Medium Ævum*, 32 (1963), pp. 1-10.

⁴⁹ Sauer, Hans, 'Zur Überlieferung und Anlage von Erzbischof Wulfstans 'Handbuch'', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 36 (1980), pp. 341-84; this chapter was also translated into English and republished as Sauer, Hans, "The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book'", in Paul Szarmach (ed.), *Old English Prose: Basic Readings* (London, 2000), pp. 339-393.

⁵⁰ The attribution to Worcester is seemingly based only its texts, many of which are associated with Wulfstan and the Commonplace Book. Michael Elliot suggests the same, see Elliot, Michael, *Canon Law Collections in England ca. 600-1066: The Manuscript Evidence*, (Toronto Univ. D.Phil Thesis, 2015), p. 36, n. 11

⁵¹ Bethurum, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', p. 917.

groupings of these texts which he thought were likely examples of the “Commonplace Book”, producing the following list:

- **Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 8558-63 (2498), ff. 132-153** [Brussels 8558-63]
Origin: s.xi¹ (Gneuss No. 808 / Ker No. 10).
- **Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 190** [Corpus 190]
pp. iii-xii, 1-294 – Origin: s.xi¹, Worcester; By s. xi med, Exeter; Additions s. xi med. – xi² (Gneuss No. 59 / Ker No. 45)
pp. 295-420 – Origin: s.xi med. and xi^{3/4}, Exeter (Gneuss No. 59.5 / Ker No. 45).
- **Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 265, pp. 1-268** [Corpus 265]
Origin: s. xi med – xi^{3/4}, Worcester. (Gneuss No. 73 / Ker No. 53).
- **Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek G.K.S. 1595 (4°)** [Copenhagen]
Origin: c. 1002-1023, Worcester and York; provenance: s. xi¹, Denmark (Roskilde) or s. xi ex. (Odense) (Gneuss No. 814 / Ker No. 99).
- **London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177** [Nero]
Origin: 1002 x 1023, Worcester or York (Gneuss No. 341 / Ker No. 146).
- **London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv., ff. 114-179** [Vespasian]
Origin: 1003x1023, Worcester or York (Gneuss No. 383 / Ker No. 204).
- **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (S.C. 6464)** [Barlow 37]
Origin: s. xii ex. or s. xiii in. (Worcester?) (Gneuss No. N/A / Ker No. N/A).
- **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718 (S.C. 2632)** [Bodley 718]
Origin: s. x² or x ex., England (Christ Church, Canterbury; Exeter; or Sherbourne);
provenance: s. xi², Exeter. (Gneuss No. 592 / Ker No. N/A)
- **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (S.C. 5232)** [Junius 121]
Origin: s. xi^{3/4} and additions s. xi² and xi ex. (Gneuss No. 644 / Ker No. 338).

- **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3182** [Paris 3182]

Origin: s. x/xi, Britain (Gneuss No. N/A / Ker No. N/A)

- **Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1382 (U. 109), ff. 173-198** [Rouen 1382]

Origin: s. xi¹ or xi med.; provenance: s. xii (Jumièges) (Gneuss No. 925 / Ker No. N/A).

Sauer's investigation revealed that Barlow 37 enjoyed strong textual links to other Commonplace Book manuscripts from the second half of the eleventh century, particularly Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, pp. 1-268 [Corpus 265] which he believed established a line of transmission to a lost compilation owned by Wulfstan. However, the variations in content across the corpus meant that Sauer was only able to identify lines of transmission for individual texts or groups of texts in the other manuscripts. This fractured line of transmission led him to conclude that Wulfstan created multiple original copies of the Commonplace Book.⁵² Each manuscript, Sauer suggested, had a different emphasis based on the different selections of texts.

These manuscripts contained texts from Sauer's list to wildly varying degrees so, to explain this, Sauer identified ten 'blocks' of texts which appear across his list of Commonplace Book manuscripts. These blocks, he believed, were component parts of Wulfstan's Commonplace Book that the archbishop used to assemble each copy. There were, however, several flaws in this theory. The blocks did not appear in all the manuscripts; the blocks did not account for all of each manuscript; the texts in each block did not always appear contiguously or in the same order in each manuscript; the very idea of these "blocks"

⁵² Sauer, 'Transmission', pp. 373-375.

used Barlow 37 as its base manuscript and so was biased towards that manuscript's contents; and the blocks Sauer identified were restricted to Latin texts mostly associated with the canon law collection, *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, present in only four of the ten manuscripts Sauer considered to be copies of the "Commonplace Book". The blocks proposed by Sauer were later expanded upon by Patrick Wormald, who increased their number from ten to thirteen and drew in more material found in Corpus 190, albeit still restricted to Latin texts.⁵³

Sauer's work was incredibly ambitious but, in trying to define what the Commonplace Book was, he also revealed significant flaws in his theory. He had shed some of the scrapbook quality of Bateson and Bethurum's earlier characterisation, but Sauer's list of texts was over generous and resulted in the boundaries of what constituted a Commonplace Book becoming simultaneously nebulous and restrictive. It allows for any manuscript associated with Wulfstan which contains texts fitting these parameters to be included, and then limits discussion of the various purposes these manuscripts could have served by associating them with the Commonplace Book.

Furthermore, with so many of the texts associated with the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, to what extent had Sauer simply identified the canon law collection? Cross and Hamer's own work on identifying *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* has served to separate the canon law collection from the wider tradition of Commonplace Book. This has had a major effect on our understanding of the Commonplace Book because it leaves very few texts associated with the tradition outside the bounds of *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, some of

⁵³ Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 210-224, with a table showing the content of the blocks on pp. 214-215.

which, such as *Polity*, appear in manuscripts not included in Sauer's list of Commonplace Book manuscripts.⁵⁴ The result of this can be observed in Michael Elliot's article on the Commonplace Book which splits the corpus into core and peripheral groups, a decision largely based upon whether the manuscripts contain a copy of *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*,⁵⁵ thereby dividing the Commonplace Book tradition in two and further highlights the incoherence of the theory.

Sauer's work had not solved the problem of understanding the supposed purpose of the Commonplace Book and the definition has continued to frustrate scholars who deal with the manuscripts. Patrick Wormald complained that the term Commonplace Book evoked a manuscript consisting of 'a set of random jottings',⁵⁶ which is entirely unrepresentative of Wulfstan's manuscripts which are demonstrative of an organised compilatory process. Despite the acknowledged problems, many scholars use these terms without questioning their accuracy. Some distance themselves from the term by using the phrase 'so-called', liberal application of quotation marks, or both.⁵⁷ Others accept the problematic nature of the term but continue to use it regardless.⁵⁸ The term persists because no one has yet found a suitable replacement, and there remains a belief that, even though it does not accurately capture the purposes of the manuscripts, it is an easy shorthand for a corpus of codices which are seen as variations of the same collection.

⁵⁴ Corpus 201 contains many texts which appear within other Commonplace Book manuscripts, particularly Junius 121, but is rarely included in lists of Commonplace Book manuscripts.

⁵⁵ Elliot, Michael, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised: The Structure and Development of "Block 7" on Pastoral Privilege and Responsibility', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 22 (2012), pp. 1-48.

⁵⁶ Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 202, 218-219.

⁵⁷ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings, passim*; Jones, Christopher A., 'A Liturgical Miscellany in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190', *Traditio*, 54 (1999), *passim*.

⁵⁸ Hill, Joyce, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?', in Townend *Wulfstan*, pp. 320-322.

Another problem with Sauer's selection of the material in Barlow 37 was that it was divorced from the codicological reality of the manuscript and ignored how these texts were treated in contemporary Wulfstan manuscripts. This is likely the result of Barlow 37's twelfth-century origin; similarly, Corpus 265, to which Barlow 37 bears the closest resemblance, was also written decades after Wulfstan's death. Michael Elliot took it upon himself to focus on Sauer's block VII to refine its parameters and transmission stemmata, but ultimately demonstrated that the order of texts in each of Sauer's blocks is too volatile to offer simple lines of conveyance.⁵⁹ Elliot, who was interested in *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, critiqued various of the choices made by Sauer and highlighted the importance of looking at the manuscripts themselves.⁶⁰ The issue which persisted through all of this is that the block theory still tended to serve the Commonplace Book tradition. The many caveats which had been raised against the Commonplace Book theory accentuated the arbitrary and imprecise nature of the definition of "Commonplace Book" which struggles to encapsulate all the texts in the various manuscripts. The result is that scholars choose how to limit the characterisation based on external factors rather than the content of the manuscripts.

Even though Sauer's blocks did not solve the problem of the evolution of the Commonplace Book, they possibly had an origin in the codicological structure of the original Wulfstanian manuscripts which conveyed the texts: independent codicological units that we may describe as booklets or *libelli*. Some of the most revealing inclusions in Sauer's list are two smaller examples of Commonplace Book material, Rouen 1382, and Brussels

⁵⁹ Elliot, Michael, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised: The Structure and Development of "Block 7" on Pastoral Privilege and Responsibility', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 22 (2012), pp. 1-48.

⁶⁰ Elliot, Michael, *The Worcester Collection of Canons*.

8558-63, which likely circulated as smaller unbound booklets containing Wulfstanian material. It is this which potentially holds the key to sorting out many of the flaws in previous attempts to shape the Commonplace Book structure into a manageable form. Rouen 1382 consists of four quires with the collation 1-2⁸, 3⁸ (lacks 3), 4⁸ (lacks 1-4),⁶¹ and contains texts associated with Corpus 190, Corpus 265, Nero, and Barlow 37.⁶² The damage sustained between quires 1 and 2 and the missing folios at the start of quire 4 suggest they circulated unbound. Cross does not speculate whether other quires were lost between 3 and 4, but all the material was copied by the same scribe, which suggests they were all part of the same compilation.

Brussels 8558-63 comprises three sections, only one of which, ff. 132-153 contains texts associated with the Commonplace Book: book IV of the *Poenitentiale pseudo-Egberti*, Handbook for a Confessor and the Canons of Theodore, all written in Old English.⁶³ However, ff. 132-153 did not begin as a coherent collection but rather as two separate quires, with the Handbook for a Confessor material in ff. 132-139, ending incompletely on the final folio, and the other penitential material on ff. 140-153, copied in full. Ker and Dumville are at odds whether the two quires are the work of one scribe or two scribes writing one quire each.⁶⁴ Even if it is unclear if the two quires have the same origin, there are crease marks which suggest the quires were once folded horizontally across the middle, indicating they were carried around unbound. Both of these instances demonstrate that early eleventh-

⁶¹ Thanks to Michael Elliot for providing me with a facsimile of the folios.

⁶² Cross, J. E., 'A Newly Identified Manuscript of Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1382 (U. 109), fols. 173r-198v', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), pp. 63-83.

⁶³ Fowler, Roger, 'A Late Old English Handbook for a Confessor', *Anglia* 83 (1965), pp. 1-34; Cooper, Tracey-Anne, 'Lay Piety, Confessional Directives and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2005), pp. 47-61.

⁶⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 9; Dumville, David, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictine History, A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 51-52.

century copies of portions of texts associated with Wulfstan's Commonplace Book circulated separately as smaller groups of unbound quires. What Sauer had potentially identified are thus the remnants of codicological booklets which had been copied into longer contiguous collections. This is a detail crucially overlooked in Commonplace Book scholarship, which has traditionally focused on the texts rather than the broader contexts of each manuscript.

This thesis will focus on the three Commonplace Book manuscripts in Sauer's list which are contemporary with Wulfstan and which the evidence suggests were compiled under his supervision. All three are constructed from multiple codicologically independent booklets, as has been acknowledged by previous scholarship examining the manuscripts, but not by scholarship relating to the Commonplace Book. Understanding how intrinsic booklets are to the structure of Wulfstan's manuscripts, and the myriad ways in which they were used across the three examples will also improve our appreciation of the fluid nature of medieval manuscripts and challenge the integrity of the Commonplace Book theory. The three manuscripts are:

- **Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek G.K.S. 1595 (4°)** [Copenhagen]
Origin: *c.* 1002-1023, Worcester or York; provenance: s. xi¹, Denmark (Roskilde) or s. xi ex. (Odense) (Gneuss No. 814 / Ker No. 99).
- **London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177** [Nero]
Origin: 1002 x 1023, Worcester or York (Gneuss No. 341 / Ker No. 146).
- **London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv., ff. 114-179** [Vespasian]
Origin: 1003x1023, Worcester or York (Gneuss No. 383 / Ker No. 204).

All three have had their origins attributed, in part or entirely, to Wulfstan's sees of York or Worcester. These three contemporary Wulfstan manuscripts are a vital resource for both the archbishop's own works and the sources from which he drew. Each one contains a mixture of both his texts and his sources which demonstrates that different considerations were at play when Wulfstan and his scribes assembled each collection. The three manuscripts all consist of small unbound quires or groups of quires called booklets or *libelli*. While the booklet structure of all three manuscripts has been acknowledged in major studies,⁶⁵ it has never been discussed in direct relation to how this might affect our understanding of Wulfstan's manuscripts more generally. The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that Wulfstan's primary method for assembling his texts was via booklets, which he used as smaller unbound quires to assemble his manuscript compilations. The findings in this thesis question the prevalent assumption that manuscripts were the default method of textual transmission. This has direct implications for how Wulfstan transmitted his texts and also challenges current editorial approaches to various of his works. More broadly these findings fit with what other scholars have found, regarding booklets in clerical miscellanies, suggesting that Wulfstan's method were part of a widespread tradition. Understanding how Wulfstan used booklets for the dissemination of texts, clerical regulatory material, and the promotion of his ideology, also improves our understanding of how important booklets were to the lives of working, pastorally active bishops in late Anglo-Saxon England. Finally, Wulfstan's use of booklets raises doubts over the coherence of the Commonplace Book theory. An assessment of these manuscripts subverts existing assertions that there was ever any single manuscript which Wulfstan considered to be his Commonplace Book, as it is

⁶⁵ *A Wulfstan Manuscript (British Library Cotton Nero A. i.: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile Vol. XVII, Henry R. Loyn (ed.) (Copenhagen, 1971); The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile: Vol. XXV, eds. James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg (Copenhagen, 1993); Mann, Gareth, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in Matthew Townend (ed.), Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 235-278.*

more likely that he favoured collections of booklets which could then be brought together for a wide variety of purposes. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that the Commonplace Book was in fact a common pool of texts stored in booklets from which Wulfstan drew to assemble dossiers of texts. These were then used to form manuscripts and smaller unbound compilations, which were later copied into contiguous codices, obscuring their booklet origins, and eventually being mistaken by modern scholars for remnants of a Commonplace Book. Each of the surviving contemporary Wulfstan manuscripts served divergent purposes, but this has been obscured by decades of assumptions based on the Commonplace Book theory.

The medieval booklet tradition and the problems of definition, survival, and identification.

Using booklets to assemble manuscripts was not a method unique to Wulfstan; it was a construction method which had existed prior to the eleventh century and continued long afterwards. It is important to understand the wider context of booklet use within manuscripts and their function as unbound or only scappily bound objects before continuing to examinations of the three manuscripts.

Use of unbound booklets is better understood in later centuries when the professionalisation of manuscript production provides substantial evidence of the *pecia*

system in use in European university towns.⁶⁶ However, it is only in the last few decades that scholarship has greatly expanded appreciation of the importance of booklets in early medieval manuscripts, both in bound manuscripts and as unbound collections of quires. An important study which established much of our current understanding is that by P. R. Robinson, which defines the characteristic traits used to identify self-contained codicological units (i.e., booklets) within manuscripts. Robinson listed the traits which indicate when a codicological unit in a manuscript might once have been an independent booklet:

- The beginning and end of a booklet coinciding with the beginning and end of a text or group of texts
- The dimensions of the leaves can be different to the rest of the manuscript. Although this is not guaranteed as cropping may have occurred
- Handwriting might be different, as might be layout
- Style of decoration may differ
- Different quire signatures
- Soiled outer pages
- Number of leaves to a quire might be different
- The layout might change towards the end of a quire as the scribe tried to squeeze in a text before they ran out of space; or a smaller final quire was added to finish the text.
- Last pages may be blank when the text ended, leaving some pages spare. Or it may have been cut off.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Pollard, Graham, 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities' in M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (eds.) *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), pp. 145-161; Ray, Alison, *The Pecia System and its use in the Cultural Milieu of Paris, c. 1250-1330* (University College London, D.Phil Thesis, 2015).

⁶⁷ Robinson, P. R., 'Self-contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), pp. 231-238.

While Robinson's has been cited in many studies in the intervening decades, there have been few studies of booklets in early medieval manuscript culture. The intention of keeping quires unbound for practical purposes such as ease of transportation and flexibility of use has been covered by a limited amount of scholarship,⁶⁸ as has discussion of vocabulary relating to the use of loose bindings with book-satchels.⁶⁹ One of the most important works on this subject is Richard Gameson's landmark edited volume on the history of the book.⁷⁰ Chapters from this volume, by both himself and other prominent scholars, as well as other works reference the use of booklets in relation to various methods of binding,⁷¹ the circulation of books between England and the continent,⁷² and in the transmission of liturgical rites,⁷³ prayerbooks,⁷⁴ homiliaries and poetry,⁷⁵ and law books.⁷⁶ These chapters discuss a wide range of manuscripts, demonstrating that discussions of the construction of manuscripts was not the reserve of art historians examining *de luxe* manuscripts but could be applied to utilitarian working manuscripts such as those associated with Wulfstan.

⁶⁸ Vezin, Jean, 'Quaderni simul legati: recherches sur les manuscrits en cahiers', in Pamela Robinson and Rivkah Zim (eds.), *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to MB Parkes* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 64-72.

⁶⁹ Sharpe, Richard, 'Latin and Irish words for 'book-satchel'', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), pp. 152-156.

⁷⁰ Gameson, Richard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume I: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2012).

⁷¹ Gullick, Michael, 'Bookbindings', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 294-309, esp. 307-308.

⁷² Gameson, Richard, 'The circulation of books between England and the Continent, c. 871 - c. 1100', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 344-372, esp. p. 369.

⁷³ Pfaff, Richard, 'Liturgical books', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 449-459, esp. 450, 453; Palazzo, Eric, *A History of Liturgical Books: from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, Trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, 1998), pp. 37-38.

⁷⁴ Raw, Barbara, 'Anglo-Saxon Prayerbooks', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 460-467, esp. 464.

⁷⁵ Scragg, Donald, 'Old English homiliaries and poetic manuscripts', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 553-561, esp. 554 and 559; Scragg, Donald, 'The compilation of the Vercelli Book', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973), pp. 189-207.

⁷⁶ Wormald, Patrick, 'Law books', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 525-536, esp. 528-529.

However, the booklet is not yet fully accepted as central to how medieval scribes, compilers and users comprehended manuscripts. A clear example of this can be found in Elaine Treharne's recent study of medieval perceptions of the manuscript which relegates discussion of booklets to only a few pages.⁷⁷ Treharne acknowledges the presence of unbound booklets and their use in the construction of manuscripts, but concludes that 'the ways in which manuscripts are depicted suggests that the *idea* of the book is as a whole, well-formed, *hefty* object,'⁷⁸ This approach, while acknowledging the process of creating a manuscript, is still firmly rooted in assessing the perception of manuscripts by the end result. Even in art and literature there is undoubtedly a bias towards depictions of books and volumes as bound items, without acknowledging the flexible nature of individual booklets.

The lack of surviving unbound examples prevents us from fully appreciating how medieval users perceived them because we are reliant on those booklets which survive in bound codices. One of the purposes of binding a manuscript was to increase its chances of survival by protecting its folios, so unbound quires by their very nature are more likely to have perished. This is often the result of the booklets being written for more "lowly" functions, such as quotidian clerical and episcopal rites, so that the cost of binding them was deemed unnecessary. They might also go unrecorded in secular and ecclesiastical booklists, and records of manuscripts gifted to an institution, which might only mention *de luxe* manuscripts of which the owners wished to keep track.⁷⁹ In later centuries, these issues were

⁷⁷ Treharne, Elaine, M., *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts: The Phenomenal Book* (Oxford, 2021). The brief discussion and summary dismissal of the importance of booklets within the medieval perception of manuscripts can be found on pp. 155-158.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁷⁹ Stratford, Jenny and Webber, Teresa, 'Bishops and kings: private book collections in medieval England', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Teresa Webber and Peter Hoare (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I: To 1640* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 180-181.

even worse for Old English texts, which had become unreadable to their owners.⁸⁰ However, it is known that such booklets were gifted, at least in the fourteenth century, as Evesham Abbey received several 'grammatical' *quaterni* as unbound booklets.⁸¹

Those which survive in bound manuscripts, and even the unbound volumes recorded in book lists, do not capture the crucial fluidity of booklets. One of the aims of this thesis is to demonstrate the flexibility of booklets as objects for the transmission of text. Once created, they could circulate unbound, be compiled into manuscripts and had the potential to switch between these two states repeatedly. Manuscripts could be unbound for the process of transportation. ⁸² Joyce Hill has also demonstrated that Corpus 190 comprised a collection of material consisting of a large "finished" compilation combined with unbound booklets. This material was given to Leofric of Exeter who took the booklets from Worcester and supplemented them with additional material.⁸³ The material from Worcester likely stemmed from the same tradition which created many of the booklets found in Wulfstan's own manuscripts.

As with the Commonplace Book tradition, other types of working manuscript belonging to priests and bishops raise difficulties in terminology. The use of booklets in working manuscripts extended well beyond Wulfstan as there is strong evidence for a similar continental tradition in prior centuries, with direct parallels to traits in the

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

⁸¹ Orme, Nicholas, 'Schools and schoolmasters (to c. 1550)', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Teresa Webber and Peter Hoare (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I: To 1640* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 423.

⁸² Gameson, 'The circulation of books', p. 352.

⁸³ Hill, Joyce, 'Two Anglo-Saxon bishops at work: Wulfstan, Leofric and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190', in Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe* (Berlin 2011), pp. 145-61.

manuscripts examined in this thesis. The use of booklets is better documented on the continent because of better preservation of manuscripts, particularly working books such as priestly compilations. Booklets were a central feature of continental priests' handbooks and, as Carine van Rhijn's has shown, the high degree of diversity between the contents of booklets meant that no two manuscripts were the same.⁸⁴ Frederick Paxton has explored a ninth-century manuscript from Lorsch known as, *Biblioteca Apostolia MS Pal. Lat. 485* which he found to be compiled out of multiple booklets of thematically arranged texts.⁸⁵ The booklets were written between the years 860-875, motivated by the need to educate the secular clergy as part of Carolingian reform efforts. While some of these booklets may have been made prior to the manuscript's compilation, there were scribes at work across the manuscript who Paxton suggests indicate that this was not a miscellany compiled haphazardly, but a deliberate compilatory effort.⁸⁶ There was also a degree of curation at work, as the compilers reorganised the texts from their exemplars, modified some of their choices, and discarded unwanted elements.⁸⁷

The most important collection of texts for a bishop was his pontifical, bringing together liturgical texts for use in episcopal rites. Hamilton has shown how these could also acquire ancillary texts linked to a bishop's interests.⁸⁸ Further, in his work on the creation of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* (PRG) Henry Parkes, who cites Rasmussen's work which

⁸⁴ Van Rhijn, Carine 'The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period', *Settimane di studio della fondazione centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 61 (2013), p. 698.

⁸⁵ Paxton, Frederick, 'Bonus liber: a late Carolingian clerical manual from Lorsch (Biblioteca Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 485)', in Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A. J. Tibbetts (eds.) *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History Dedicated to Stephan Kuttner* (Washington, 1990), pp. 1-30.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸⁸ Hamilton, Sarah, 'The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective', in David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannh Williams (eds.) *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 411-428.

identified early pontificals emerging out of *ad-hoc* assemblages of booklets,⁸⁹ has emphasised the development of compilatory manuscripts through organic processes of accretion.⁹⁰ Parkes' analysis of tenth- and eleventh-century German manuscripts provides a model for the compilation of manuscripts from booklets and other collections and his conclusions mirror many of my own for Copenhagen, Vespasian, and Nero.⁹¹

As will be shown in the following chapters, these features are strikingly similar to those of the Copenhagen, Vespasian, and Nero booklets. Vespasian's booklets exhibit intentional curation by Wulfstan who selected letters relevant to his duties and interests from a larger exemplar collection.⁹² Copenhagen's texts were chosen for their adherence to Wulfstan's reformist ideals thereby rendering it a tool for promoting his ideology. Similarly, Nero's vernacular booklets are examples of compilations which, like the Lorsch manuscript's booklets, were curated for instruction. Both Copenhagen and Vespasian also contain a mix of pre-existing and newly created booklets within their curated compilations.

The use of booklets to create unbound thematic collections and compilatory manuscripts has strong connections to the tradition of utilitarian "working manuscripts" belonging to both priests and bishops, particularly with instructive and pastoral functions. Paxton believed that this was the purpose of his Lorsch manuscript,⁹³ and much work by

⁸⁹ Rasmussen, Niels Krogh, *Les pontificaux du haut Moyen Âge: Genèse du livre de l'évêque* (Leuven, 1998).

⁹⁰ Parkes, Henry, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 9-11.

⁹¹ Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church*, esp. pp. 46-50, 91-92, 105-107, 163-166; Parkes, Henry, 'Questioning the authority of Vogel and Elze's Pontifical Romano-Germanique', in Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (eds.) *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2016), pp. 75-101.

⁹² Mann, 'Development', p. 242.

⁹³ Paxton, 'Bonus liber', pp. 8-12.

later scholars has continued to cast light on the subject of priests' books across medieval Europe: many of which were humble volumes comprising succinct compilations of texts in booklet form, which may or may not have been bound.⁹⁴ Some were booklets distributed by bishops to their priests containing compilations of rites;⁹⁵ and others allowed bishops to provide instruction to their priests through the dissemination of booklets that van Rhijn refers to as 'instruction-readers'.⁹⁶ Emphasised in all these studies is the variety observed across all examples: these were often localised efforts, prompted by individual (most likely episcopal) figures, who wished to assemble and disseminate texts using booklets.⁹⁷

The term 'miscellany' is frequently applied when referring to manuscripts which contain compilation of an assorted nature, when in fact this term mischaracterises manuscripts originally formed as collections of individual booklets. Appreciating booklet-based codicology within miscellany manuscripts like those included under the label *Commonplace Book* is essential not only for grasping the unique function of each manuscript as well as each booklet within it, but also for understanding individuals like Wulfstan. Only by better understanding his manuscripts can we better understand him as the person who compiled and used them. The three manuscripts examined in this thesis all contain booklets that existed in different states prior to being bound. Both Copenhagen and Vespasian preserve evidence that some of their booklets were either independent or

⁹⁴ Dyson, Gerald P., *Priests and their Books in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2019), p. 5, 32-33.

⁹⁵ Hen, Yitzhak, 'Priests and books In the Merovingian Period', in Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (eds.) *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 162-176, esp. p. 166.

⁹⁶ Van Rhijn, Carine, 'Manuscripts for local priests and the Carolingian Reforms' in Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (eds.) *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 177- 198.

⁹⁷ Susan Keefe provides a detailed examination of the dissemination of baptismal rites in manuscripts, emphasising the broad range of contexts in which the rites appear. See, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 Vols. (Notre Dame, 2002), Vol 1.

previously may have been part of other compilations, reappropriated here for a new purpose. Some of the booklets were created specifically for the Wulfstan manuscripts, while others were potentially never intended to be part of a manuscript but were bound together centuries later. The use and reuse of the booklets demonstrates that the users of manuscripts, particularly booklets, did not necessarily regard a manuscript's current state as the final destination for its constituent parts.

The first two chapters of this thesis will focus on the manuscripts Copenhagen and Vespasian. Both these manuscripts are planned compilations constructed from booklets, some of which were booklets that existed independently prior to their inclusion, while others were newly created. However, in many respects, that is where the similarities end. The palaeographical, codicological, and textual evidence shows that the process of each manuscript's construction was distinct, and that they were assembled for noticeably divergent purposes. The third and fourth chapters are both focused on the third manuscript, Nero, because the analysis of its booklets tell a strikingly different story itself requiring detailed explanation. This thesis proposes a new understanding of Nero as a series of five independent booklets never used as a single collection by Wulfstan. The third chapter deconstructs existing orthodoxy and sets out the new framework by which the manuscript should be understood. Then, in the fourth chapter, the texts of three of the booklets are scrutinised in detail to establish the purposes they might have served as independent booklets rather than as part of a single collection. This presents a new understanding of how Wulfstan compiled and disseminated his own vernacular texts as instructional compilations, establishing different aspects of his vision for a holy society.

In the concluding chapter, I shall present the ways in which this affects our understanding not only of Wulfstan's manuscripts and his texts, but also how this affects our view of Wulfstan as a personality examined entirely through the lens of his works and manuscripts. Finally, it is apparent Bateson, Bethurum, Wormald, Sauer and the others did not discover a Commonplace Book tradition, but booklets of material compiled by Wulfstan which were subsequently copied into manuscripts. The recurrence of texts across these booklets led to the false impression that they formed a single collection, a conclusion which was guided by modern editorial preconceptions about the book as a finite object. It is high time that advances made in scholarship on booklets and compilatory miscellany manuscripts are brought to bear upon the Commonplace Book and Wulfstan's manuscripts. Booklets were a more dynamic and responsive method for textual assembly and dissemination, better suited to the needs of busy itinerant bishops and priests in the conduct of their duties. The evidence set out in the following chapters makes it clear that Wulfstan saw the works and source material assembled under his direction first and foremost as booklets, with manuscript compilation a secondary consideration, if and required.

Chapter 1: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°) – An ideological compilation for a working bishop

Introduction to the manuscript

The Wulfstan Copenhagen manuscript is an important compilation of Latin texts which cover many of the archbishop's favoured ideological themes and would have been suitable for use by a bishop. Copenhagen is regarded as a 'scrappy, composite codex...made for use by an ecclesiastic', put together over time in different locations, perhaps partly written while 'on the hoof'.¹ As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Hans Sauer attempted to identify the constituent text blocks of the Commonplace Book to characterise its core texts and features.² His study is a prominent example among many which frames Copenhagen within this context, an association which has dogged our understanding of this manuscript for decades and has not before been challenged.³ Two studies have been foundational in understanding the nature of the manuscript: the facsimile by James Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, and a later article by Johan Gerritsen, written as a response to the introductions of their facsimile.⁴ Neither of them question the Commonplace Book theory. Cross and Tunberg's work is a detailed analysis of Copenhagen's palaeography, codicology, and texts. Tunberg identified that Copenhagen comprised seven independent

¹ Gameson, Richard, 'Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *Book* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 102-103.

² Sauer, Hans, 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', in Paul Szarmach (ed.), *Old English Prose: Basic Readings* (London, 2000), pp. 339-393.

³ Patrick Wormald's work on refining Sauer's text block system also does not discuss the booklet system as an important codicological feature of the manuscripts. See, Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 214-215.

⁴ Gerritsen, Johan, 'The Copenhagen Wulfstan manuscript a codicological study', *English Studies*, 79 (1998), pp. 501-511; Archbishop Wulfstan of York, *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile: Vol. XXV*, eds. James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg (Copenhagen, 1993).

booklets (referred to as 'sections' by Tunberg and Cross) which feature the hands of multiple scribes who can be detected assembling a collection of liturgical, homiletic, canonical, and exegetical texts. Some of these scribes were working in isolation while others operated in close concert with one another. Tunberg concluded that the constituent sections/booklets of Copenhagen were created over an extended period, each as a separate project. According to Tunberg, they remained independent until after Wulfstan's death, and were only combined in the later eleventh century by someone familiar with Wulfstan's texts, intended as a gift c. 1096 to the monastery at Odense.⁵ Johan Gerritsen's questions Tunberg's account of the manuscript's creation and intended purpose. In Gerritsen's view, the booklets were created specifically for the Copenhagen manuscript under Wulfstan's supervision over a more concentrated period of activity, possibly as a gift for Bishop Gerbrand of Roskilde on his consecration c. 1020. A significant gulf exists between the two conclusions, although further examination of the evidence suggests that elements of both theories may be correct.

Both studies, by Tunberg and Gerritsen, were quickly assimilated into the general understanding of Copenhagen and are frequently cited by scholars examining the manuscript's texts rather than its construction.⁶ The main response has been brief acknowledgement of the presence of the booklet units,⁷ or reference to Tunberg or

⁵ Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 61-62.

⁶ For examples of this in recent scholarship see, Gameson, Richard, 'The circulation of books between England and the Continent, c. 871 - c. 1100', in Gameson, *Book*, p. 360, n. 59; Hall, Thomas N., 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', in Matthew Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 96-7; Jones, Christopher A., *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 78, n. 34; Jones, Christopher A., 'Two composite texts from Archbishop Wulfstan's 'commonplace book': the *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* and the *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*', *ASE*, 27 (1998), p. 238 n. 24; Lionarons, Joyce Tally, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 20, nn. 52 and 54; Orchard, Andy, 'Re-editing Wulfstan: Where's the Point?' in Matthew Townend, *Wulfstan*, p. 67, nn. 18 and 19.

⁷ See Wormald, Patrick, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society' in Wormald, Patrick, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), p. 231 n. 26.

Gerritsen's respective beliefs over how Copenhagen reached Denmark. Gerritsen's theory is more commonly cited, often with little-to-no questioning.⁸ Interest in Copenhagen prior to Cross, Tunberg, and Gerritsen's work was based on the texts contained within it and not on how the manuscript's construction related to the material. Bernhard Fehr and Dorothy Bethurum used the manuscript as a source for the texts which they edited.⁹ The presence of Wulfstan's hand in the manuscript attracted the attention of the great Anglo-Saxon palaeographer, Neil Ker, particularly f. 66^v where the archbishop made notes while composing a vernacular homily.¹⁰ Studies which touch upon the subject of Copenhagen's codicological, and palaeographical details are limited in scope. Andy Orchard's examination of Wulfstan's homiletic notes on f. 66^v. clarifies how Wulfstan composed his works but does not look at the function of this text within the manuscript.¹¹

The work of Cross, Tunberg, and Gerritsen is in need of reassessment, wherein the constituent categories of evidence are examined in tandem, divorced from the Commonplace Book theory, to establish what unique purpose Copenhagen served. Scrutiny of the manuscript indicates a third solution to the question of Copenhagen's purpose: it was assembled out of a mix of pre-existing booklets co-opted into a larger project for which new booklets were also specifically created. This contrasts with booklet construction in the other manuscripts in this thesis, *Vespasian*, and *Nero*, where booklets gradually accumulated around a core collection, supplemented by a series of independent booklets not intended as a single manuscript. Examination of the constituent booklets of Copenhagen shows there is plentiful scope for new understandings of the purpose and use of booklets within

⁸ For an example of this see Lionarons, *Homiletic*, p. 20, n. 55.

⁹ Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung, Bernhard Fehr (ed.) *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* (Hamburg, 1914); Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 113-115; 169-171; 211-215; 374-377.

¹⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, (1957), no. 99; *Idem.*, 'Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', pp. 319-321.

¹¹ Orchard, Andy, 'Re-editing Wulfstan', pp. 63-91.

manuscripts and has direct bearing upon the two existing codicological studies by Tunberg and Gerritsen. This improved understanding will be brought to bear upon their theories later in this chapter. But first we must establish the contents of the manuscript, the facts relating to its construction, and establish the details of both existing theories.

Content Overview

The contents of Copenhagen demonstrate how it differs from its counterparts examined in this thesis and from the Commonplace Book corpus more generally (see Table 2.1 for an overview of Copenhagen's texts). Except for the homiletic notes made by Wulfstan on f. 66^v, Copenhagen does not contain any Old English. Nor does it contain legal or political writings such as law codes, *Institutes of Polity*, or a canon law collection such as the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*. The latter was the central core around which other texts were grouped in Corpus 190, Corpus 265, and Barlow 37.¹² Copenhagen's range of material is arguably narrower in scope: it incorporates homiletic and liturgical works, predominately penitential and eschatological in tone, many linked to the Carolingian reform movement of the ninth century. The only conciliar material in Copenhagen has been reworked into expository tracts on the organisation of ecclesiastical ranks. This material, (as well as much else in the manuscript) has a connection with Wulfstan's contemporary Ælfric of Eynsham,¹³ a link not exhibited by other Commonplace Book manuscripts. The collection of texts in Copenhagen

¹² Sauer, 'Transmission'; Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', pp. 225-251; Elliot, Michael, *The Worcester Collection of Canons*, a paper given at the Fourteenth International Congress of Canon Law (2012), http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaellliot/manuscripts/texts/Elliot_14ICMCL_paper.pdf. Accessed 24th October 2017, 15:15; Elliot, Michael, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised: The Structure and Development of "Block 7," on Pastoral Privilege and Responsibility', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 22 (2012), pp. 1-48. Nero contains a copy of the *Wigorniensis* but, as is to be discussed in chapter 4, the other booklets were not built around it but existed independently.

¹³ Clemons, Peter, 'Supplement to the introduction', in Fehr, Bernhard, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung* (Darmstadt, 1966), p. cxxvii.

fits with our understanding of Wulfstan's secular (as opposed to monastic) liturgical interests and his reformist ideology. Copenhagen works well as a practical manuscript made for an episcopal figure working in the secular church.¹⁴

Based on the contents and the thematic codicological structure of the manuscript, this chapter will seek to confirm Johan Gerritsen's theory that Copenhagen was created for Gerbrand, Bishop of Roskilde, as a gift from Wulfstan. The manuscript's texts would assist the newly consecrated bishop in his ministry and broadcast the archbishop's reformist ideologies to Cnut's Scandinavian territories at a time when Denmark was still only a fledgling Christian kingdom and the archiepiscopal authority which controlled it was still contested. Study of the scribal activity in relation to the codicological booklets supports Tunberg's view that some of the booklets existed prior to Copenhagen's compilation, but that this is not exclusive of Gerritsen's theory. Some of the booklets which were created for Copenhagen contain texts designed to fit with the pre-existing collections, confirming that it was a planned project overseen by Wulfstan.

¹⁴ Jones, Christopher A., 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England' *Speculum* 73 (1998), pp. 681.

Table 2.1 Overview of Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4 ^o) Contents ¹⁵					
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text		
1	1	1r-8v	Amalarius of Metz – <i>Eclogae de Ordine Romano et de Quattuor Orationibus in Missa</i>		
	2	9r-17r			
		17r-17v	Hymn – <i>De laude Dei et conceptione Marie</i>		
2	3	18r-20r	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>		
		20r-21r	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>		
		21r-23r	<i>Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>		
		23v-25r	<i>De ieiunio quattuor temporum</i>		
3	4	26r-30r	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés – <i>Sermo de caena domini cap. XXXVI uel de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>		
		30r-31v	Abbo Sermo – <i>Sermo in caena domini cap. X</i>		
		31v-33r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo ad populum</i>		
		33r-33v	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo in caena domini ad penitentes reconciliatos æclesiæ cap. X</i>		
	5	34r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo in porta aeccliesiæ as penitentes ineptos reconciliationi cp. XI</i>		
		34r-35r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo in porta aeccliesiæ as penitentes ineptos reconciliationi cp. XI</i>		
		35r-37r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo ad milites cp VIII</i>		
		37r-39r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo ad rapaces cp. XII</i>		
		39r-40v	Abbo sermon – <i>sermo conueniens omni tempore cp XIII</i>		
		41r	Letter from Wulfstan when Bishop of London		
		41r	Letter from Wulfstan when Bishop of London		
		41r	Letter from Wulfstan		
		41r-41v	Letter from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan		
		41v	Letter from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan		
		41v	Letter from Gregory V to Ælfric		
		41v-42r	Letter from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan		
		42r	Letter from unnamed Archbishop (possibly Wulfstan) to a pope		
		4	6	43r-45v	Caesarius of Arles – <i>De Decimis Dandis</i>
				45v-47v	<i>Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes</i>
47v-48v	<i>Sermo ad coniugatos: et filios</i>				
48v-49v	<i>De dominis et seruis</i>				
49v-50v	<i>Sermo ad uidvas</i>				

¹⁵ All texts are in Latin except for the insertions by the Wulfstan Hand at the bottom of f. 66v. The rubrics from the manuscript are shown in italics. The spellings match those found in the manuscript.

5	7	51r-52r	Latin Wulfstan Sermon – Bethurum Ia – <i>De Antecristo et eius signis</i>
		52r-54r	<i>De ultimo die exitus anime. De corpore.</i>
		54r-56r	<i>De conuersione et penitentiae et communione</i>
		56r-57r	<i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i>
		57r-58r	Pseudo Augustine Sermon 251. <i>De die Iudici sermo sancti Agustini</i>
		58v	Blank
6	8	59r-60v	<i>De Adiutorio dei et libero arbitrio</i>
		60v-62r	Augustine – <i>Sermo sancti Agustini de baptismo non iterando</i>
		62r-65r	Untitled Sermon on Vices and the confrontation of sinners and the Good with God on Judgement Day
		65v-66v	<i>De Uisione</i> – Latin section of Bethurum XI – <i>Isaiah on the punishment for sins</i>
		66v	Old English insertions by the Wulfstan Hand which includes one Latin excerpt from Luke 11.28
7	9	67r-74r	Ælfric’s first letter to Wulfstan – <i>Sermo episcopi clericos</i>
		74r-74v	Ælfric’s second letter to Wulfstan – <i>Item sermo ad sacerdotes</i>
	10	75r-77v	
		78r-79r	Latin Wulfstan sermon – Bethurum VIIIa – <i>Incipit de baptismo</i>
		79r	Six-line item on Chrism.
		79v-80r	<i>De officio missae</i>
		80r-82v	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>
		82v	<i>De hostiariis (De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis)</i>
		82v	<i>De lectoribus (De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis)</i>

Copenhagen’s Codicology and Palaeography

Codicological Features

It is important first to establish the codicological and palaeographical features of the manuscript (see Table 2.2). Copenhagen comprises ten quires across seven codicologically independent booklets. The manuscript’s primary sewing and oak boards are both from the

eleventh century,¹⁶ possibly contemporary with the original compilation of the manuscript.¹⁷ It is one of scarcely more than a dozen pre-Conquest manuscripts which survive with part of their original binding, and the only one associated with Wulfstan.¹⁸ If the surviving binding is original, then we can be sure that Copenhagen's current quire order is the one originally intended, perhaps by Wulfstan himself. The collation of the manuscript is largely uniform, with eight of the ten quires containing eight folios made from four bifolia. There are, however, two noticeable exceptions. Quire 2 in booklet 1 was originally twelve folios but lacks folios 3, 4, and 11 with 2, 7, and 8 surviving as singletons. This feature antedates any scribal activity as none of the text (an abbreviated version Amalarius of Metz's *Eclogae de Ordine Romano et de Quattuor Orationibus in Missa*) is missing. The other exception, quire 5 in booklet 3, is missing its final eighth folio which has been 'ingeniously' replaced by a separate bifolium containing a short letter collection.¹⁹ Attaching folios to the end of a quire in this manner is rare; usually, additional bifolia were added as separate units within a manuscript or inserted within an existing quire.²⁰ The themes of the bifolium's texts are appropriate to those in the quire to which it is attached suggesting close consideration of thematic grouping. This additional bifolium has a worn appearance on its outer-facing sides and has a horizontal crease across its middle indicating that it was folded in half at some point during its independent existence prior to being inserted into Copenhagen.²¹ To

¹⁶ Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 50-58. The secondary sewing was replaced during a restoration effort in 1981.

¹⁷ Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen', p. 509.

¹⁸ Gullick, Michael, 'Bookbindings', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 294-295.

¹⁹ Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen', p. 502.

²⁰ Gameson, 'The material fabric of early British books', pp. 46-49.

²¹ Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, p. 28. Donald Scragg identified this similar feature in quires in two other eleventh-century manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, the former of which originated in Worcester. Scragg believes both of these quires circulated separately before being inserted into their current manuscripts. See, Scragg, Donald, 'Old English homiliaries and poetic manuscripts', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 558-559.

acknowledge the additional bifolium's different codicology from quire 5, it is listed below as

5a.

Table 2.2 Codicological and Palaeographical details of Copenhagen						
Booklet	Quire	Folios	Collation	Folio Dimensions (mm)	Lines per Page	Scribe
1	1	1-8	8	142 x 238	25	A
	2	9-17	12 (wants 3, 4, 11)			
2	3	18-25	8	143 x 239	26	B, C, D ²²
3	4	26-33	8	143 x 239	26	E
	5	34-40	8 (wants 8)			
	5a	41-42	2	143 x 239	28	F
4	6	43-50	8	144 x 241	26	C
5	7	51-58	8	146 x 243	26	G
6	8	59r-62r	8	145 x 239	26	C
		62r-65r				G
		65v-66v				H
7	9	67-74	8	145 x 237	26	A
	10	75-82	8			

The dimensions of the folios across all quires are consistent to within a few millimetres which suggests they were all trimmed to a uniform size at some point. The only marginal additions which have been affected by the trimming are by Wulfstan, on f. 26^r, 66^v, and 81^r. Two are titles which stray to the far right of the folio and have had the right-most

²² The scribal breakdown of booklet 2 is too complex to be accurately displayed within this table and so has been given its own dedicated one. See Table 2.3 below.

edge of their final letters excised. The other instance is a collection of homiletic notes he made at the bottom of the page where a wavy line he drew as a border around the edge of his notes has been trimmed only slightly. All these notations feasibly existed prior to binding, particularly the notes on f. 66^v. Therefore the trimming could have occurred when the manuscript was first bound.

Scribal Hands in Copenhagen

Parts of Copenhagen were created in an environment of busy scribal activity connected with Archbishop Wulfstan. In addition to Wulfstan's own hand, which primarily annotates and corrects the existing text, eight scribes have been identified across the seven booklets of the manuscript. Tunberg's diligent work also identified three of these in two other manuscripts. Scribes C, D and H made contributions to the Worcester cartulary, London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, ff. 1-118 which is dated to *c.* 1016 and is littered with marginalia by Wulfstan.²³ The other manuscript which contains the hands of scribes C and G, is *Vespasian A. xiv*, dealt with in the next chapter. Despite Copenhagen's connection to Worcester through the appearance of scribes C, D and H in *Tiberius A. xiii.*, Copenhagen has still not been firmly attributed to Worcester because of its booklet structure, which might have allowed individual scribes, not based at Worcester, to produce booklets for Wulfstan. Scribes B, and G have indirect connections to *Tiberius A. xiii* because of their collaboration with scribes C, D, and H in booklets 2 and 6 (see Table 2.2, above). The reappearance of the same scribes across these booklets indicates that much of it was written

²³ Ker, 'Handwriting', pp. 322-324.

contemporaneously. The appearance of Wulfstan's hand in all booklets again demonstrates conclusively that all of it was completed during his lifetime.²⁴

Scribe A, who contributes most to the manuscript, worked in isolation from the others, as did Scribes E and F. Four booklets in Copenhagen each contain the work of a single scribe: booklets 1, 4, 5, and 7. Booklets 1 and 7 have been written solely by Scribe A.²⁵ Tunberg believed Scribe A also wrote the opening capital 'I' of the word 'Initium' at the start of booklet 2, but this will be disproven later in this chapter. Scribe A writes in confident English Caroline Minuscule, with some letter forms very like those of English Square Minuscule.²⁶ While Scribe A is consistent in his use of Caroline letter forms, he is inclined towards a more Insular style that required conscious effort to repress. For example, his use of an Insular *e* at the start of booklet 7 which he then avoids using throughout the rest of the booklet.²⁷ Booklets 4 and 5 are each written by single scribes, Scribes C and G respectively. Because they both appear elsewhere in the manuscript, the palaeographical features of Scribes C and G will be discussed shortly, within the context of the other scribes with whom they co-wrote those booklets.

The four texts in booklet 2 were written by three scribes, B, C, and D.²⁸ Scribes B and C both wrote in English Caroline Minuscule with Insular Minuscule traits. Their script is noticeably smaller than that of Scribe D, but the sizes of their graphs are also more variable,

²⁴ Tunberg provides an almost exhaustive list of the occurrences of Wulfstan's hand in Copenhagen. See, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 47-49.

²⁵ For Tunberg's detailed description see, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 31-33.

²⁶ Tunberg lists these as *a, d, e, f, g, h, r, and s*. See *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁷ See Copenhagen, f. 67^r.

²⁸ Tunberg's detailed assessments of these three hands can be found in *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 33-34, 34-37, and 37-38 respectively.

a feature more distinct in Scribe C's work than Scribe B's. Scribe D's script is larger and rounder in aspect and stands out more from the work of the other two scribes. The three scribes demonstrate a greater level of discipline in keeping their letter forms more consistently Caroline than the others scribes in the booklet. However, Tunberg identified a contribution made by Scribe D displaying recurrent Insular Square Minuscule traits in the first half of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (dated c. 1016).²⁹ Scribe C also appears in the same part of Tiberius A. xiii as Scribe D and alongside Scribe G in *Vespasian*, indicating they were likely working in the same location at some point in their careers.³⁰ The level of separation between Caroline and Insular Minuscule letter forms exhibited by Scribe C is also inconsistent, with some Insular graphs appearing within his Latin.³¹

²⁹ Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 37-38; Gneuss and Lapidge, n. 366. Scribe D appears in the first part of the manuscript which is dated to c. 1016.

³⁰ His contribution appears on ff. 20^v-21^v wherein he writes two charters pertaining to lands held by Worcester, one from 680 (S52), and another from 836 (S190).

³¹ Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, p. 36.

Table 2.3 – Scribal Stints in Booklet 2 of Copenhagen							
Scribe	Starting Folio	Starting Line	Starting Text	End Folio	End Line	Ending Text	Length of Contribution (No. of Lines)
B	18r	2	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>	18r	23	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>	22
C	18r	23		18r	26		4
B	18v	1		19r	22		48
D	19r	22		19r	26		5
B	19v	1		19v	17		17
C	19v	17		19v	20		4
B	19v	20			20v	21	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>
C	20v	22	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>	20v	26	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>	5
B	21r	1	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>	21r	15	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>	15
D	21r	15	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>	21v	26	<i>Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>	38
B	22r	1	<i>Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>	22v	19	<i>Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>	45
C	22v	19	<i>Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>	25r	10	<i>De ieiunio quattuor temporum</i>	122

The scribal stints in booklet 2 were unusually short, sometimes only lasting a few lines and not dictated by the beginning or end of a text, which suggests close collaboration. The first two texts are written primarily by Scribe B with Scribes C and D appearing in multiple short contributions. The third text, *Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis*, was

written by all three scribes in longer stints. The fourth text, *De ieiunio quattuor temporum*, was written by Scribe C in his longest and final contribution to the booklet, a total of 122 lines (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.4 – Scribal Stints in Booklet 6 of Copenhagen		
Scribe	Folios	Text
C	59r-60v	<i>De Adiutorio dei et libero arbitrio</i>
	60v-62r	Augustine – <i>Sermo sancti Agustini de baptismo non iterando</i>
G	62r-65r	Untitled Sermon on Vices and the confrontation of sinners and the Good with God on Judgement Day
H	65v-66v	<i>De Uisione – Bethurum XI – Isaiah on the punishment for sin</i>
Wulfstan	66v	Luke 11.28 and notes in Old English.

The contributions of booklet 6's three scribes, C, G, and H,³² are more conventional, with each scribe copying complete texts (see Table 2.4). Scribe C has already been discussed in relation to booklet 2. Scribe G supplied booklet 6 with a single untitled sermon on vices and confronting God on Judgement Day and wrote all of booklet 5. His hand is less in confident writing Caroline Minuscule than many of the others in Copenhagen. His letters strongly favour the Insular Vernacular or Square Minuscule, with many of them rarely (if ever) appearing in their Caroline forms. Scribe G also appears in *Vespasian* where he once again works directly alongside Scribe C. Scribe H writes a homiletic compilation of extracts in a Caroline Minuscule which lacks confidence and favours Insular letter forms with Square

³² For Tunberg's descriptions of the features of scribal hands G and H, see *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, and 41-42 respectively.

Minuscule traits. His only other known contribution is a vernacular homily³³ in Insular Square Minuscule in Tiberius A. xiii., the same part in which Scribes C and D feature.

Many of the texts copied by Scribes C and G into Copenhagen stem from a group of short homiletic texts originating at Worcester on themes associated with Wulfstan, identified by J. E. Cross in the twelfth-century manuscript Cambridge, St John's College B.20 (42). This collection was not used by the other scribes compiling Copenhagen,³⁴ and the only time in Copenhagen when Scribe C is not copying texts from this collection, is when he collaborates with Scribes B and D in booklet 2. Unlike the other scribes in Copenhagen, Scribes C and G worked across the whole manuscript, primarily inserting texts from an example of the St John's homily collection and indicative of an overarching level of organisation which took place when the booklets were put together.

Booklet 3 is the product of two scribes, E and F, who worked independently of each other and who did not have links to the other Copenhagen scribes. Scribe E wrote a group of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés sermons, which spans the two original quires of booklet 3. Scribe F appears in the final bifolium of booklet 3 (quire 5a), where he copied the small letter collection relating to penitential pilgrimages.³⁵ Scribe E wrote proficiently in English Caroline Minuscule and, unlike many of the other scribes, rarely slipped into Insular letter forms. The most common of these for Scribe E is the appearance of Insular *a*, but even that is rare. His use of Insular-style abbreviations for *est* (÷) and *quam* indicates an Insular scribal

³³ This is the only example of vernacular writing by any of the scribes in Copenhagen which has survived.

³⁴ Cross, J. E., 'Wulfstan's *De Anticristo* in a twelfth-century Worcester Manuscript', *ASE*, 20 (1991), pp. 203-220.

³⁵ For detailed description by Tunberg, see *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 38-39 and 39-40 respectively.

background, although the instances of the continental abbreviations remain frequent throughout his work. Scribe F's script has a lack of fluidity in his Caroline Minuscule and favours Insular letters forms and abbreviations. Scribe E must have worked under the scrutiny of Wulfstan as the archbishop's hand corrects and annotates throughout his work. Scribe F is possibly linked with Wulfstan because he copied a collection of penitential letters which were likely from Wulfstan's personal archive.

Remarkable levels of variation between the booklets and lack of a consistent process of production suggests the booklets were not all made under the same conditions.. The accretion of texts in booklet 6 copied by three different scribes tells a different story from the staccato scribal stints of booklet 2, the solo work of Scribe A who wrote two of the three two-quire booklets, or the skilful addition of a bifolium of letters to complement the existing texts of booklet 3. These details are important in showing how Copenhagen was assembled.

The Copenhagen Manuscript's Production Process

The two major studies by Cross and Tunberg and Gerritsen, both offer conflicting conclusions from the same evidence. Both use the evidence to propose rough timelines for the completion of the manuscript and how and when the manuscript arrived in Denmark. Tunberg sets out a much slower timescale, wherein the booklets were created independently, most likely under Wulfstan's supervision, but not assembled and sent to Denmark until long after the archbishop's death. Conversely, Gerritsen believes the booklets were deliberately created over a short period as part of one manuscript to be given to Bishop Gerbrand around the time of his consecration in the early 1020s.

Tunberg's Theory

Tunberg's stresses that even though some scribes may have been associated with Worcester, this is not necessarily the case for the others.³⁶ The repetition of items by different hands in more than one section would serve no purpose in a planned series. She argues there is evidence of a number of scribal breaks, indicating that copying took place over an extended period: Scribe C's ink changes colour during their longest and final stint at the end of booklet 2; Scribe H's copy of Wulfstan's homily Isaiah on the punishment for sin (Bethurum XI) starts on the verso side of f. 65 rather than continuing immediately from the end of the previous text on the recto; and in booklet 7, Scribe A retroactively squeezed in six lines on the Chrism at the bottom of f. 79^r. The differences between the booklets' *mis-en-page* and scribal activity emphasises a lack of uniformity which would be expected in a manuscript planned as a whole. The horizontal fold in the added bifolium at the end of booklet 3 and different scribe indicates it circulated separately prior to being added to Copenhagen.

Tunberg argues that because of the practical utility of the manuscript, it must have remained in Wulfstan's possession until he died.³⁷ The late eleventh-century East Frankish neumes on f. 82^r booklet 7 could, Tunberg asserts, have been added in Worcester possibly as late as the second half of the eleventh century by a German monk called Winrich who was present there before 1062.³⁸ The monastery at Odense was founded in 1095 by monks from

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Evesham, which held close ties with Worcester. This could have provided the route by which the manuscript made its way to Denmark.³⁹

Gerritsen's Theory

Gerritsen disagrees with Tunberg that the presence of individual booklets means that these were copied prior to the assembly of the codex. He argues their creation was part of a deliberate plan to produce a manuscript. He questions why the constituent booklets were made if they were not intended for use as part of the manuscript, since it is unlikely they were written 'for stock' because this was not common practice until the fifteenth century. Gerritsen was also able to show that at least two folios were kept together when they were written as his first-hand examination identified that some of the ink from the additional notes made by Wulfstan on f. 66^v (the final *punctus elevatus*) at the end of booklet 6 has been transferred on to the facing first folio of booklet 7. The marks line up exactly when the two folios are closed onto one another.

The short scribal stints are, Gerritsen argues, evidence that booklet 2 was a planned collection of texts.⁴⁰ Responding to Tunberg's point, Gerritsen claims the repetition of *de sacerdotibus* in booklet 7, can be explained as a natural continuation of *De Officio Missae* which precedes it,⁴¹ and is duplicated to avoid needing to switch between parts of the manuscript. In Gerritsen's view, Tunberg's observation on changes of ink during scribal

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁰ Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen', p. 506.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

stints could be explained by the scribe diluting it to make it last to the end of the text, or by his switching to another ink following a short break. Scribe H's choice to start on the verso is also irrelevant, argues Gerritsen, as we know that Scribe H is closely connected with scribes C and D through their joint appearance in Tiberius A. xiii, as well as Wulfstan's hand correcting his work in Copenhagen. Scribe H's addition at the end of booklet 6, and the insertion of the six-line Chrism text by Scribe A in booklet 7, both use the existing ruling and there is nothing to suggest they were added later to the bound book.

The lack of codicological uniformity also holds no water with Gerritsen, who suggests it reflects the manuscript's non-*de luxe* nature. The minute differences between booklets are to be expected: the twenty-eight lines per page in the doubleton added to booklet 3 is the only deviation from the other booklets, which contain twenty-five or twenty-six lines per page.⁴² Gerritsen regards the evidence that quire 5a circulated separately as insignificant and without any bearing on the creation of the manuscript.⁴³ Finally, Gerritsen points out that the pastoral and episcopal nature of the texts in Copenhagen is at odds with a collection created for a monastery. If, he argues, Copenhagen was put together in Wulfstan's lifetime, then it could have been created for Bishop Gerbrand of Roskilde, with Wulfstan presenting it to him at his consecration by Archbishop Æthelnoth of Canterbury *c.* 1022.⁴⁴

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 507.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 509-510.

A Third Way

Both theories highlight significant features of the manuscript but neither explanation is entirely satisfactory. Elements of both theories are correct and need not be mutually exclusive: when pieced together they point to Copenhagen possibly being a project supervised by Wulfstan, using a mix of repurposed existing booklets and newly commissioned ones. As a collection of Latin canon and pastoral texts, Copenhagen would be particularly suitable for a bishop in Denmark. Some of the new booklets were made with an awareness of what was missing from or required in addition to the material in the pre-existing booklets. This analysis will stress the importance of collaborative work in the codex rather than raise questions about the speed of scribal activity or about life of the booklets as independent units.

The variations in quire dimensions and other physical features are too minimal to support the claims of independent creation. The only parts of the manuscript which do not have twenty-six lines per folio are booklet 1 (twenty-five) and quire 5a in booklet 3 (twenty-eight). All the booklets follow the hair-flesh-flesh-hair folio arrangement. The scribal evidence, however, supports the idea that the booklets were made under divergent circumstances. Similarly, the addition of quire 5a, which clearly existed as a separate booklet prior to inclusion in Copenhagen, shows that the manuscript incorporated pre-existing quires. The bifolium has been folded, with the blank side facing outwards to protect the writing, suggesting that it was carried around as a loose unit. Likewise, the rear folio of booklet 1, f. 17^v is more worn than the remarkably cleaner inner folios, which suggests it also had an independent existence on the outside of a gathering. Moreover its texts, a collection

of personal correspondence sent to Wulfstan, supports this interpretation.⁴⁵ The two other examples of this collection in Corpus 265 and Barlow 37 contain additional letters dating from after Wulfstan's death,⁴⁶ and their absence from the letters in quire 5a is a strong indication that this collection was copied and added to Copenhagen during Wulfstan's life from his personal collection.

There are indicators that the booklets were copied at different rates. In his extensive survey of insular manuscripts, Richard Gameson sets out a range of types of scribal collaboration in manuscripts.⁴⁷ For example, in copying a complete text such as the Gospels, the texts could be divided between several scribes. In compilatory creations, however, such as those produced for Wulfstan, a different working pattern was common. Gameson contrasts the production of Nero, Vespasian, and Copenhagen with these more carefully planned creations:

the irregular structure of the manuscripts, the assorted content, and the various blanks, corrections, and annotations, all suggest that it was their nature as compilations that determined their scribal diversity: different hands were put to work as and when literary material was chosen or became available, and time permitted.⁴⁸

To take examples from Copenhagen: Scribe A was responsible for a significant proportion of the manuscript, as he copies two booklets, each of two quires, a total of four of the manuscript's ten quires. This contrasts with the shorter, more intensive, scribal activity

⁴⁵ Aronstam, Robin Ann, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the Early Middle Ages', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 13 (1975), pp. 65-83.

⁴⁶ Corpus 265, pp. 110-113; Barlow 37, ff. 12^r-13^v.

⁴⁷ Gameson, 'scribes and scriptoria', pp. 107-108.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

in booklet 2,⁴⁹ and does not speak to a unified method of production across the seven booklets in Copenhagen. Copenhagen is a collection of booklets written at differing speeds, at different time scales, rather than a manuscript that was designed front-to-back from the beginning.

The appearance of Scribe C in three different booklets illustrates different approaches to scribal collaboration. In booklet 2, he provided three short contributions amongst the longer stints by Scribe B, followed by a lengthy stint of over five sides of folio at the end of the booklet which includes the whole of the fourth text *De ieiunio quattuor temporum*. Booklet 4 is the work of only Scribe C. He turns up once more at the start of booklet 6 to add the first two texts on ff. 59^r-62^v before two other scribes filled in the rest of the booklet.

One important area for discussion is the relationship between Worcester and the scribes working in Copenhagen. If some of the scribes in Copenhagen are regarded as Worcester scribes because they appear in Tiberius A. iii, then this complicates the idea that the manuscripts was created as a gift for Gerbrand, because Wulfstan relinquished the see of Worcester in 1016, several years before Gerbrand's consecration. However, Wulfstan may have continued to be involved at Worcester after the appointment of Leofsige as suffragan bishop,⁵⁰ or the scribes may have been attached to Wulfstan's household rather than to the see itself.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

⁵⁰ Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Wulfstan at York', in Jess B. Bessinger Jr. and Robert P. Creed (eds.), *Medieval and Linguistic Studies: In Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.* (London, 1965), p. 214.

Contents

Physical evidence alone shows that some of the booklets in the manuscript predated its compilation but does not categorically prove that any of the booklets were created specifically for it. An examination of the contents of each booklet, however, brings new insights showing that some booklets were copied in dialogue with each other: booklet 2 appears to be a replacement of texts lost from the end of booklet 7; the texts shared with the St. Johns homily collection, copied into multiple booklets by scribes C and G, may have been added around the same time to complete the compilation.

The independent codicological units of Copenhagen allowed for the creation of additional curated selections of texts which, in turn, were then combined (and augmented) to create a compilation of textual groups unified in their purpose of serving an episcopal owner. The exclusion of vernacular texts would make its contents suitable for use outside England, possibly by someone who did not themselves speak Old English, or who had no use for Old English.

Booklet 1⁵¹

Table 2.5 Overview of Booklet 1 in Copenhagen			
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
1	1	1r-8v	Amalarius of Metz – <i>Eclogae de Ordine Romano et de Quattuor Orationibus in Missa</i>
	2	9r-17r	
		17r-17v	Hymn – <i>De laude Dei et conceptione Marie</i>

The first booklet of Copenhagen is an independent unit not originally created for Copenhagen. It contains two texts written by Scribe A: Amalarius of Metz's *Eclogae de ordine romano et de quattuor orationibus in missa*,⁵² followed by sixteen lines of a hymn known as either *In Christo Domino*⁵³ or *De laude Dei et conceptione Marie*.⁵⁴ The *Eclogae* was a highly valued text in the eleventh century for pastoral teaching and is entirely typical of the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon treatment of liturgical exposition as an ancillary function for use in pastoral excursus.⁵⁵ The Copenhagen version of the text shares omissions with that in Corpus 265 and differs from other extant versions in this respect.⁵⁶ The *Eclogae* was therefore a useful and authoritative teaching text for the recently converted Danish church.⁵⁷

⁵¹ A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, p. 14.

⁵² An edition of the text is available in *Amalarii Episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J. M. Hanssen, *Studi e Testi* 140 (Vatican City, 1948), pp. 229-264; An edition and translation is also available in *On The Liturgy*, Eric Knibbs (ed.) 2 Vols. (Cambridge MA, 2014).

⁵³ *In Christo Domino*, ed. C. Blume, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 51 (Leipzig, 1908), no. 100, pp. 108-109.

⁵⁴ *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, K Strecker (ed.) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi* IV, fasc. II and III (Berlin, 1923), no. 29, pp. 529-531; Moores, Jane, 'A rare medieval hymn in a Wulfstan manuscript', *Liverpool Classical Monthly*, 16.2 (1991), p. 20.

⁵⁵ Jones, Christopher A., 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England' *Speculum* 73 (1998), pp. 659-702, esp. pp. 680-684.

⁵⁶ Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ Lund, Niels, 'Cnut's Danish Kingdom', in Alexander R. Rumble (ed.) *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London, 1994), pp. 32-35.

Booklets 2⁵⁸ and 7⁵⁹

Table 2.6 Overview of Booklet 2 in Copenhagen			
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
2	3	18r-20r	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>
		20r-21r	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>
		21r-23r	<i>Item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>
		23v-25r	<i>De ieiunio quattuor temporum</i>

Table 2.7 - Overview of Booklet 7 in Copenhagen			
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
7	9	67r-74r	Latin version of Ælfric's first letter to Wulfstan – <i>Sermo episcopi clericos</i>
		74r-74v	Latin version of Ælfric's second letter to Wulfstan – <i>Item sermo ad sacerdotes</i>
	10	75r-77v	
		78r-79r	Wulfstan sermon – Bethurum VIIIa – <i>Incipit de baptismo</i>
		79r	Six-line item on Chrism.
		79v-80r	<i>De officio missae</i>
		80r-82v	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>
		82v	<i>De hostiariis (De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis)</i>
		82v	<i>De lectoribus (De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis)</i>

Booklets 2 and 7 are best dealt with together as the reoccurrence of texts in both is significant for understanding Copenhagen as a planned compilation. The first three texts of booklet 2 are a cohesive group concerning the duties of the secular clergy, derived from extracts from the 816 Council of Aachen which are found in the same order in other manuscripts.⁶⁰ All three appear in Corpus 265 alongside the other texts from booklet 7 in the same order, which suggests that booklet 7 records an incomplete version of this grouping.

⁵⁸ A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, pp. 15-17.

⁵⁹ A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁰ Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, p. 15.

Table 2.8 below represents the ordering of the eight texts Corpus 265 in comparison to their placement in booklets 2 and 7. Booklet 7 ends part way through the seventh text, with the eighth text missing entirely. The sequence of texts is completed in booklet 2, which contains the last three texts from Corpus 265, alongside a fourth text, *De ieiunio quattuor temporum*, copied by Scribe C. *De ieiunio* is associated with other texts spread throughout Copenhagen which stem from a Worcester collection, all of which have been copied into this manuscript by either Scribes C or G.⁶¹ The theme of fasting in *De ieiunio* links with the penitential Holy Week texts in booklet 3 which also indicates that booklet 2 was created with knowledge of the texts which followed in the next booklet.

Table 2.8 - Text group comparison in Copenhagen and Corpus 265.					
Booklet 2		Booklet 7		Corpus 265	
Folios	Text	Folios	Text	Pages	Text
		67r-74r	Ælfric's first letter to Wulfstan - <i>Sermo episcopi ad clericos</i>	160-173	Ælfric's first letter to Wulfstan - <i>Sermo episcopi ad clericos</i>
		74r-77v	Ælfric's second letter to Wulfstan - <i>Item sermo ad sacerdotes</i>	174-180	Ælfric's second letter to Wulfstan - <i>Item sermo ad sacerdotes</i>
		78r-79r	Wulfstan sermon - Bethurum VIIIa - <i>Incipit de baptismo</i>	180-182	Wulfstan sermon - Bethurum VIIIa - <i>Incipit de baptismo</i>
		79r	Six-line item on Chrim.	182-183	Six-line item on Chrim.
		79v-80r	<i>De officio missae</i>	183-184	<i>De officio missae</i>
18r-20r	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>	80r-82v	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>	184-188	<i>De Sacerdotibus</i>
20r-21r	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>	82v	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i> (First two chapters)	188-190	<i>De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis</i>
21r-23r	<i>Item beati Hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>			190-194	<i>Item beati Hieronimi excerptum de episcopis</i>

⁶¹ See above for discussion, pp. 57-60.

Booklet 7 is a two-quire collection of texts which deal with the themes of clerical duty, particularly baptism. Much of its material is intended for a priestly audience, including the Wulfstan sermon on baptism, for delivery by a bishop to priests.⁶² The first two texts in booklet 7, the Latin versions of Ælfric's pastoral letters to Wulfstan,⁶³ are the longest texts in the booklet and establish the broad themes of clerical responsibility, including baptism, continued by the remaining pieces. The proximity of the texts to Wulfstan is confirmed by the presence of his hand which supplies the titles for all the items in booklet 7.⁶⁴ Wulfstan's choices of titles for the letters are *Sermo episcopi ad clericos*, and *item sermo ad sacerdotes*, shows that he viewed them as sermons for delivery by a bishop to his clergy.

Consecration of the oil of Chrism was an episcopal prerogative which is why we see the Chrism blessing following on from Wulfstan's homily, *de baptismo*.⁶⁵ Reminiscent of Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, *De officio missae* is a broad-ranging text which describes the expected traits of a priest and some of his general duties,⁶⁶ including the importance of baptism. The third item from booklet 2, *item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis* would fit well thematically within booklet 7. The text comprises a selection of excerpts on the

⁶² Hall, Thomas N., 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', in Townend, *Wulfstan*, p. 94.

⁶³ Editions of both letters are in Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung, Bernard Fehr (ed.) *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* (Hamburg, 1914), pp. 35-67.

⁶⁴ The exception is the Chrism text which is untitled.

⁶⁵ An edition is available in Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 169-171. In Corpus 190 the Chrism text is inserted into the middle of the text just before the line *Unctio forinseca ostendit quid intus operetur...* which Bethurum has a l. 26 in her edition. Bethurum also provides an edition of the Chrism text in her notes on p. 170. C. A. Jones discusses the baptismal material in Corpus 190 (but does not mention its presence in Copenhagen) in his survey of Chrism liturgies in Jones, Christopher A., 'The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 2005), pp. 105-142.

⁶⁶ Cross, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, p. 23.

regulation and organisation of episcopal duties, which Cross has demonstrated are taken from *acta* X and XI from the council of Aachen, supplemented with scriptural quotations.⁶⁷

Booklet 7 ends with two texts duplicated from booklet 2, *De sacerdotibus* and *De septem gradibus æcclesiasticis*, the second of which ends imperfectly after the first two of seven chapters. Previous studies have not regarded booklet 7 as incomplete,⁶⁸ but there is evidence to suggest that booklet 2 was created to replace missing texts from booklet 7, which would have continued onto another quire which is now lost. The section on lectors finishes cleanly on the final line of the verso side of the last folio (see fig. 2.1 below), which gives the cursory impression that the text is complete but, as has been shown earlier the texts in booklet 7 are part of a longer group also transmitted in Corpus 265. Furthermore, the appearance of the first three texts in booklet 2 shows that this group circulated more widely. They appear together in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 63, which is a copy of a collection by Ælfric,⁶⁹ which indicates there was the potential for this group of texts to circulate together more widely.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁸ In the facsimile edition, Cross does not list the two chapters of *De septem* in booklet 7 as part of an incomplete text and does not comment upon why only the two chapters were copied into booklet 7. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶⁹ *Idem.*, 'Wulfstan's *De Anticristo*', p. 219.

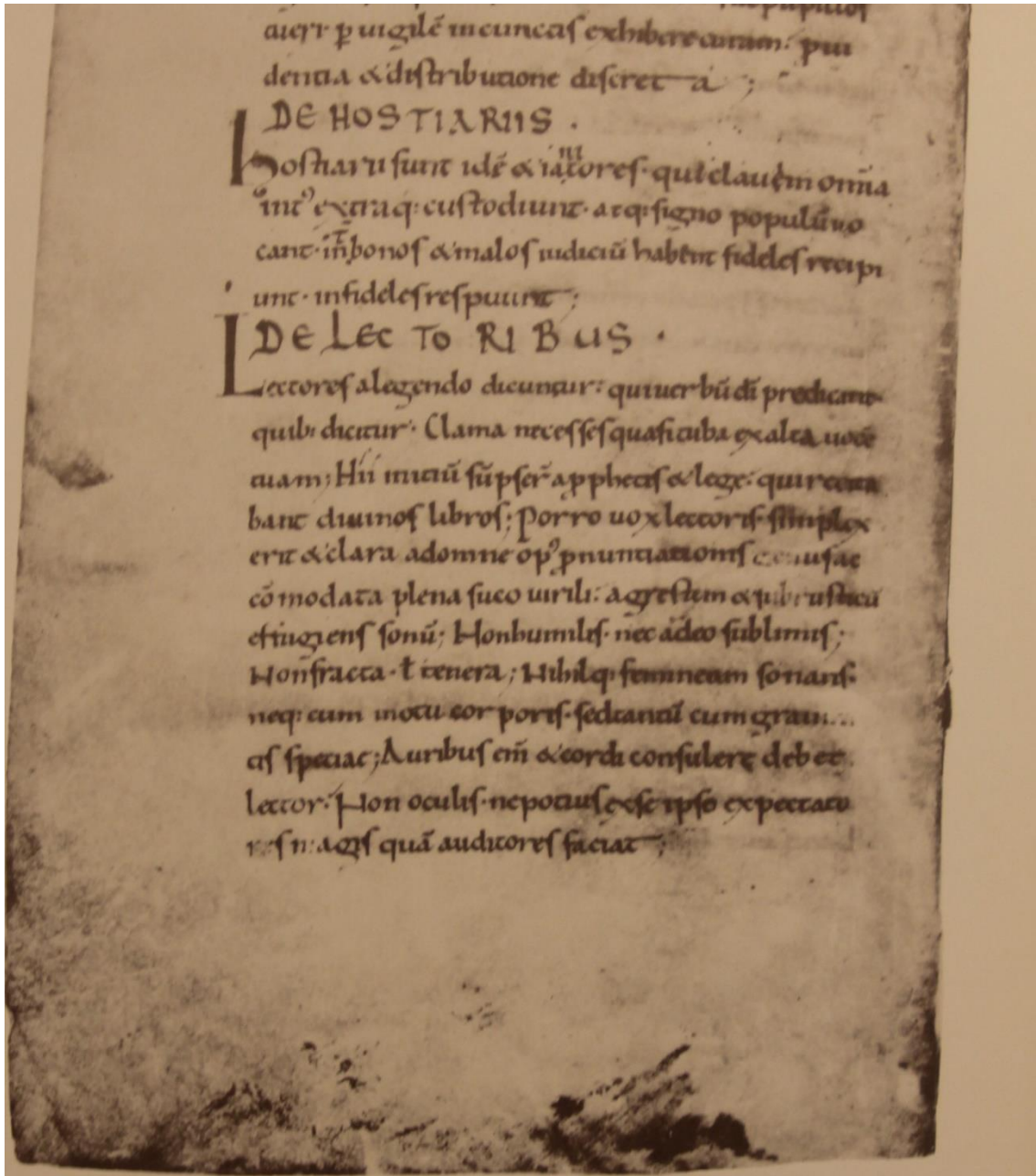


Fig. 2.1 – f. 82v showing the neat ending of the chapter *De Lectoribus* on the final folio of Copenhagen, giving the impression that absence of the remaining five chapters was intentional.

These texts cover important details regarding the historical origin and status of the clergy, defining their role within society. In its current state *De septem gradibus* in booklet 7 only covers the two lowest grades and, given that the later chapters deal with priests and

higher clergy, who are the primary focus of the booklet, it stands to reason that the lost parts of the text group would need to be replaced.

Both copies of this sequence of texts derive from the same exemplar. The scribes in booklet 2 therefore seem to have had access to the same exemplar as that used in booklet 7. While Cross stated his belief that the copies came from different exemplars,⁷⁰ Gerritsen has since shown the differences between the two copies are only minor errors and states that Cross accepted his arguments.⁷¹ The *littera notabilior* at the start of both copies of *De sacerdotibus* (see figs. 2.2 and 2.3 below) could also be variant copies of the one in the exemplar, which supports the idea that it is a direct replacement. Booklet 2's copy contains a greater level of elaboration, but both feature a diamond-like shape in the middle of the *littera notabilior* which points to them taking inspiration from the same source. The other two *litterae notabiliores* which head the two chapters from *De septem* are also similar enough that they too could be copied from the same exemplar.

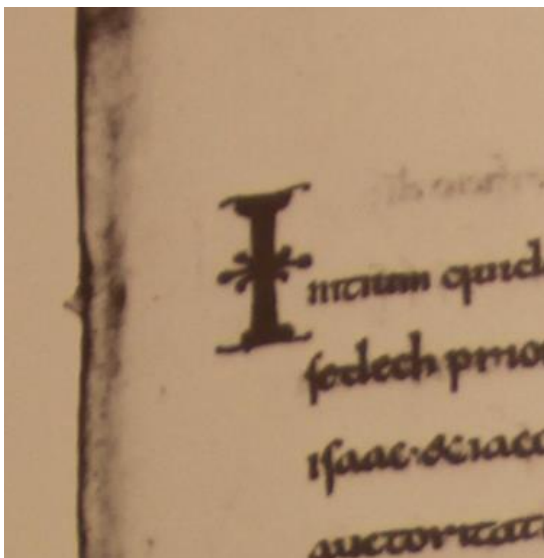


Fig. 2.2 – Capital I in booklet 2, f. 18r

⁷⁰ Cross, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, p. 23.

⁷¹ Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen', p. 505, n. 8.

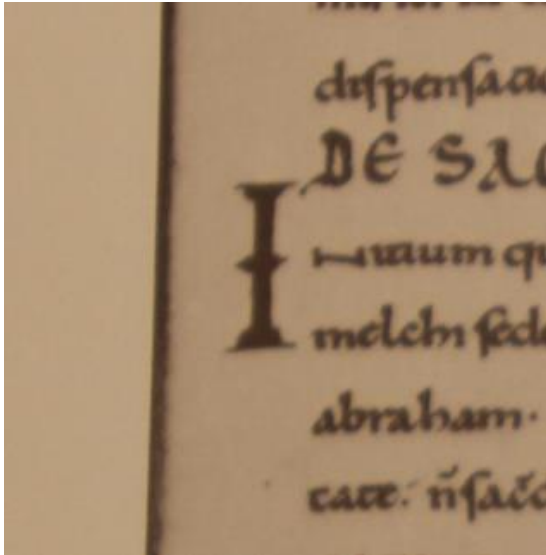


Fig. 2.3 – Capital I in booklet 7, f. 80r

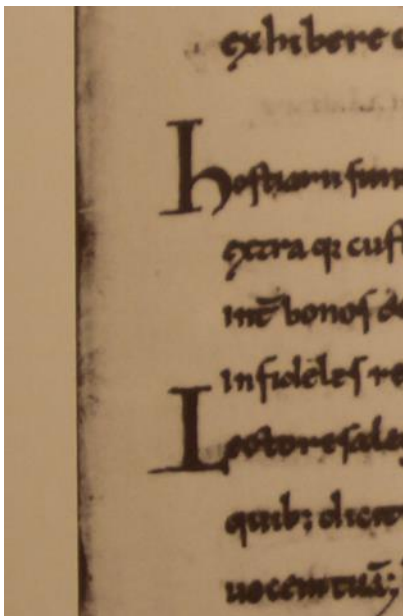


Fig. 2.4 - Capitals H and L in booklet 2, f. 20r.

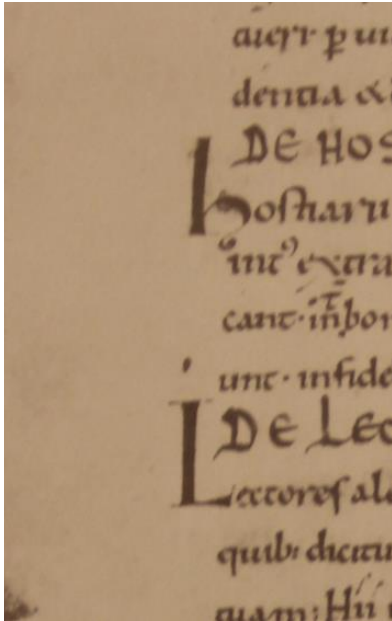


Fig. 2.5 – Capitals H and L in booklet 7, f. 82v.

Booklet 2's fourth text, *De ieiunio quattuor temporum* is an expository text on the times of fasting which connects more coherently with the liturgical texts for Lent in booklet 3 than with booklet 2's texts. This suggests booklet 2 was written with an awareness that the same theme continued in booklet 3's texts. The entire text is written by Scribe C who had taken over writing during the previous text, *item beati hieronimi excerptum de episcopis*, and who then completed booklet 2. Scribe C's writing stint in booklet 2 crosses over from the end of the three Ælfric-Aachen texts into *De ieiunio* which shows the four texts were written as a planned arrangement. But the placement of *De ieiunio* before booklet 3 also demonstrates that booklet 2 was written as part of the wider Copenhagen compilatory project. There is no space for a text of *De ieiunio*'s length at the end of either quire 5 or 5a in booklet 3, which might explain the choice to include it here. This potentially places the date of booklet 2's creation after that of booklet 3.

The relationship between booklets 2 and 7 is key to uncovering the assembly of Copenhagen as it reveals how the need for booklet 2 arose out of the incomplete nature of booklet 7. The replacement of the missing texts at the end of booklet 7 with the first three texts in booklet 2 demonstrates Wulfstan had planned Copenhagen's contents. This involved the use of pre-existing incomplete booklets, such as booklet 7 being supplemented by booklet 2. The remaining space in booklet 2 was then used to fit in a text which connected thematically with the following texts in booklet 3.

Booklet 3⁷²

Table 2.9 - Overview of Booklet 3 in Copenhagen			
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
3	4	26r-30r	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés – <i>Sermo de caena domini cap. XXXVI uel de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>
		30r-31v	Abbo Sermo – <i>Sermo in caena domini cap. X</i>
		31v-33r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo ad populum</i>
		33r-33v	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo in caena domini ad penitentes reconciliatos aeclesiae cap. X</i>
	5	34r	
		34r-35r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo in porta aeclesiae [sic] ad penitentes ineptos reconciliationi cp. XI</i>
		35r-37r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo ad milites cp VIII</i>
		37r-39r	Abbo sermon – <i>Sermo ad rapaces cp. XII</i>
		39r-40v	Abbo sermon – <i>sermo conueniens omni tempore cp XIII</i>
	5a	41r	Letter from Wulfstan when Bishop of London
		41r	Letter from Wulfstan when Bishop of London
		41r	Letter from Wulfstan
		41r-41v	Letter from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan
		41v	Letter from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan
		41v	Letter from Gregory V to Ælfric
		41v-42r	Letter from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan
42r		Letter from an unnamed Archbishop (possibly Wulfstan) to a pope	

⁷² A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, pp. 17-19.

Booklet 3 is a collection of texts, composed of two distinct halves, both of which have the theme of penance. The first is a set of eight sermons by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the majority of which were for use during Holy Week, with most of the sermons receiving significant attention by Wulfstan's hand.⁷³ The second is a letter collection relating to penitential pilgrimages, most of whose contents have Wulfstan as either sender or recipient and likely came from his private correspondence collection.⁷⁴ The unifying theme of penance explains why the letter collection was appended to the two quires of Abbo sermons to make a dossier useful for a bishop. Four of the texts are explicitly titled for use on Maundy Thursday, for the public welcoming of penitents back to the church or, in one instance, for those who are unable to be reconciled.⁷⁵ *Sermo ad populum* is explicitly titled but not for a designated liturgical occasion. It touches upon the subjects of humility, rejecting sin and Christ's crucifixion, which fit with the surrounding sermons. The sixth and seventh sermons' titles, *Sermo ad milites* and *Sermo ad rapaces*, are aimed at a lay audience and concern penance for evil actions. The final sermon also discusses sinning, humility, fasting and penance, and is explicitly suitable for delivery all year round.

The letters were a helpful supplement to the preaching texts concerning public penance as they dealt with sins so great that they required a pilgrimage to expiate them. Six

⁷³ Wulfstan's use of Abbo has been discussed in Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 3, 33, 49, 61, 109, 344-346; Cross, J. E. & Brown, Alan, 'Wulfstan and Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Medievalia* 15 (1989), pp. 71-91; for an edition of some of Abbo's sermons see, Abbo von Saint-Germain-des-Prés: 22 Predigten: Kritische Ausgabe und Kommentar, Ute Önnarfors (ed.), *Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters Bd. 16* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1985).

⁷⁴ Aronstam, Robin Ann, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the Early Middle Ages', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 13 (1975), pp. 65-83. Aronstam provides the most detailed account of these letters as a collection.

⁷⁵ This sermon in Copenhagen is titled *Sermo in porta aecclisiae ad penitentes ineptos reconciliationi*, ff. 34r-35r.

of the eight letters are identifiably to or from Wulfstan, some from when he was still Bishop of London. Three of these are from Wulfstan to unidentified recipients, the other three are from Pope John XVIII to Wulfstan. Of the other two, one is from Pope Gregory V to Ælfric, and the other from an unnamed bishop (possibly Wulfstan) to an unidentified pope. Some of the letters relate to sentences imposed on English pilgrims by popes, and many of them relate to episcopal authority in relation to sentencing and responsibility for penitents. Positioning the letters with the Lenten penitential liturgical texts would have allowed the bishop easy access to model letters at the time of year when he would have been most likely to use them. Public penance played an important role in Wulfstan's attempts to correct Anglo-Saxon society during the period of Scandinavian attacks, and bishops were central in the performance of these rituals.⁷⁶ Penitential pilgrimages were an important part of Anglo-Saxon spirituality with Roman expeditions often being mandated by bishops for those who, because of their crimes, could not simply be reconciled. Some of these even involved the sinner being sent to Rome to receive their penitential punishment from the pope himself.⁷⁷ The eight letters have not been modified to serve as compositional models,⁷⁸ but likely acted as such for the bishop who owned Copenhagen. The letters demonstrate the extent of a bishop's authority in handing out or modifying penitential punishments.

Wulfstan's hand is unusually frequent throughout the Abbo texts in booklet 3 compared to the other books. This could indicate it was in Wulfstan's possession prior to the manuscript's assembly. There are catchwords, *si post*, on f. 34^r on the break between the two

⁷⁶ Cubitt, Catherine, 'Bishops, priests, and penance in late Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), pp. 41-63; Cubitt, Catherine, *Liturgy and Law in tenth- to eleventh-century England: episcopal power and public penance*, Script for a lecture given to the History of the Liturgy Seminar, 15th February 2021; Bedingfield, Brad, 'Public penance in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 31 (2002), pp. 223-255.

⁷⁷ Aronstam, Robin Ann, 'Pope Leo IX and England: An Unknown Letter', *Speculum* 49 (1974), p. 53.

⁷⁸ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages', p. 71.

quires of the booklet, written by Wulfstan. Catchwords are the final words from the end of one quire written on the starting folio of the next quire. They are used to ensure quires remained in the correct order while unbound. This is the only occurrence of a catchword in Copenhagen. This points to the booklet being created in different circumstances than the others in the manuscript and, because they were written by Wulfstan, indicate he was using the collection of Abbo sermons while they were unbound. While it is not possible to state categorically that Wulfstan's interventions in booklet 3 are indicative of him using it in a personal capacity, it is possible to say that Wulfstan showed a greater level of interest in booklet 3's Abbo texts than in any other texts in the manuscript.⁷⁹ In contrast, the absence of Wulfstan's hand in quire 5a is striking and suggests that these letters were from his own personal collection and copied here for the benefit of another bishop; most likely when Copenhagen was bound and given to someone. The strongly episcopal character of the texts in booklet 3 supports the hypothesis that the codex was put together for a bishop under Wulfstan's direction.

Booklet 4⁸⁰

Table 2.10 - Overview of Booklet 4 in Copenhagen			
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
4	6	43r-45v	Caesarius of Arles - <i>De Decimis Dandis</i>
		45v-47v	<i>Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes</i>
		47v-48v	<i>Sermo ad coniugatos: et filios</i>
		48v-49v	<i>De dominis et servis</i>
		49v-50v	<i>Sermo ad viduas</i>

⁷⁹ This is possibly except for f. 66^v at the end of booklet 6 but the nature of interventions there are quite different and appear only on a single folio.

⁸⁰ A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 19-20.

Booklet 4 is comprised of five short homiletic pieces directed at a variety of audiences and topics but broadly united by the theme of correct societal behaviour. One, a sermon by Caesarius of Arles, may have been given a new ending by Wulfstan.⁸¹ The other four are anonymous compilations from biblical and patristic sources, but their compiler is anonymous. J. E. Cross argued that these sermons, which all appear together in the twelfth-century manuscript Cambridge, St John's B.20, were written by Wulfstan.⁸² Included in this group is the same version of *De ieiunio quattuor temporum* from the end of booklet 2. Cross points out that Scribe C who wrote *De ieiunio*, also copied the entirety of booklet 4.⁸³ This indicates a close connection between the exemplar from which all those texts were copied and Scribe C, which could suggest he copied out the final text of booklet 2 around the time he was writing booklet 4.

The topics covered in the sermons are intentionally broad, cover themes rooted in social behaviour, and are designed for use at any point in the year. Much of this need not be considered the exclusive domain of bishops, but there are some features which hint at the collection being associated with an episcopal patron or recipient. The first comes in the modifications made by Wulfstan which took place in the opening Caesarius of Arles sermon,⁸⁴ *De decimis dandis*, which begins as a homily on tithes but then ends with a passage condemning paganism. Originally the sermon was intended for John the Baptist's day (24th June) but has had this temporal specification removed to make it more generally

⁸¹ There is an edition of the original sermon in *Caesarii Arelatensis Opera, pars I, Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 103 (Turnhout, 1953), pp. 143-146.

⁸² Cross, 'Wulfstan's *De Anticristo*', pp. 203-220. Cross expresses confidence that Wulfstan was the compiler of the other four homilies in booklet 4 as well as the composer of *De decimis dandis*' ending.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁸⁴ Hall, 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', p. 96.

applicable.⁸⁵ The ending has also been replaced with a section on the division of tithes, which omits giving a portion to bishops. Cross argues this modification could only have been made by a bishop and matches a similar absence of the bishop's share of tithes in the *Canons of Edgar*.⁸⁶ Similarly, the second sermon titled *Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes*, quotes from *Sapientia* 6, which is directed towards the rulers and leaders of a kingdom, encouraging them to uphold justice and prevent injustice. The sermon is directed at the clergy and secular elite, people whom the bishop was duty bound to instruct.⁸⁷

Booklet 5⁸⁸

Table 2.11- Overview of Booklet 5 in Copenhagen			
Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
5	7	51r-52r	Wulfstan Sermon- Bethurum Ia- <i>De Antecristo et eius signis</i>
		52r-54r	<i>De ultimo die exitus anime. De corpore.</i>
		54r-56r	<i>De conuersione et penitentiae et communione</i>
		56r-57r	<i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i>
		57r-58r	Pseudo Augustine Sermon 251. <i>De die iudicii sermo sancti Agustini</i>
		58v	Blank

Booklet 5 also contains a series of short homilies, some of which are compiled from other texts. In this instance the theme is focused on eschatological topics such as the coming of Antichrist and the need for conversion and repentance in case of unexpected death. These themes not only tie into Wulfstan's interest with end times but would be suitable for

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 219-220.

⁸⁷ See Wulfstan's directions to bishops in his text *Be ðeodwitan: And bisceopas syndon bydelas and Godes lage lareowas, and hi sculon riht bodian and unriht forbeodan... And gif bisceopas forgymað, þæt hi synna ne styrað ne unriht forbeodaþ ne Godes riht ne cyþað, ac clumiað mid ceaflum, þær hi sceoldan clypian, wa heom þære swigean!* Jost, *Die Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, p. 62, l. 42 – p. 63, l. 43.

⁸⁸ A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, pp. 20-21.

instilling lax Christians and the unconverted with a sense of urgency to adopt the Christian faith. As with booklet 4, this collection is written by a single scribe (G) who appears elsewhere in the manuscript. Booklet 5 also contains texts common to the same St John's homily collection. The appearance of these texts across multiple booklets written by the same pair of scribes is one of the strongest indications that texts across Copenhagen were copied as part of its deliberate compilation process.

The texts are tied together through the theme of repentance and preparation for the end of life and the end of days, and this textual awareness confirms that the five texts were planned as a group. Booklet 5 opens with the Latin version of Wulfstan's homily on the Antichrist, titled here *De antehristo et eius signis* (Bethurum Ia).⁸⁹ It is comprised of 'quotations and paraphrases' relating to the identification of Antichrist which are known to have circulated fairly widely as an independent sermon.⁹⁰ Next is a sermon called *De ultimo die exitus anime, de corpore* on the departing sinning soul being confronted by two angels, which serves as a warning to always be prepared for death. The third text, *De conuersione et penitentia et communione*, continues the theme of always being prepared for death which leads into the importance of taking communion to expiate sins. Next is another unidentified piece titled *De resurrectione mortuorum*, which calls for people to follow the teaching of scripture and believe in the resurrection of the flesh. The repetition of the urgency to not delay repenting one's sins and to prepare for a sudden death takes Wulfstan's eschatological interests and places them within a practical quotidian context, thereby making Booklet 5 a collection of eschatological sermons which could be used at any time of the year.

⁸⁹ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 113-115.

⁹⁰ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 55-56.

Booklet 6⁹¹

Booklet	Quire	Folio	Text
6	8	59r-60v	<i>De Adiutorio dei et libero arbitrio</i>
		60v-62r	Augustine- <i>Sermo sancti Agustini de baptismo non iterando</i>
		62r-65r	Untitled Sermon on Vices and the confrontation of sinners and the Good with God on Judgement Day
		65v-66v	<i>De Uisione</i> – Latin section of Bethurum XI- <i>Isaiah on the punishment for sin</i>
		66v	Insertions by Wulfstan- Luke 11.28 and some sentences in Old English.

While booklet 6 lacks internal unity, its connections to other texts in Copenhagen suggest that it was created as a miscellany to supplement them. Scribes C and G appear in three other booklets in Copenhagen⁹² and the texts both they and Scribe H write in booklet 6 are thematically connected to the booklets they wrote. It is here in booklet 6 that we can see threads of the compilation process which created Copenhagen as it appears that Wulfstan grouped together miscellaneous texts to create a new quire, possibly due to the lack of blank spaces elsewhere in the manuscript.

The first text, *De Adiutorio dei et libero arbitrio*, is a short sermon about free will copied by Scribe C which makes liberal use of Scripture, particularly the account in II Kings of David's penitence for committing the gravest sins of murder and adultery, and his eventual forgiveness by God. It emphasises the need to embrace God who is the only source of salvation. These themes have some overlap with the eschatological texts in booklet 5 which

⁹¹ A summary of the contents is also provided in the Cross and Tunberg facsimile, see Cross, *Wulfstan Copenhagen*, pp. 21-22.

⁹² See above in the section on scribes, pp. 57-60.

encourage the reader or listener to seek forgiveness, but *De Adiutorio dei* lacks the urgency which comes with the focus on impending end times.

The second of the two texts written by Scribe C, titled *Sermo sancti Agustini de baptismo non iterando*, contains interesting features which connect it to the wider Copenhagen manuscript and raises questions regarding the order in which Copenhagen was compiled. The sermon is a composite of passages from two Augustine sermons on baptism linking to the three baptism texts in booklet 7. This allows us to bring in an interesting observation by Dorothy Bethurum, who noticed that *Sermo sancti Agustini de baptismo non iterando* contains a passage about the importance of the act of baptism itself, not the priest who performs it.⁹³ Bethurum is unsure whether Wulfstan took this sentiment from Ælfric or directly from Augustine, but she notes that Wulfstan's wording in the Old English version of his baptism homily (Bethurum VIIIc) is closer to the latter.⁹⁴ This theme links back to booklet 1, which could be suitable for use in Scandinavia, where adherence to orthodox doctrine was not consistent and people might have been baptised by heretical priests.

The third text, also found in the St. John's homily collection, is an untitled sermon about the sinners and the virtuous meeting God on Judgement Day, compiled by augmenting Scriptural extracts, copied by Scribe G who also transcribed the eschatological collection in booklet 5.⁹⁵ The texts in booklet 6 continue to be thematically congruent with the other booklets as a way of supplementing those compilations. The single verso side of a folio which remains blank at the end of booklet 5 would not have been enough space for this

⁹³ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 315-316.

⁹⁴ Interestingly, Augustine's comments on baptism are not included in the Latin version of Wulfstan's baptism homily (Bethurum VIIIa), which appears in booklet 7.

⁹⁵ The copy of this homily in St. John's B.20 has the title *De uitandis peccatis et de iudicio futuro*.

untitled sermon which is six folios in length. Perhaps Scribe G was working on booklets 5 and 6 at a similar time and inserted it here due to insufficient space in booklet 5.

The final text, which is a series of Latin biblical extracts that Dorothy Bethurum has edited into part of the text "Isaiah on the Punishment for Sin" (Bethurum XI). Many of the extracts are general statements regarding the punishment of evil deeds and do not explicitly relate to any of the other booklets' contents.⁹⁶ Wulfstan wrote the main title and all chapter titles for this text, the titles being written in abbreviated majuscule *ITEMs*. The chapter titles were added after the text was written as Wulfstan has placed them in the margins or squeezed them in as interlinear additions. Their purpose is to highlight the breaks between chapters which would not be identifiable if Wulfstan had not included them, thereby making the text easier to read. This provides further elucidation of Wulfstan's supervisory role in Copenhagen's creation and suggests there may have been a consideration for someone other than himself using this text.

Wulfstan used these excerpts to write a series of notes for a homily on f. 66^v, the final folio in the booklet.⁹⁷ This is where the ink from the final *punctus versus* made by Wulfstan has partially transferred onto the opening folio of booklet 7. The differentiation in ink and aspect of his writing indicates these notes were made on at least three occasions. Evidently, Wulfstan was returning to these texts repeatedly either during Copenhagen's composition or shortly thereafter.⁹⁸ These notes fit with a pattern of Wulfstan's working practice

⁹⁶ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 211-220. The part which corresponds to the section in Copenhagen is on pp. 211-214.

⁹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 140; Cross, J. E. and Brown, Alan, "Wulfstan and Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés", *Medievalia* 15 (1989), pp. 74-75.

⁹⁸ Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen', p. 509.

identified in other examples of his handwriting. Winfried Rudolph and Jonathan Wilcox have both discussed British Library, Additional 38651, ff. 57r-58v, in which Wulfstan compiled texts out of brief notes.⁹⁹ Wulfstan has returned to these notes on at least three separate occasions to write short paragraphs which compare earthly travel to the search for heaven.¹⁰⁰ Wulfstan made use of the preceding text, Bethurum XI, taking quotations from its excerpts for use in his new composition.¹⁰¹

Tunberg believes the accretive nature of booklet 6 shows the texts were added at different times. The Wulfstan homily titled *De Uisione*¹⁰² was, she asserts, added some time after the contributions by Scribes C and G. This is Scribe H's only contribution to Copenhagen and is separated from Scribe G's final text by a half-folio gap. These features suggest a palaeographical break, probably caused by changing exemplars.¹⁰³ The presence of Wulfstan's hand in booklet 6 demonstrates beyond doubt that it was copied before 1023 and that the archbishop was almost certainly involved in the selection of its texts.¹⁰⁴ The thematic lines which can be drawn from booklet 6's text to those in all the other booklets is emblematic of the important role within booklet 6 plays within Copenhagen, and is one of

⁹⁹ Rudolph, Winfried, 'Wulfstan at Work: Recovering the Autographs of London, British Library, Additional 38651, fols. 57r-58v', in Ursula Lenker and Lucia Kornexl (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Micro-Texts* (Berlin, 2019), pp. 267-306; Wilcox, Jonathan, 'The Wolf at work: uncovering Wulfstan's compositional method', in Claire Breay & Joanna Story (eds.) *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), pp. 141-153.

¹⁰⁰ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ Although as Lionarons points out, the Old English parts of Bethurum XI do not contain the text he wrote here, so perhaps the homily he eventually wrote has not survived. See Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 36.

¹⁰² Edited in Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 211-220 as part of Isaiah on the Punishment for sin. Ff. 65v-66v consist of most of the Latin section of Bethurum XI.

¹⁰³ Bertrand, Paul, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe: The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution 1250-1350*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Turnhout, 2019), p. 179.

¹⁰⁴ Tunberg makes no mention of Wulfstan's hand and the implications for booklet 6. Gerritsen argues that scribe H's text could have been added after the manuscript was finished, but this fails to engage with the clear evidence that Wulfstan was using that text when writing his notes. See, Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen', p. 507.

the strongest pieces of evidence for the codex being the result of a planned compilatory project.

Conclusion

It is fitting to finish by considering the way in which the links between Copenhagen's booklets are not immediately obvious but becomes more apparent through a multivalent approach to the codicological, palaeographical and textual evidence. Copenhagen was a thoughtful compilation of booklets which complemented each other thematically and functionally, for the sake of an episcopal user. More broadly, it raises the question of how many 'working' manuscripts like this were formed by the assembly of thematic *libelli*. Where studies using the Commonplace Book theory have sought to explicate Wulfstan's miscellanies in terms of an original *Ur* collection, this has shown how Wulfstan worked within booklets to create shorter thematic units. These booklets could be combined and supplemented to form larger collections, encompassing several different topics. Wulfstan's hand across the whole manuscript is significant in showing his active involvement in this process of accretion.

Scribe A's two contributions of booklets 1 and 7 form an original core around which the rest of the manuscript was developed and could have been completed sometime earlier than the other booklets. Both were self-contained units, written by a scribe unconnected to the compilatory process. Booklet 7 is a collection we know to be incomplete from its survival in Corpus 265. The missing texts prompted the creation of booklet 2 which was assembled by multiple scribes working in a distinctive staccato pattern. Booklet 2 was then further

augmented with *de ieiunio quattuor temporum* by Scribe C to place a text relating to Lenten fasting next to the analogous texts in booklet 3.

Booklet 3 may also have originated independently as a collection of Abbo sermons which were then brought together with the collection of Wulfstan letters copied from his personal correspondence during Copenhagen's creation. This is another instance where functional considerations were factored in to ensure that any bishop using the manuscript had the letters to hand when performing the liturgical reconciliation during Holy Week. The possibility that Booklet 3 antedated Copenhagen's compilation would also explain why *De ieiunio* was copied into booklet 2.

The process of Copenhagen's compilation under Wulfstan's supervision is made intelligible by scrutiny of the contributions of individual scribes and the codicological evidence. The activities of scribes C and G across different booklets, often inserting texts available in exemplars to which, apparently, they alone had access, is indicative of some of the scribes copying material for a planned manuscript project. This approach also clarifies the nature of booklet 6 which appears to be an incoherent bundle of texts, but which can be shown to have been compiled in a more considered way. The texts written in it by scribes C and G make direct reference to other booklets within Copenhagen, and the transference of ink from Wulfstan's notes to the first folio of booklet 7 points to Wulfstan making use of it once it had been assembled. Its position between the eschatological texts of booklet 5 and the baptismal texts of booklet 7, could likely be the result of placing it at the closest point between the booklets most relevant to its own contents. Would it be possible to find more

examples of supplementary booklets like these in other non-Wulfstanian working manuscripts? Certainly, we should remain on the outlook for such things.

Copenhagen is pivotal for our understanding of the flexibility booklets provided when used in manuscript production. The approach was pragmatic and efficient and allowed for scribes to work in an entirely different manner to those copying out a single manuscript-spanning text or collection. Existing collections could be reappropriated and, when texts were missing, smaller collections could be added rather than recopying the entire group. Texts could be fitted into blank spaces which might have overflowed from booklets which had reached capacity, or entirely new booklets could be created to serve this purpose. This level of understanding of a manuscript, and the methods used in its creation, can only be achieved through a unified appreciation of the texts, codicology, and palaeography. Previous studies which isolate these factors come away with a restricted view which can only serve to hinder research. Copenhagen is a manuscript on which scholarly opinion has seemingly been settled for almost thirty years. Offering this new approach will hopefully encourage others to return to it and see it with fresh eyes.

Copenhagen's Owner

With a full appreciation of the manuscript's creation and contents, it is perhaps germane to revisit Copenhagen's journey to Denmark and its wider significance within history. The titles in the manuscript, many of which were inserted by Wulfstan himself, point to an owner who was not Wulfstan himself, suggesting it was intended as a gift or with a view to be used beyond Wulfstan's own lifetime. Despite the possibility that monks

could be engaged in pastoral activity, the episcopally focused content makes its destination less likely to be the monastery of Odense than Gerbrand of Roskilde. The vein of reformist ideology which runs throughout Copenhagen would be far more useful to a bishop in his administrative and pastoral duties. Gerritsen's suggestion of Gerbrand of Roskilde does indeed offer an apt recipient because Gerbrand was well placed to promote Wulfstan's ideological framework in a new territory using Copenhagen's collection of Carolingian and eleventh-century English texts espousing reformist ideals.¹⁰⁵ The act of giving the manuscript to Gerbrand would have been a political one as it potentially represented a threat to Hamburg-Bremen's long-running attempts to assert authority over the Scandinavian Church. By Wulfstan's time Christianity had been present in Denmark for just over half a century, beginning with the conversion of the first Scandinavian Christian king Harald Bluetooth c. 965.¹⁰⁶ However, there had been little direct external influence on the Scandinavian Church in the interim: Swein Forkbeard had rejected Hamburg-Bremen's involvement by removing their appointed bishops.¹⁰⁷ Swein may also have been the first ruler in Scandinavia to open his kingdom to English churchmen.¹⁰⁸ Since then, Hamburg-Bremen had struggled to gain pre-eminence over the English church and its rival German sees.¹⁰⁹ Cnut appointed three bishops to Scandinavian sees: Bernhard was granted control of Skåne, Reginbert was made Bishop of Fyn, and Gerbrand Bishop of Roskilde (Zealand).¹¹⁰ Adam of Bremen records all three bishops as English, but their names are uncommon in England at this time and are (possibly) continental German in origin, which could mean

¹⁰⁵ Orchard, Andy, 'The library of Wulfstan of York', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 694-700.

¹⁰⁶ Abrams, Lesley, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianisation of Scandinavia', *ASE*, 24 (1995), p. 225

¹⁰⁷ Sawyer, Peter, 'Swein Forkbeard and the Historians', in Ian Wood and G. A. Loud (eds.), *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor* (London, 1991), pp. 27-40.

¹⁰⁸ Abrams, 'Christianisation of Scandinavia', p. 226.

¹⁰⁹ Bolton, Timothy, *Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 176-177.

¹¹⁰ Abrams, 'Christianisation of Scandinavia', p. 227.

they were only English through their consecration.¹¹¹ It is unclear to what extent the Anglo-Saxon Church sought to influence the Scandinavian Church while Cnut ruled both lands, but regardless of intentions, England had a noticeable impact while Cnut was king.¹¹²

Niels Lund proposes that Cnut intended to make Gerbrand an archbishop with authority over the entire Scandinavian Church,¹¹³ as Roskilde was an increasingly wealthy and powerful settlement and the royal residence of the Danish kings.¹¹⁴ The truth of the matter is impossible to establish but it is interesting to note Gerbrand's placement in the witness list to a 1022 Ely charter below only the archbishops Wulfstan of York and Æthelnoth of Canterbury.¹¹⁵ Traditionally, a recently consecrated bishop like Gerbrand would appear lower down the witness list.¹¹⁶ Therefore his placement points to other considerations at play. Additionally, Gerbrand's arrest and forced oath of fealty to Archbishop Unwan of Hamburg-Bremen on his way back to Denmark suggest that his appointment had displeased at least one major political figure.¹¹⁷ In addition to being an essential tool to understanding the prominence of the booklet system in Wulfstan's manuscripts, Copenhagen is thus potentially also a politically important manuscript: a totemic representative of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical influence over contested continental territory.

¹¹¹ Bolton, *Cnut the Great*, p. 178.

¹¹² Lund, Niels, 'Cnut's Danish Kingdom', in Alexander R. Rumble (ed.) *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London, 1994), p. 39.

¹¹³ Lund, 'Cnut's Danish Kingdom', p. 41-42.

¹¹⁴ Nyberg, Tore, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800-1200* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 39.

¹¹⁵ S958. <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/charter/958.html>. Accessed 7th December, 2021, 10:35. Keynes regards the charter as authentic, see Keynes, Simon, 'Cnut's Earls', in A. R. Rumble (ed.) *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London, 1994), pp. 49, n. 38.

¹¹⁶ Keynes, Simon, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred the Unready 978-1016: A Study in their use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 156.

¹¹⁷ Abrams, 'Christianisation of Scandinavia', p. 231-232.

Chapter 2: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv., ff. 114-179 – A personal source collection

Introduction

Copenhagen is unusual amongst manuscripts compiled by Wulfstan in that it was almost certainly created as a gift for another bishop to use. By contrast, the subject of this chapter, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv., ff. 114-179,¹ is a Latin manuscript intended for Archbishop Wulfstan's personal use. The booklets in Vespasian are employed in a similar way to those in Copenhagen, but the two manuscripts diverge in how they were assembled and used. In Vespasian, there is a core collection of Alcuin letters written continuously across five quires to which additional booklets have been added, most likely in a gradual accumulatory process. As with Copenhagen, there is a dialogue between the booklets: in Vespasian, where the original collection of booklets was supplemented not only by the addition of further booklets but also by the addition of texts at the end of existing booklets. In Vespasian these booklets also represent a divergence from what had previously been a purely epistolary collection. Whereas Copenhagen's contents cover broader themes in Wulfstan's work so that it could be used by another bishop, Vespasian contains primarily non-Wulfstan texts which cover themes of episcopal power and jurisdiction, their conflict with papal and secular influence, and the alienation of

¹ There are two other parts of Vespasian A. xiv, both of which originate from later centuries: ff. 1-105 contains a collection of hagiographical material relating to saints from Wales and Western England and a Latin-Old Cornish glossary which were copied s. xii²; ff. 106-113 is series of extracts from Bede's *Histories*, Gilbert Crispin's *De spiritu sancto*, and an account of the dispute between the popes Urban VI and Clement VII copied s. xii^{med}. These manuscripts were combined together by Robert Cotton, see: Tite, C. G., *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (London, 1993), pp. 41-49.

ecclesiastical wealth. Throughout the manuscript there is evidence of how personal Vespasian was to Wulfstan, most notably texts praising him which would only be of interest to him. There is a consistency in methods used to produce Copenhagen and Vespasian which demonstrate how Wulfstan assembled and pre-planned compilations of texts in which booklets played an important role.²

Vespasian is a small manuscript,³ created as a collection of texts on the episcopal office and its role in society which Wulfstan could read on his travels. Donald Bullough comments upon the size of Vespasian as being ‘perfect for portability and personal use rather than for the school-room or scriptorium’.⁴ It draws most of its texts from one collection which was either a single larger exemplar or a group of unbound *libelli*.⁵ This chapter confirms and extends the arguments made by Gareth Mann and Donald Bullough who, roughly twenty years ago, both published studies of Vespasian which, in turn, examined the construction of the manuscript and the transmission of its Alcuin letters. The evolution of Vespasian into an episcopal source book and repository for personal texts is also pertinent to our proper understanding of how the manuscript functioned.

Our perception of the manuscripts encumbered with the Commonplace Book theory has been stunted by researchers treating all the manuscripts within that group as though they are variations on the same theme. The classification of Vespasian as an aspect of Wulfstan’s Commonplace Book is misleading as its contents are largely distinct from those

² This contrasts with Nero, which the evidence suggests was not intended to be a single compilation. See chapters 4 and 5.

³ In its current binding the manuscript has the dimensions 215 x 185mm (folios 210 x 145mm)

⁴ Bullough, Donald, A., *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation: Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, 2004), p. 97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

which characterise the supposed Commonplace Book grouping. It is primarily epistolary (See Table 3.1); it does not contain political tracts, secular law codes, liturgical material or Wulfstan's own homiletic work beyond two short excerpt compilations. The only legal materials in it are three short sets of canons from the seventh (672 Council of Hertford), ninth (816 Council of Chelsea) and tenth centuries (Oda's *Constitutiones*).

Booklets	Quire	Folio	Text
1	1	114r-118v	Alcuin to King Æthelred, the 'patrician Osbald' and dux Osbert
		118v-121v	Alcuin to the brothers of Wearmouth-Jarrow
	2	122r-123r	
		123r-125v	Alcuin to Bishop Higbald and the church of Lindisfarne
		125v-129v	Alcuin to Æthelred and all his nobles
		129v	Alcuin to Æthelred
		130r	
	3	130r-133r	Alcuin to the brothers of the church of York
		133r-136r	Alchfrid the Anchorite to Higelac
		136r-137v	Alcuin to Archbishop Eanbald II of York
		138r-142r	
	4	142r-142v	Alcuin to 'Simeon' (Archbishop Eanbald II of York)
		142v-145v	Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury
		146r-148v	
	5	148v	Verses praising Wulfstan in Wulfstan's hand. ⁶
149r-153v		Canons of the Synod of Chelsea, 816	
154r-155v		Alcuin to Æthelhard	
2	6	155v-157r	Alcuin to Æthelhard

⁶ Written by the Wulfstan Hand.

		157r-158r	B' to Bishop Æthelgar of Selsey (later Archbishop of Canterbury r. 988-990)
		158r-158v	Lantfred to the brethren of St Peter's Monastery (Old Minster, Winchester)
		158v-159r	Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury
		159r-159v	Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin to Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury
		160r	Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury
		160v-162v	Alcuin to Calvinus
		162v-163r	Alcuin to the brothers of 'Candida Casa'
		163r	Pope Paul I to Archbishop Ecgbert of York and King Eadberht (imperfect)
		163v	Alcuin to Abbot Wulfhard
3	7	164r-165r	Alcuin to Dodo
		165r-165v	Bishop Arn of Salzberg to Cuculus
		165v-166v	Alcuin to Abbot Ethelbald of Wearmouth-Jarrow
		166v-167v	Alcuin to Colcu
		167v-168r	Alcuin to Joseph
		168r-168v	Alcuin to Bishop Arn
		168v-169r	a 'get well' message from Alcuin
		169r	a message from Alcuin noting a safe arrival

		169r-169v	a message of thanks and congratulations from Alcuin
		169v	Instructions to a priest from Alcuin
		169v-170r	a message offering excuses and explanation from Alcuin
		170r	Alcuin's acknowledgement of an archbishop's letter
		170r-171r	Alcuin's advice to a priest
		171r	Alcuin's letter to thank a lady
		171r-171v	Abbot Wido of Blandinium to Dunstan
		171v	Alcuin to Paulinus II, Patriarch of Aquileia ⁷
4	8	172r-173r	Canons of the Council of Hertford (672)
		173v	Wulfstan's compilation – <i>De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum</i> – extracts primarily taken from Bk. III of Atto of Vercelli's <i>De pressuris ecclesiasticis</i>
		174r-175r	Pope Leo III to Coenwulf, King of Mercia
		175v-177v	Oda's <i>Constitutiones</i>
		177v	Wulfstan compilation– <i>De activa vita et contemplativa</i>
		178r-179r	Wulfstan's 'letter of protest' to the papacy
		179r-179v	letter to Wulfstan while he was still bishop of London.

Existing Scholarship on Vespasian

Although Vespasian has received considerable scholarly attention, much of this is concerned with the texts it transmits, particularly Alcuin's letters and several unique

⁷ Written by the Wulfstan Hand.

individual items, rather than its Wulfstanian compilation and codicology. Unlike Copenhagen and Nero, it has not been treated to a detailed facsimile study. Colin Chase's edition of Alcuin's letters identified the first seven quires as three booklets,⁸ but his work is flawed and has been critiqued by Donald Bullough.⁹ Bullough's examination focuses on Alcuin's letters as transmitted from the continent and York, via the south of England and into Wulfstan's possession. The study includes a review of the scribal stints across the manuscript but does not go into detail on booklet 4, thereby omitting the most palaeographically complex section of the manuscript.¹⁰

Interest in the transmission of Alcuin's letters has also led to consideration of their possible exemplar. The important close links to a Canterbury manuscript of Alcuin's letters from the mid eleventh century,¹¹ London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv, ff. 1-173,¹² have been a focal point for much discussion concerning Vespasian.¹³ The Alcuin material which forms the bulk of the manuscript's contents was originally compiled at York,¹⁴ but the version which acted as Vespasian's eventual exemplar(s) was compiled at Christ Church,

⁸ Chase, Colin, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, (Toronto, 1975).

⁹ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 83, n. 202.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-102.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81. Bullough mentions Dumville's dating of the manuscript to s.xiⁱⁿ, but expresses his doubts in n. 196. For Dumville's dating see, Dumville, David, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictine History, A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 107-108.

¹² Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist*, n. 368. It contains a large collection of Alcuin's letters to a variety of recipients, as well as poems and letters mostly pertaining to Archbishops of Canterbury.

¹³ Brett, Caroline, 'A Breton pilgrim in England in the reign of King Æthelstan', in Gillian Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (eds.), *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Essays by members of Girton College, Cambridge in Memory of Ruth Morgan* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 43-70; Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Wulfstan at York', in Jess B. Bessinger Jr. and Robert P. Creed (eds.) *Medieval and Linguistic Studies: In Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.* (London, 1965), pp. 218-219. Whitelock cites a 15th century inscription of Ebor in Harley 208, which suggests it was at York by then. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Vespasian contains a significant number of interventions by the Wulfstan Hand, something which is entirely absent from Harley 208. This is not to say that Harley 208 was not in York by the early eleventh century, but there is no evidence that it held the same level of interest to Wulfstan who arranged the creation of Vespasian.

¹⁴ Keynes, Simon, 'The 'Canterbury letter-book'', in Claire Breay & Joanna Story (eds.) *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), p. 124.

Canterbury. It was at Canterbury where some of the additional sources were incorporated into the exemplar,¹⁵ including the Frankish non-Alcuinian epistolary material which stems from a hypothetical ninth-century continental manuscript known as K-Type, which most likely came from Tours,¹⁶ as well as the canons and various other texts in booklet 4.¹⁷ The presence of unique texts has also directed research on the manuscript. The canons of the Council of Chelsea,¹⁸ Oda's *Constitutiones*,¹⁹ Pope Leo III's letter to Coenwulf of Mercia,²⁰ and a protest letter by Wulfstan sent to the papacy,²¹ are only preserved in this manuscript. Investigations of individual texts have improved our understanding of Wulfstan's sources,²² but do not explain why the texts were chosen for inclusion by Wulfstan. The disconnected analyses of individual texts have created the impression that the manuscript is a disordered miscellany. Gareth Mann's study draws together textual, codicological, and palaeographical features of *Vespasian*. His findings have greatly improved our understanding of how the manuscript was assembled and how its codicological structure is directly related to the layout of the texts.²³ Mann proposed a multi-stage development of the manuscript in which the first five quires and the seventh quire (booklets 1 and 3) were the original collection which was then augmented with thematically related texts by the addition of the sixth and eighth quires (booklets 2 and 4) and two texts at the end of booklet 1. The texts were chosen for their relevance to events contemporary in England and other matters of interest to

¹⁵ Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 85-6, 95-6, 98-9.

¹⁶ Keynes, 'The Canterbury 'letter-book'', pp. 124-126.

¹⁷ This assessment was offered by Katy Cubitt in private correspondence.

¹⁸ Cubitt, Catherine, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650 – c. 850* (London, 1995), pp. 308-9.

¹⁹ For an edition see, Archbishop Oda of Canterbury's *Constitutiones* in M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooks (eds.), *Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church 871-1204* (2 Vols.) (Oxford, 1981), Vol. I, pp. 67-74; Archbishop Oda of Canterbury, *Constitutiones*, ed. by G. Schoebe, *Historical Research* 35 (1962), pp. 75-83.

²⁰ Whitelock, *EHD*, vol. I, pp. 919-920.

²¹ Bethurum, Dorothy 'A Letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope', in Henry Bosley Woolf and Thomas Austin Kirby (eds.), *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (London, 1949), pp. 97-104.

²² Cross, J. E., 'Atto of Vercelli, "De pressuris ecclesiasticis"', Archbishop Wulfstan, and Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', *Traditio*, 48 (1993), pp. 237-246.

²³ Mann, Gareth, 'Development', pp. 235-278.

Wulfstan. Booklet 2's texts were drawn from the same collection as the two earlier booklets, but booklet 4 contained texts of various types drawn from different sources. Mann emphasised that the growth of *Vespasian* represented Wulfstan's engagement with the original group of texts and a desire to gather further material on the same topics. This was a living, evolving manuscript in a much more literal sense than either *Copenhagen* or *Nero*. Much of what Mann establishes withstands scrutiny, but his chronology for the booklets' creation and the thematic unity of some of the booklets requires reassessment.

A recurring issue in *Vespasian*'s scholarship has been the attribution of the manuscript to a scriptorium. Primarily the discussion has revolved around Wulfstan's two sees, Worcester and York, but this chapter will also consider Wulfstan's personal entourage as a possible option. Worcester poses problems because of the lack of an identifiable house style there in the early eleventh century, not helped by *Vespasian*'s scribes 'careless' work.²⁴ The high level of variation at this time in scripts not just at Worcester but across England has meant attaching *Vespasian* to either Worcester or York has relied on *Vespasian*'s sources and exemplars, and particularly upon Worcester's links to other manuscripts.²⁵ *Vespasian*'s chief potential link to the Worcester scriptorium derives from ff. 1-118 of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii,²⁶ a cartulary with an estimated *terminus ante quem* of c. 1016.²⁷ Five scribal hands were identified in Tiberius A. xiii by Neil Ker,²⁸ one of which also contributed to *Vespasian* (Scribe C), who also contributed multiple writing stints in

²⁴ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 98.

²⁵ Crick, Julia, 'English Vernacular Script', in Gameson, *Book* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 184.

²⁶ Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 366.

²⁷ Dumville, David, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictine History, A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 66.

²⁸ Ker, N. R., *Books, Collectors & Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, A. G. Watson (ed.) (London, 1985), pp. 34-35.

Copenhagen.²⁹ Scribe G from Copenhagen also appears in *Vespasian* alongside Scribe C but does not appear in *Tiberius A. xiii*, therefore Scribe G cannot be directly attached to Worcester in the same way as Scribe C. A lack of unity exists between the five hands other than all exhibiting a lack of proportion in height between 'the ascenders and descenders and the letters on the line'. Ker concedes that palaeography is little help in associating a manuscript to Worcester at that time and internal evidence is more helpful in cases such as the *Tiberius A. xiii* cartulary. In his study of the development of script in the late Anglo-Saxon period, David Dumville agrees with Ker's remarks but clarifies that the possible relationship to Worcester lies with vernacular script rather than Latin.³⁰ Furthermore, in defining Worcester's style, Dumville cites *Vespasian* and *Copenhagen* as examples, whose attribution to Worcester is questionable at best. Therefore, when approaching *Vespasian*, an entirely Latin manuscript, we should not rely on any assumptions that its scribes can be confidently associated with Worcester. A review of the scribes and their activity across *Vespasian* shows how few can be attached to Worcester other than through their association with Wulfstan and *Tiberius A. xiii*. This ambiguity is best highlighted by Gameson who attributes decoration reminiscent of the style of York scribes appearing in a Worcester manuscript (Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 48, ff. 107-166) to scribes travelling with Wulfstan between his two sees.³¹ Whitelock placed the copying of the core Alcuin material at *Vespasian* at York, although she admits attributing a scribe to York is even more difficult due to the low survival rate of manuscripts there.³² Whitelock's assumption regarding the origin of the Alcuin material has been challenged by many scholars who have shown the

²⁹ Scribe D from Copenhagen also appears in *Tiberius A. xiii* but does not appear in *Vespasian*.

³⁰ Dumville, *English Caroline*, p. 66.

³¹ Gameson, Richard, 'Book production and decoration at Worcester in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (eds.), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996), p. 210-213, esp. n. 54.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219. She argued much of the material had relevance to the Northumbrian see and covered Alcuin material not found in the ninth-century manuscript with York provenance, London, British Library, Harley 208.

collection from which Wulfstan drew came via Christ Church, Canterbury.³³ This demonstrates that the sources used for *Vespasian's* exemplar originated in Canterbury but does not conclusively disprove that parts of *Vespasian* were copied at York. Bullough asserted that *Vespasian* was given to York after Wulfstan's death, as it was the exemplar for four letters copied into London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B. iv in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century.³⁴ This suggests that even if it was a product of Worcester, it did not remain there.

Vespasian's Codicology

Vespasian contains eight quires split into four booklets. The folio dimensions across all four have been trimmed to a consistent size of 210x145mm to fit within the modern binding. The cropping of early modern marginalia indicates it was trimmed to its current size in the modern era. The narrow upper margin present throughout the manuscript suggests the pages might once have been taller if not also wider, but the writing space for the text indicates the manuscript was never drastically bigger than its current size.

³³ Dumville, *English Caroline*, pp. 107-108, esp. n. 125; Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 97; Mann, 'Development', p. 266; Keynes, 'The Canterbury 'letter-book''.

³⁴ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 101. The letters are (Dümmler Nos.) 16, 18, 43, and 114.

Table 3.2-- Codicological and Palaeographical details of <i>Vespasian</i>					
Booklet	Quire	Folios	Collation	Lines per page	Scribe
1	1	114-121	8	22	A
	2	122-129	8	22	A
	3	130-137	8	22	A + B
	4	138-145	8	22	B
	5	146-153	8	22	B, C, G + Wulfstan ³⁵
2	6	154-163	10	31	D
3	7	164-171	8	31	E + Wulfstan
4	8	172-179	8	31 ³⁶	C, F, H, K, L, M + Wulfstan

There are notable differences between the original core of booklet 1 and the later additions, which emphasise the cumulative structure identified by Mann, but do not accord with his narrative of booklet 3 being created simultaneously with booklet 1. The first booklet is made up of five quires, while the other three consist of one quire each. All eight quires contain a single column of text, but booklet 1's folios are ruled for twenty-two lines while booklets 2, 3, and 4 are ruled for thirty-one lines. Mann incorrectly records that all eight quires have thirty-one lines, concluding that the uniformity was intentional for the four booklets to 'fit' together aesthetically.³⁷ Correcting this oversight highlights the visual distinctions between the original booklet and the later additions, making the two halves feel like separate projects: an original core, and a later project of expansion.³⁸ This does not prove that booklets 2-4 were planned as a separate manuscript, as there are too many textual

³⁵ In both instances where I have listed Wulfstan as a scribe, he is responsible for the writing of a text in the ruled space on the folios. I have not included the many other occasions where he has corrected texts or made marginal additions.

³⁶ While all the pages are ruled for thirty-one lines, some of the scribes use the top line of the ruled section for the main text and not just the titles, thereby technically making the texts thirty-two lines long on those pages. For an example see Wulfstan's letter of protest to the papacy on ff. 178^{r-v}.

³⁷ Mann, 'Development', p. 240

³⁸ Bullough also thought the three later booklets had independent origins, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 99.

connections across the four booklets to reach that conclusion. The similarities of booklets 2-4 indicate an intentional consistent design for all three, but whether they were all added at the same time or gradually will be discussed later in the chapter.

Vespasian's Scribes

Except for Wulfstan and Scribe C, the activity of each scribe in Vespasian is confined to a single booklet. This compartmentalisation of scribes emphasises the booklet structure of the manuscript and the accumulation process which created. We cannot assume a scribe's association with Worcester proves the entire manuscript originated there. It is unclear whether any scribes were based, or received training, at either Worcester or York, but the more important conclusion from an examination of the scribal activity in Vespasian concerns the different ways in which the scribes created each booklet, pointing to the accumulatory nature of Vespasian's creation.

Booklet 1 - Scribes A, B, C, and G

Booklet 1's earliest texts, the ten Alcuin letters on ff. 114r-148v, were written by two scribes (A and B) in almost equal contributions.³⁹ The other scribes who appear in booklet 1 are C, G, and Wulfstan. C and G were identified by Jennifer Morrish Tunberg in multiple

³⁹ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 99; Caroline Brett also discusses the scribal hands in booklet 1 but incorrectly states they were written by a single scribe. See Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', p. 66.

booklets in Copenhagen.⁴⁰ Below I have retained Tunberg’s letter designations for both of them.

Scribe	Start Folio	Start Line	End Folio	End Line	Text
A	114r	3	134v	12	Alcuin letter collection
B	134v	12	148v	2	
Wulfstan	148v	5	148v	21	Praise Poem
C	149r	2	153r	6	Canons from the Synod of Chelsea (816)
G	153r	6	153v	11	

Although Vespasian’s association with Worcester stems from Scribes C and G because they contribute to London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (also known as Hemming’s Cartulary) from c. 1016., this has never confidently been claimed of Scribes A and B. Bullough describes the debate on Vespasian’s Worcester origin as being settled, albeit not unanimously, raising doubts about booklet 1’s origin in a footnote.⁴¹ But Tunberg believed the Alcuin letters in booklet 1 more likely came from York and states that she cannot find examples of scribes A and B in any other Worcester manuscript.⁴² Booklet 1’s codicology also points to a possibly different origin from the other booklets in Vespasian. We should thus be cautious over assuming that Scribes A and B were based in Worcester.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 2, pp. 57-60. For Tunberg’s identification see, Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 34-37 and 40-41.

⁴¹ Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 97-98, and n. 242. He cites David Dumville as his authority on this: see: Dumville, *English Caroline*, pp. 65-67, and n. 290. As previously mentioned, Dumville specifies that this relates to vernacular script, whereas Vespasian is an entirely Latin manuscript, (see n.27 above.)

⁴² Tunberg, *The Copenhagen Wulfstan*, p. 45, n. 53.

We can be more certain these two scribes worked closely together in the same environment, copying out a collection of letters with particular interest for York or Northumbria.⁴³

Their stylistic similarities and their use of the same exemplar,⁴⁴ indicate that both scribes were working together. Both scribes provide Latin texts for *Vespasian* written in clear English Caroline Minuscule. Scribe A's text is legible, but the bottom of the letters tend to drift above and below the baseline. The aspect of the script is round, and the ascenders and descenders are relatively short, rarely extending to twice the length of the minims. The descenders consistently curve gently to the left on most letters, and the ascenders on *d*, *l*, and *h* splay slightly. Scribe A's *f* and *s* both have descenders which sit below the baseline, which is more in keeping with Insular script, but the tongue of the *f* remains high in the letter form and connects with the top of the following letter, sometimes being written with the same stroke. The Caroline hood of the *a* is not consistent and, when it does appear, is often very short. His *a* lacks the boxy appearance of Square Minuscule, favouring an angled bow. Scribe A's *g* is distinctive: the top is looped in the Caroline style, but the descender is formed with a single wide curve like an inverted *C*. One particularly distinct feature of Scribe A's hand is the variation in their minuscule *r*'s, roughly half of which have a curved vertical stroke that arcs to just below the baseline (see fig. 3.1). The two forms are treated interchangeably and can sometime both appear within the same word. The more distinctive majuscule letter forms used by Scribe A are *A* and *E*. The apex of the former does not form a single point, instead the two angles form a wide top which has a width similar to the cross-stroke. The *E* is very round and is formed using a majuscule *C* with a cross-stroke. Scribe A

⁴³ We also cannot rule out that they were not in either location at the time of writing and may even have been working as part of Wulfstan's itinerant entourage.

⁴⁴ Mann, 'Development', p. 242, n. 12.

uses two different forms of the *æ* ligature, employing both the *æ* form as well as the *ę* with the *a* reduced to a lightning bolt-like shape hanging off the bottom left of the *e*.

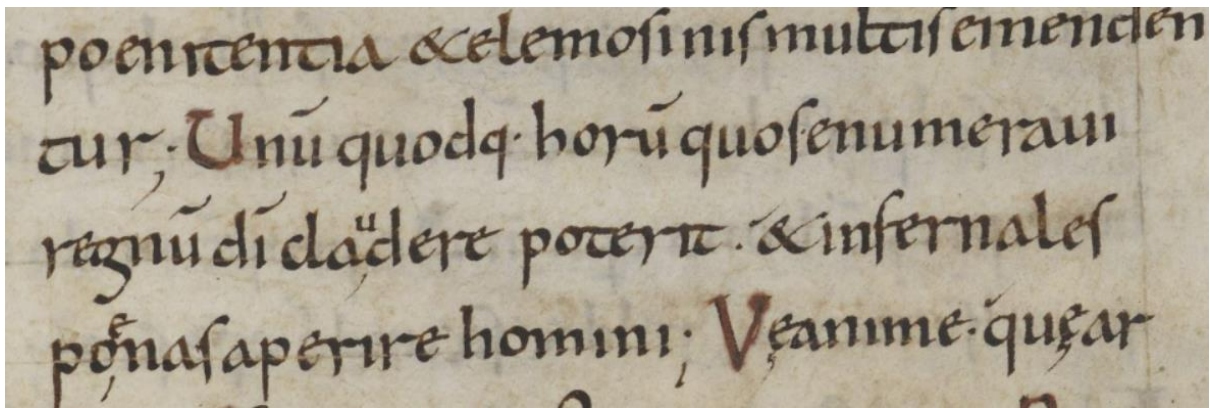


Fig. 3.1 - Example of Scribe A's handwriting on f. 115r, featuring the two versions of the scribes minuscule *r*, among other distinguishing features.

Scribe B takes over at line 12 on f. 134^v writing the final word in a sentence in the middle of a letter from Alchfrid the Anchorite to Higelac. His script is slightly thinner in appearance than Scribe A's, most notably on all vertical strokes and minims. The sideways flicks on the minims which form letters like *n*, *m*, and *u*, taper quickly and often leave a gap between the strokes of which the letterforms are comprised. The ascenders and descenders are similar in length to Scribe A's but scribe B's splayed tops on the ascenders, angle more sharply downwards to the left than the previous Scribe A's. The top loop on his *e* is larger than Scribe A's and his *a* is more distinctly Caroline with a large top extending beyond the bow to the left. Scribe B's *st* ligature also has a more elaborate top loop which curves to the left slightly before arcing round to the right. One of the most distinctive features of scribe B's hand is his *g* which uses a looped top but has a shape like that of an Insular *a* rather than an *o*. The descender is also markedly different to Scribe A's: rather than curving round into a large C shape, it drops downwards in a shallow curve before rising round to the left to form

a closed loop a millimetre or so below the top loop. In direct contrast to Scribe A, scribe B's capital *E* is very upright, square, and narrow. Both scribes use a mix of *æ* and *ę*, and both scribes use a sharp lightning-bolt like stroke to form the caudata.

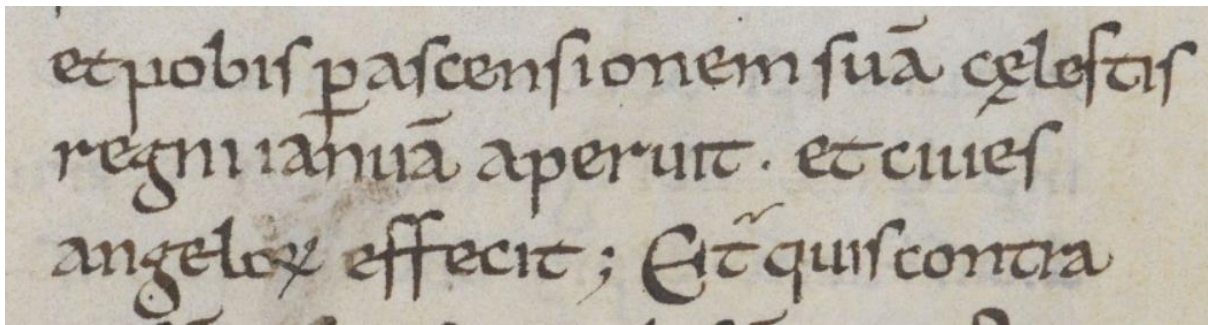


Fig. 3.2 - Example of scribe B's handwriting on f. 136r. Note the distinctive minuscule *g*'s and *a*'s which are markedly different from those of Scribe A

There are multiple instances of scribes making single appearances in Wulfstan's booklets *Vespasian*, *Nero* and *Copenhagen*. However, this is the only occasion in *Vespasian* where two scribes were working in such close collaboration that one of them picked up from the other mid-sentence. It is also the longest instance of this form of collaboration across all three manuscripts. Therefore, it is interesting to note similar elements in the hands of both scribes which, while they cannot be used to attribute them to a specific location, suggest they might have trained in the same location. Their *r*'s are both formed with two defined calligraphic strokes, with the horizontal second stroke being written with a controlled flick. Both scribes write long *f*'s with descenders below the baseline with a high tongue connecting to the following letter and a rounded high top. This feature is found in many Insular hands writing Caroline Minuscule around this time, but many scribes still favoured an earlier form of *f* and *s*, which sat lower down on the baseline, found in earlier Insular scripts.⁴⁵ A and B's

⁴⁵ Roberts, Jane, *Guide to Scripts used in English Writings up to 1500* (London, 2005), pp. 38-41 and 85-86.

et ligatures both have a top loop which collapses off to the right, not rising much higher than the minims.

Scribes C and G have already had some aspects of their scripts discussed in the previous chapter, and in even greater depth by Tunberg in the facsimile study of Copenhagen.⁴⁶ I will briefly repeat some of the key details and the differences observed by Tunberg between their contributions in Copenhagen and here in *Vespasian*. These are the two scribes appearing in *Vespasian* who are most closely linked to Worcester through Scribe C's appearance in the earlier half of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (Hemming's Cartulary) from c. 1016.⁴⁷ Scribe G works so closely with Scribe C both here and in Copenhagen that it is very likely they were based in the same location at some point. Both scribes wrote in English Caroline Minuscule with distinct Insular traits. Scribe C used a small script with letters which switch between their Caroline and Insular versions, most commonly the *a*, *d*, and *h*. There is good word separation but letters within individual words often appear crowded together. When he had the available space, he accented many of his letters with long ascenders and descenders. When using the Caroline version, his *a* has an enlarged top hood which extends upwards like an ascender. This is like their *&* ligature which has an extended final stroke which rises sharply to the right. An interesting observation made by Tunberg is Scribe C's greater use of Insular variants in booklet 1 compared to booklet 4 and Copenhagen.⁴⁸ While an initial assumption from this could be that we are witnessing an improvement in Scribe C's Caroline Minuscule over time, my own assessment is that the difference has been overstated by Tunberg. Many of the Insular traits

⁴⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 57-60. Tunberg, *Copenhagen Wulfstan*, pp. 34-37 and 40-41 for the two scribes respectively.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

in booklet 1 which are absent elsewhere occur most frequently in the first two sides of writing. This is more indicative of a scribe adjusting to using Caroline letter forms, perhaps after more recently writing vernacular script.⁴⁹

Scribe G also wrote in a small legible script with minims that have fine yet clear feet. He favoured Insular graphs more consistently than Scribe C, with the *r* and *g* being some of the most consistent. His *f* and *s* have descenders below the baseline in the Insular style but have Caroline forms and rise above the minims; this makes both quite long in comparison to his other letterforms. He used both *æ* and *ȝ* ligatures, the latter of which features a caudata which curls back under the *e* before flicking back to the left in an arc like a tail.

Booklet 2 – Scribe D

Scribe D is responsible for all eleven letters of booklet 2. There is very little said about him in studies of *Vespasian* beyond acknowledging that his hand is different and more ‘idiosyncratic’ than those in booklets 1 and 3.⁵⁰ The hand instantly looks more cramped than those in booklet 1 but the transition from twenty-two to thirty-one lines per page plays a factor in this appearance. The hand is frequently small in proportion, with short bursts where the size of the script grows larger. This is not connected to the start of a letter or particular parts of the texts and is likely a visual representation of the scribe returning to

⁴⁹ This raises more interesting questions regarding the scribes used frequently by *Wulfstan*, such as scribes C and G who more commonly wrote in vernacular, relating to whether they were secular scribes employed in his personal household.

⁵⁰ Brett, ‘A Breton Pilgrim’, pp. 66-67; Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 99; Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-books*, p. 9; Mann, ‘Development’, pp. 239-240.

writing after a break. The graphs are consistently Caroline Minuscule. Examples include the exclusive use of the upright *d*, the looped *g* which has a distinctive fishhook or bony-knuckle descender, the hooded Caroline *a*. Both the *f* and *s* sit on the baseline, and the smaller *r* does not descend below the baseline. Scribe D uses the diagnostic Caroline *ct*, *st*, and *or* ligatures frequently, as well as the Insular abbreviation ÷. His *ae* ligature is erratic: he uses both *æ* and *ę* and sometimes eschews both. The *ę* caudata takes multiple forms, the most common of which is formed in two interlocking strokes like a yin-yang symbol. There is nothing about his style which connects him to Worcester other than the appearance of Wulfstan's hand making corrections.

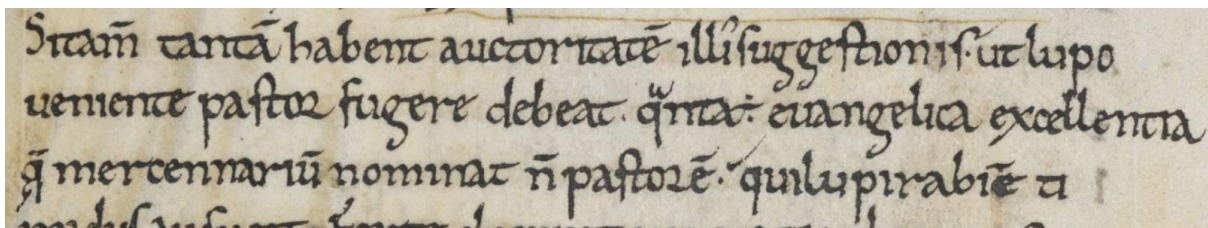


Fig. 3.3 - Example of Scribe D's handwriting on f. 155v. Note the 'bony knuckle' descender on the *g* and the frequent use of Caroline ligatures.

Booklet 3 - Scribe E

Scribe E is another whose proximity to Wulfstan's hand (he writes the final item of the quire and inserts corrections throughout), is the only element to connect him to Worcester. As with Scribe D, his contribution is unconnected to the other booklets which appear alongside it. Scribe E wrote using Caroline Minuscule which contains few Insular influences. He favoured longer ascenders which are more than twice the height of his minims, but his descenders are markedly shorter. The aspect of the script is rounded, with

graphs such as *c* frequently formed from a single curving stroke rather than two shorter ones. Most of Scribe E's letter forms are Caroline: there are no instances of an Insular *d*; the *g* always has a top loop and the descender connects to either the centre of the loop or the bottom right; his *f* only slightly dips below the baseline, but his *s* consistently sits on it. Scribe E uses the Caroline ligatures for *st* and *or*, with the former being used more frequently than the latter. The most identifiable Insular graph used by Scribe E is his *h*, which features a hoop that curves back onto itself. There are also a mix of both the Caroline and Insular *a* but Scribe E favours the former. Scribe E also uses a distinctive vertical tilde to mark abbreviations, most commonly a missing *m* or *n* from the end of a word. He occasionally used the more standard horizontal version, but the vertical one is more frequent in his work. The variation in ascender and descender length could be related to what Neil Ker described an aspect of the house style loosely associated with Worcester but there are no diagnostic traits other than this in Scribe E's script which could be used to link him to their scriptorium. It is clear booklet 3 was written by a scribe distinct from those who appear in the other Vespasian booklets.

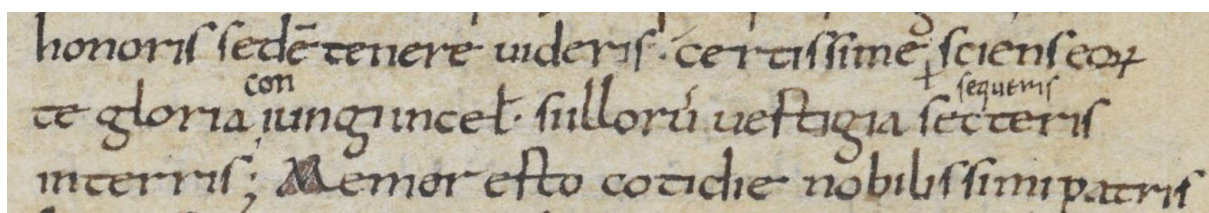


Fig. 3.4 - Example of Scribe E's handwriting on f. 166r, including an interlinear appearance of Wulfstan's hand, who has written '+ sequeris' above Scribe E's 'secteris'.

Booklet 3's Decoration and Chronology

Mann's conviction that there was similarity between the incipits and initials in booklets 1 and 3 led him to conclude that Scribe E wrote booklet 3 contemporaneously with Scribes A and B writing booklet 1. Mann was accurate on many details but, in this regard, he is incorrect, as it is likely booklet 3 was more coeval with booklets 2 and 4. As with his mistake regarding the number of lines per folio, Mann cites details of the design in booklets 1 and 3 which are inaccurate:

'While quires 1-5 [booklet 1] and 7 [booklet 3] are coloured throughout, the colouring in quire 6 [booklet 2] (which in any case differs from 1-5 and 7 because no colouring is used within texts) ceases at fol. 158r. Thereafter, gaps are left until the end of the quire where coloured initials should be.'⁵¹

He is correct that quire 6 lacks initials after f. 158r but those which are present before this point share a greater likeness to those in booklet 3 than booklet 1. The initials in booklet 1 are considerably larger and different in style than those in the following two booklets (see figs. 3.5 - 3.7 for comparison below).



Fig. 3.5.- Booklet 1 Initial D on f. 125v

⁵¹ Mann, 'Development', p. 240.

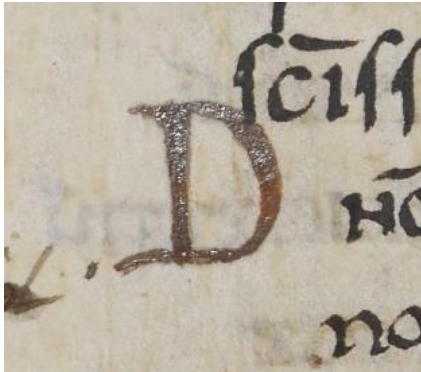


Fig. 3.6.- Booklet 2 Initial D on f. 157r

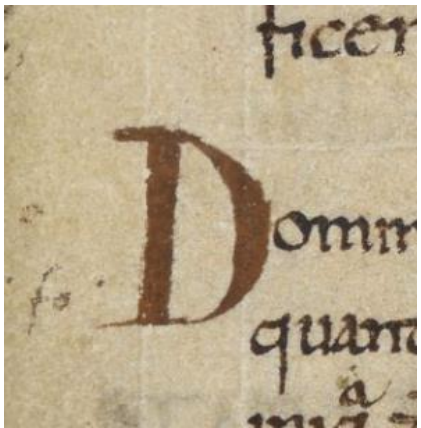


Fig.3.7.- Booklet 3 Initial D on f. 171v

The initials in booklet 1 take up more space in the left-hand margin than those in the following two booklets (see Fig 3.8, below), which intrude into the text block. While the height of the initials varies in all three booklets, those in the first more consistently span three lines (see Fig. 3.9, below), while the latter two are more consistently only two lines tall.

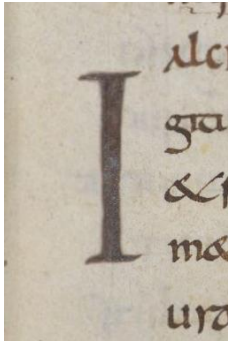


Fig. 3.8– Initial I from f. 133r in Booklet 1 sitting entirely within the left-hand margin

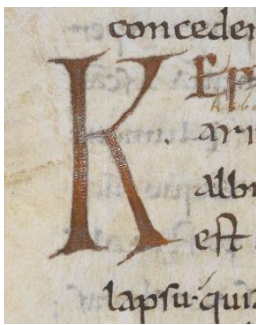


Fig. 3.9– Initial K from f. 142r in Booklet 1 spanning four lines in height.

The incipits and other decorative elements in booklet 3 further distinguish it from booklet 1. All the letters in booklet 1 have a descriptive title written in majuscule script using minium ink. The incipits to the letters are not decorated and do not use majuscule graphs. Booklet 3 is less homogeneous in its use of titles and incipits and contains other decoration not found in booklet 1. The first two letters in booklet 3 have titles relatively similar in style to booklet 1 written in orange ink (albeit far less oxidised), but that is as far as this particular correlation goes. Thereafter most of the letters have space left for titles but they are not included, the exception being the item starting on f. 170^r, which follows on immediately from the preceding text which has no space left for a title. Only one other title, 'EPILOGUS EPISTOLE', which signals the epilogue of the letter part way through the item on f. 170^v, appears in the rest of booklet 3. The title sits in a gap of one and a half blank lines left

between sections, which may have been an unintentional gap or copied from the exemplar. The title does not match the script of the others which suggests it was added later to indicate the following text was a continuation of same letter to prevent confusion. Five of the sixteen letters in booklet 3 have incipits written with majuscule script.⁵² The amount of the incipit which has been capitalised varies – sometimes it is only a single word, other times the entire first line: this is a design feature which does not appear in booklet 1.

Throughout booklet 3 there are letters which have been decorated with minium ink. They appear in many of the opening lines, including the ones containing majuscule incipits, and throughout the main text of each letter. Primarily they are used to mark out the capitals at starts of sentences, but there are also instances where they are used to highlight the names of individuals.⁵³ There are no decorations such as this on any folio in booklet 1.

Perhaps if just one of these elements had been different between booklets 1 and 3, then it would be easier to support Mann's suggestion that both booklets were copied at the same time. However, when one considers the additional difference of booklet 1's twenty-two lines per page, booklet 3 seems less like the main Alcuin collection, and more akin to what we see in booklet 2. Both booklets have similar initials and majuscule incipits at the start of various of their letters. Just as booklet 3's titles were planned but were only written for two letters, booklet 2 left has spaces for titles which never appear, and its initials stopped partway through. This indicates booklets 2 and 3 were part of the same expansionary project and did not form an original part of the manuscript. This is important for the examination of

⁵² This increases to six if you include the epilogue of the letter just previously discussed as it features a majuscule incipit as well as a title. It is the only section of text in booklet 3 which has both.

⁵³ For an example of this see f. 167^r, l. 22 where '*korolu(m) et rege(m) offan*' [Karolum et regem Offam] has been picked out in orange ink.

booklet 3's contents later in this chapter, as its texts appear to be a response to the themes in booklet 1, and possibly even booklet 2.

Booklet 4 – Six Scribes for Seven Texts

The scribes of booklet 4 have rarely been discussed. Bullough, the scholar who devoted most attention to scribal activity in *Vespasian*, identified three,⁵⁴ but detailed examination shows six scribes, other than Wulfstan, who contributed texts.⁵⁵ The palaeographical activity in *Vespasian's* booklet 4 mirrors elements seen in booklet 6 in Copenhagen, wherein multiple scribes contributed complete single texts independently. Booklet 4 in *Vespasian* is a more pronounced example of this as its seven texts were written by six different scribes (seven if Wulfstan is included, see Table 3.4, below). Only two (Wulfstan and Scribe C) appear anywhere else in *Vespasian*. Booklet 4's scribes all wrote in similar Caroline Minuscule and their scripts can only be distinguished from each other through careful examination of specific letter graphs. The number of scribes at work in this booklet sheds light on the purpose this particular assembly of texts.

⁵⁴ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 100; Mann says there at least two, see 'Development', p. 257; and Chase makes no mention of booklet 4's scribes, see Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁵ The graphs used for the identification of the six scribes in booklet 4 are included in Appendix I on pp. 301.

Table 3.4 - Scribal Stints in Booklet 4 of the Vespasian Manuscript					
Scribe	Start Folio	Start Line	End Folio	End Line	Text
F	172r	1	173r	27	Canons of the Council of Hertford (672)
Wulfstan ⁵⁶	173v	0	173v	0	<i>De rapinis aecclesiasticarum rerum</i>
C	173v	1	173v	27	
Wulfstan	173v	28	173v	31	
F	174r	3	175r	19	Letter - Pope Leo III to Coenwulf, King of Mercia
H	175v	1	177v	6	Oda's <i>Constitutiones</i>
Wulfstan ⁵⁷	177v	9	177v	9	<i>De activa vita et contemplatioa</i>
K	177v	10	177v	29	
L ⁵⁸	178r	0	179r	4	Wulfstan's 'letter of protest' to the papacy
M	179r	8	179v	14	Letter - Anonymous to Wulfstan while he was still bishop of London.

The only scribes who appear twice in booklet 4 are Scribe F, who writes the first and third texts, and Wulfstan, who writes titles for the second and fifth texts and the last four lines of the second. The interaction between Wulfstan's hand and scribes C and K is similar to that seen in Nero and Copenhagen where scribes copy texts following Wulfstan's insertion of titles.

The scribal activity in booklet 4 contrasts with the other booklets in Vespasian which indicates it was not planned as a single collection but had each text added independently. Booklets 2 and 3 have single scribes writing out the whole group of texts, and booklet 1 shows two scribes working in collaboration, picking up from one another mid-text and mid-

⁵⁶ Wulfstan writes the title of the text on the line above the text box.

⁵⁷ Wulfstan writes the title of the text.

⁵⁸ The page is ruled for thirty-one lines but the scribe uses the line above the ruled box for the first line of the text.

sentence. The difference in the way booklet 4 was written indicates its purpose was not the same as the other three booklets, a hypothesis which is supported by the miscellaneous nature of its texts, to be examined later in this chapter.

Codicology and Palaeography Conclusion

There are clear dividing lines which can be drawn based on Vespasian's codicological and palaeographical evidence. Codicologically, booklet 1 is distinct from the other three in terms of its *mis-en-page* and number of quires. Mann's observations on matching decoration in booklets 1 and 3 do not stand up to scrutiny. It is more likely that the latter three booklets were part of an expansion of the original core of booklet 1.

The different number of scribes in booklet 4 suggests that it was compiled piecemeal, unlike booklet 1 where two scribes collaborated in copying a pre-determined set of texts, and booklets 2 and 3 where both collections were copied by single scribes. The texts added in booklets 1 and 3 are similar in nature to those in booklet 4 and the involvement of Scribe C in booklet 1's additions suggest they were added around the same time as the creation of booklet 4. Vespasian was possibly created in three stages: The initial compilation of booklet 1 followed by booklets 2 and 3, and then the more gradual accumulation of booklet 4 and perhaps simultaneous additions to booklets 1 and 3.

Overall, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that Vespasian was copied at Worcester. The hands of most of the scribes cannot be attributed to Worcester, and the only

scribe associated with Worcester, Scribe C, only contributes later additions to booklets 1 and 4. The booklets might have had different origins, but the source of booklets 1-3 had material which makes it more likely to be of interest to York. It is also possible that the scribes were working within Wulfstan's household and not attached to either cathedral. However, rather than get bogged down on the location of the scribes, it is perhaps more important for this discussion to focus on the fact that, regardless of location, the scribes in booklet 4 and at the end of booklet 1 worked closely alongside Wulfstan.

Analysis of the Contents of *Vespasian*

The role of texts in individual booklets is central to our understanding of *Vespasian*. The synthesis of the codicological, palaeographical, and thematic groupings, provides a purpose which drove the manuscript's genesis and development. While the thematic motifs established by Mann are less consistent than he proposed, they nonetheless demonstrate Wulfstan's thought process when expanding the manuscript.

Booklet 1 – The original Alcuin core and two later additions

The collection of ten Alcuin letters (see Table 3.5) is the oldest part of the manuscript and the core to which Wulfstan added the other three booklets. Booklet 1 is a curated collection of Alcuin letters, copied out in an order which closely mirrors its exemplar, chosen for their discussions of the Viking attacks of the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries, and

the importance of good governance to a prosperous kingdom.⁵⁹ This is reflected in the survival of another collection of the Alcuin letters, London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv, which preserves these ten letters in the same order, likely copied indirectly from the same exemplar.⁶⁰ The final two texts, written into blank folios at the end of the booklet, are later additions added around the same time as booklet 4. They reflect how Wulfstan saw *Vespasian* both as an expandable source-collection and as an item of personal importance.

Table 3.5 - Overview of Booklet 1 in *Vespasian*

Quire	Folio	Text	Sequence in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv.	Dümmler / Stubbs
1	114r-118v	Alcuin to King Æthelred, the 'patrician Osbald' and dux Osbert	25	D18
	118v-121v	Alcuin to the brothers of Wearmouth-Jarrow	26	D19
2	122r-123r			
	123r-125v	Alcuin to Bishop Higbald and the church of Lindisfarne	27	D20
	125v-129v	Alcuin to Æthelred and all his nobles	29	D16
	129v	Alcuin to Æthelred	30	D30
130r				
3	130r-133r	Alcuin to the brothers of the church of York	31	D43
	133r-136r	Alchfrid the Anchorite to Higelac	37	N/A
	136r-137v	Alcuin to Archbishop Eanbald II of York	40	D114
138r-142r				
4	142r-142v	Alcuin to 'Simeon' (Archbishop Eanbald II of York)	50	D116
	142v-145v	Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury	52	D17
146r-148v				
5	148v	Verses praising Archbishop Wulfstan	N/A	N/A
	149r-153v	Canons of the Synod of Chelsea, 816	N/A	N/A

⁵⁹ Mann, 'Development', p. 242, n. 12.

⁶⁰ Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, p. 12; Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', pp. 68-69.

Many of the letters are exhortatory in tone, encouraging or commanding their recipients to adhere to religious values and perform the defined duties of their role as king, archbishop, or abbot. The opening letter is sent to three recipients: King Æthelred I of Northumbria, the *patricius* Osbald, and the *dux* Osbert. In the letter, Alcuin upbraids them for their poor leadership and directly associates good kingship with the success of the nation both in terms of material prosperity and divine rewards:

*Legimus quoque quod regis bonitas totius est gentis prosperitas, uictoria exercituum, aeris temperies, terre habundantia, filiorum benedictio, sanitas plebis... et qui bene regit subiectum sibi populum, bonam habet a deo retributionem, regnum scilicet celeste.*⁶¹

The theme of good rulers and their effect on a nation's prosperity is dealt with in many of Wulfstan's own texts, some of which the archbishop compiled into a booklet in Nero.⁶²

The attack on Lindisfarne in 793 is mentioned in five of the letters in booklet 1. The letters selected by Wulfstan frame the event as part of this pattern, as Mann puts it, of 'divinely ordained destruction', but also offers it as an opportunity to learn from God's punishment.⁶³ Across the letters, the clergy, primarily the bishop, are identified as figures central to providing recovery from the destruction, acting as shepherds of the population and as lawgivers.

⁶¹ Vespasian f. 116^v, l. 21 – f. 117^r, l. 6 – 'We have read that a good king is the prosperity of the whole nation, a victorious army, temperate air, abundant earth, the blessing of sons, a healthy people...and he who rules his subject people has good repayment by God, namely the kingdom of heaven.'

⁶² See Chapter 4, pp. 239-256 for a discussion of this booklet.

⁶³ Mann, 'Development', p. 243.

Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard (D17): *Memor esto quod sacerdos angelus domini dei est excelsi, et lex sancta ex ore eius requirenda est*⁶⁴

Alcuin to King Æthelred, Osbald and Osbert (D18): *Episcoporum est monasteria corrigere, seruorum Dei uitam disponere, populo Dei uerbum predicare. Laicorum est oboedientia predicationi. Sacerdotum est diligenter plebem erudire subiectam.*⁶⁵

These letters had a traceable influence on Wulfstan as he excerpts passages from them in his own works.⁶⁶ Dorothy Whitelock identified several lines of Alcuin's letter to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury in Wulfstan's longest recension of *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.⁶⁷ The Alcuin excerpt that Wulfstan used references the writings of Gildas, demonstrating the letters also provided the archbishop with the opinions of earlier authorities. Throughout *Vespasian's* booklets a pattern emerges of Wulfstan seeking out earlier authorities as he adds further texts.

Mann's theory that Wulfstan compiled these letters in response to his elevation to the see of York would date the production of booklet 1 to c. 1002. Alcuin's letters to Eanbald upon his accession to the archbishopric in 780 could have served as guidance for Wulfstan, as Mann has argued.⁶⁸ The collection in booklet 1 therefore was an important assembly of

⁶⁴ *Vespasian*, f. 145^r, ll. 1-2, 'You must remember that the priest is the messenger of the of Lord God on high, and holy law is required from their mouths'

⁶⁵ *Vespasian*, f. 118^v, ll. 1-5, 'It is required of bishops to correct monasteries, to arrange the lives of the servants of God, to preach the word of God to the people. Obedience to the preaching is required of the laity. It is required of priests diligently to instruct those under them.'

⁶⁶ Mann, 'Development', p. 245.

⁶⁷ Whitelock, 'Two Notes on Ælfric and Wulfstan', *The Modern Language Review*, 38 (1943), p. 125.

⁶⁸ Mann believes the underlining which occurs throughout this section was performed by Wulfstan, but the underlining hand uses the same ink as an early modern scribe which appears throughout the manuscript. See, Mann, 'Development', pp. 244-245. My own views are supported by those of Simon

instructional sources for Wulfstan as he climbed further up the religious and political hierarchies of England. However, this is only plausible speculation; about the construction of *Vespasian*, we can only be certain that booklet 1 was copied first, almost certainly after Wulfstan's elevation to York.

Two items, a short poem praising Wulfstan and the canons from the 816 Synod of Chelsea were added later to fill the quire, likely at the same time as the compilation of booklet 4. The poem, on f. 148^v, is significant for our understanding of *Vespasian*'s function as Wulfstan's personal possession. Copied out in Wulfstan's own hand, it heaps praise upon the archbishop. It has played a central role in the debate regarding the identification of Wulfstan's handwriting as one of the longer examples of Wulfstan's hand and one of the few instances where the archbishop used his neatest script.⁶⁹ Once the debate on Wulfstan's handwriting was settled, it has become a novelty whose presence is mentioned frequently in studies which touch upon *Vespasian* but the significance of which has not been fully considered.⁷⁰

The copying of a praise poem to Wulfstan in his own hand has caused confusion. Christopher Hohler and Patrick Wormald questioned whether Wormald would have scribed

Keynes, who makes a similar observation and surmises that the underlining is linked with John Joscelyn. See, Keynes, 'The Canterbury 'letter-book'', p. 134.

⁶⁹ Ker, 'Handwriting', pp. 326-327.

⁷⁰ Dorothy Bethurum edits it in the appendices of Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 377-378; Wormald talks about it several times in Wormald 'Æthelred', pp. 51-52; Wormald, 'Holiness', pp. 226-229; Orchard, Andy, 'Wulfstan as Reader, Writer and Rewriter', in Aaron J Kleist (ed.), *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice and Appropriation* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 328-329; Szarmach, Paul E., 'The palimpsest and Old English homiletic composition' in Leo Carruthers, Raeleen Chai-Elsholz, and Tatjana Silec (eds.), *Palimpsests and the Literary Imagination of Medieval England: Collected Essays* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 86.

such a flattering poem himself.⁷¹ Neither of them makes any judgement regarding the purpose of the poem in *Vespasian*. However, an examination of the poem in relation to its manuscript context suggests that Wulfstan stored it in *Vespasian* as a personal and private memorandum. It is evidence that Wulfstan viewed the manuscript as a personal item and used it to store texts which were intimately relevant to him.⁷² The poem, which heaps praise upon Wulfstan multiple times, makes it highly unlikely that Wulfstan was its author. The references within the poem to an *opus* has previously been assumed to mean *Vespasian*, but the description of a beautiful manuscript that contains Wulfstan's own work which is included in the poem makes it clear that it cannot be referring to either the utilitarian manuscript or the letter collection which is almost entirely focused on Alcuin. This is supported by the poem's positioning towards the back of a booklet, which rules out the possibility of it being a dedicatory poem designed to introduce the collection. It is clear that Wulfstan copied it from a different manuscript in *Vespasian* for his own personal enjoyment. This is supported by Wulfstan's multiple interventions which have been added later and on more than one occasion, where he has altered the poem to make him sound humbler to better suit his own tastes.

The presence of English canons in booklets 1 and 4 suggests they were part of a protracted compilatory campaign. The Canons of the Council of Chelsea, written by scribes C and G were most likely added to booklet 1 around the same time as the Council of Hertford and Oda's *Constitutiones* were added to booklet 4, the latter two being written by

⁷¹ Hohler, Christopher, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in David Parsons (ed.) *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London, 1975), p.225, n. 59.; Wormald, 'Æthelred', pp. 51-52.

⁷² Holmes, Sam, 'archpontifice pro wulfstano uenerando: The curious case of the praise poem in London, British Library, Cotton *Vespasian* A. xiv' in Colleen Curran (ed.) *The Anglo-Latin Poetic Tradition* (forthcoming, 2023).

scribes F and H respectively.⁷³ If they were from the same exemplar, it is likely all three would have been copied sequentially and by the same scribe, so it is more plausible that they were taken from multiple sources. The archbishop was returning to the space left in booklet 1 to fit in further texts as he developed the compilation further, which points to the Chelsea canons being added into booklet 1 around the same time as the creation of booklet 4 which contains similar texts. The canons 'were not framed with idealised and general purposes in mind but set out to attack specific problems of the church',⁷⁴ and many of these specific problems remained relevant to Wulfstan in the eleventh century. The canons touch upon themes relevant to Vespasian such as episcopal and abbatial duty and unity of the English church, and exhibit Wulfstan's interest in collecting Anglo-Saxon canon law.⁷⁵

Booklet 2 - Episcopal Duties and Abuses of Power.

Booklet 2 contains another series of letters taken from Tiberius A. xv, most of which are letters written to archbishops of Canterbury and offer thematic links to the letters in booklet 1. By contrast to booklet 1, the order of letters does not mirror that of Tiberius A. xv. Caroline Brett suggests booklet 2 represented a disordered 'first scraping together' of material and proposed that it was the earliest booklet in Vespasian to be written, with the more ordered booklets 1 and 3 coming later.⁷⁶ However, Mann disagrees with this hypothesis, and argues that Wulfstan was rearranging the ordering of the exemplar to group the letters thematically.⁷⁷

⁷³ Mann, 'Development', p. 240-241.

⁷⁴ Cubitt, *Church Councils*, p. 196.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁷⁶ Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', pp. 66-70.

⁷⁷ Mann, 'Development', 252.

Table 3.6 - Overview of Booklet 2 in Vespasian				
Quire	Folio	Text	Sequence in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv.	Dümmler / Stubbs
6	154r-155v	Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury	104	D311
	155v-157r	Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury	107	D128
	157r-158r	B' to Bishop Æthelgar of Selsey (later Archbishop of Canterbury r. 988-990)	139	S20
	158r-158v	Lantfred to the brethren of St Peter's Monastery (Old Minster, Winchester)	140	S21
	158v-159r	Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury	126	S9
	159r-159v	Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin to Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury	138	S19
	160r	Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury	127	S22
	160v-162v	Alcuin to Calvinus	36	D209
	162v-163r	Alcuin to the brothers of 'Candida Casa'	35	D273
	163r	Pope Paul I to Archbishop Ecgbert of York and King Eadberht (imperfect)	39	N/A
	163v	Alcuin to Abbot Wulfhard of Hodda Helm	12	D70

The first pair of letters is addressed to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury (the same recipient as for the last letter from booklet 1) and develops along similar themes. The first discusses the duties of a bishop and the power invested in him by the *pallium*, but the second takes a comparable tone to the last letter of booklet 1, admonishing Æthelhard for fleeing from Kent after the uprising of Eadberht Præn in 796. Alcuin uses this incident to return to a bishop's role as a representative of law and order. Alcuin implores the archbishop to call a synod to unite *singulas aecclesias atque parrochias*⁷⁸ and compares the

⁷⁸ Vespasian, f. 156^r, ll. 18-19.

bishop to a *miles*⁷⁹, fighting for a unified church to defeat the devil. As in the last letter of booklet 1, Alcuin cites the need to fight for land won as pagans and now hold as Christians.⁸⁰ The links in recipient and theme could be the reason why Wulfstan chose to position booklet 2 here to create a sense of continuity. However, as there would have been more than enough space at the end of booklet 1 to fit them in prior to the additions of the verse and Canons of Chelsea, that would indicate the additions at the end of booklet 1 were already in place when booklet 2 was created. Or Wulfstan saw the two opening letters of booklet 2 to be more suitable within this compilation than that of booklet 1. The chronology and themes of these three letters are apposite and, positioning them in Vespasian, Wulfstan is drawing together three letters which, based on their ordering in Tiberius A. xv., were much further apart in the supposed exemplar.

A sense of continuity is created by booklet 1 having the same correspondents as the first two letters of booklet 2 discussing similar themes. The links between these letters also demonstrate an awareness that booklet 2 was a continuation of its predecessor. The length of the two letters in booklet 2 ensured that they could easily have fitted into the space at the end of booklet 1 that is now filled with the poem and canons of Chelsea, which bolsters the sense that booklet 2 was copied while booklet 1 was not available and only brought together later.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 20.

⁸⁰ Vespasian, f. 146^r, ll. 4-8. *Patres itaque nostri, Deo dispensante, licet pagani hanc patriam bellica uirtute primum possiderant. Quam grande igitur obprobrium est ut nos Christiani perdamus quod illi pagani adquisierunt.* Translation: Our fathers, pagans though they were, first took this land, under providence, by their valour. What a disgrace it is then that we Christians should lose what they won as pagans.' Translation by Mann, 'Development', p. 246.

The next five letters jump forward in time significantly and come from a separate tranche of correspondence in the *libelli* of Vespasian's exemplar. They are letters from tenth-century southern England, four of which were written to consecutive tenth-century Archbishops of Canterbury – Æthelgar (d. 990)⁸¹ and Sigeric (d. 944), and the other to the brothers of Winchester's Old Minster. They jump forward in time significantly from Alcuin's letters. The inclusion of these letter highlights Wulfstan's interest in episcopal correspondence and they have connections to the themes dealt with in booklet 1. The first of the tenth-century group is from B, the author of *Vita sancti Dunstani* to Bishop Æthelgar of Selsey (d. 990). He asks the bishop to act as a mentor for him following the death of his previous master, Bishop Ebrachar of Liège. The second epistolary text, the preface to Lantfred of Fleury (and Winchester's) *Vita et miracula Sancti Swithuni*, is addressed to the brothers of St Peter's in Winchester.⁸² Mann argues these two letters represent Wulfstan's interest in how a bishop functioned as a 'spiritual guide' for possible patrons, and for promoting the veneration of saints.⁸³ Alternatively, both letters could be of interest for their connection to Winchester. The connection in Lantfred's letter is clear, but B's is less obvious. B is writing to Æthelgar asking him to travel from Liège to Winchester to continue his studies of Aldhelm's *De virginitate*. At the time of writing Æthelgar held the abbacy of New Minster in plurality with the bishopric of Selsey.⁸⁴

The next three letters deal with the question of church property and how to protect it from alienation, themes which also appear in Alcuin's letters. These have been examined

⁸¹ Although B wrote his letter to Æthelgar when the latter was still Bishop of Selsey.

⁸² Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', p. 67.

⁸³ Mann, 'Development', p. 254.

⁸⁴ Winterbottom, M., and Lapidge, Michael, *Oxford Medieval Texts: The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2011), pp. lxxii-lxxiii. They also provide an edition and translation of the letter, see pp. 152-158.

before by Steven Vanderputten alongside a fourth letter in *Vespasian*, the epistle from Abbot Wido of *Blandinium* to Dunstan (booklet 3, ff. 171^{r-v}). Vanderputten interprets these letters as examples of the strong financial, political, and cultural connections between England and religious houses in Flanders in the later tenth century.⁸⁵ Mann, however, views them less positively and argues that these letters, including the one from Abbot Wido,⁸⁶ are all 'begging letters' in which the leaders of continental religious houses exploit their links with archbishops of Canterbury to solicit financial gain.⁸⁷ The first in this group comes from Fulrad (*Falradus* in the *Vespasian* text), the abbot of Saint-Vaast, requesting a continuation of the *beneficia* which had been promised by the archbishop's predecessor, Dunstan. Vanderputten highlights that Fulrad's position was as much that of 'warlord and feudal potentate as (that of) abbot' who controlled wealthy estates.⁸⁸ Fulrad's pleading for additional funds from the archbishop to deal with Viking raids, so soon after Æthelgar's succession, demonstrates this was not charity requested by an impoverished house, but more a demand for money. Furthermore, the references across all the letters emphasising the religious houses' friendly relationships with previous archbishops highlights that these gifts were, in the minds of the continental abbots, signs of friendship which they expected to continue indefinitely.⁸⁹ The next two letters are similar. Archbishop Sigeric receives requests for gifts from Odbert, Abbot of Saint-Bertin, after the death of Archbishop Æthelgar, followed by an earlier letter strikingly similar in structure and tone sent to Æthelgar by the same Odbert. Separating the two Æthelgar letters from one another in this booklet seems to have been an intentional decision during the composition of *Vespasian*, as the two Æthelgar

⁸⁵ Vanderputten, Steven, 'Canterbury and Flanders in the late tenth century', *ASE*, 35 (2006), pp. 219-244.

⁸⁶ This letter will be discussed shortly in the section on booklet 3.

⁸⁷ Mann, 'Development', pp. 254-256.

⁸⁸ Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders', pp. 226-227.

⁸⁹ Campbell, James 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and Connections', in James Campbell (ed.), *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 203-204.

letters are placed consecutively in Tiberius A. xv and were likely in the same order in Vespasian's exemplar. By placing the second Æthelgar letter here Mann suggests that this achieves the result of a 'backward progression of evidence that one might expect of an accusatory dossier.'⁹⁰ While Mann's theory here is not entirely convincing, reading the three letters in sequence leaves a clear sense that powerful religious houses were keen to exploit their connections with the English church for their own financial benefit. Both Mann's and Vanderputten's theories have merit and Wulfstan could have chosen these letters because they both demonstrated England's influential connections with powerful continental institutions and highlight how these relationships could also be problematic in a gift-giving society.

The scribe then switched to a different section of the exemplar as the next three letters are all grouped closely together in Tiberius A. xv. Wulfstan returns to Alcuin with a letter to a priest named Calvinus which touches upon the same topic of gift-giving. In it, Alcuin raises the issue of those who *non sunt nisi uerbotenus amici, factis uero inimici*,⁹¹ who wish to gain from the church either through peace or by force. The intentional sequencing of this letter from another section of the exemplar demonstrates Wulfstan's awareness of the theme and continues the reversed chronology of the two previous letters, highlight that the practice of fake, merely 'verbal friendship was age old.

Skipping over the ninth letter for a moment, the tenth letter in booklet 2 is an example of secular and papal intrusion into the affairs of the English Church. It is a copy of a

⁹⁰ Mann, 'Development', p. 255.

⁹¹ Vespasian, f. 161^r, l. 6. 'they are not friends except in words, and in truth enemies by their deeds'.

letter from Pope Paul I to Archbishop Ecgberht of York (d. 766) and his brother, King Eadberht of Northumbria (d. 758). The Pope is primarily addressing Eadberht, whom he reprimands for taking three monasteries by force from an abbot named Forthred, granting them to a relative called Moll, most likely the Northumbrian king Æthelwald Moll (d. 765).⁹² Eadberht was trying to improve his financial standing by forcefully reclaiming 'bookland' given to the church by earlier rulers in the seventh and eighth centuries.⁹³ The themes here are the loss of church wealth, and the detrimental interference both by secular power and by a powerful papacy claiming the right to intervene directly in exclusively English affairs.⁹⁴

The ninth and eleventh letters in booklet 2 will be dealt with briefly here to note an interesting correlation which has not been highlighted in existing scholarship. Both letters are from Alcuin. The ninth letter is to the brothers of Whithorn ('Candida Casa'), a church founded by St Ninian in Galloway. Alcuin writes to the brothers to ask for prayers to St Ninian to intercede on his behalf. The eleventh letter is identified in the heading of the copy in Tiberius A. xv copy as Abbot Wulfhard, head of a monastery in *Hodda Helmi*. Donald Bullough identified the Wulfhard in the letter as the Bishop of Hereford (d. 822) based on the known existence of such a figure and the suffix *helm* in the place name being common in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.⁹⁵ More recently, Michael Parker, in an etymological study of the place name, makes a convincing argument for the monastery being located at Hoddom, also in Galloway.⁹⁶ It is probable that Wulfstan selected these letters because they

⁹² Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 1991), pp. 150-151.

⁹³ Yorke, Barbara, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 89-92.

⁹⁴ Mann, 'Development', pp. 256-257.

⁹⁵ Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 92-93.

⁹⁶ Parker, Michael, 'An Eighth-century Reference to the Monastery at Hoddom', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 6 (2012), pp. 51-80.

related to the influence exercised by the see of York in southern Scotland, supplying insight into one of Wulfstan's rarely discussed interests.

Booklet 2 exhibits both progression of themes established in booklet 1 and an expansion of topics as Wulfstan gathered more material from his exemplar. The initial letters act as a continuation of the discourse on legal component of episcopal office begun in the last letter of the preceding compilation, which suggests booklet 2's placement was possibly intentional. The following letters then encompass a bishop's spiritual and intellectual role. Like booklet 1, it confronts problems Wulfstan deemed pertinent to his time, using letters from the seventh, eighth, and tenth centuries to demonstrate the persistent issue of interference from powers external to the English Church. The connections with booklet 1 could indicate that it, rather than booklet 3, was the first of the three expansionary booklets to be copied. Wulfstan's deviation from the exemplar's ordering is purposeful and the thematic groupings just proposed could be the reason for it. However, as the two letters relating to the Galloway region have shown, further scrutiny of the collection might reveal other rationales.

Booklet 3 – Further Expansion and Epistolary Formulae

The third booklet in *Vespasian* is another collection of Alcuin letters linked to the themes in the other booklets. Colin Chase surmised the letters in booklet 3 had been 'reshaped and arranged in such a way as to make a very useful collection of epistolary

formulae...to be followed in a variety of common situations...intended for use in school, as an aid for training students in the proper way to compose a Latin letter.⁹⁷ The removal of the senders' and recipients' names from twelve letters in the middle of the booklets has created a series of formula letters based on letters relating to the Church of Canterbury.⁹⁸ Bullough is entirely dismissive of Chase's reasoning that any of the manuscript was used as a schoolbook and is emphatic that it was a manuscript created for personal use,⁹⁹ a view confirmed by the lack of depersonalisation in the letter in booklet 2. In fact, these twelve letters were already depersonalised in their exemplar, as an examination of Tiberius A. xv., shows.¹⁰⁰ As demonstrated in the table below (Table 3.7), the letters are taken from their exemplar in two larger groupings, with the final two letters taken from other locations in the manuscript. This could be indicative of the scribe using at least two separate *libelli* taken from the exemplar manuscript and aligns with Bullough's thesis.

⁹⁷ Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 85-86.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83, n. 202 and p. 97.

¹⁰⁰ Gareth Mann argues that some of the formulary letters feature topics covered in the two previous booklets, which they do in an oblique fashion, but this does not rule out that Wulfstan had an interest in the letters as models. Mann, 'Development', pp. 246-250.

Table 3.7 – Overview of Booklet 3 in Vespasian				
Quire	Folio	Text	Sequence in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv.	Dümmler / Stubbs
7	164r-165r	Alcuin to Dodo	1	D65
	165r-165v	Bishop Arn of Salzberg to Cuculus	2	D66
	165v-166v	Alcuin to Abbot Ethelbald of Wearmouth-Jarrow	3	D67
	166v-167v	Alcuin to Colcu	4	D7
	167v-168r	Alcuin to Joseph	5	D8
	168r-168v	Alcuin to Bishop Arn of Salzburg	8	D10
	168v-169r	a ‘get well’ message from Alcuin	117	D45
	169r	a message by Alcuin noting a safe arrival	118	D46
	169r-169v	a message of thanks and congratulations by Alcuin	119	D256
	169v	Instructions to a priest from Alcuin	120	D274
	169v-170r	a message offering excuses and explanation from Alcuin	121	D235
	170r	Alcuin’s acknowledgement of an archbishop’s letter	122	D292
	170r-171r	Alcuin’s advice to a priest	123	D293
	171r	Alcuin’s letter to thank a lady	124	D103
	171r-171v	Abbot Wido of Blandinium to Dunstan	131	S17
171v	Alcuin to Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia	100	D96	

Counter to Mann’s belief that booklet 3 was created contemporaneously with booklet 1, the themes in booklet 3 and the way in which Wulfstan has interacted with the texts, confirm the codicological evidence against this idea. The texts show Wulfstan returning to the same exemplar as booklets 1 and 2 to search out more texts to add to his source collection. Importantly, the penultimate item, the letter from Abbot Wido of *Blandinium* to Dunstan has been included in response to the letters from continental institutions in booklet 2 which also deal with England’s (primarily Canterbury’s) connections with continental

houses, indicating that booklet 3 was created later. This ability to return to the same source collection on multiple occasions supports the theory that Wulfstan had easy access to a copy of the larger letter collection, either owning it or borrowing it for quite some time.

The first six letters in booklet 3 come from the beginning of Tiberius A. xv and were arranged similarly in their exemplar, likely because of the recurrence of correspondents and themes in this group of letters. The omission of the sixth and seventh letters in *Vespasian* suggest Wulfstan did not deem the whole group relevant to his own interests. The letters are all admonitory and congratulatory letters to and from Alcuin, and other episcopal and abbatial figures containing advice relating to episcopal and pastoral duties. Bullough believed the recipients of the first two letters, Dodo and Cuculus were the same person, a former student of Alcuin's, who was responsible for the original compilation of this group of letters.¹⁰¹ The fourth and fifth letters, from Alcuin to Abbot Colcu of Clonmacnoise and a former pupil called Joseph, once more tap into the topic prominent in booklet 2: church wealth.¹⁰² Mann has also pointed out that part of the letter on pastoral duty mirrors passages in the third letter, from Alcuin to Abbot Ethelbald of Wearmouth-Jarrow.¹⁰³

The next eight letters are all by Alcuin, here adapted into anonymised epistolary formulae. The letters were most certainly anonymised prior to being copied into *Vespasian*, and possibly *Vespasian's* exemplar.¹⁰⁴ Wulfstan likely selected them for use as formulary

¹⁰¹ Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁰² Mann, 'Development', pp. 248-249.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁰⁴ Chase argues that the booklet was originally copied as a school-book but Bullough provides a decisive argument refuting this. See, Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-books*, pp. 2-3; Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 97.

letters thereby expanding upon the personal utility Vespasian held for him, whose role in society would have required the writing of countless letters such as these.

The next text continues the pattern of thematic connections between the texts of booklet 3 and the first two booklets.¹⁰⁵ The letter from Abbot Wido of *Blandinium* (d. 986) to Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury is the last text copied by Scribe E but breaks both the consecutive run from the exemplar and the pattern of formulary anonymisation. Therefore, it is not from the same *libellus* as its predecessors but was still a planned part of the compilation. In it, Wido contacts Dunstan to ask for financial aid after the loss of land. He stresses the strong ties between the abbey and Dunstan, who had built good relations with the religious houses of Flanders during his exile under King Eadwig.¹⁰⁶ In Mann's view, this is another begging letter,¹⁰⁷ like the three previously discussed in booklet 2. Despite its supposed hardships, *Blandinium* was a wealthy abbey and Wulfstan would have been aware of this. *Blandinium* held significant estates in the south-east of England, most likely granted during King Edgar's reign (959-975).¹⁰⁸ Wulfstan would have been aware of the large holdings of English land belonging to overseas institutions and included it for this reason. Even if we discount Mann's approach, the letter is still an explicit demonstration of the important financial and cultural connections between English and continental institutions. The financial aid mentioned in the letter would be proof of a close friendship which was

¹⁰⁵ Their connections to themes in the other letter groups are investigated by Mann,¹⁰⁵ but these associations are weak, and it is more believable that Wulfstan chose them for use as formulary letters. Mann also believes the final letter in the group of epistolary formulae contains references to ecclesiastical gift-giving as Alcuin refers to a quid pro quo between himself and an unspecified *dulcissime sorori* where he has performed prayers on her behalf in return gifts which she has sent. See Mann, 'Development', p. 249.

¹⁰⁶ Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders', p. 220.

¹⁰⁷ Mann, 'Development', p. 249.

¹⁰⁸ Hare, Michael, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach: an English monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the late tenth century', *ASE*, 33 (2004), pp. 115-116, esp. n. 40.

politically vital during England's own times of need. Dunstan as recipient is also significant, as it relates back to the letter from Fulrad of Saint-Vaast who explicitly references the good relations which existed between his abbey and the late Archbishop of Canterbury. The Wido letter is amongst the same group in the exemplar as the continental letters from booklet 2, which suggests Wulfstan returned to this section of his exemplar at a later point to find this letter. If this letter is a continuation of the dialogue begun with those continental communiques, then this would place booklet 3 later in the chronology of Vespasian's creation than Mann allowed.

The final text in booklet 3 is a letter from Alcuin to Paulinus the patriarch of Aquileia, copied by Wulfstan himself, discussing gifts given by Alcuin and his *filia*, Liutgard to the Patriarch. Mann once again views this letter as another example of wealth being syphoned to the continent through gifts given by individuals.¹⁰⁹ More simply, Wulfstan is expanding his collection of sources which demonstrate important international financial and political connections, this time branching further afield to Northern Italy. This letter's appearance in Tiberius A. xv also demonstrates that Wulfstan had access to the exemplar from which so much of Vespasian was taken.

To summarise, booklets 2 and 3 show Wulfstan repeatedly returning to the same larger source collection to create additional tranches of texts in response to his continued interest in particular subjects. He was able to return to the material to copy out letters himself from the exemplar as well as to alter and correct the texts himself. This reduces the chance that, as suggested by Caroline Brett, he was relying on groups of letters sent on an *ad*

¹⁰⁹ Mann, 'Development', p. 250.

hoc basis in a joint process with the Canterbury scribes assembling Tiberius A. xv.¹¹⁰ This reconfirms that the material Wulfstan used to create *Vespasian* was a copy of the Canterbury material, not Tiberius A. xiv itself, held at one of his sees, either permanently or on extended loan.

Booklet 4 – Supplementary and Personal Material

Booklet 4 differs from its predecessors in two respects. The texts are copied by six different scribes, and they are not found in Tiberius A. xv,¹¹¹ which could mean they derive from a different exemplar. Bullough, however, suggested that the material used as *Vespasian*'s exemplar existed as a series of *libelli*,¹¹² and the texts' continued Canterbury-bias means it could have been copied by the six scribe from multiple *libelli* in the same collection also included in Tiberius A. xv. The strong thematic links between booklet 4's texts and those in the other booklets indicate that it was intentionally created to be filled up over time in this piecemeal fashion as Wulfstan found more texts to add to the manuscript.

¹¹⁰ Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', p. 70.

¹¹¹ The exceptions are the praise poem and the canons from the Council of Chelsea at the end of booklet 1, the latter of which was likely added after booklet 4 became full up.

¹¹² Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 98-9.

Table 3.8 - Overview of Booklet 4 in Vespasian		
Quire	Folio	Text
8	172r-173r	Canons of the Council of Hertford (672)
	173v	<i>De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum</i> – extracts primarily taken from Bk. III of Atto of Vercelli's <i>De pressuris ecclesiasticis</i>
	174r-175r	Pope Leo III to Coenwulf, King of Mercia
	175v-177v	Oda's <i>Constitutiones</i>
	177v	<i>De activa vita et contemplativa</i>
	178r-179r	Wulfstan's 'letter of protest' to the papacy
	179r-179v	Letter to Wulfstan while he was still bishop of London.

Booklet 4 is set apart from the other booklets because it contains non-epistolary material.¹¹³ The two texts at the end of booklet 1, the praise poem and the Canons of Chelsea, were almost certainly copied into Vespasian roughly contemporaneously with booklet 4. The four non-epistolary texts in booklet 4 comprise a set of canons (Hertford), a compilation of extracts on the theft of ecclesiastical property, Archbishop Oda of Canterbury's *Constitutiones*, and a short homiletic piece by Wulfstan about the conflict between the demands of pastoral duty and distancing oneself from the secular world. Booklet 4's texts have thematic links with those in the other three but point to Wulfstan's other general interests, such as English canon law. The texts are not grouped by theme as in booklet 2 and, because they are each written by different scribes, it is unlikely that they mirror an existing sequence of texts such as underpinned booklet 3. The jumbled ordering is important as it signals that booklet 4 played a similar supplementary role to booklet 6 in Copenhagen which contains a more miscellaneous group of texts to augment the compilations in the other booklets. Finally, the seventh text in the booklet and final item in the whole manuscript, a letter sent to Wulfstan during his time as bishop of London, contains no

¹¹³ Interestingly, Bullough points out that Tiberius A. xv's final section, ff. 144v-173v, is very similar as it is the only section of that manuscript to contain non-epistolary material.

obvious connections and is much more personal in content as it praises Wulfstan for his literary skills. It links, therefore, to the praise poem in booklet 1 and emphasises another important aspect of *Vespasian* as a personal collection belonging to Wulfstan in which he could record intimate items to be read at his own pleasure.

The canons of the Council of Hertford are an important series of decrees which established organisational ground rules for the English Church.¹¹⁴ As with the canons of Chelsea and Oda's *constitutiones*, Wulfstan was once again reaching back to earlier centuries for authoritative texts, this time to demonstrate the Anglo-Saxon Church's tradition of canon law. The canons all contain decrees regulating and defining the rights of bishops, which would have been of central interest to Wulfstan, as emphasised throughout his work. The canons establish rules such as forbidding a bishop or priest from intruding upon another's diocese. Several of the Hertford canons define the broad authority and duties of bishops, such as defining the episcopal hierarchy to prevent friction caused by ambitious bishops:

*ut nullus episcoporum se preferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus et ordinem consecratione sue.*¹¹⁵

Another decree ties the number of bishops directly to the number of Christians in England, thereby reinforcing that a bishop's existence was inextricably linked to the faith of those within his diocese, promoting the episcopal interest in pastoral duties.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Cubitt, *Church Councils*, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ *Vespasian*, f. 172^r, l. 30 - f. 172^v, l. 2. 'so that none of the bishops through ambition give preference to themselves over another, but all should acknowledge the time and order of his consecration.' Translation is my own.

¹¹⁶ *Vespasian*, f. 172^v, ll. 3-4. *ut plures episcopi crescente numero fidelium augerentur.* 'that further bishops will be added by increasing the number of the faithful.' Translation is my own.

Oda's *Constitutiones* are ten chapters written by Oda that rely heavily on the Legatine Councils of 786, as well as on Ambrose, Gregory, and the Rule of St Benedict; three chapters which do not have clear references to earlier sources but are unlikely to be original work by Oda.¹¹⁷ While the *Constitutiones* framed the duties of priests, clerics, and monks in traditional terms,¹¹⁸ these were the first surviving decrees of a tenth-century reformer which inspired the ecclesiastical law code of King Edmund,¹¹⁹ itself a precursor to the major tenth-century reformist efforts which came later.¹²⁰ If this copy of Oda's *Constitutiones* were studied closely by Wulfstan, it is therefore not surprising to find a copy of I Edmund in Nero within a collection of secular law codes which dealt with ecclesiastical matters.¹²¹

The second text in booklet 4, titled *De rapinis æclesiasticarum rerum*, is a compilation of fifteen extracts, the first eleven of which are taken from book III of Atto of Vercelli's *De pressuris ecclesiasticis*, selected here for their 'concentrated rejection of the alienation of church goods'.¹²² The other four are all from different sources but build upon the same theme. Of these four final extracts, extracts twelve and thirteen are from texts elsewhere in the manuscript. Extract twelve is from the first text in booklet 1, Alcuin's letter to King Æthelred, Osbald, and Osbert, thereby presenting a thread between the oldest and newest booklets in Vespasian. The second extract, J. E. Cross believed, was taken from the canon law collection *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*¹²³ but, based on the spelling variation, Mann has

¹¹⁷ Schoebe, G, 'The Chapters of Archbishop Oda (942/6) and the Canons of the Legatine Councils of 786', *Historical Research*, 35 (1962), pp. 76.

¹¹⁸ Blair, John, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 349-350.

¹¹⁹ Stafford, Pauline, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1989), pp. 9-10, 186.

¹²⁰ Darlington, R.R. 'Ecclesiastical reform in the late Old English period', *English Historical Review*, 51 (1936), p. 387.

¹²¹ See Chapter 4, pp. 201-206.

¹²² Mann, 'Development', pp. 258-260.

¹²³ Cross, J. E., 'Atto of Vercelli, "*De pressuris ecclesiasticis*", Archbishop Wulfstan, and Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', *Traditio*, 48 (1993), p. 238, n. 14.

shown it was taken from Archbishop Oda's *Constitutiones*, found later in booklet 4.¹²⁴ Extracts fourteen and fifteen, copied out by Wulfstan himself, follow on from an *AMEN* written in majuscule script, indicating that the text had originally ended after extract thirteen. The first of these is attributed to Augustine but has not been identified in any of his surviving works. It appears again in an untitled sermon on p. 96 of Corpus 190.¹²⁵ The second text Cross identified as coming from the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*,¹²⁶ but Mann traces back further to a copy of the Carolingian canon law collection *Quadripartitus*, believing that Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718, represented the exemplar used by Wulfstan.¹²⁷ *De rapinis æclesiasticarum rerum* is an important example within booklet 4, of how Wulfstan continued to reflect upon the themes in *Vespasian* and other such texts which supplied more authoritative voices to his collection.

De rapinis is thematically linked to the sixth item in booklet 4, Wulfstan's letter of protest to the papacy, which criticises the papacy for requiring English bishops to travel to Rome to collect their *pallium*, which Wulfstan suggests was motivated by papal greed.¹²⁸ The letter itself has been depersonalised, much like the middle group of eight letters in booklet 3: the opening greeting has been removed which, according to Mann, serves to make the 'letter's arguments generally applicable, without the specific personalities and chronologies that could mitigate its point'.¹²⁹ It is interesting that Wulfstan adds a letter of his own to the source collection, depersonalised in this way. Perhaps he foresaw a need to send it to

¹²⁴ Mann, 'Development', p. 260.

¹²⁵ Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli', p. 244.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Mann, 'Development', p. 261.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 264. This text was identified as being written by Wulfstan by Dorothy Bethurum in 'A Letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope', in Henry Bosley Woolf and Thomas Austin Kirby (eds.) *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (London, 1949), pp. 97-104.

¹²⁹ Mann, 'Development', p. 262.

different recipients in the future, implying that the issue was a persistent one. The themes of papal greed and the obvious allusions to papal interference in the English church which are present in the letter resonate with many other texts across the previous three booklets and tie Wulfstan himself into the tradition of resistance against papal overreach.

The letter from Pope Leo III to Coenwulf of Mercia reflects Wulfstan's interest in the late-eighth and early-ninth century conflict between secular and ecclesiastical authority. The pope supports Coenwulf's accusation of illegitimacy levelled at Eadberht of Kent because of his earlier ordination as a priest, but also denies the Mercian king's request to move the primary metropolitan see of England away from Canterbury and Lichfield, to make London the single metropolitan of the south.¹³⁰ This letter taps into the vein of material throughout Vespasian regarding secular overreach into English ecclesiastical affairs. The presence of this letter, the canons of Chelsea, and the letters from Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard in booklets 1 and 2 show Wulfstan's continuing interest in a period of English history for which he thus gathered numerous materials.

The short homily, *De activa vita et contemplativa*, is a rumination upon on the conflict between an active pastoral life and a life of holy contemplation, a text which would have resonated personally with Wulfstan.¹³¹ It is based on an extract from a Bede homily transmitted via the writings of Haymo of Halberstadt, and possibly a second intermediary source.¹³² It discusses the importance of engaging in good deeds and caring for the welfare of one's flock weighed against the necessity to remain distant from secular life lest it corrupt.

¹³⁰ Kirby, *Earliest English Kings*, p. 175.

¹³¹ The title of the text is written in Wulfstan's own hand.

¹³² Mann, 'Development', pp. 272-275.

Aspects here can be associated with the recurring themes in *Vespasian* of clerical duty. However, as Mann convincingly argues, this text was also the product of more personal reflection by Wulfstan, as his active engagement in secular affairs and pastoral duties would have led him to ponder his own ability to lead a truly devout life.¹³³

Yet more personal is the final item in *Vespasian*, a letter written to Wulfstan while he was still bishop of London, by someone turning down translation work offered to him because he feels his own skills of translation are not up to the standard of Wulfstan's. The writer spends much of the letter explaining to Wulfstan how much he would like to be able to achieve this task for the bishop while praising Wulfstan's own knowledge and skill. This item was clearly of significant personal value to Wulfstan.

Booklet 4 is the product of intentional gradual accumulation, with its texts being added at the discretion of Wulfstan. The inclusion of Wulfstan's personal texts here and at the end of booklet 1 indicate that Wulfstan regarded the manuscript as his private possession. Perhaps it was from a close friend whose words of praise helped comfort him and so he chose to include them in a manuscript which he always carried with him. This is a feature absent from both *Copenhagen* and *Nero*, which lack contributions of so personal a nature.

Simon Keynes observed a similar feature in the letter-book that was *Tiberius A. xv*'s direct exemplar, which also had a 'fourth part' that contained different material not taken

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-278.

from the original compilation of Frankish material, some of which was non-epistolary in nature.¹³⁴ According to Keynes, the lack of any discernible order among the texts suggests they were entered into the letter-book at different times, and are of a more personal nature, focusing on the 'various connections and other concerns of the archbishops themselves'.¹³⁵ Even if these two final booklets in *Vespasian* and *Tiberius A.* xv have no direct connection, it is quite striking to observe that there was potentially a pattern of augmenting letter collections with more miscellaneous material of a personal nature, and could be a feature for further study in letter-book compilations more widely.

Conclusion

Wulfstan's use of booklets in *Vespasian* is a fascinating example of a dialogue developing between a manuscript and its owner. The core of booklet 1 provided Wulfstan with a portable group of sources upon which he was able to ruminate and from which he could draw reference while living an itinerant lifestyle in the discharge of his episcopal duties. His reading of the Alcuin letters prompted him to return to the larger exemplar collection, a collection of Canterbury origins.¹³⁶ He either owned the copy outright, or at least borrowed it for long enough to refer to it many times, in the process augmenting the texts in *Vespasian* and correcting many of the errors made by his scribes. Once he felt the letter collection was exhausted, Wulfstan turned further afield and had multiple scribes add a broader range of texts, letters additional to those in the original epistolary compilation, canons from synods, and others which he adapted into homiletic compositions. During this

¹³⁴ Keynes, 'The Canterbury 'letter-book'', p. 127.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-267.

process Wulfstan treated *Vespasian* as a private item which prompted him to copy less thematically relevant texts of personal importance to him.

Out of the three manuscripts examined in this thesis, *Vespasian* shows the most signs not only of professional, but of personal use by Wulfstan. Wulfstan used booklets to put together a collection of texts, as he did with *Copenhagen*, but the circumstances in which he did so were entirely different. Despite the similarities between the compilatory process of both manuscripts, such as the use of a supplementary booklet, two drastically different manuscripts resulted. This stands in stark contrast to the next manuscript examined in the following two chapters, *Nero*, whose booklets were entirely independent and never intended for combination into a single codex.

Chapter 3: London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177: Part I

- Unbinding Wulfstan's legal handbook¹

Overview

London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i. is a small composite, manuscript measuring 165 x 105 mm, comprising two principal parts with numerous early modern additions. The importance of the second half of the manuscript as a witness for many of Wulfstan's texts, his assembly of manuscripts, and his working practices as an archbishop cannot be overstated. The manuscript has a prominent position within the tradition of the Commonplace Book, standing alongside CCCC 190 and CCCC 265 in importance. Nero was the only manuscript directly linked to Wulfstan which featured in Mary Bateson's original list,² and much more recently was included in the core group of four witnesses by Michael Elliot, alongside CCCC 190, CCCC 265 and Barlow 37.³ Nero is the only manuscript containing chapters from the *Institutes of Polity* and Wulfstan's own law codes that feature his handwriting, and it is the only manuscript assembled by Wulfstan which contains substantially more than just a few folios of Old English. However, its content has long been regarded as jumbled, and scholars have sought to reorganise it into a more thematically cohesive single collection. It was characterised as a miscellany by Neil Ker in his catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon and, in the facsimile of the manuscript by Henry Loyn,

¹ Gneuss and Lapidge, No. 341. The entire manuscript is digitised and available online on the British Library website: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_a_i_f070r.

² Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book', p. 712.

³ Elliot, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised', p. 8.

its contents were described as disorganised.⁴ This perspective has persisted to the current day and led some scholars to pursue the idea that Nero once had a singular thematic consistency. While these approaches have recognised its booklet construction, they have all failed to appreciate the fundamental importance of the individuality of the booklets. Patrick Wormald compared Nero's booklet construction to that of Copenhagen and assumed this similarity meant that both were intended by Wulfstan to be unified collections.⁵ This chapter will build on the established evidence for the existence of booklets in Wulfstan's manuscripts to propose a radical new understanding of Nero. Rather than a disordered single collection, Nero is a series of once-independent booklets, all of which are internally and thematically consistent. The thematic links across various of its booklets are not indicative of a single collection but instead speak to the booklets' linked history as compilations assembled under the close guidance of Wulfstan by scribes in his episcopal administration or based at one of his episcopal sees. The absence of traits found in Copenhagen and *Vespasian*, which there suggest planned compilation, accentuate the individuality of Nero's booklets: there are no scribes such as C and G copying additional texts across several booklets; there is no supplementary booklet like booklet 6 in Copenhagen or 4 in *Vespasian*; the duplicated texts do not support the compilation in the way booklet 2's replacement texts do in Copenhagen; and Nero's booklets do not build towards a unified compilation in the same sense as in the other two manuscripts, but work better as individual collections. My new approach satisfactorily explains the details of the manuscript, such as duplication of texts and textual absences, which have troubled those scholars who have sought to treat the manuscript as a single planned collection. It is the aim of this chapter to put the construction of Nero front and centre, to show that its supposedly disordered nature is in reality something much more precise and organised. This chapter's

⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, No. 163, p. 210-1; Loyn, *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, pp. 47-9.

⁵ Wormald, 'Holiness', p. 231, n. 26.

conclusions will have significant implications for the coherence of the Commonplace Book tradition: if a crucial manuscript witness, upon which so much of the theory is based, is not a unified compilation, then the entire tradition needs to be fundamentally re-examined.

Nero Part A, ff. 3-57 is a collection of Anglo-Saxon law codes from the third quarter of the eleventh century with an unknown origin and provenance. It is not relevant to this discussion and can be dealt with swiftly. John Joscelyn, Archbishop Matthew Parker's secretary, added a quire in the second half of the sixteenth century to complete the imperfect copies of the law codes of Alfred and Ine (ff. 58-69). Part A was not combined with Part B until it had come into the possession of Parker, likely thereafter joined together because of the similarity of content.⁶ During this process, the folios of the two halves were trimmed down to the same size, further emphasising the compact nature of these two already diminutive compilations.⁷ Loyn notes the absence of the hand of the sixteenth-century antiquary Robert Talbot from Part A which is nonetheless present throughout Part B.⁸ While he suggests up possible origins, either at Worcester or Canterbury for Part A, he concludes that there is insufficient evidence to favour either location.

Nero Part B, ff. 70-177, which is the focus of this chapter, is a collection of primarily legal material related to Archbishop Wulfstan and assembled under his supervision at either Worcester or York at some point between the years 1003 and 1023. As a manuscript contemporary with Wulfstan containing legal codes from the previous century as well as others written by himself, it stands as a crucial witness to his legal interests. Dorothy

⁶ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, p. 32.

⁷ Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 224-8.

⁸ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, p. 32.

Whitelock tentatively ascribed the manuscript to York due to an absence of diagnostic Worcester features, and several items in Nero's contents do indeed point toward an interest in Northumbrian laws,⁹ but this evidence is far from conclusive. The Wulfstan hand appears throughout the manuscript across seven of Nero's ten quires (all bar quires 2, 3 and 10). Several of Wulfstan's marginal interventions were partially lost due to folio trimming when being rebound with Part A.¹⁰

I will depart from the practice of previous commentators who numbered consecutively the scribes and quires appearing in Parts A and B. The ten quires of Part B will be numbered 1-10 rather than 10-19. Likewise, the scribes of Part B will be numbered 1-5 as opposed to 3-6. This decision is for ease of comprehension, as I will not be referring to the quires and scribes of Part A at any point, and because recent scholarship has shown Part B was written by five scribes, not four. Furthermore, I believe it is important that we identify Nero Part B as distinct from its counterpart. Both Loyn and Wormald worked to establish that the two halves were originally distinct from one another. Now that has been achieved, it is important that the terminology we use to refer to them reinforces this fact and does not treat them as a single unit.

Nero contains a series of texts written by Wulfstan, by authors known to be used by Wulfstan, or anonymous texts echoing themes prominent in much of his own work. Several chapters from the *Institutes of Polity*, which are from both versions of the text as edited by Karl Jost as I Polity and II Polity, are found across three of the five booklets.¹¹ Four of these

⁹ Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', pp. 219-20.

¹⁰ This includes some curious marginal illustrations not attributed to Wulfstan on ff. 152^v-154^r.

¹¹ Archbishop Wulfstan of York, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical": Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost (Bern, 1959).

chapters are present in both their I and II Polity forms. There is a selection of English law codes from Æthelstan to Æthelred the Unready, including two copies of V Æthelred.¹² The collection is not exhaustive: it does not include all codes from Æthelstan onwards, and lacks the laws written by Wulfstan for Cnut.¹³ Five homilies by Wulfstan, one by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and a shortened compilatory homily using extracts from Abbo material, are spread across several of the quires, whose association with Wulfstan is clear from their presence also in Copenhagen.¹⁴ There are no large groups of homilies in the manuscript; all of them are either in pairs or on their own.¹⁵ A copy of the canon law collection, *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, which was either created, edited, or expanded upon by Archbishop Wulfstan, takes up almost all of quires six through nine, and represents the only copy of the canon law collection which is contemporary with Wulfstan.¹⁶ The final quire provides additional penitential texts relating to public penance on Maundy Thursday. As will be discussed later in this chapter, there is a strong separation of Old English and Latin texts.

¹² For editions of these law codes see Robertson, A. J., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge, 1925). Further details and bibliographies pertaining to the law codes can be found online at The Early English Law Project's website: <https://earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/>. The law codes of Æthelred, including the multiple copies of V Æthelred are discussed in detail in Wormald, Patrick, 'Æthelred', pp. 47-80; and again, in Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 330-45.

¹³ The implications this has for more accurate dating of at least booklets 1 and 3 will be discussed in their respective sections in this following chapter.

¹⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 78-81.

¹⁵ The second Abbo homily is an adaptation with extracts from multiple Abbo sermons. It does not bear the traits of Wulfstan's work but was judged to most likely be his work based on his familiarity with texts. See Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 245-6 for her assessment that it was written by Wulfstan. See also Cross, J. E. & Brown, Alan, 'Wulfstan and Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Medievalia* 15 (1989), pp. 71-91. Esp. p. 75 + pp. 86-90 for their discussion on this homily, albeit the version found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 190, and their edition of that text respectively. Michael Elliot also provides a transcription of it in Elliot, *Canon Law Collections in England*, pp. 1046-8, which also cites its textual sources.

¹⁶ For an edition of the canon law collection see, Cross, J. E. and Hamer, Andrew, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge, 1999). This collection has previously been known as both *Excerptiones pseudo-Ecgberhti* and *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*. However, recent work by Michael Elliot has made a convincing case that both of these names are misleading and should be discarded in favour of something more appropriate and based on its geographical association: Elliot, Michael, *The Worcester Collection of Canons*, a paper given at the Fourteenth International Congress of Canon Law (2012), unpublished.

Other than a few quotations, the texts in the first three booklets are vernacular, while the fourth and fifth booklets are exclusively Latin.

Tables 4.1 - Overview of London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i. ff. 70-177 Contents	
Booklet	Text
1	Chapters from <i>Institutes of Polity</i>
	<i>Be Cristendome</i> - Bethurum Xc
	Extract on Basilides the heretic (later addition)
	<i>Be Godcundre warnung</i> - Bethurum XIX
	Law codes
	<i>Legal extracts on church sanctuary</i>
2	Chapters from <i>Institutes of Polity</i>
	Text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb (later addition)
	<i>Incipit de sinodo</i>
	<i>An Admonition to Bishops</i>
	Chapters from <i>Institutes of Polity</i>
	Later additions
3	Chapter from <i>Institutes of Polity</i>
	<i>Sermo Lupi ad Anglos</i> - Bethurum XX.3
	<i>Her is gyrt richtlic warnung</i> - Bethurum XXI
	V Æthelred
	Chapters from <i>Institutes of Polity</i>
	Later additions
4	Illegible text
	<i>Verba Ezechielis prophete</i> - Bethurum XVIa
	<i>De pastore et predicatore</i>
	<i>De clericis sive ecclesiasticis gradis</i>
	<i>Collectio canonum Wigorniensis</i> (B Recension)
	Penitential texts
	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés- <i>Sermo de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>
	Penitential texts
Later additions	
5	Liturgical texts for Maundy Thursday

The first three of Nero's booklets contain Old English texts which promote different aspects of Wulfstan's political ideology for a Christian society; the fourth incorporates only Latin texts, primarily a canon law collection but also various penitential and homiletic texts; and the final booklet is a group of Latin texts on public penance. The transmission of the texts contained within the booklets does not indicate the collection was treated as a single collection but as at least two or possibly more collections. The texts in each booklet represent a divergent purpose and audience: the first three booklets are textual collections aimed at different groups of society to promote Wulfstan's ideology of societal cohesion; the fourth is a canon collection used as a source book by Wulfstan; the fifth is perhaps the most ambiguous but was likely intended for Wulfstan's personal use in public penance rituals during Lent. The connections between the fourth and fifth booklets hint at a possible symbiosis of intent, but the evidence is ambiguous. The individuality of each booklet is furthered by an examination of the manuscript's codicology and palaeography which shows they were created as distinct units, led separate lives from one another, and were only bound together centuries later. Such a conclusion flies in the face of previous analyses of Nero which have sought to dismiss or contort the codicological and textual evidence to fit with the existing narrative: i.e. that Nero was always a single collection because it is a central witness to Wulfstan's *Commonplace Book*.

Collation and Scribes

The changes in foliation, lineation, and scribal hands, illustrate how Nero is an accumulation of separate parts which did not become a single manuscript until after Wulfstan's lifetime. Previous examinations have minimised these codicological features as they do not fit within the narrow blueprint of the Commonplace Book. The result has been that scholars have inaccurately concluded that Nero's current form is an 'erratic and eccentric',¹⁷ reordering of a hypothetical alternative codicological arrangement.¹⁸ Nero's codicology is varied and much of the physical evidence found among its folios points to a high degree of mobility of its booklets both during Wulfstan's lifetime and in the following centuries. The question of the manuscript's composition and apparent disarray is made more complex by the loss, or suspected loss, of folios from individual quires. Throughout the studies which lament Nero's supposed lack of order, there is an acknowledgement of the presence of distinct units of text based around individual quires or groups of quires. Wormald comes very close to the realisation that Nero's booklets could be more independent than originally thought:

'Many Anglo-Saxon books have eccentric quires...A further Wulfstan codex is now seen to have been separate books only later conjoined [Copenhagen]. The implications are important. A reduplicated V Æthelred then seems no more anomalous than a II-III Edgar reiterated in the Nero volume's parts A and B. For all one can say to the contrary, they were just coeval copies. More significant still, if Nero 'B' [Nero] is not an assembly of 'booklets' like the Parker codex [Cambridge,

¹⁷ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 198. Ben Reinhard also refers to the 'apparent chaos' of Nero's arrangement. See, Reinhard, 'Wulfstan and the Reordered Polity', p. 54.

¹⁸ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, pp. 47-8, also believed making sense of Nero in its current form to be confusing and difficult.

Corpus Christi College 173] but pieces of two or more very similar books, it begins to look like one of a series of books; and books intended not to make a point, like those discussed so far, but to serve a purpose.¹⁹

Despite this, Wormald retreats, finishing his discussion of Nero with language which characterises the manuscript as a single collection, perceived and used as such by Wulfstan and those who came after him. This backtracking by a prominent legal historian meant that subsequent work continues to discuss Nero within Wormald's compelling depiction as a collection which underwent rearrangement at least once during Wulfstan's lifetime.

Table 4.2- Codicology of Nero				
Booklets	Quire	Folios	Lines per folio	Foliation
1	1	70-81	24	12
	2	82-93		14 (Wants 7 and 8)
	3	94-96		3 ³
2	4	97-108	24	14 (wants 12 and 13)
3	5	109-121	25	14 (wants 14)
4	6	122-131	24	10
	7	132-143		12
	8	144-155		12
	9	156-167		12
5	10	168-177	26	10

¹⁹ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 202.

The five booklets were originally identified by Henry Loyn in his facsimile edition. At the time he did not categorise them as separate booklets, but he noted the 'self-supporting' nature of the various sections of the manuscript.²⁰ As with many of Nero's features, the codicology is suggestive of a greater level of independence than has previously been acknowledged. Nero, as it currently stands, is comprised of ten quires which cover quires ten to nineteen within the manuscript as a whole. Ker listed the collation of the manuscript as 1¹², 2¹⁴ (wants 7 and 8), 3^{three}, 4¹⁴ (wants 12 and 13), 5¹⁴ (wants 14), 6¹⁰, 7-9¹², 10¹⁰ (See table 3.2.1).²¹ It is interesting to note variation between the Old English and Latin parts of the manuscripts. The three Old English booklets (1-3) all originally contained fourteen folio quires, while the Latin ones (4 and 5) favour ten and twelve folio quires. The length of the compilation in booklet 4 could have accommodated fourteen folio quires, so their absence indicates a detachment in the creation processes between the Old English and Latin parts of the manuscript. The folios missing from quires 4 and 5 were, Ker believed, blank at the time of removal. Both are in parts of the manuscripts containing later additions, none of which seems to be incomplete because of these missing folios. Ker states leaves are missing from before f. 122 at the start of quire 6, which fronts booklet 4, but does not list its first quire as wanting any folios. Likewise, he is hesitant in attributing any more folios to quire 3 at the end of booklet 1, only estimating it might once have been six folios in length. He does not provide any reasoning to make explicit his thoughts on the matter, but certain obvious details point to his thought process. Both the end of booklet 1 and the start of booklet 4 have suffered noticeable wear which could suggest folios were lost from these points in the manuscript. Quires 3 and 6, which have suffered the most noticeable damage, are shorter

²⁰ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, p. 23.

²¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 214.

than the other quires in their respective booklets, opening up the possibility of lost folios for scholars who perhaps wished that Nero's quires were more uniform in length. However, the lack of consistency across the quires is a feature that is representative of the booklets' independent constructions: the lack of homogeneity accentuates that each booklet was its own creature, which were assembled in varying circumstances distinct from their current stablemates.

The original scribal hands of the main texts change throughout the manuscript and speak to the disconnection between Nero's booklets (Table 4.3). There are five contemporary scribes who penned the texts in the manuscript. Only scribe 2 contributes to more than one booklet, writing the first three original texts in booklet 2 and the entirety of booklet 4. Until recently, scribe 2 was also credited with writing booklet 5, but Michael Elliot has convincingly proved it was written by a separate fifth scribe.²² All five hands are competent and legible, which is indicative of a degree of experience; none of the scribes appears to be a novice writing these booklets as a scholastic exercise. All five scribes observe the division between the use of Vernacular Minuscule for Old English and Caroline Minuscule for Latin to varying degrees. This was a practice which had emerged in England during the tenth century resulting from the promotion of the use of vernacular. By the start of the eleventh century, the use of vernacular was no longer subordinate to Latin in England and the two scripts commonly existed alongside one another within a text or manuscript, written in clearly defined separate scripts.²³ Scribes 1, 2 and 4 all delineate the two languages with varying degrees of success using Vernacular and Caroline Minuscule within the same text. The other two – scribes 3 and 5 – only wrote texts in Old English and Latin respectively.

²² Elliot, *Canon Law Collections*, p. 1045, n. 68.

²³ Crick, Julia, 'English Vernacular Script', in Gameson, pp. 174-186.

While we do not have examples of them distinguishing between the two scripts, both scribes use the appropriate script for the language in which they were writing. Scribe 2 is the only one of the five who writes a substantial amount of text in both languages.²⁴ There are sufficient divergences between the aspects of their scripts and choice of letter forms to identify all five scribes as distinct from one another.

Table 4.3 - Main scribal hands in Nero			
Booklets	Quires	Scribes	Folios
1	1	1	70-81
	2		82-93
	3		94-96
2	4	2	97r-100r
		3	100v-105v
3	5	4	109-121
4	6	2	122-131
	7		132-143
	8		144-155
	9		156-167
5	10	5	168-177

Nero's scribal hands are emblematic of the difficulties relating to this, but the issues are resolved by appreciating the implications of the booklet system employed in the manuscript. None of the scribes appear in other manuscripts, so it is difficult to connect

²⁴ Scribes 1 and 4 only write short Latin quotations and individual words within Old English texts.

them to a specific scriptorium. Scribes 2 and 5's hands were similar enough to be mistaken for each other, which could indicate they were trained in the same environment, but nothing more concrete than that can be concluded based on the scribal evidence. Worcester had developed a distinctive style of Anglo-Caroline Minuscule in the late tenth century under the influence of Oswald, Archbishop of York, which continued until around the 1010s, when a more uniform style spread across the entire country.²⁵ This has made it much more difficult to rely on scribal evidence to identify the origin or location of a manuscript in the first half of the eleventh century. The situation changed after the Norman Conquest when a spikier form of Caroline Minuscule became common except in Worcester where the Anglo-Caroline Minuscule style continued to be used in manuscripts assembled under St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester (1062-1095). Archbishop Wulfstan's episcopate sits firmly in the period in which there was no distinctive script at Worcester. Instead, placing a manuscript at Worcester under Wulfstan has relied heavily on the identification of Archbishop Wulfstan's own hand. Unlike scribes in Copenhagen and Vespasian, none of Nero's scribes appear in other manuscripts associated with Worcester, York, or Archbishop Wulfstan. Ker's assessment of the additional hands also struggles to place Nero at Worcester in later centuries. Loyn's assessment of the scribes does not connect them with Worcester or York.²⁶ The later hands do not bear any distinctive Worcester traits and much of the marginalia indicates it was not at a monastic house in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁷

²⁵ Dumville, David, *English Caroline*, pp. 76-7; Stokes, Peter, A., *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut circa 990 – circa 1035* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 11.

²⁶ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, pp. 24-9.

²⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 214-5.

Richard Gameson characterises manuscript production at Worcester from Oswald through to Archbishop Wulfstan as piecemeal and varied, but suggests that there was a consistent scribal tradition which lasted until the more prolific and coherent era under St. Wulfstan.²⁸ The main features Gameson associated with possible manuscripts from Worcester at this time are poor quality vellum and variable scribal quality.²⁹ Nero fits this description but Gameson fails to associate it with Worcester and, in the same article, emphasises how little evidence we have for Archbishop Wulfstan promoting manuscript production at Worcester. Gameson also suggests that many of the manuscripts associated with Wulfstan likely remained in his personal possession and were not part of Worcester's library.³⁰ Additionally, Wulfstan was required to relinquish the see of Worcester in 1016, officially severing his connection to any scribal activity there for the last seven years of his life. Any collections containing texts dateable to after that time are significantly less likely to be linked with Worcester.

If the manuscript cannot be confidently located at either Worcester or York either at the time of its assembly or in later centuries, then a third option might be possible. Nero's booklets were written by a mix of scribes, some of whom could have been attached to one of those two sees but could also have been members of Wulfstan's entourage. William of Malmesbury's *Vita* of St. Wulfstan records scribes such as Coleman, upon whose work William's biography was based,³¹ and who worked as a scribe in several manuscripts,³² travelling with the saint during his pastoral and administrative duties.³³ Archbishop

²⁸ Gameson, Richard, 'Book production and decoration at Worcester', p. 227.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-4.

³¹ Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', p. 215.

³² Ker, N. R., 'Old English notes signed Coleman', *Medium Ævum*, 18 (1949), pp. 29-31.

³³ William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (eds.) (Oxford, 2002), pp. 55, 63, 73, 75.

Wulfstan's own homilies evoke his own strong interest in pastoral duty, such as the vernacular and Latin versions of his sermon *Ezechiel on negligent priests* (Bethurum VXIa/b).³⁴ He would also have frequently travelled to the king's itinerant court, to synods, and to other events across the country. All of these duties meant he was travelling for much of the year between multiple locations, including his two sees, providing him with access to both libraries, to those of other institutions, and to the books in his own personal collection.³⁵ He could have utilised the talents of scribes from both of his sees, his own entourage, and scribes who were not connected to a monastery. With such a wealth of sources from which Wulfstan could access scribal talents, it is not surprising that we do not see the scribes from Nero reappearing in any other manuscripts.

The scribal disconnect between booklets in Nero is mirrored in their codicological construction. Patrick Wormald originally set out his theory for Nero's codicological history in on 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', which he later reiterated with minor alterations and clarifications in his seminal *Making of English Law*.³⁶ His analysis updated the work originally conducted thirty years earlier by Henry Loyn but was still hampered by the same misapprehension that the objective was to uncover a more coherent unified manuscript. Most recently, Wormald's theory has been reassessed by Ben Reinhard, whose work provides a much-needed challenge to Karl Jost's approach to editing the *Institutes of Polity* and, in doing so, offers motivation for the original manuscript ordering.

³⁴ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 239-41.

³⁵ For evidence of bishops purchasing estates outside of their diocese to act as way-stations in their travels see, Barrow, Julia, 'Way-Stations on English Episcopal Itineraries, 700-1300', *EHR*, 127 (2012), pp. 549-565; more generally for the frequency with which bishops would travel to attend royal councils and synods see, Giandrea, Mary Frances, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007), esp. pp. 54-62 and 95-6.

³⁶ Wormald, 'Holiness', pp. 245-6; *idem.*, *MEL*, p. 198.

These efforts, while succeeding in other areas, have obscured the true nature of Nero’s five booklets.

Table 4.4 - Nero’s original quire order proposed by Wormald		
Booklets	Quires	Folios
4	6	122-131
	7	132-143
	8	144-155
	9	156-167
2	4	97-108
1	1	70-81
	2	82-93
	3	94-96

The original ordering suggested by Wormald (Table 4.4) needs to be deconstructed and replaced with a more workable theory. The Wormald/Reinhard theory is laudable for its consideration of Nero’s codicology, palaeography, texts, and the interplay between all three elements which evokes a compelling image of a group of booklets made for a singular purpose. However, its core premise assumes Nero must have been planned by Wulfstan as a unified item. Wormald’s original arrangement consisted of the booklets 4, 2, and then 1. Booklet 2 Wormald placed in the middle because he believed the Latin used for its opening rubrics followed on from those of booklet 4. Booklet 4 contains Latin texts, but booklets 2 and 1 are written in Old English except for a few Latin quotations. To explain the introduction of booklets 3 and 5, which both have contrasting *mis-en-pages*, and the twelfth-

century marginalia in booklets 2-5,³⁷ Wormald theorised that Wulfstan rearranged the manuscript at least once before his death. During these reshuffles, Wulfstan supposedly introduced booklets 3 and 5 and removed booklet 1 (Table 4.5). Booklet 2 moved to the front, booklet 3 was placed before booklet 4, and booklet 5 was attached to the end.³⁸ Booklet 1 would not be reunited with the rest of the manuscript until the sixteenth century.³⁹ At some point during this process, booklet 2 was supplemented with additional texts by scribe 3 with close collaboration by Wulfstan.

Table 4.5 - Wormald's proposed new quire order of Nero following Wulfstan's reorganisation of the manuscript		
Booklets	Quires	Folios
2	4	97-108
3	5	109-121
4	6	122-131
	7	132-143
	8	144-155
	9	156-167
5	10	168-177

Reinhard broadly agrees with Wormald but differs in some of his conclusions. In a variation from Wormald's theory, Reinhard dismisses booklet 3's presence entirely, believing it was not added to Nero until the sixteenth century as it did not fit with his model

³⁷ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 198.

³⁸ Wormald, 'Holiness', pp. 245-6.

³⁹ Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 230-1.

which placed the arrangement of the chapters of the *Institutes of Polity* at its centre.⁴⁰ Reinhard also emphasises the absence of Wulfstan's hand from booklet 5 to argue it arrived in the manuscript after Nero had left the archbishop's possession, thereby refocussing attention back on the three "original" booklets.⁴¹ However, he later backtracks from this conclusion and suggests booklet 5 could have been present at the same time as booklet 4.⁴² Reinhard also points to possible missing folios in booklets 1 and 4 to assert that the manuscript had once been more codicologically consistent. The heavily damaged quire 3 at the end of booklet 1 caused Reinhard, like others, to speculate it originally contained more folios and, by extension, lost texts.⁴³ For booklet 4 he cites research by J. E. Cross who believed texts were lost from quire 6 which he thought to be missing a bifolium.⁴⁴ In this latter example, the theorised missing texts also allowed Reinhard to extrapolate links with their sources that Wulfstan might have used to tie the Latin and Old English halves together ideologically.⁴⁵

Wormald and Reinhard decided the wear exhibited on f. 122^r at the front of booklet 4 and at f. 96^v at the end of booklet 1 was the result of their time as outer folios of the manuscript. Wormald connected the Latin rubrics for booklet 4's final text, *De cotidianis operibus episcoporum*, and the first one in booklet 2, *Item de episcopis*, arguing they were a continuation of the theme of episcopal duties. Both texts were written by scribe 2, albeit one in Latin and the other in Old English, but this was enough for Wormald to feel confident

⁴⁰ Reinhard, Ben, 'Cotton Nero A. i. and the Origins of Wulfstan's Polity', *JEGP*, 119 (2020), p. 179, n. 17.

⁴¹ Reinhard, 'Wulfstan and the reordered Polity', pp. 54-6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 214; Wormald, 'Holiness', p. 229; Reinhard, 'Wulfstan and the reordered Polity', p. 54.

⁴⁴ Cross, J. E., 'Missing Folios in Cotton MS. Nero A. I', *The British Library Journal*, 16 (1990), pp. 99-100; Reinhard, 'Wulfstan and the reordered Polity', p. 55.

⁴⁵ Reinhard, 'Wulfstan and the reordered Polity', pp. 59-69.

they were collocated in the original manuscript order. Reinhard's original ordering was the same but he cited a different reason: he saw booklet 4 (and possibly 5) acting as a Latin source book, providing the inspiration for booklets 2 and 1 which acted as a vernacular political manifesto for Wulfstan's ideology.⁴⁶ In this ordering, the *Institutes of Polity* chapters relating to bishops came first in the Old English section thereby placing them at the top of Wulfstan's societal hierarchy.⁴⁷ In this theory, Nero contained a mirrored eight quires split evenly between four Latin (if booklet 5/quire 10 is included) and four Old English. The progression from Latin to Old English also fits with Wulfstan's writing habit of assembling Latin works and later adapting them into Old English.⁴⁸

The Wormald/Reinhard model has an appealing narrative coherence, but there is much evidence overlooked in their pursuit of a unified Nero. Both Wormald and Reinhard use the damage present on f. 96^v and f. 122^r as diagnostic of folios exposed at the end of a manuscript. In fixating on only these two folios they discount the other folios at the ends of quire and booklets which exhibit damage. Nero's constituent parts exhibit considerably more damage than any of the booklets in Copenhagen or Vespasian. The noticeable damage and wear at the start and end of booklet 3 is disregarded by Wormald because booklet 3 was not original to his envisioned manuscript.⁴⁹ The damage to the front folio of booklet 5 is another example which undermines the idea that only ff. 96^v and 122^r were exposed at the ends of distinct sections. One would expect an assessment of the damage to the front of booklet 1 to form an important part of Reinhard and Wormald's argument. It was separated from the rest of Nero before defying the odds and being returned by someone in the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54 and pp. 58-9.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-70.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Wormald, 'Holiness', p. 229; *Idem*, *MEL*, p. 198.

sixteenth century and therefore would have received wear or marks indicative of this existence.⁵⁰

Booklet 1's centuries-long absence from the other booklets, shown through the absence of twelfth century annotations written by multiple hands in booklet 1 which are present throughout the other parts of Nero, therefore placed booklet 2 at the front of the manuscript. If we are to believe that damage to external folios supplies evidence for a booklet existing within this specific manuscript, then booklet 1's relative lack of damage is contrary to the established narrative. Reinhard is more hesitant in accepting the multiple revisions theory, citing a lack of evidence for anything other than the original ordering. However, by speculating about the absence of booklet 3 until the sixteenth century, he ignores the presence of common marginalia from the twelfth century onwards which indicates that booklets 2-5 were together long before that point.⁵¹ He does not solve the problems in Wormald's argument but ignores them while retaining Wormald's conclusion. Wormald and Reinhard chose the two folios that demonstrated the most damage and used them as evidence for an imagined precursor manuscript made from the present pieces. Wormald's narrative only works if the damage sustained to the end folios occurred over a few years during Wulfstan's life when the manuscript was rearranged before being finalised and possibly bound. Another conclusion from the damage sustained by the five booklets is that they show varying degrees of wear to their outer folios which indicates they all led independent lives for some time prior to being bound together.

⁵⁰ The return of booklet 1 is a remarkable event in their theory as it required someone to identify the three quires as a 'proper' part of the manuscript despite booklet 1's different collation, lineation, scribe, and self-contained contents.

⁵¹ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 198.

An integral part of Wormald's theory relies on uniting the Latin and Old English parts of Nero through the texts which respectively end and begin booklets 4 and 2. However an assessment of the evidence does not support Wormald's theory but suggests booklet 2 began life as an independent compilatory booklet or part of a collection of Old English texts. The first important difference is the languages used by both texts. Booklet 4 is entirely Latin: it dominated by a copy of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* followed by some penitential texts which segue into a discussion of bishops dispensing secular justice (*De medicamento animarum*) and an instructional text on the daily work of a bishop (*De cotidianis operibus episcoporum*), leaving a half blank folio on f. 167^v. The start of booklet 2 has the text, *Item de episcopis*, which Wormald argues is significant because it continues the use of Latin rubrics and instructional episcopal theme present at the end of booklet 4. The switch from exclusively Latin in booklet 4 to entirely Old English in booklet 2 is an important feature. Reinhard acknowledges the division between languages, but Wormald ignores the obvious and intentional language division demarcated by Nero's booklet structure. The exclusively Latin content of both Copenhagen and Vespasian demonstrates Wulfstan's acute awareness and separation of the languages in his booklets, so it is surprising that he might explicitly link two booklets of two different languages.

Table 4.6 Textual connections between Nero's quires in Wormald's original ordering				
Quire	Folios	Text	Language	Booklet
9	162v-163v	<i>Quod nulli sit ultima penitentia de neganda</i>	Latin	4
	163v-164r	<i>Denis qui morientibus penitentiam denegant</i>		
	164r-165v	<i>De medicamento animarum</i>		
	165v-167v	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>		
	167v	<i>Bottom half blank</i>		

4	97r-97v	<i>Item de episcopis</i>	Old English	2
	97v-98v	<i>Item - Biscopas scylan bocum</i>		
	98v	Text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb		
	99r-100r	<i>Incipit de sinodo</i>		
	100v-105v	Blank		

1	70r-70v	<i>Be Cynges</i>	Old English	1
	70v-71r	<i>Be Cynedome</i>		
	71r-71v	<i>Be Cynestole</i>		
	71v-72r	<i>Be Eorlum</i>		
	72r-73r	<i>Be Sacerdan</i>		

There is a better explanation for the thematic continuation between the rubric and texts at the end of booklet 4 and beginning of booklet 2 than the one proposed by Wormald. Booklet 2's rubric either came from the end of a collection of *Institutes* chapters or was copied from an exemplar which contained them. Both Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 contain a run of texts from *Institutes of Polity* with rubrics which are like those in booklet 2 (see Table 4.7).⁵² In Junius 121, four episcopal

⁵² The different colours in Table 4.7 indicate where the same texts are in the different manuscripts.

chapters are preceded by the *Institutes* chapter *Be ðeodwitan*, which is rubricated in Old English. All four of the episcopal chapters are rubricated in Latin with either *Item de episcopis* or *Item*. These are then followed by another Latin rubric, *Incipit de synodo*, a text which is also aimed at an episcopal audience. The next text is *Be eorlum*, which switches back to Old English for the rubric. In Corpus 201, there are two episcopal chapters with Latin rubrics, both of which relate to bishops. They are rubricated *De episcopis Paulus dicit* and *Item*. These follow on from *Be cynestole* and are succeeded by *Be eorlum*, both of which have Old English rubrics. The examples of episcopal chapters from both Junius 121 and Corpus 201 come in the middle of a hierarchical arrangement and are the only places where Latin rubrics are used for *Institutes* chapters. This suggests *Item de episcopis* at the start of booklet 2 is not referring to *De cotidianis*, but more likely alludes to other chapters from *Institutes*. This is either because booklet 2 was originally connected to another quire containing *Institutes* chapters, or because the texts – including their rubrics – were copied verbatim from a collection such as those found in Junius 121 or Corpus 201. This theory does not ignore the incongruity of the small collection of Old English texts juxtaposed against a large Latin canon law collection but embraces the division between Latin and Old English which is apparent throughout Wulfstan's compilations.

Table 4.7 Rubrics and Texts Comparison of Episcopal Chapters from <i>Institutes of Polity</i>								
Junius 121			MS I Booklet 2			Corpus 201		
Folio	Text	Matching text	Folio	Text	Matching Text	Page	Text	Matching Text
11r-12v	BE ðEODWITAN					87-88	BE CYNESTOLE (rubric missing)	
12v-13v	ITEM DE EPISCOPIIS		97r-97v	ITEM DE EPISCOPIIS		88	DE EPISCOPIIS PAULUS DICIT	
13v-15r	ITEM		97v-98v	ITEM		88-89	ITEM	
15r	ITEM		98v	blank		89	BE EORLUM	
15r-15v	ITEM		99r-100r	INCIPIIT DE SINODO				
15v-17r	INCIPIIT DE SYNODO							
17r-17v	BE EORLUM							

The scribal activity which produced this group of texts also raises questions regarding the two half-folio gaps between them. One answer is that they reveal Scribe 2 taking a break to switch exemplars: we see something similar in the gap separating the two homilies in quire 2 of booklet 1. In booklet 2, however, there are other factors at play. The break in booklet 1 separates two texts which are not related to one another, but the texts on either side of the booklet 4/2 gap have rubrics which are, in Wormald's theory, directly connected. A half-folio gap between the two texts is not impossible, but it becomes more vexatious when we examine scribe 2's contribution to booklet 2. This staccato writing pattern is not replicated with such frequency anywhere else in scribe 2's contribution to booklet 4 so that it seems entirely out of character for him to be leaving two gaps in such quick succession. According to Wormald, booklet 2 was blank beyond the first two of its twelve folios in the initial arrangement and it was only during the reshuffle of the manuscript that it was supplemented at Wulfstan's direction.⁵³ In that context it is perplexing to find three Old English texts appended on a largely blank separate quire with

⁵³ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 199.

not one, but two breaks in the middle. The scribal evidence suggests booklet 2's creation was not contemporaneous with booklet 4 but was the result of using different sources in a contrasting creation process. The gaps between texts in booklet 2 could be explained if the texts were not all written at the same time, with the third one, *Incipit de sinodo*, being added later by the same scribe. It is unclear why the scribe chose to leave a gap between the second and third texts, but one possible explanation is that he might have intended to insert one of the other *Institutes* chapters which are present in Junius 121. The second and third *Item* texts are thirteen and ten lines long respectively and could easily fit into the space left over by scribe 2. The rest of the contemporary texts were written at another point by scribe 3, who penned the next group of *Institutes of Polity* chapters while working closely with Wulfstan.⁵⁴

The gap between booklets 2 and 1 raises similar difficulties. In Wormald's original ordering booklet 2 had at least five blank folios, which is more than one would expect to find in the middle of a manuscript. All the booklets in Nero either still exhibit blank folios at their ends or likely once had them. We also have evidence in booklets 2 and 3 of additional blank end folios being removed at some point before the late-eleventh- and twelfth-century additions were inserted. Wormald attributes the multiple instances of blank folios in Nero, which range from half a folio in length through to the eight blank folios originally present in booklet 2 as part of the creation process which occurred when making Nero into a single collection.⁵⁵ This is a circular *post hoc* argument, whereby the evidence present is being used as proof for Wormald's desired outcome rather than pointing to a contrary conclusion: because Nero is supposedly a single authored collection and all the booklets in the manuscript have this feature, it is therefore a feature of a manuscript assembled to be a

⁵⁴ The accumulation of texts in booklet 2 will be discussed later on pp. 209-218.

⁵⁵ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 199, n. 151.

unified collection. But booklet 2's gap is not a mere half folio: it comprises almost the entirety of its fourteen-folio quire. Moreover, if the work of scribe 3 was present early on, prior to the reshuffle, ff. 105^v-108^v would still have been blank, and the presence of these additional texts would present another problem. It would place the *Institutes of Polity* chapters, *Be sacerdan*, *Be abbodum*, *Be munecum*, and *Be gerefan* before *Be Cynges* at the top of a series of chapters from *Institutes of Polity* which in the exemplar must have been ordered hierarchically. This runs counter to the logic which would arrange them hierarchically in the first place. Further confusion is added by the repetition of three chapters from *Institutes of Polity* which are already in the hierarchical arrangement in booklet 1. In either scenario the arrangement proposed by Wormald and Reinhard raises more questions than it answers. If Wormald supposed booklets 4, 2, and 1 once formed a single collection, then he takes no account of this space in what would evidently have been an almost entirely unfinished quire. Booklet 2 has all the traits of either being the final quire from a different manuscript or a separate booklet with texts which were accumulated over time. Either approach would fit better with what has already been discussed regarding the rubrics of the first two items possibly linking to other chapters from *Institutes of Polity*.

If, according to Wormald's theory, Wulfstan so frequently re-ordered the manuscript, then there is the distinct possibility we do not have all the booklets which were originally present. If booklet 1 left the manuscript for some time, other booklets also might have departed never to return. One of Wormald's central pieces of evidence, the link between the rubrics and texts at the end of booklet 4 and beginning of booklet 2, suggests that a quire containing other chapters from *Institutes of Polity* may have been lost or, indeed, some other texts which fit better than Wormald's proposal. By allowing for such fluidity of content, Wormald inadvertently allows his potential Nero to contain an unknown number of

lost quires or booklets, possibly not all present at the same time, but repeatedly being switched in and out. The flaws in Wormald's theory can be dealt with by applying a different manuscript model which allows for so many potential booklets to be swapped in and out. Consideration of Robinson's criteria for identifying self-contained units suggests the booklets in Nero existed in a fluid state. While this means Nero was not one manuscript but rather several independent compilations, it allows the evidence to dictate the answer rather than requiring evidence to be selected which fits with preconceived expectations. An inspection of each booklet shows they all fit Robinson's model for independent units: all have texts which end before or on the final quire; many of them have blank folios at the end; they exhibit wear which is indicative of a life outside of a bound manuscript; they have differing scribes and lineation; and the trimming which occurred to the booklets obscures their original dimensions which originally might have been less uniform than they are now.⁵⁶

The constituent booklets of Nero lack the traits of Copenhagen and Vespasian which identify those two manuscripts as unified compilations. The dissonance between parts of Nero is picked up by Reinhard who attempts to harmonise the discord by concluding that the Latin half acted as a source book for the vernacular half. However, this is a simplification which again favours the narrative focused on Nero as a single collection. There are many other features missing from Nero which are found in Copenhagen and Vespasian which indicate Wulfstan envisioned and compiled them as incorporated collections. Nero does not have a booklet containing a more miscellaneous assortment of texts written by multiple scribes which operates as a supplementary or overflow booklet for the other booklet

⁵⁶ Robinson, 'Units', p. 232.

compilations.⁵⁷ In *Vespasian's* case we also see similar texts being inserted into booklet 1 when booklet 4 had filled up, which indicates the booklets were seen as part of the same collection. The only instance of this in *Nero* is where two scribes add texts in two or three stages in booklet 3, but the additions build upon the theme of episcopal instruction, which is inherent to the booklet. There is no development of sources comparable to the accumulation of *Vespasian's* compilations, and the scribal activity is not indicative of a joint enterprise as in *Copenhagen*.

A comparison of the empty folios at the end of *Nero's* booklets with those in the other two manuscripts highlights a disjunction between the booklets 1-3 as well as with booklets 4-5. In *Vespasian* none of the booklets have much more than half a folio of blank space. Where more blank folios once existed *Wulfstan* either supervised the insertion of extra texts to fill them up or copied them in himself. There are no folios missing from *Vespasian*, suggesting that excess blank folios were once removed. *Copenhagen* has more blank space, but it is never more than roughly one and a half sides of vellum, limiting the blank space to the final folios of booklets. In both instances of folios being removed, this was done prior to *Copenhagen's* compilation. There is a greater sense of control and planning with the blank space in both of these manuscripts where *Vespasian's* have been utilised to their fullest and *Copenhagen's* are evidence of the scribes attempting to use quire sizes suitable for their needs.

⁵⁷ Booklet 6 in *Copenhagen* and booklet 4 in *Vespasian*.

Nero's blank folios are much more erratic, in part exacerbated by the choice to use abnormally long fourteen-folio quires.⁵⁸ They are used in all three vernacular booklets, and the choice is warranted for booklet 1 whose texts extend across three quires. However, in booklets 2 and 3 this choice left a large amount of blank space at the end of both booklets, ten sides and five sides of vellum respectively. Both booklets now appear quite full as they have had some of these blank pages removed and the rest filled with later additions over the following centuries. However, at the time the original texts were written, the two booklets would have been noticeably empty. The same is also true of booklet 5, which has seven and a half sides of blank space at the end. There was no attempt by Wulfstan or his scribes to fill up this space with later additions, not even in booklet 3's case where the final text was left incomplete. The impression this leaves is that the length of each booklet's compilation of texts might not necessarily have been known at the time the copying of each one began. The longer length of quires for booklets 2 and 3 might have been to accommodate potentially longer collections. Booklet 3 ends with an incomplete copy of *Be Eorðlicum Cyninge's* and therefore might not have been the full compilation Wulfstan originally planned. The blank spaces in the quires and the incomplete end to booklet 3 give the latter two vernacular booklets a draft-like quality. This does not mean there was necessarily a final draft somewhere along the line, but more that Wulfstan was experimenting with arrangements of vernacular texts comprised of legal, homiletic, and political material. Booklet 5 also ticks many of these boxes, but its Latin contents and thematic links with texts at the end of booklet 4 cannot so conclusively prove that it was not an addendum to the larger compilation which precedes it in Nero. The possible purposes of all of these individual compilations are discussed in the next chapter but, for now, the important conclusion is that

⁵⁸ Gameson, Richard, 'The material fabric of early British books', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 42-3. Gameson states that the expected average length of a quire is 8-12 folios long.

the vernacular booklets were written in isolation from each other, and do not interact in the same ways that we see in the other two manuscripts.

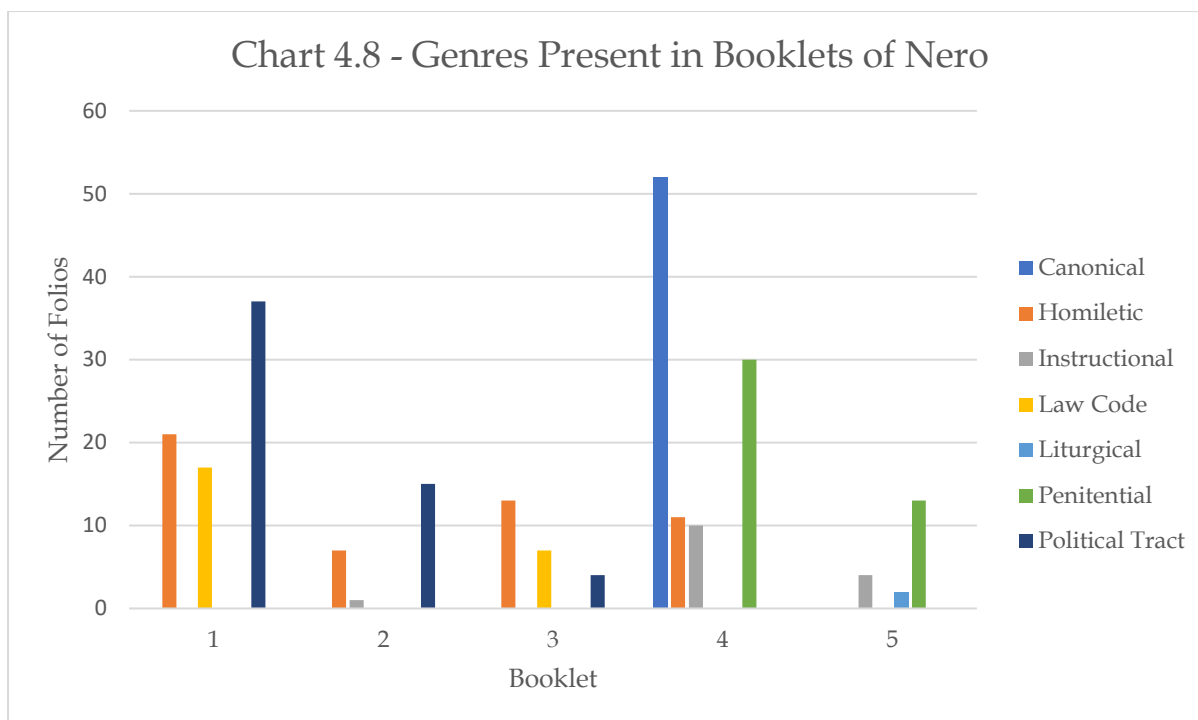
Two traditions of textual transmission

An investigation of the texts transmitted in Nero's booklets indicates two divergent traditions for the Latin texts in booklets 4-5 and Old English texts in booklets 1-3, with next to zero overlap existing between the manuscripts into which the two languages were transmitted; it is unlikely they were seen as parts of the same manuscript or stored together in the first few decades after their creation. In most cases, the lines of transmission for the texts cannot be drawn directly between Nero's booklets and the later manuscripts, and it is impossible to know whether Wulfstan created manuscripts containing a mix of these Old English and Latin texts which have not survived. However, the later manuscripts into which the texts are copied also almost exclusively contain one language or the other, which suggests Wulfstan saw a distinct separation between the languages within his manuscripts, and that this treatment continued for some time after his death. When combined with the codicological, palaeographical, and textual features of Nero's five booklets which point to them being independent units, it is clear Nero was never seen as single unit by its users in the first half of the eleventh century. Such findings therefore obviate the need for Loyn's explanation of scribal error for the duplication and diffusion of texts across the manuscript.

The division in contents of the first three booklets of Nero contrasts starkly with the latter two booklets. The former group contains vernacular legal and political texts while the latter is primarily canonical and penitential in nature. The only type of text present across both halves is homiletic material, but the location of each homily fits much better thematically with the material which surrounds them; they were never intended to function as a group of homilies. There are seven homilies present in the manuscript: five are by Archbishop Wulfstan himself, one by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and another shortened Abbo sermon likely compiled into this form by Wulfstan.⁵⁹ The homilies are dispersed throughout the manuscript, appearing either on their own or in pairs. By contrast in later manuscripts containing Wulfstan's homilies, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419, or Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, Nero does not contain a contiguous collection of homilies. The four vernacular Wulfstan homilies appear in pairs in the Old English booklets 1 and 3 amongst English law codes and political texts. Wulfstan's only Latin homily and Abbo's homiletic material appear among the other Latin texts in booklet 4. Chart 4.8 demonstrates the different genres present in each booklet based on the number of folios they cover in the manuscript. Undoubtedly, there is much to be said about the ambiguity between genres in medieval writing, particularly with regards to Wulfstan, who often blurred the lines between homily and legal tract through tone and choice of themes.⁶⁰ Despite the crude nature of grouping medieval texts by genre, we cannot ignore the glaring divide between the two halves of the manuscript. Penitential and canonical texts are entirely absent from the first half of the manuscript.

⁵⁹ Bethurum believed the homily *tunc sermo ad populum* on ff. 169^r-170^v, which is a sermon constructed from Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés excerpts, was quite likely compiled by Wulfstan.

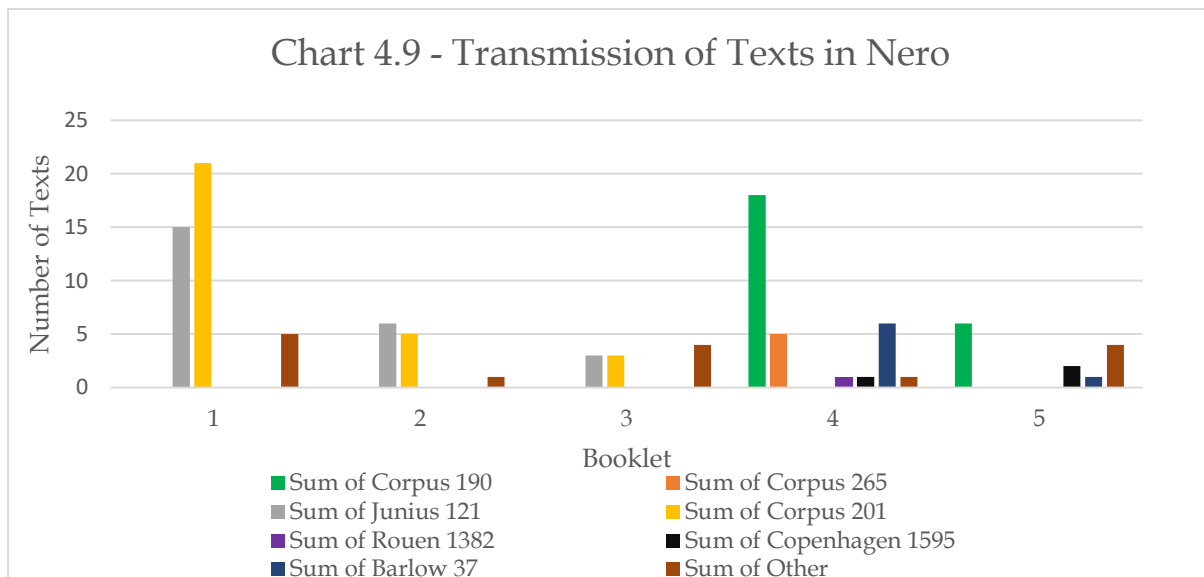
⁶⁰ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 3.



Looking at the other manuscripts in which the texts from Nero’s five booklets are found, the division becomes more apparent. Unsurprisingly, the manuscripts where most of the texts are transmitted are linked to the Commonplace Book tradition. However, the lines of transmission emanating out from Nero show there to be at least two separate traditions rather than one. Similarly, Chart 4.9⁶¹ demarcates a strong dividing line between the two parts of booklets 1-3 and 4-5. It shows how many texts from each booklet are found in other manuscripts, primarily ones associated with the Wulfstan Commonplace Book tradition, either directly or tangentially. This chart demonstrates a partition within the Commonplace Book manuscripts which, again, has strong ties to the language of the texts. In the booklet

⁶¹ Booklet 4 is almost entirely dominated by its copy of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*. The other texts present in booklet 4 have also been argued as part of this collection. This matter will be discussed further in the subsection on booklet 4. For a detailed study of the contents and transmission of the multiple versions of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, see Cross, J. E. and Hamer, Andrew, *Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge, 1999); and Elliot, Michael, *The Worcester Collection of Canons*.

1-3 group, twenty-five of the texts are in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, and twenty-eight of them are in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201.⁶² The texts found in Junius 121 are from, or associated with, *Institutes of Polity*. Corpus 201, on the other hand, has chapters from *Institutes of Polity*, law codes and homilies. Neither of these manuscripts share any texts with booklets 4 or 5, but this is perhaps to be expected as booklets 4 and 5 contain only Latin texts and both Corpus 201 and Junius 121 almost exclusively contain Old English texts. The five other manuscripts which share texts with booklets 1-3 also do not contain any from the two Latin booklets.⁶³



Booklets 4 and 5's texts are found in an entirely different set of manuscripts:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 190; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 265; and

⁶² This number includes duplicate texts which appear more than once in Nero: V Æthelred and the chapters from *Institutes of Polity*. One of the texts included in this assessment is II Edgar, which was almost certainly lost from Nero. A text not included is VIII Æthelred because, as I discuss later in this chapter, I believe the text from VIII Æthelred in booklet 1 has been transplanted into a new text on church sanctuary. See pp. 192-196. The full data set used for these charts can be found in Appendix II, pp. 335-368.

⁶³ These five manuscripts are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 383; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 419; Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3206; London, British Library, Harley 55; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37. The bulk of the material linking the manuscripts consists of their respective copies of *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, although only Corpus 190 contains the same recension. Much of the material present on either side of the canon collection is also found in Corpus 190, with some of it also appearing in Corpus 265 and Barlow 37. The manuscripts into which the Latin from Nero is transmitted are dominated by Latin texts. Corpus 190 uses both languages, as its first half is Latin, and its second half is vernacular. The Latin portion of the manuscript has its origins at Worcester in the first half of the eleventh century, while the Old English is s. xi med/s. xi^{3/4} with only some of it coming from Worcester. Joyce Hill has shown that the juxtaposition of the two languages was a compilatory exercise performed by Leofric of Exeter. The Latin arrived as a contiguous compilation while the Old English material arrived separately in smaller loose groups which Hill argues Leofric assembled into a vernacular counterpart to the Latin collection.⁶⁴ Corpus 265, is a tripartite composite manuscript with origins at Worcester from the middle of the eleventh century through to the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century. It contains only two clusters of Old English within its pages: some of the texts edited as *Handbook for the use of a Confessor*; and copy of the law code *IV Edgar* which follows a Latin translation of the same code. Barlow 37 is a Worcester manuscript from the late-twelfth century which does not contain any Old English.

The sizes of Nero's Latin and Old English booklets are markedly similar to the ones Hill proposed for the collections of material that Leofric turned into Corpus 190: a largely contiguous Latin group built around a copy of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* (booklet 4 and possibly also 5), which likely ended up coming from Worcester into Leofric's

⁶⁴ Hill, Joyce, 'Two Anglo-Saxon bishops at work: Wulfstan, Leofric and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190', in Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe* (Berlin 2011), pp. 145-61, esp. p. 152.

possession; and a series of smaller Old English booklets (booklets 1-3), each of which held thematically unified units. The smaller vernacular booklets from Worcester which came into Leofric's possession could have stemmed from the same Wulfstanian tradition we see in Nero and raise the question whether Worcester continued to favour smaller-sized compilations for Old English after Wulfstan's death.

Beyond these three manuscripts, booklets 4 and 5 share a much narrower range of material with other manuscripts. Copenhagen contains three texts present in Nero, all of which are tied to public penance: the Abbo homily titled *Sermo de reconciliacione post penitentiam*; a compilation and adaptation of extracts from Abbo sermons titled *Tunc sermo ad populum*; the third a version of *De ieiunio quattuor temporum*, a text on the historical reasons for the four main fasts of the Christian calendar which in Copenhagen was expanded into a homily by Wulfstan.⁶⁵ These three Nero texts are the only ones which also appear in manuscripts outside of the Commonplace Book group.⁶⁶ The narrow range of manuscripts which contain the same texts – or variations of these texts – is indicative of how clearly these texts must have circulated as distinct groups.

The copies of the texts from the Old English booklets (1-3) are found in manuscripts which contain almost exclusively Old English material, which fits with the pattern of keeping the two languages separate in Wulfstanian manuscripts. Where Latin is present it is in conjunction with Old English translations. The two manuscripts in which Nero's Old

⁶⁵ Wilcox, Jonathan, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies', in Carola Hicks (ed.), *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1992), p. 200.

⁶⁶ The two Abbo texts appear in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. vii, and *De ieiunio quattuor temporum* occurs in Cambridge, St John's College, MS B. 20; Châlon-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 31; and London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. ii.

English texts are found are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121. Corpus 201 is a manuscript of unclear origin with possible links to Winchester which consists of three parts. Only one of these parts is associated with Wulfstan and his texts, which cover pp. 8-160 and 167-76 dating from s. xi¹ or s. xi med.⁶⁷ It contains a large collection of Wulfstan's homiletic writings, law codes (many of which are also found in Nero), ecclesiastical regulatory material associated with Wulfstan, lists of saints and the only copy of the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*. The Latin texts in Corpus 201 are greatly outnumbered by the vernacular ones and act as accompaniments to, or as parts of, a larger Old English text. A Latin list of the ages of the world with a biblical genealogy begins with an Old English prologue and leads into an Old English outline of history by Wulfstan.⁶⁸ A version of Wulfstan's homily "Isaiah on the Punishment for Sin" (Bethurum XI) quotes Latin passages and then follows them with English translations with expanded biblical extracts.⁶⁹ Another example is Wulfstan's *Secundum Marcum*, which has a Latin incipit followed by vernacular sermon.⁷⁰ The only fully Latin texts are a copy of Wulfstan's *De baptismo* which is followed by the archbishop's Old English version of the same homily,⁷¹ two short texts which are a Latin translation of a single vernacular text associated with the *Handbook for the use of a Confessor* which has been split in two and bookends a much longer Old English text also associated with the same collection,⁷² and a guide to forms of absolution and confession.⁷³ Even with these texts, there is a level of dependence upon the surrounding Old English texts. The only exception is the final text on absolution and confession which is

⁶⁷ Gneuss and Lapidge, No. 65.5. the last pages of this section, pp. 170-6, are additional texts written on to an older quire of the eleventh century which contains an Old English translation of Bede's *Versus de die iudicii*, *Exhortation to Christian Living*, and a poem called *Summons to Prayer*.

⁶⁸ CCC 201, pp. 9-15.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5, 125-6.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-6.

added on to the end of an older quire. The hand is different and the number of lines per page drops from forty-one to twenty-one. These details indicate it was added in at another point from the main group of texts, especially considering the connections the other Latin texts have with the surrounding Old English.

Junius 121 is a Worcester manuscript dating from s. xi^{3/4}, in which the only Latin texts are additions from the end of the eleventh century and therefore do not detract from Junius 121 being an almost exclusively Old English manuscript. The most prominent instance of a Latin addition is a selection of canons and capitula from the 1076 Council of Winchester on the first four folios, which was added at least a decade after the manuscript's creation⁷⁴ Latin is also present in rubrics, incipits, such as at the start of Ælfric's letter to Wulfgeat,⁷⁵ and a Latin introduction to Ælfric's Old English letter to Wulfsige⁷⁶. The lack of Latin texts from Junius 121 suggests a possible tradition of the separation of languages at Worcester during part of the eleventh century. It is clear Wulfstan's Latin and vernacular texts all continued to be copied at Worcester after his death, and yet the division between the two languages persisted for at least the first few decades.⁷⁷

Textual connections between Corpus 201 and Junius 121 observed by Helen Foxhall Forbes suggest that there is a unique link between these two manuscripts. A lot of the

⁷⁴ Foxhall Forbes, Helen, 'Making books for pastoral care in late eleventh-century Worcester: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121 and Hatton 113 + 114', in Peter Clark and Sarah James (eds.), *Pastoral Care in Medieval England: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Abingdon, 2020), p. 30.

⁷⁵ Junius 121, f. 124.

⁷⁶ Junius 121, ff. 101v-10v.

⁷⁷ The question of when the distinction between the two languages became blurred at Worcester is perhaps one open for further investigation.

material present in Corpus 201 is found in the same sequences in both Junius 121 and one of its companion manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113. Foxhall Forbes notes:

It seems overwhelmingly likely that similar collections of material were available to the main scribe of CCCC 201 on the one hand, and to the main scribe of Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114 on the other, though it is clear from the relationships between the texts contained in the manuscripts that they do not derive from a common exemplar.⁷⁸

This indicates not only careful selection on the part of the scribes responsible for both Corpus 201 and Junius 121, as proposed by Foxhall Forbes, but also that there was an existing tradition of collections of vernacular Wulfstanian material circulating in booklets, some of which can be observed in Nero's first three booklets. Foxhall Forbes' assessment of the careful selection of texts for these manuscripts demonstrates this was an intentional decision. We find here a tradition of booklets and manuscripts in the eleventh century which favoured vernacular texts and in which Worcester played a significant role. This vernacular tradition is directly tied to Wulfstan's collections of his texts and his sources. The division of Wulfstan's Latin and Old English texts into separate collections is highly significant. A pattern such as this in the later eleventh-century compilations, and the textual connections they have to Nero, should indicate that a manuscript comprised half of Latin and half of Old English is not something we should expect to find in manuscripts associated with Wulfstan. A final point to consider on this matter is the absence of Old English in the other two manuscripts discussed in depth in this thesis.

⁷⁸ Foxhall Forbes, Helen, 'Affective piety and the practice of penance in late-eleventh century Worcester: the address to the penitent in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121', *ASE* 44 (2015), pp. 314-5.

Conclusion

Connections undoubtedly exist between Nero's five booklets. Booklet 4's canon law collection provided sources for many, but certainly not all, of the texts in the vernacular booklets. Booklets 1-3 all contain similar groupings of vernacular texts and have a shared transmission history. Likewise, booklets 4-5's texts were transmitted into together from Worcester to Corpus 190, which suggests a degree of attachment between the two booklets. The most obvious conclusion however is the absence of coherence across the manuscript, particularly when compared to the two different forms of unity identifiable in Copenhagen and Vespasian. The reason Loyn, Wormald, Reinhard and others had so much difficulty in divining Nero's original form is because it is a modern fiction. The codicology and palaeography of the booklets are indicative of five separate inceptions, compounded by the lack of textual connections which are so apparent in the other manuscripts. The stark divide in the lines of transmission between the texts in two halves of what is supposed to be the same Commonplace Book manuscript is significant. At the very least, what we are seeing is not evidence of a single collection being transmitted, but of at least two types of textual groupings with unconnected traditions of transmission. The evidence which pushes the conclusion beyond Nero simply being two separate manuscripts stems from the three vernacular booklets. Booklet 1's length and leaning towards law codes sets it apart from other two shorter compilations. The absence of the twelfth-century marginalia emphasises that it experienced a separate journey to the other two booklets, and that they were not treated as a single unit in the decades after their creation. The latter two feel like experimental compilations compared to booklet 1's more developed collection of texts, particularly booklet 3 which was abandoned part-way through its creation. The original length of booklets 2 and 3's fourteen folio quires is significant because it hints at greater ambitions for both compilations which failed to emerge. In turn, this incomplete appearance

further detracts from any notion that Nero could ever have been seen by Wulfstan as a unified compilation of booklets.

It is important to acknowledge the good fortune involved in the survival of these booklets. There are vanishingly few unbound booklets for scholars to study. Yet here we find four, possibly even five, entirely independent compilations which grant us an opportunity to understand the types of material assembled into small compilations by Wulfstan which might speak to wider trends for the creation, purpose, and transmission of booklets in late Anglo-Saxon England.

Chapter 4: London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177: Part II

- Three Old English ideological pamphlets for a Holy Society

Overview

Wulfstan never considered Nero's five booklets to be a single manuscript, but as five compilations which served varying purposes, some of which had overlapping aims. This is most evident in the three vernacular collections which are the only extant Old English compilations assembled under his supervision. Despite using similar genres such as law codes, homilies, and political tracts, Wulfstan selected specific texts for each booklet so that the compilations would work best individually. The same mind chose the texts and played a direct role in copying some of them; therefore, looking at how each of them differs sheds light on what the variations mean for the booklets' respective purposes. Scrutiny of the texts in each booklet reveals a deliberate selection was taking place. Chapters from *Polity* on bishops are absent from booklet 1 but included in booklet 2; the placement of Wulfstan's homily *Evil rulers* in booklet 3 alongside *Institutes* chapters on the king and his counsel; the curated collection of ecclesiastical law codes in booklet 1; these choices all reinforce that each booklet was made for a different audience or purpose but there was a mutual awareness between the booklets. Each booklet is approached as if a separate entity, and the analysis will mirror the method used for Copenhagen and Vespasian. The three booklets were made for priests, bishops, and the lay and clerical elite who advised the king; the three societal groups who were responsible for directing a country in crisis, much in need of spiritual remedy. These three booklets use texts penned almost entirely by Wulfstan to outline the

archbishop's aims and the expectations of their roles in society. They are exemplars which were likely copied and given out to their intended recipients, but unlikely to be the only versions of such collections which existed. The booklets are snapshots in time, compilations which were altered over time by Wulfstan; nor are these the original versions, despite the presence of Wulfstan's hand.

Unlike the Old English compilations which were created for use by both Wulfstan and external audiences, the fourth and fifth Latin booklets were most likely for Wulfstan's personal use. In this respect, Reinhard was correct in stating that booklet 4's Latin texts served as a source for Wulfstan's own writing;¹ detached from the surrounding booklets, booklet 4 can now be appreciated as a stand-alone canon law collection augmented by Wulfstan and used as a source for the texts not only in Nero but in all the other surviving Wulfstanian manuscripts. In this light, the work conducted on the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* in Nero by J. E. Cross, Andrew Hamer, and Michael Elliot should be revisited to address whether the texts which precede and succeed the canon law collection in booklet 4 should be considered for inclusion, in particular Elliot's critiques of Cross and Hamer's arguably limited definition of the boundaries of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*.²

Furthermore, the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* is an integral component in the theoretical contents of Wulfstan's Commonplace Book theory. In detaching booklet 4 from the surrounding texts in the other booklets, the only copy of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis* contemporary with Wulfstan is no longer part of a larger episcopal miscellany

¹ Reinhard, Ben, 'Origins of Wulfstan's Polity', pp. 158-159.

² Cross and Hamer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*; Elliot, *Michael Canon Law Collections in England ca. 600-1066: The Manuscript Evidence*, (University of Toronto D.Phil thesis, 2015), esp. pp. 169-187; Elliot, *The Worcester Collection of Canons*.

and can no longer be seen as such a lynchpin for identifying Wulfstan's Commonplace Book. It is imperative that this is considered in any further discussions of the Commonplace Book theory, especially when pertaining to Corpus 190, Corpus 265 and Barlow 37, whose association with the Commonplace Book are, to varying degrees, due to their copies of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*.

The independence of booklet 5 remains the most ambiguous because, taken on its own, it forms a succinct compilation of texts. However, the final texts of booklet 4 and those in booklet 5 are both penitential material using Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés as a major source. Booklet 5's texts are found elsewhere in a multitude of forms, and therefore could have been intended for circulation independently. However, its content is not political like the first three but designed for liturgical use in public penance rituals and could have been for personal use by Wulfstan, like booklet 4.

This chapter focuses on the three Old English compilations in booklets 1-3. The two other manuscripts examined in this thesis, Copenhagen and Vespasian, are, with minimal exceptions, exclusively Latin compilations. The three Old English booklets in Nero are the most substantial accumulation of Old English texts that we know were assembled under Wulfstan's supervision and are therefore vital for understanding how Wulfstan compiled and used vernacular texts. While the status of the Latin booklets 4 and 5 as independent booklets (or possibly quasi-independent in the case of booklet 5) is certainly in need of further study, the level of detail I wish to go into with booklets 1-3 has meant there was not space within this thesis for that analysis.

Booklet 1 –Clerical duty and the Church’s rights

Booklet 1 is a collection of vernacular texts for use by bishops and priests, providing them with texts to educate them on their role in society as preachers and moral guides, as well as providing them with a collection of legal texts on the church’s rights. The texts in booklet 1 are listed below in Table 5.1 with the texts contemporary with Wulfstan marked out in bold font. Patrick Wormald noted the ecclesiastical slant of the law codes in booklet 1 and posited the laws could be for use by an itinerant preacher,³ but his focus on the legal material and misapprehension about the structure of Nero prevented him from pursuing this line of enquiry further. It is possible booklet 1 was used by bishops and priests to teach an external audience whose knowledge of Latin was variable. Wulfstan’s involvement in writing some of booklet 1’s texts is important because it shows that he was redrafting the texts within the manuscript. This ties into the first three booklets all being ‘draft-like’ compilations which may have been copied and propagated among their intended audiences. Booklet 1 is the longest and, despite folio(s) missing from its end, is the most developed of the three vernacular booklets.

³ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 203.

Table 5.1 - Overview of Booklet 1 in Nero		
Quire	Folio(s)	Text
1	70r-70v	<i>Be Cyngge</i>
	70v-71r	<i>Be Cynedome</i>
	71r-71v	<i>Be Cynestole</i>
	71v-72r	<i>Be Eorlum</i>
	72r-73r	<i>Be Sacerdan</i>
	72r-73r	<i>Be Gehadedum Mannum</i>
	73r	<i>Be Abbodum</i>
	73r	<i>Be Munecan</i>
	73r-73v	<i>Be Munecanan</i>
	73v	<i>Be Preostan 7 Be Nunnan</i>
	73v-74r	<i>Be Lawedum Mannum</i>
	74r	<i>Be Wudewan</i>
	74r-75v	<i>Be Cyricean</i>
	75v-76v	<i>Be Eallum Cristenum Mannum</i>
	76v-81v	Wulfstan Homily Bethurum Xc <i>The Christian Life</i>
2	82r-83v	
	83v	Extract on Basilides the heretic and his worship of Abrasax (later addition)
	84r-86v	Wulfstan Homily Bethurum XIX <i>God's threat to a sinning Israel</i>
	86v-87v	I Æthelstan
	87v	I Edmund
	Missing folios	<i>II Edgar - presumed lost from Nero</i>
	88r-89r	III Edgar
	89r-92v	V Æthelred
	92v-93v	Grið
94r-95v		
3	95v-96v	VIII Æthelred
	96v	<i>Norðhymbra cyricgrið</i>

Booklet 1 is built around the theme of the correct ordering of a Christian society. The inclusion of ecclesiastically focused law codes from the previous century is designed to

educate the reader on the rights of the church and reinforce its centrality within the legal system of England. The law codes combined with a hierarchical arrangement of chapters from *Polity* conveys the symbiosis of the secular and ecclesiastical spheres within the same hierarchy.

Codicology and Palaeography

Booklets 1 and 4 are the only two in Nero which are larger than a single quire. Of the two, booklet 1, which covers the first three quires of Nero, is more erratic in its codicological composition. The damage to the end of booklet 1 makes its original length uncertain but textual details imply that very little might have been lost from its third quire. The activity of its single scribe also suggests that booklet 1 was an accumulation of two separate compilations.

Scribe 1 was a generally competent writer who was responsible for the entirety of booklet 1. The texts he copies are almost entirely Old English which he writes in Vernacular Minuscule. His letter forms display Square Minuscule traits in the consistent height of the smaller letter forms and the box-like *a*. However, the *e* in his Insular *æ* tends to rise above the other letters. The ascenders on his *d* are very short and ascend to the left at a forty-five-degree angle, which is also reminiscent of Square Minuscule. In the few instances of Latin in booklet 1, Scribe 1 writes in Caroline Minuscule but distinguishes between the two scripts to varying degrees. The first example on f. 71^r is a short list of exemplary traits a king should exhibit. This can be seen most clearly in his use of Caroline versions of *a*, *d*, and *g*, the latter of which retains the same fishhook-like descender present in his Vernacular Minuscule *g*.

The scribe is less confident in writing using Caroline Minuscule, evident in the increased pen lift and hesitancy shown in forming words compared to his more rapid Vernacular Minuscule. Further into booklet 1, Scribe 1 takes less time to differentiate between Latin and Old English, only paying lip service to Caroline Minuscule through his use of straight-backed *d*'s and nothing else.⁴ A discrepancy in confidence between the two scripts is common for scribes in the first decades of the eleventh century. Most scribes were first trained in using Vernacular or Square Minuscule, with Caroline Minuscule reserved for a more elite group of scribes practicing a form of calligraphic bilingualism.⁵ Scribe 1 had received training in Caroline Minuscule but was more comfortable with Old English script. Based on this, he was likely an experienced scribe, but not yet wholly confident when switching between vernacular and Latin.

The first two quires both currently contain twelve folios, but quire 2 was fourteen folios long prior to the loss of its central bifolium. Quire 1 can be described briefly as it requires the least discussion. There are some noteworthy features across its twelve folios. The slight darkening of its front folio, f. 70^r, in comparison to the other hair-side folios in the quire, is distinct but is not as damaged as end-folios found elsewhere in Nero. There is a large stain on that same folio which has smudged substantial parts of the text between lines five and nine. These features are concordant with booklet 1's existence as either the front folio of the whole manuscript and as an independent booklet as it was not bound to Part A of Nero until the sixteenth century.⁶ The bifolium loss in quire 2 occurs after f. 87^v, early in the law code I Edmund, which is cut off before the end of its introductory paragraph. The text on f. 88^r picks up again in chapter three of the law code III Edgar. A HFFH folio

⁴ F. 78^r, ll. 16-8.

⁵ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', in Gameson, *Book*, p. 118.

⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 211.

arrangement was maintained throughout its three quires, giving the booklet internal unity despite its irregular quire lengths, which has been broken by the absence of the bifolium. The missing bifolium contained the rest of I Edmund, all of II Edgar and the first chapters of III Edgar. II-III Edgar are grouped as a pair in Part A of Nero, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201⁷ and London, British Library, Harley 55, the latter two of which are also strongly associated with Wulfstan.⁸ The codes are also copied as a pair in all extant copies of the post-Conquest law compilation known as the *Quadripartitus*.⁹ Dorothy Whitelock theorised that a copy of II-III Edgar likely travelled with Wulfstan between Worcester and York in ‘a little manuscript’, quite likely one of the booklets which now forms part of Harley 55.¹⁰ II-III Edgar’s strong link to Wulfstan, more specifically to booklets found in Wulfstanian manuscripts, makes it unlikely that any other text could have been in the lost bifolium.

The third quire of booklet 1 is a damaged group of three folios. Its poor condition was made worse by Felix Liebermann who treated the final page with sulphuric acid, thereby making most of its text unreadable.¹¹ No consensus has been reached regarding quire 3’s original size: Neil Ker estimated the surviving group was half of an original six folio quire but gives little reason for this theory.¹² Reinhard speculated that all of Nero’s quires were once more uniform in length and concluded that booklet 3 could have contained as many as fourteen folios, making its current state nothing more than a stub of its

⁷ Just as in quire 2 of Nero, the paired codes in Corpus 201 are followed by V Æthelred.

⁸ Corpus 201, pp. 46-8; Harley 55, ff. 3^v-4^v. See Loyn, *Wulfstan*, p. 15; Wormald, *MEL*, p. 200. Whitelock, Dorothy, ‘Wulfstan at York’, p. 216.

⁹ London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i. Part A, ff. 42^r-4^v; London, British Library, MS Additional 49366, ff. 84^v-6^r; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 420, ff. 69^r-70^v; London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XXVII, ff. 146^v-7^v.

¹⁰ Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan at York’, p. 216.

¹¹ Liebermann, *Gesetze*, vol. I p. 473 n. a.

¹² Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 214.

former self'.¹³ Their reasoning would allow for a full version of VIII Æthelred which they believe is the final text in the quire. However, I will argue in this subsection that previous conclusions are incorrect and that quire 3 was always designed to be a short addition to the two longer quires to finish off Wulfstan's planned selection of texts.

The final text of booklet 1 is a short composite text using a tract on Northumbrian church sanctuary and the sections of VIII Æthelred on the same subject to create a unique text on church sanctuary which finishes completely on the final folio. Previously this text has been misidentified as two separate texts or as an imperfect variant of VIII Æthelred, when in fact, there was never a full copy of VIII Æthelred in booklet 1. A shorter final text would round off the collection of texts on sanctuary laws, removing the necessity for quire 3 to be considerably longer than it is now. The start of quire 3 finishes off a text titled in Nero as *Be griðe 7 be munde* but has become commonly known as *Grið*, which details the rules of sanctuary. The following text, rubricated as *Be cyricgrið*, is an amalgamation of chapters 1-5.2 of the law code VIII Æthelred, and a text that modern editors have called *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið*. Liebermann regarded the two texts as separate and edited them as such in his collection of Anglo-Saxon laws,¹⁴ and this was perpetuated in Andrew Rabin's 2015 edition of *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið*.¹⁵ It is unclear whether *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* would have continued to another folio, but the final sentence of the text which survives ends perfectly at the end of the last line of the folio. Ker notes that the section ends completely as the last word is followed by a mark of 'major punctuation'.¹⁶

¹³ Reinhard, 'Wulfstan and the reordered Polity', p. 54.

¹⁴ Liebermann, *Gesetze*, vol. I, pp. 264 and 473.

¹⁵ Rabin, *Political Writings*, pp. 82-3. Unlike Liebermann, Rabin acknowledges the two texts' colocation within the manuscript.

¹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 213.

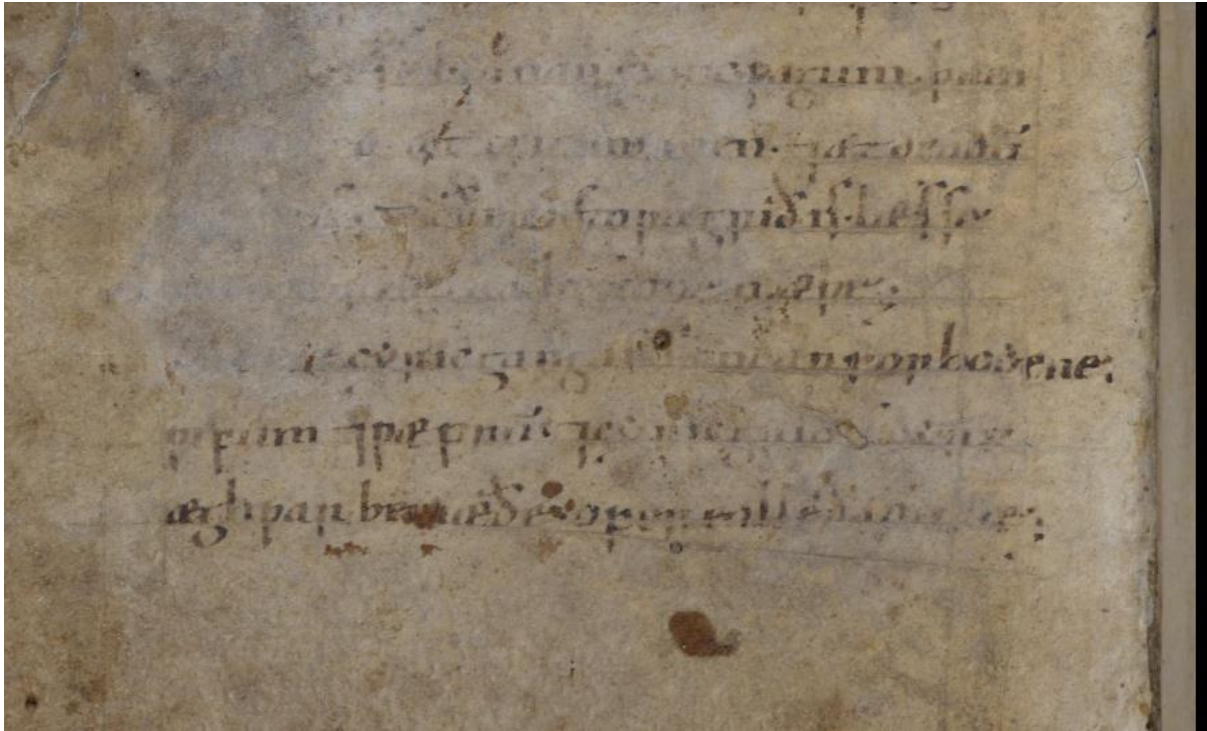


Fig. 5.1 - The final seven lines of f. 96v, showing the end of the text *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið*

Counter to this approach, R. Dammery argues that *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* and the fragment of VIII Æthelred should be seen as one compilatory text. Dammery remarks upon how the scribe treats both the law code and *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* as part of the same text and noted that they are not separated by a rubric like all the others in the booklet. Instead, the start of the *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* is marked by a shaded initial, just like the opening of all the other chapters of VIII Æthelred.¹⁷ The scribe, at the very least, saw these two texts as a single item and was replicating this from the exemplar. However, Dammery remains wedded to the idea that quire 3 is missing folios and sticks with an incorrect assumption that the text is an alternate version of VIII Æthelred, rather than an entirely new composite text on church sanctuary. The first five chapters of VIII Æthelred concentrate on church sanctuary but then changes topic to tithes. *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið*, coming as it does after

¹⁷ Dammery, R, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws: Felix Liebermann and Beyond' in D. G. Scragg and P. Szarmach (eds.), *The Editing of Old English* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 256-9.

these chapters, fits in seamlessly. Wormald questions whether the presence of *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* 'supplemented or interrupted [VIII Æthelred]',¹⁸ but neither of these options are satisfactory. Based on how the texts are treated in the *mis-en-page*, *Be cyricgrið* and *Be griðe 7 be munde* form a pairing of texts on secular and ecclesiastical sanctuary. It is unlikely that the rest of VIII Æthelred would follow on as it would undermine the rubric which designated the text as being specifically about the topic of church sanctuary.

It is important to note that *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* likely did not extend beyond what currently survives and that assumptions of lost texts are the result of the extensive damage to quire 3. Quire 3 might only ever have been 3 singletons or contained empty folios which were removed early in the booklet's lifetime, as happened in booklets 2 and 3.¹⁹ The substantial wear to the recto and verso sides indicates f. 96v served as an outer folio for some time, suggesting that *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* had been the final text in the quire for some time. If *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* is an ecclesiastical counterpart to *Grið*, which is less than six pages long, then it is unlikely to have been a more substantial text than currently exists. *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* and VIII Æthelred 1-5.2 should be regarded by its rubric, *Be Cyricgrið*, which pairs with *Be griðe 7 be munde*, and is a more accurate reflection of how it is represented in Nero. These texts would work well as a conclusion to booklet 1's second half which is a collection of ecclesiastical laws and statutes.

The codicological structure and scribal evidence points to booklet 1 being a fully-formed – albeit, slightly damaged – coherently assembled independent compilation. The

¹⁸ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 395.

¹⁹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 214.

final damaged quire likely represented the end, or close to the end of its entire codicological extent, making its irregular quire length a feature of its original intended design.

Contents

The codicological unity of booklet 1 is reflected in the thematic harmony of its texts, which is a compilation on social order and ecclesiastical rights. A break in the scribe's work between the two homilies suggests it could be a copy of two smaller exemplar booklets, brought together to allow the first texts on social order to be augmented by the ecclesiastical secular law codes and sanctuary texts. Because Nero is seen as a large, jumbled collection of legal material, the texts in booklet 1 have been viewed in groups based on genre rather than within their manuscript context, with little acknowledgement of the coherence between the thematic unity and textual variety of booklet 1's content. Legal scholars examine its law code collection and *Polity* chapters,²⁰ and studies of the homilies make no more than a passing mention of their placement among political and legal material.²¹ Andy Orchard's work on how modern scholars should edit Wulfstan texts makes some notable mentions of the manuscript context, but his focus has been more on scribal variations and the network of two-stress phrases that criss-cross Wulfstan's entire oeuvre.²²

The booklet contains a long arrangement of chapters from *Polity*, two vernacular Wulfstan homilies, secular law codes selected for their focus on ecclesiastical rights, and two

²⁰ Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 198-203.

²¹ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, pp. 148-9, 157,

²² Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', pp. 311-340.

legal texts on sanctuary: *Be grið 7 be munde* and *Be cyricgrið*. The expectations for various roles in society are laid out in the *Institutes* chapters which ends in two broader chapters of how people should treat the church as an institution within society. The ways in which the roles and responsibilities can be misused, and how such transgressions may be punished by God, are expounded upon through the two homilies, which use biblical examples to reinforce their message. The specific application of these is demonstrated using secular law codes which emphasise the centrality of Christianity in law, and the privileges held by the Church in terms of rights for their buildings, possessions, and clergy. This is concluded by two texts on sanctuary rules, where the juxtaposition of church sanctuary laws placed alongside royal sanctuary gives them equal status. The choice of vernacular language, the texts included, and their arrangement all suggest that the audience for this compilation might not be proficient in Latin.

The first fourteen texts of booklet 1, running between ff. 70^r-76^v, are passages of varying length with similarly structured titles which Karl Jost edited into the larger text known as *Polity*.²³ Each chapter covers a different rank in society, discusses their duties as part of a Christian kingdom and, in some cases, covers their current failings and how they can improve their behaviour. The run of chapters in Nero is structured in a hierarchical order, starting with the king, the importance of the throne and what his kingdom should stand for. This is followed by chapters on earls, priests, several chapters on men in orders, and then finishing with laymen and widows.²⁴ This establishes the duties of those who will be subject to the laws and teachings set out in the texts to follow. This intention is echoed within the law code V Æthelred:

²³ Jost, *Polity*.

²⁴ MS I, ff. 70^r-74^r.

*7 ures hlaforðes gerædnes 7 his witena is, þæt ælc hædes men georne gebugan for gode 7 for worolde, ælc to þam rihte þe him to gebyrige.*²⁵

The two texts associated with *Polity* which sit at the end of the hierarchical arrangement, *Be circan* and *Be eallum cristenum mannum*, set out the broader themes of how Christians should treat the churches and how they represent the authority of the Church and, by extension, God. After the opening lines on encouraging everyone to uphold the Christian faith, *Be circan* moves onto promoting the laws of church sanctuary, emphasising it is equal to that of the king.

*7 riht is þæt ælc cyrce sy on godes griðe 7 on ealles cristenes folces; 7 þæt cyricgrið stande æghwær binnan wagum 7 gehalgodes cyninges handgrið efen unwemme, forþam ælc cyricgrið is cristes agen grið 7 ælc cristen man ah micle þearfe, þæt he on ðam griþe micle mæþe wite.*²⁶

This section uses phrases found in *Be grið 7 be munde* at the end of the booklet,²⁷ thereby creating a thematic line through to the final texts of the booklet.

The exclusion of chapters relating to bishops, and the placement of the priestly chapters directly below the king and earls, are interesting intentional choices by Wulfstan to

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 89^v, ll. 8-11. 'And it is the decree of our lord and his councillors, that men of every estate shall readily submit, in matters both religious and secular, to the duty which befits them;' trans. Robertson, *Laws* (1925), p. 81.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 74^v, ll. 3-10. 'And it is right that each church be under the protection of God and of all Christian people; and that church sanctuary is to prevail within the walls and is to be honoured no differently than protection from the king's own hand. Thus, every church-sanctuary is Christ's own sanctuary and every Christian has a great obligation to treat that sanctuary with great respect.' Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 122.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122, nn. 108 and 109.

promote the position of clerics in Anglo-Saxon society. The three iterations of the hierarchical arrangement of *Polity* chapters which survive in manuscripts are all different and this is unlikely to be the result of random reordering. The ordering of the three hierarchies in Nero, Corpus 201²⁸ and Junius 121²⁹, are listed in Table 5.2 below to provide a comparison. As it is relevant to the following discussion, the chapters about the duties of priests have been highlighted in yellow, and the episcopal chapters have been highlighted in blue. In the other two versions, there are chapters on bishops which are positioned directly beneath the chapters on the king and his kingdom. In Nero they are only found in booklet 2, which is a collection dedicated to episcopal duties. The episcopal chapters in Junius 121 illustrate the variety of chapters at Wulfstan's disposal which could have been included in booklet 1. Their exclusion is unlikely to be, as suggested by Loyn, the result of scribal error,³⁰ as Wulfstan's editorial hand in the three booklets would not have allowed such a substantial omission. For the purposes of this arrangement, Wulfstan could have been equating bishops and priests into the same position based on the importance of their pastoral functions. The purely episcopal tone of booklet 2 also indicates that Wulfstan was creating these compilations to perform different functions, and possibly be read by different audiences, reinforcing that these booklets were not intended as a single collection. He had an overarching plan for these vernacular booklets which dictated which texts were to be excluded, included, and repeated, tailoring them for each intended audience.

²⁸ Pp. 87-136.

²⁹ Ff. 9r-34r.

³⁰ Loyn, *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, p. 47.

Table 5.2 - Comparison of <i>Institutes of Polity</i> Chapters in hierarchical arrangements³¹		
Corpus 201	Nero A. i.	Junius 121
Be cinincge	Be cynge	Be heofenicum cyninge
Be cinedome	Be cynedome	Be eorðlicum cyninge
Be cynestole	Be cynestole	Be cynedome
De episcopis Paulus dicit	Be eorlum	Be cynestole
Item	Be sacerdan	Be ðeodwitan
Be eorlum	Be gehadedum mannum	Item de episcopis
Be sacerdam	Be abbodum	Item
Be gehadedum mannum	Be munecan	Item
Be abbodum	Be minecenan	Item
Be munecum	Be preostan and be nunnan	Incipit de synodo
Be minecenan	Be læwedum mannum	Be eorlum
Be preostum and be nunnan	Be wudewan	Be gerefan
Be læwedum mannum	Be cyricean	Be abbodum
Be wudewan	Be eallum cristenum mannum	Be munecum
Be circan	Wulfstan homily Bethurum Xc (manuscript continues...)	Be mynecenan
Be eallum cristenum mannum		Be preostan and be nunnan
VIII Æthelred (manuscript continues...)		Be wudewan
		Be Godes þeowum
		Be sacerdam
		Ad sacerdotes
		Ad sacerdotes
		Canons of Edgar
		Be læwedum mannum
		Be gehadedum mannum
		Be gehadedum mannum
		De ecclesiasticis gradibus (manuscript continues...)

³¹ The blue texts are those which relate to episcopal regulation whereas the yellow refer to sacerdotal regulation.

The chapter for priests is placed above all men in orders, including abbots, thereby assigning a level of importance to the role of the priest within Wulfstan's vision of society. The priest is not given such lofty status in Junius 121, where *Be sacerdam* is placed nineteenth below abbots, monks, female monastics, and widows. In addition to showing a priest the importance of his own position in society, the *Institutes* chapters establish an outline for the texts that follow which cover how a priest should act and the messages he needed to convey.

The two homilies, *Be Cristendome* (Bethurum Xc) on f. 83^v and *Be Godcundre warnung* (Bethurum XIX), beginning at the top of f. 84^r are a pair of homilies to be delivered by the readers of the booklet to lay audiences. Within the context of the booklet they function as a pair of transitional texts between the two larger groups and as a mid-point within the compilation. The half-folio gap between the two homilies bolsters this impression and indicates that there was a textual break at the centre of booklet 1.³² This points to booklet 1 being copied from two separate exemplars, possibly two smaller compilations which, based on the length of the two halves, might have originated in similar fourteen-folio quires like booklets 2 and 3. Both halves of the compilation in booklet 1 could feasibly fit into quires of this length and would partition booklet 1's contents neatly into the hierarchical arrangement of chapters from *Polity* and the ecclesiastical law codes, both with an accompanying homily. There are no other textual breaks in booklet 1 and it is written entirely by Scribe 1. Therefore the break between the two homilies is a conscious choice made by an individual, rather than marking a change in scribes. Such blanks could be used to indicate codicologically distinct units,³³ and breaks between texts are known to be the result of scribes working in

³² The blank space was filled in by a hand from the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century with a text on Basilides the heretic and his worship of Abrasax.

³³ Bertrand, Paul, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe: The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution 1250-1350*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Turnhout, 2019), p. 179.

collaboration waiting for exemplars to become available.³⁴ The gap in booklet 1 could be indicative of either or both possibilities and is certainly plausible from what we know of Wulfstan's use of booklets to compile texts.

The thematic unity of the two groups of texts also fit with the scribe switching between two smaller thematic compilations. *Be Cristendome* picks up many of the themes from the *Polity* chapters regarding Christians being true to their faith and God's laws and introduces a more didactic element of explaining what it is to be a Christian and Christ's relation to themselves as Christians. *Be Godcundre warnung* presents a more retributive aspect of what God does to those who do not follow his laws. It is an adaptation of chapter 26 from Leviticus in which God hands down his laws to Moses at Mount Sinai and explains the punishments awaiting those who turn away from his teachings.³⁵ The transition from a homily which mentions laws being handed down from God to law codes from the previous century is an overt signal to the reader, associating the ensuing laws with divine law. The two halves work harmoniously with one another but the break between them is also evident in the themes being discussed and is physically represented by the page break within the booklet. It is impossible to know Wulfstan's possible motivation for combining two compilations like this, but the narrative throughline created by juxtaposing the two groups certainly strengthens his message with a cause-and-effect structure.

The use of a booklet larger than a single quire within a Wulfstan manuscript is also significant as the only other examples across the three manuscripts addressed in this thesis

³⁴ Gameson, Richard 'Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria' in Gameson, pp. 108-10.

³⁵ Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 354.

appear when a large text is being copied. In Nero, the only other booklet longer than one quire is booklet 4 which contains a copy of the *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*. In Vespasian, the three additional booklets added to the original core letter collection are all single quires. In Copenhagen, Amalarius of Metz's *Eclogae de Ordine Romano et de Quattuor Orationibus in Missa* requires two quires, as does the sermon collection by Abbo. The third is booklet 7, which contains a collection of texts which includes Ælfric's pastoral letters and Wulfstan's Latin homily on baptism. This group of texts likely circulated as a defined compilation as it is transmitted in the same order in Corpus 265.³⁶ There is sufficient pattern here to assert that the scribes working under Wulfstan favoured single-quire compilations unless dictated by the size of the text being copied. The thematic consistency of the two halves of texts (*Polity* chapters and law codes each with an accompanying homily), the scribal evidence, and codicological pattern seen elsewhere in Nero and other manuscripts, creates a strong case for booklet 1 being an intentional amalgamation of two smaller units into a single larger collection.

Booklet 1's law codes were never intended as a complete collection of legal texts like the *Quadripartitus* but, rather, Wulfstan made a curated selection of I Æthelstan, I Edmund, II-III Edgar and V Æthelstan, which were the main ecclesiastically-focused secular law codes from the last century. Wulfstan excludes codes which repeat statutes covered elsewhere and even modifies earlier laws to avoid contradiction. For example, the law codes make little mention of sanctuary, so that it can be addressed by the sanctuary texts at the end of the booklet. Across all five law codes there is only one mention of it in the code that was present

³⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 70-78.

in the now lost bifolium, II Edgar, ch. 5.3, which comes at the end of a code primarily about tithes and church-dues:

*7 stande ælc cyricgrið swa swa hit betst stod.*³⁷

This avoidance of repetition is perhaps why Wulfstan does not include VI Æthelred which as Wormald points out, is a reissue of V Æthelred with only a few new clauses inserted about pagan practices, *church-scot*, and naval preparations.³⁸

Wulfstan's inclusion of earlier codes in booklet 1 places VÆthelred within a chronology of law codes supporting ecclesiastical rights stemming back over the previous century. Additionally, it demonstrated the continuing relevance of laws established in previous codes which might not be included in VÆthelred. For example, II Edgar's system of escalating fines for lack of payment of Peter's Pence:

7 se ðe hine to ðam andagan gelæst næbbe, læde hine to Rome 7 ðarto eacan þrittig p', 7 bringe þonne switelunge þæt he þar swa micel betæht hæbbe; 7 þonne he ham cume, gilde þam cyninge hundtwelftig scill.

7 gif he hine eft sillan nelle, læde hine eft to Rome 7 oðre swilce bote; 7 þonne he ham cume, gilde þam cyng twahund scill.

³⁷ II Edgar, ch. 5.3 – 'and every right of sanctuary possessed by the church shall be maintained according to the highest standards of the past.' Trans., Robertson, *Laws*, p. 23.

³⁸ Wormald, *MEL*, p. 334.

*Æt þam þriddan siðe, gif he þonne git nelle, þolige ealles ðæs þe he age.*³⁹

By including this gradual increase in punishments for failure to pay from II Edgar, Wulfstan was reaching back to a king who he deeply respected and whose reign was seen as a high watermark of Anglo-Saxon kingship.⁴⁰ Wulfstan cited Edgar as a model of kingship in *Cnut's proclamation of 1020*,⁴¹ and in *Polity* he cites the societal degradation which had occurred since Edgar's death.⁴²

Booklet 1 is a curated summary of Wulfstan's vision of a religious society and the Church's rights and pastoral role within that society. The duties in the hierarchy of society laid out in the opening chapters were reiterated within the law codes of Æthelred. *Be circan* and *Be eallum cristenum mannum* and the two homilies functioned as a pivot within the group, summarising the expectations of duty and legislative themes woven throughout the booklet. The law codes were curated to cover legislation Wulfstan believed pertinent for protection of the Church. His choices of older legislation were in order to fill in the gaps from Æthelred's law code and to state precedent where it was needed, to add additional authority from rulers he respected. The absence of the bishop chapters from the *Institutes* hierarchy, and booklet 1's emphasis on vernacular texts, point to its purpose as a collection

³⁹ II Edgar, ch. 4.1-3, 'And he who has failed to make payment by the appointed time shall take it to Rome, and 30 pence in addition thereto, and shall bring thence evidence that he has there handed over that amount; and when he comes home, he shall pay 120 shillings to the king. And if he again refuses to give it, he shall take it again to Rome, and hand over the same sum as compensation, and when he comes home, he shall pay 200 shillings to the king. And on the third occasion, if he still refuses, he shall suffer the loss of all that he possesses.' Trans. Robertson, *Laws*, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Marafioti, Nicole, 'The Legacy of King Edgar in the Laws of Archbishop Wulfstan', in Jay Paul Gates and Brian O'Camb (eds.), *Remembering the Medieval Present: Generative Uses of England's Pre-Conquest Past, 10th to 15th Centuries* (Boston, MA, 2019), pp. 21-50.

⁴¹ Cnut's Proclamation of 1020, ch. 13, Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 143.

⁴² *Be gerefan*, MS I, f. 105^r, ll. 4-9.

of texts to be used in preaching by priests and bishops to promote the rights of the church, and give them an understanding of their position and duties in English society. There is sufficient evidence to consider that booklet 1 bucked the usual trend of compilations favouring a single-quire length because it was a compilation of two shorter exemplars. It is worth considering the shorter length of some of the chapters of *Polity*. When taken in this form, these shorter versions would fit neatly into a fourteen-folio quire. Perhaps the limits on space played a factor in choosing which versions of the chapters should be included in the compilation. Such an approach challenges established convention that the shorter versions of *Polity* chapters indicated earlier drafts.⁴³ Instead, this tallies with more recent scholarship from Jay Gates and Ben Reinhard which has questioned the chronology of *Polity* and modern editorial conventions which treat it as a single text.⁴⁴ With a consideration of this new approach, booklet 1's *Polity* chapters would appear to have been kept shorter with a view to providing a brief overview. This is best captured in the chapter at whom this booklet was aimed. *Be Sacerdan* is the shortest of all the chapters and covers only seven lines in Nero:

*Riht is þæt sacerdas on heora scriftscirum wislice 7 wærlice læran 7 lædan þa godcundan
heorda þe hy healdan scylan. 7 ægðer hy scylan ge wel bodian ge wel bysnian 7 godes cyrcan
geornlice lufian 7 for eal cristen folc geornlice gebiddan.*⁴⁵

⁴³ Jost, *Polity*, pp. 16-20. Andrew Rabin's much more recent edition continues this approach and edited it accordingly: Rabin, *Political Writings*, pp. 101-24.

⁴⁴ Reinhard, Ben, 'Origins of Wulfstan's *Polity*', pp. 175-189; Gates, Jay Paul, 'The Doubtful Evidence for Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* as a "Text"' (Forthcoming, 2022).

⁴⁵ MS I, f. 72^r, ll. 18-23. 'It is right that the priests in their confessional districts wisely and carefully teach and guide that they must tend. And they must both teach well and set a good example and love God's Church dearly and zealously pray for all Christian people.'

The economy of its words makes its message clear: a priest is to provide guidance and learning to his flock and set a good example. Maybe, in a situation where concision was key, this was all that needed to be said.

Booklet 2 – Social Shepherds: An episcopal collection on the duties of bishops and their subordinates

Booklet 2 is a compilation on the behaviour and duties of bishops and the lower secular and ecclesiastical authorities for which they were responsible. The collection of texts was written by two scribes in two or possibly three stages and could have been disseminated at a gathering of the episcopacy, such as a royal council or synod. It spans roughly two thirds of what was a fourteen (now twelve) folio quire, running from f. 97 to f. 108. The missing folios, Ker believes, were still blank cut when they were removed,⁴⁶ which was prior to late-eleventh and early-twelfth century additions written in the last remainder of the booklet.⁴⁷ Booklet 2 was either the end quire of a pre-existing Old English compilation containing chapters *Polity* or, copied from an exemplar containing at least multiple episcopal chapters.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 214.

⁴⁷ An Easter table with the starting date 1100, the same as the Easter table on f. 120^v but without the title present there, was attempted on f. 105^v. The two tables appear to be in different hands. The table in booklet 2 only got as far as 1115 before petering out as the scribe copying the table made a mistake at the row 1111 but continued for two more rows. The scribe attempted to erase his mistake but clearly he decided it was too extensive and abandoned it. Even if the scribes of the two tables are not the same, it points to the two booklets having at least been stored near one another for such similar texts to have been attempted in both.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 3, pp. 165-171.

All the texts are either from, or associated with, *Polity* (see Table 5.3).⁴⁹ As with Table 5.1, the contemporary texts are marked out in bold font. The first two texts were included in Jost's edition of I *Polity*, while the final four he believed were part of the later version of the text, II *Polity*. The third text, *Incipit de sinodo*, and an untitled fourth text which has come to be known as *an Admonition to Bishops*⁵⁰ were included in the appendices of Jost's edition and not regarded by him as parts of Wulfstan's 'original' text. However, their effectiveness as a group of episcopally-focused texts in booklet 2 suggests these texts were seen by Wulfstan as a compilation on bishops, as much as some were also a part of *Institutes*.

Table 5.3 - Booklet 2 Contents and Scribal Contributions			
Folio	Text	Scribe	Stages of Writing
97r-97v	<i>Item de episcopis</i>	2	1
97v-98v	<i>Item - Biscopas scylan bocum</i>		
98v	Text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb		
99r-100r	<i>Incipit de sinodo</i>	2	2
100v-102r	An Admonition to Bishops	3	3
102r-103v	<i>Be Sacerdan</i>		
103v	<i>Be Abbodum</i>		
103v-104v	<i>Be Munecum</i>		
105r-105v	<i>Be Gerefan</i>		
105v	Incomplete Easter Table beginning 1100		
106r	Text praising beer		
106r-108v	Text recounting Nebuchadnezzar II's destruction of the Kingdom of Judah and enslavement of the Jews		

⁴⁹ The exception is the text which is currently fourth in the booklet, which is brief text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb. It is likely a later addition (although not more than a decade or two) which was entered into a gap left in the original texts.

⁵⁰ *Ermahnung an die Bischöfe*, Jost, *Polity*, p. 262.

Codicology

The physical features of booklet 2 are indicative of a compilation designed to be a single quire. The bifolia arrangement of booklet 2 follows the HFFH arrangement apart from the two central ones which have been reversed. The result is that ff. 101^v-2^r and ff. 105^v-6^r are facing hair-to-flesh. This was most likely an error during its assembly as the hair-hair/flesh-flesh arrangement is most common in insular manuscripts and there seems to be little reason why some of the bifolia would be intentionally reversed. A later removal of folios twelve and thirteen from the quire has allowed the flesh-to-flesh ordering to be maintained between ff. 107^v-8^r.

Booklet 2's abnormally long fourteen-folio quire is an important codicological feature which points to how these moralising and instructive compilations might have been created as evolving collections of texts which intentionally left room for further expansion. The accretive palaeographical activity indicates this is a possibility and supports that the copies which survive are early experimental incarnations. Richard Gameson defines standard-quire size in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from the ninth century onwards as being eight to ten folios comprised of four or five bifolia, with an upper limit of twelve folios.⁵¹ This means almost a third of the quires in Nero and three fifths (quires 2, 4, and 5) of its vernacular quires should be considered anomalous in size. One reason Gameson cites for using a large quire is that it could accommodate a large set block of texts. This is not the case for either booklets 2 or 3, whose texts finish long before the end of their quires. Rather it is the potential for expansion

⁵¹ Gameson, Richard, 'The material fabric of early British books', in Gameson, *Book*, pp. 42-3. Gameson even cites Nero as a manuscript which has an anomalous quire structure, see p. 43, n. 119.

which could be the explanation for Nero's vernacular quires as both booklets appear to be in the process of drafting and expansion; the booklets were larger than average to accommodate thematic collections of texts which could have additional texts added without requiring further quires or singletons to be added on.

Palaeography

The contributions of the two scribes to booklet 2 are interesting for the way they show us how – and possibly why – it was compiled. The presence of Archbishop Wulfstan's hand is also an important detail, particularly with regards to the scholarly perception of scribe 3 as being inexperienced.

Scribe 2's Vernacular Minuscule allows more space for individual letters than other scribes in the manuscript, granting a more generous open appearance to his script. Unlike scribe 1, scribe 2 appears more comfortable moving between Vernacular and Caroline letter forms but still shows his Vernacular Minuscule background through the favouring of the Insular form of *a* which tends to reappear when he writes Latin. Otherwise, the separation between the two languages is maintained throughout. Scribe 2's familiarity with Latin is evident from his ability to write the four Latin quires of booklet 4. His Vernacular Minuscule contains the diagnostic *r* with the long descender. His Vernacular *d* has a short ascender, is written in two strokes, and lacks the serified foot present in his Caroline *d*. The *s* is the same in both scripts, never shifting in relation to the baseline when switching between the two. Scribe 2's Vernacular Minuscule *g* is distinctive: the cross-stroke sits slightly to the right of centre and the descender begins at its left-most tip. There are two instances of Latin in booklet 2 where scribe 2 uses Caroline letter forms: a bible quotation at the bottom of f. 98^r

and the opening sentences of *Incipit de sinodo* at the top of f. 99^r. When writing in Caroline Minuscule, scribe 2 uses the diagnostic *a* but the top hood one would expect to see in Caroline Minuscule is sometimes so small that it is only visible upon closer inspection. Whenever a cross-stroke from a preceding letter encroaches upon the *a*, scribe 2 will use it as a stand-in for the hood and then writes a closed-compartment Insular *a*. Most commonly this cross-stroke will come from his *e*, which in both scripts is a long flicking tongue that often touches the letter next to it. His Caroline *g*, while not Insular in form, bears the same trait of having the top cross-stroke drifting right. In this case the closed loop at the top of the *g* sits over on the far left with the descender immediately darting sharply off to the right before going downwards to form a boxy open loop. His Caroline *d* is longer and much more upright than the Vernacular equivalent and finishes with a splayed top like all his other ascenders. Scribe 2's hand is legible and competent. His familiarity with writing in both Latin and Old English might explain why he contributes the most work to Nero, including an entire canon law collection.

Booklet 2 is the only one in Nero not written by a single scribe, and their activity indicates the texts were added in a three-stage process (see Table 5.3, above). Scribe 2 writes his first two texts contiguously from the start of booklet 2 at f. 97^r through to f. 98^v, l. 5. He leaves the rest of the verso side blank and continues with the third text, titled *Incipit de sinodo*, at the top of f. 99^r until f. 100^r l. 21, leaving the last three lines of the recto side blank. Scribe 3 takes over from the top of f. 100^v with a new text and runs up to f. 105^v, l. 7. The rest of booklet 2 was originally left blank but has been filled in by numerous later hands from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

While Scribe 2's contribution to the booklet is short, the evidence suggests it was done in two stages. The longest, *Incipit de sinodo*, is just short of three sides in length. All three of scribe 2's texts concern the expected behaviour, societal role, and collective unity required of bishops. The ink used by scribe 2 for the third text on ff. 99^r-100^r is visibly darker than the one used for the first two texts (see *Figs. 2 and 3* below). This is indicative of a gap in time between writing stints. The third text is separated from the first two by a half-folio gap on f. 98^v, which has been filled in with a text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb by a hand also dated to the first half of the eleventh century. The text's use of Latin suggests it is not contemporaneous with Wulfstan, who was creating a collection of vernacular texts, and no scholarship has been conducted regarding the text's date of composition.

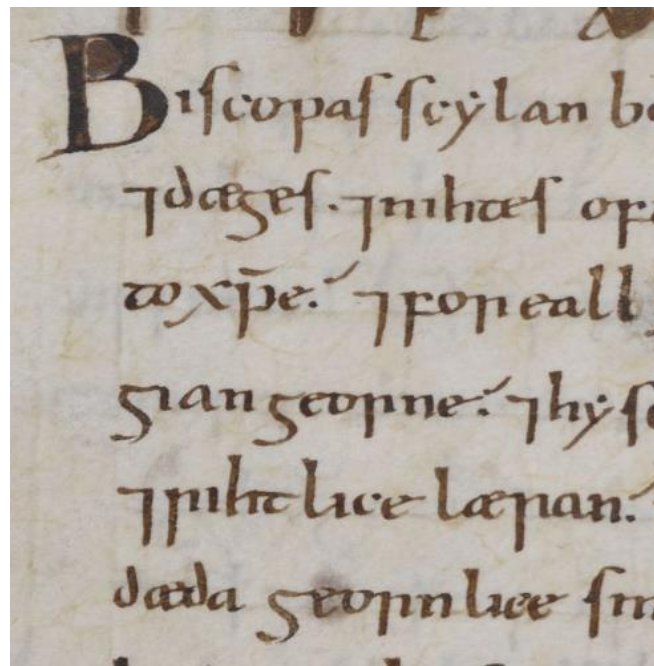


Fig. 5.2 - f. 97v - Lighter ink used by scribe 2 for first contribution to booklet 2

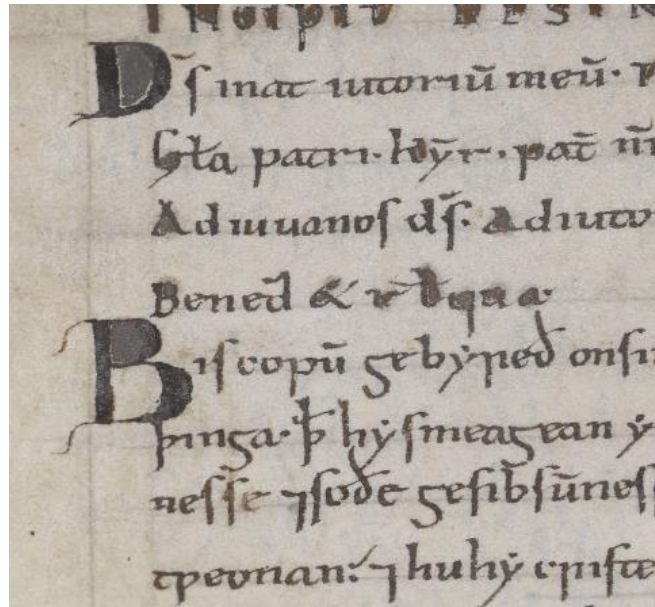


Fig. 5.3 - f. 99r - Darker ink used by scribe 2 for second contribution to booklet 2

Scribe 3 takes over from scribe 2 at the top of f. 100^v. The collaboration demonstrated between scribe 3 and Wulfstan is highly significant for understanding the archbishop's working methods. However, this has not previously been noticed because of a mischaracterisation of scribe 3's competence and his relationship with Wulfstan's intervention in his work. Wormald characterises scribe 3 as Wulfstan's 'tamest' scribe because of the frequent interventions the archbishop makes,⁵² and Loyn described him as 'a not very careful writer'.⁵³ However, the interventions made by Wulfstan in scribe 3's work are like those found in the work of other scribes. In addition to setting out the features of scribe 3's hand, this section will reassess their contribution to the manuscript in relation to Wulfstan's interventions within their writing. An analysis of the nature of Wulfstan's interventions shows scribe 3 to be as competent as the other scribes in the manuscript and

⁵² Wormald, 'Holiness', p. 230.

⁵³ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, p. 28.

Wulfstan's additions point to a close collaboration between himself and the scribe. They are also important as evidence of how Wulfstan interacted with his own works in his role as author.

The diagnostic features of his script point to a scribe who was proficient and capable of exhibiting elements of creativity within his word forms. The aspect of scribe 3's script is distinctly sharper than the two previous copyists and his minims are blocky and square in appearance.⁵⁴ His preference for flicks on the feet of his minims and wedges and splays at the tops of his ascenders is pronounced throughout. His *g* is highly calligraphic with a descender that sweeps up and round in a full arc. Scribe 3's ascender on their *d* varies in shape but most commonly favours the flat squat form of Square Minuscule and does not rise higher than the minims. One of the most interesting elements of his script is the variation in his *æ* ligatures, which take several forms throughout, suggesting he was experimenting with which version he preferred. Sometimes both halves end round and bold, other times the *e* rises upwards to the right as it floats away from the baseline, and occasionally he uses the later form of *æ* caudata where the *a* hangs below the baseline as a vestigial letter. He also switches between Vernacular and Caroline *a* when writing the ligature, as if he learned some of them from Latin texts, which suggests he may have had experience in writing Latin.⁵⁵ A more convincing verdict is that his calligraphic strokes and variation of letter forms suggests the scribe was accomplished to some degree, albeit perhaps not one who had settled on his own style.

⁵⁴ I must disagree with Ker in this instance, who described the scribe's hand as 'round': Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 215.

⁵⁵ For examples of the many variations see f. 100^v, l. 16; f. 101^r, l. 2, l. 4, l. 14, l. 19; 101^v, l. 1, l. 3; f. 102^r, l. 18.

The presence of Wulfstan's hand supposedly correcting scribe 3's work has coloured the assessment of his competence. Wulfstan is not correcting scribe 3 but collaborating with him in the compilation of the text. Elsewhere in the manuscript, Wulfstan intervenes to correct and edit the work of his copyists, but this is not the case here. This is not intended to be a full discussion of Wulfstan's working methods, but it is important to understand the role his hand is playing in scribe 3's work. It allows us to better grasp booklet 2's possible purpose as a draft compilation. We are also granted a greater insight into how Wulfstan interacted with his own works in the physical space of the manuscript and how the changes Wulfstan made in Nero are reflected in the other surviving manuscript witnesses.

Across the eleven folios of scribe 3's writing, Wulfstan makes identifiable interventions at least eight times,⁵⁶ and less than half of these are diagnosable as Wulfstan correcting mistakes such as missed words or words copied incorrectly.⁵⁷ The rest are instances of Wulfstan amending the text in his role as the text's author; these are not mistakes attributable to the scribe and speak more to collaboration between the scribes and Wulfstan. In the context of booklet 2 (and possibly others), they are representative of someone who was making amendments to his work. The minor examples of these in booklet 2 are the addition of words for emphasis, such as the words *swa swa God wolde* being written in the margin on f. 105^r. Their placement outside of the space given to the text suggests they were done at a later point when the text was complete. This is one of two identifiable alterations made by Wulfstan within the text in Nero, *Be gerefan*, which both appear in the version of the text in Junius 121.⁵⁸ Wulfstan either rewrote his text to bring it in line with

⁵⁶ This number is uncertain because there is a word insertion on f. 102^r not identified by Ker, and there is another word insertion attributed by Ker to Wulfstan on f. 104^v which I believe to be incorrect.

⁵⁷ See Appendix III, p. 369, for a table of Wulfstan's interventions.

⁵⁸ Junius 121, f. 17^v.

other copies, or these changes were copied into future exemplars. He evidently appeared to continue to have a relationship with copies of his text after they were copied.

The other three instances of authorial control are placed within the main body of the text and were made by Wulfstan when scribe 3 was writing: two interventions are in *Admonition* and the third is the rubric of *Be sacerdan*. Ker presents the archbishop's contributions in *An Admonition to Bishops* as two separate instances of intervention,⁵⁹ but they should be seen as a single example spread across two texts as all three interventions occurred at the same time. This small detail is consequential because modern editorial choices can obfuscate Wulfstan's role in the copying of these texts.

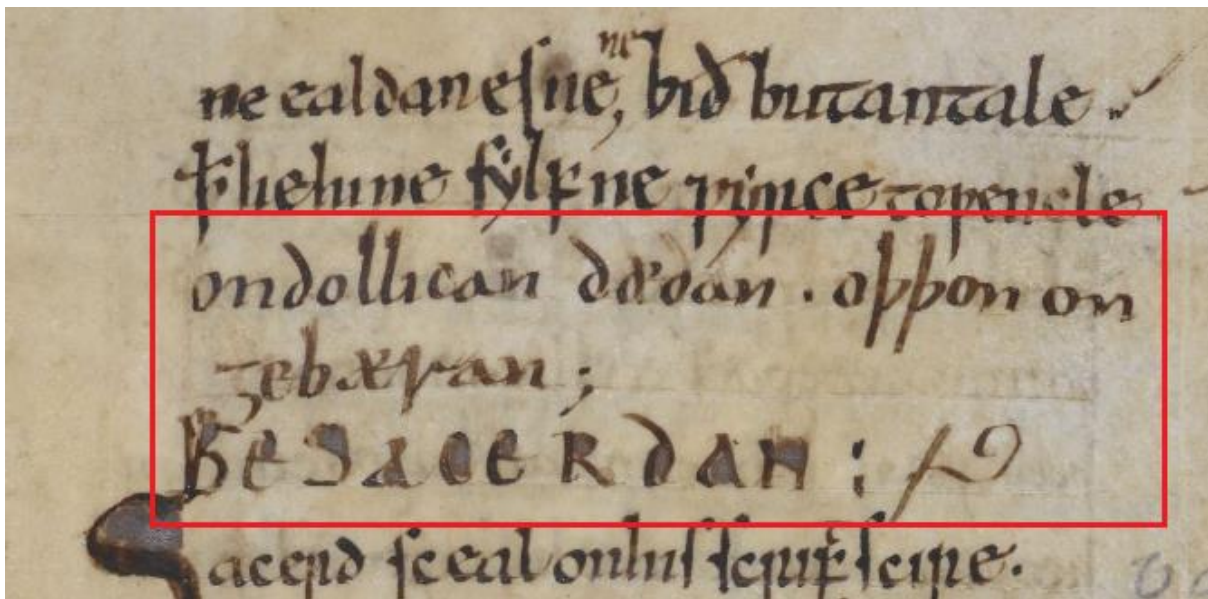


Fig. 5.4 - Wulfstan's addition on f. 102r which includes the end of one text and the rubric of the next.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

Wulfstan's interventions in *Admonition* are at the very beginning and end of the text. The first spans the opening four lines of f. 100^v and the second intervention includes the last few words at the end of lines 3-5 of f. 102, *on dollican dædan, oþþon on gebæran* (See Fig. 4). The third is the rubric for the next text, *Be sacerdan*. Unlike previous examples where Wulfstan added additional words after the text's completion, here the archbishop contributed to the text as it was being written down. In the example at the end of *Admonition*, Wulfstan completes scribe 3's sentence rather than adding on to one which had already been finished by the scribe. In his edition of *Admonition*, Jost treats Wulfstan's addition and the words of the previous scribe as a single clause.

*ne ealdan esne ne bið buton⁶⁰ tale, Ðæt he hine sylfne wyrce to wencle on dollican dædan
oþþon on gebæran.⁶¹*

Wulfstan may have added these words because the scribe omitted them, but the similarities in the ragged left edge in the splaying of the ascenders seems to indicate that Wulfstan and the scribe were using the same quill. Additionally, Wulfstan's contribution continues directly on to the rubric of the next text after which scribe 3 continues his work. All of this points to close and immediate collaboration between Wulfstan and his scribe. This sense of continuity indicates scribe 3's texts were written contiguously, including the rubrics, and it is probable the majuscule rubrics were written by him. This process might explain why *Admonition* lacks a rubric. Wulfstan began the text and did not insert a rubric, either because he did not have a title for the text or because he forgot to include it. Because

⁶⁰ Jost edits this word as *buton* but it is spelled *butan* in the manuscript.

⁶¹ Jost, *Polity*, p. 267.

the other rubrics were being written in the moment, rather than going back through and adding them in, the text remained without a rubric.⁶²

Other examples of Wulfstan taking over from scribes to write parts of the text are found in booklets 3 and 4 in Nero, which demonstrates that Wulfstan's interventions in scribe 3's are not exceptional and do not indicate that he was inexperienced. On f. 120^r, scribe 4 writes the first two words of the *Polity* chapter, *Be eorðlicum cyninge* before Wulfstan takes over for the next fifty-one words. Scribe 4 then takes over again, mid-sentence.⁶³ Likewise, in the first quire of booklet 4, scribe 2 hands over to Wulfstan – again, mid-sentence – who finishes the quotation from Boniface's letter to Archbishop Cuthbert and moves into an extract from a homily by Gregory the Great, to complete the short homiletic compilation. On both occasions, Wulfstan's interaction with the work of the scribes matches his intervention in the work of scribe 3.

The occurrences of this level of intervention by Wulfstan in the work of another scribe are rare and it is significant that most of them are in texts which are authored by Wulfstan, or excerpt compilations attributed to him. In Nero they are in chapters relating to *Institutes* and a canon law collection which, if it wasn't originally assembled by him, was expanded under his supervision. In Copenhagen, he starts and ends the Latin excerpts compilation edited by Bethurum as *Incipit de visione Isaie prophete quam vidit super Iudam et Hierusalem* (Bethurum XI). In Vespasian's booklet 4, Wulfstan wrote the rubric and last two excerpts of *De rapinis ecclesiasticarum rerum* and the rubric and opening words of *De activa*

⁶² As will be discussed below, *Admonition* likely served as a summary to the preceding episcopal tracts. For an *ad hoc* composition such as that Wulfstan might not have felt a rubric was a necessary feature.

⁶³ Scribe 4's contribution will be discussed below in the subsection on booklet 3, pp. 241-242.

vita et contemplativa; both texts are effectively excerpt compilations assembled by Wulfstan.⁶⁴

These interventions transpired because Wulfstan was working in the role of author, not editor. As a point of comparison, Wulfstan makes numerous interventions in booklet 1, some of which are quite lengthy, but all of them are written after the scribe had finished.

There is much more which could be discussed regarding the appearance of these authorial interventions by Wulfstan but, particularly with booklets 2 and 3 Wulfstan takes a significant active role in many of their texts as they are being written.

Contents

Folio	Text	Scribe	Stages of Writing
97r-97v	<i>Item de episcopis</i>	2	1
97v-98v	<i>Item - Biscopas scylan bocum</i>		
98v	Text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb		
99r-100r	<i>Incipit de sinodo</i>	2	2
100v-102r	An Admonition to Bishops	3	3
102r-103v	<i>Be Sacerdan</i>		
103v	<i>Be Abbodum</i>		
103v-104v	<i>Be Munecum</i>		
105r-105v	<i>Be Gerefan</i>		
105v	Incomplete Easter Table beginning 1100		
106r	Text praising beer		
106r-108v	Text recounting Nebuchadnezzar II's destruction of the Kingdom of Judah and enslavement of the Jews		

⁶⁴ Mann, 'Development', pp. 258-260.

The texts in booklet 2 were assembled into their final form as a collection aimed at an episcopal audience. The first texts provided by scribe 2 were the earliest texts written in the booklet and focus on episcopal behaviour and their broad political role within Anglo-Saxon society. The episcopal texts in booklet 2 may have been selected from an existing corpus of episcopal tracts, the first two of which are also strongly linked with the text *Polity*. However, modern editing is entirely responsible for their exclusive association with *Institutes* and it is clear from their use in Nero that Wulfstan used them fluidly and did not consider these texts to be bound to a specific text or compilation. This episcopal group provides a detailed explanation of how Wulfstan saw the bishop operating within society. It is a much more detailed series of texts than any in the hierarchical arrangement of booklet 1 and is no doubt indicative of Wulfstan's view of the bishop. None of the first four texts which discuss the role of the bishop function in the same way as chapters associated with *Polity*, nor are they prescriptive legal texts which set out administrative function in the way that booklet 4's canon law collection does. It is meaningful that booklet 2 has texts which are designed for oral delivery but there are no homilies like the pairs which appear in both booklets 1 and 3. Booklet 2 begins as a moralising exhortatory collection of texts on a bishop's duties. These are then summarised in scribe 3's first text, *Admonition to Bishops*, and supplemented by a group of *Polity* chapters which laid out the duties of those who were under the bishop's authority. The different parts of the compilation work together as a thematic group focused on the bishop and his subordinates and are structured in such a way to suggest some of it may have been delivered at an episcopal gathering.

The first text is titled *Item de episcopis*, a rubric which refers to the exemplar from which it was copied. Jost assimilated this text into I *Polity* and believed it was replaced in II

Polity by *Be ðeodwitan*.⁶⁵ However, the two texts are quite different as, unlike the majority of the chapters in *Institutes* which focus on specific roles and their duties, *Item de episcopis* instead focuses on the behaviour and personality which is expected of a bishop:

*Biscopum gebyriað ealdlice wisan 7 wisdom 7 wærscipe on wordum 7 weorcum 7 geþincða on ðeawum butan ofermettum.*⁶⁶

The only part of the text which deals with something more functional is the final line which refers to the treatment of subordinates.

*7 huru ne geriseð biscopum æfre ne æt ham ne on siðe to iuncglic wise, ac wisdom 7 weorðscype gedafnað heora hade 7 gedryhða gerisað, þam þe heo fyliað.*⁶⁷

Item de episcopis feels incongruous compared to the societal role chapters in *Institutes*. The text focuses on more abstract notions like their rejection of pride, vanity, and anger and covers ground which is only lightly touched upon by the other chapters from *Polity*.

⁶⁵ Jost, *Polity*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ MS I, f. 97^r, ll. 2-5. 'It behoves bishops to be mature in conduct, and wisdom and prudence in words and dignity in behaviour with arrogance' - Translation is my own.

⁶⁷ MS I, f. 97^r, l. 21 - f. 97^v, l. 1. 'And it is especially not appropriate for the bishops to behave too boyishly, either at home or when travelling, but wisdom and dignity stand alongside their status and sober conduct is befitting of them to those who follow them'. Translation is my own. Jost points out that '*þam þe heo fyliað*' is a reference to I Timothy 3:8 which is referring to *Diaconos*. Therefore, Wulfstan is referring to those who are in the bishop's entourage. See Jost, *Polity*, p. 61.

The next text, *Biscopas scylan bocum*, rubricated as *Item*, continues what was begun with the first text in setting out Wulfstan's ideology regarding the role bishops should play in society. Its first third opens with an encouragement for bishops to be well read and for bishops to be an active protective force for justice within society. The text is building upon the image of the thoughtful and prudent bishops in the previous text, with instructions to take on an active pastoral role. The text introduces the threats against which the bishops must contend, a section which constitutes exactly one third of the text in the middle of the well-defined three-part structure. The devil is depicted as an antagonistic force motivated towards leading the people astray, which Wulfstan uses as motivation for why bishops should be vocal in promoting God's laws. This text makes use of the imagery depicting the bishop as a shepherd and his congregants as his flock so prevalent in Wulfstan's work:

Forðam wace bið se hyrde funden to heorde, þe nele þa heorde, þe ne healdan sceal... þonne motan þa hyrdas beon swyðe wacore 7 geornlice clypiande þe wið þone þeodsceaðan folce scylan scildan. Ðæt syndan biscopas 7 mæssepreostas, þe godcunde heorde gewarian 7 bewerian sculon mid wislican laran, þæt se wodfræca werewolf to swyðe ne slite ne to fela ne abite of godcundre heorde.⁶⁸

This section is taken from one of Wulfstan's homilies, lines 27-37 *Uerba Ezechiel prophete de pigris aut timidis uel negligentibus pastoribus*,⁶⁹ which survives in Corpus 201 on pp.

⁶⁸ 'for the shepherd will be judged weak for the flock who will not defend the flock that he must protect... Therefore, must those shepherds who would protect the people against the corruptor be most watchful and vigorous in their warnings. Those are the bishops and the mass-priests who must protect and oversee their spiritual flock with wise teaching, so that the ravenous werewolf does not wound too greatly nor devour too many of their spiritual flock. And let him who disdains to listen to them settle that with God himself.' Trans., Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 109.

⁶⁹ Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 351.

80-1. The last eighteen lines of *Biscopas scylan bocum* switch in tone from setting out what a bishop should do for his flock to lamenting those who do not listen to the teachings of the bishops. This passage contains several abbreviated biblical quotations,⁷⁰ some of which have been entered in by Wulfstan's hand in the margins.⁷¹ The abbreviated extracts act as prompts, suggesting the reader would have knowledge of the quotations.

The text which follows the half-folio gap, *Incipit de sinodo*, is a small collection of canons, following from a Latin liturgical opening, primarily taken from *Collectio canonum Wigorniensis*, Canons of Edgar, and a Council of Pavia and translated into Old English.⁷² The canons in the text cover a few topics, all of which fit with the aims of the booklet. There are canons which stress unity, whether that be at the synod, in supporting one another, or protecting each other from external threats:

⁷⁰ Luke 10:16, Matthew 16:19, John 20:23, Numbers 24:9, Psalms 108:18. An interesting point to note is the difference in the choice of biblical quotations between the three versions. John 20:23 is not in the Corpus 201 version of the chapter but is found in both the MS I and Junius 121 versions. In MS I, it is one of the quotations added into the margin in Wulfstan's hand (see next footnote). These quotations are all found in booklet 4 in the text *De medicamento animarum* on f. 165^v in the same order except for John 20:23, which is not present in the text. While this text draws heavily from this *De medicamento animarum* it might be possible that it was not taken from the version in booklet 4, or that the intervention by Wulfstan in this text in booklet 2 is the first example of this biblical quotation being added into the text?

⁷¹ This instance of Wulfstan's hand was not included in Ker's original article, nor have I found a reference to it elsewhere. The hand contains Wulfstan's distinctive *r* with its sloping shoulder, the long-tongued *e*, which often merges with the cross-stroke on the *t*. The feet on the *A* of *Alibi* also match those seen elsewhere in the manuscripts on his *M*'s. Examples of this can be seen on f. 80^v and f. 155^r in his marginal additions. The *&*, does not bear all of his distinctive traits as it is missing the short flick emanating from the sharp right-downwards stroke. However, the long arcing line seen here has precedent in other identified Wulfstan interventions, such as on f. 166^r in Nero. The marginal addition on f. 166^r is another Latin insertion where the aspect of the script bears similarities to this example on f. 98^v. Wulfstan's is also responsible for the interlinear intervention to the same Latin passage on f. 98^v. He uses the same abbreviation for *scilicet* of *s·* as he does on f. 193^v, l. 17 in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42.

⁷² Jost details the sources for this text in Jost, *Polity*, pp. 211-216.

*Biscopum gebyreð, þæt ælc oþerne warnige, gif he hwæt be oðrum gehyre oððe sylf agyte, 7 ælc oþerne bæftan werige 7 nan oðrum his þearfe ne hele, ac weorðie ælc oþerne wordes 7 dæde, 7 beon, swa heom to gebyreð: quasi cor unum et anima una.*⁷³

An outward show of unity is encouraged when dealing with internal conflict:

*Biscopum gebyreð gif ænig oðrum abelge, þæt man gepylldige oð geferena some, butan sylfe geweorðan mæge, 7 ne sceotan na to læwedum mannum ne ne scendan na hy sylfe.*⁷⁴

There are other canons which more directly call back to the first text in booklet 2 and dictate the behaviour of the bishops more explicitly:

*Biscopum gebyreð, þæt hi ne beon to gliggeorne, ne hunda ne hafoca hedan to swyðe, ne woroldwlence ne idelre rence.*⁷⁵

Any matters which cannot be resolved among bishops are to be referred to the king who, wanting to follow God's laws, would be able to enforce His will correctly and thereby

⁷³ MS I, f. 99^r, 'It is fitting for the bishops that each warn the other if he hears or perceives something concerning the other, and each defends the other behind his back, and no one conceals from the other what is needed, but respect one another in word and deed; and let them be as befits them: as if of one heart and one mind.' Translation is my own.

⁷⁴ MS I, f. 99^v, 'It is fitting for bishops, if one angers another, they should be patient until their colleagues settle the dispute, unless they come to agreement themselves, and that they do not refer it to the laity nor expose themselves to shame.' Translation is my own.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 'It is fitting for the bishops not to be too fond of sport, and not to care too much about dogs or hawks, or worldly pomp or vain pride.' Translation is my own.

enhance his own kingship. It is using canons to reinforce points made earlier in the compilation and in some cases adapting them specifically for bishops rather than priests.⁷⁶

Scribe 3's first addition is a unique text likely created for this compilation which provides a summary of the previous episcopal texts. The unique text starts without a rubric on the first line of f. 100^v after a three-line break at the bottom of the recto side. Jost gave it the name 'Ermahnung an die Bischöfe', which has been translated as *An Admonition to Bishops*. While no rubric separates the texts, the space at the end of f. 100^r, the change of scribe, the shift away from quoting canonical sources, and the tone of the text, all denote *Admonition* being a concluding passage for the prior three texts.⁷⁷ This is followed by four chapters associated with *Institutes* for the societal roles subordinate to bishops.

Admonition's unique survival in booklet 2, and its repeated references to topics covered in the preceding texts of the booklet suggest it was written for this compilation. Wulfstan utilises lines which recur throughout his own texts, which is acknowledged as a common trait in his work,⁷⁸ but the use of specific vocabulary and the order in which they are used in *Admonition* mirrors the three antecedent texts. It is significant that Wulfstan inserts the opening phrase of *Admonition* himself, which uses a phrase closely associated to his writing on bishops and calls back to the second text, *Biscopas scylan bocum*:

⁷⁶ Jost, *Polity*, p. 211.

⁷⁷ Jost edited this text as separate from the preceding *Incipit de sinodo*, despite the lack of rubric. Jay Gates has recently questioned this and, in his list of manuscripts associated with *Polity*, has catalogued the two texts as a single item. While Gates has correctly questioned many of Jost's problematic editing decisions regarding *Polity*, in this instance I would agree with Jost that these two texts should be considered separate from one another. See, Gates, Jay Paul, 'Appendix: The manuscripts containing texts attributed to Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, (Forthcoming, 2022).

⁷⁸ Orchard, Andy, 'Crying Wolf: oral style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *ASE*, 21 (1992), pp. 239-264.

*Biscopas scyLAN bocum: ac bodian hy symle godes riht georne, 7 unriht forbeodan
gyrne se ðe wille*⁷⁹

*Admonition: Biscopas scoldan symle Godes riht bodian 7 unriht forbeodan, and sona swa
biscopas rihtes adumbiað...*⁸⁰

Wulfstan frequently refers to *Godes riht* in his work, but this specific juxtaposition of preaching God's law and forbidding injustice is more closely affiliated with bishops. Variations on this phrase appear in *Be ðeodwitan*⁸¹ (which is partly directed at bishops), his homily for the consecration of a bishop (Bethurum XVII).⁸²

The text continues with further pointed allusions to the three episcopal texts which precede it, underscoring their associations with one another within the text group. While Wulfstan does not write any more of the text, his close involvement points to his desire to ensure the wording of *Admonition* was tied to the preceding texts. In this opening sentence Wulfstan uses a phrase commonly found in his writing, including in *Biscopas scyLAN bocum*.

⁷⁹ MS I, f. 97^v, ll. 15-7. Jost, *Polity*, p. 69, l. 63. The version Jost edits is taken from Junius 121, with the variations of MS I listed in the footnotes.

⁸⁰ MS I, f. 100^v, ll. 1-4. Jost, *Polity*, l. 1 p. 262. The line also appears in Wulfstan's homily, *Secundum Lucam* (Bethurum XVII), see. Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 242, ll. 15-6.

⁸¹ Jost, *Polity*, p. 62, ch. 42.

⁸² Bethurum XVII, ll 38-39.

*Admonition: 7 clumiað mid ceafum þonne hy scoldan clypian*⁸³

*Biscopas scylan bocum: Forðam wace bið se hyrde funden to heorde, þe nele þa heorde, þe he healdan sceal, mid clypunge bewearian, butan he elles mæge*⁸⁴

This phrasing appears in the longest version of Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi* in the same section of text from Bethurum XVII as the *Godes riht bodian...unriht forbeondan* section of the homily.

At the end of both *Admonition* and *Item de episcopis*, Wulfstan encourages the bishops to act with the maturity of their years and avoid behaving like a child, obliquely mirroring one another in message in structure:

*Admonition: La, utan þæt geþencan oft 7 gelome 7 georne ure wisan gelogian mid geþinþan, 7 understandan þæt soð is, þæt næfre ne geriseð geþungenre ylde to geonclie wise, ealles to swyðe, ne ealdan esne*⁸⁵ *ne bið butan (sic) tale, þæt he hine sylfne wyrce to wencle on dollican dædan oþþon on gebæran.*⁸⁶

⁸³ MS I, f. 100^v, ll. 5-6. 'and they mumble with their mouths when they should cry out' Trans., Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 181. Rabin also points out that this was used in three Wulfstan homilies: Bethurum XVIb, ll. 21-22; Bethurum XVII, ll. 42-43; Bethurum XX.3, ll. 183-4.

⁸⁴ MS I, f. 97^v, ll. 17-21. 'for the shepherd will be judged weak for the flock who will not defend the flock that he must protect – **by calling if he can do nothing else**' Trans., Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 109. I have removed the word 'even' from Rabin's translation, which follows the word 'protect' because it is not present in the MS I version of the text.

⁸⁵ *Esne* can also mean a young man or servant, but the context here seems to suggest that the most accurate translation is man so as not to contradict the adjective *ealdan*.

⁸⁶ MS I, f. 101^v, l. 20 – f. 102^r, l. 4. 'Lo, let us think on that often and frequently, and diligently order our practices with integrity, and understand what is true: that **immature behaviour** is never appropriate

*Item de episcopis: 7 huru ne geriseð biscopum æfre ne æt ham ne on siðe to iunglic wise, ac wisdom 7 weorðscype gedafnað heora hade 7 gedryhða gerisað þam þe heo fyliað.*⁸⁷

The word *iunglic* in *Item de episcopis* is only found in the Nero version of the text. In Corpus 201 the text used *higeleas*, which translates as either ‘unsuitable’ or ‘extravagant’. Rather than any discussion of chronology regarding the two versions of *Item de episcopis*, it is more pertinent here to consider the adaptation of texts to create thematic consistency.

The third text, *Incipit de synodo*, and *Admonition* utilise the same topics in the same order. Firstly, the rejection of idle pursuits and worldly vanity:

*Incipit de synodo: Biscopum gebyreð þæt hy ne beon gligeorne, ne hunda ne hafoca hedan to swyþe, ne woroldwlence, ne idelre rence.*⁸⁸

*Admonition: 7 we hogiað eac swyþost a ymbe þa þing þe we læst scoldan, smeagað ymbe woroldcara 7 idele bisga 7 bringað æfter þrymme 7 æfter woroldwlence.*⁸⁹

for one of **mature age** all too greatly; nor is an **old man** without fault when he **makes himself like a child** through foolish actions or behaviour.’ Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 183.

⁸⁷ MS I, f. 97^r, l. 21 – f. 97^v, l. 1. ‘And it is especially not appropriate for the bishops to behave too **boyishly**, either at home or when travelling, but wisdom and dignity stand alongside their status, and decency befits his retainers, those who follow him.’ Translation is my own.

⁸⁸ MS I, f. 99^v, ll. 10-12. ‘It is fitting for the bishops not to be too fond of sport, and not to care too much about dogs or hawks, **or worldly pomp or vain pride.**’ Translation is my own.

⁸⁹ MS I, f. 101^v, ll. 5-9. ‘And we also always reflect the most upon those things which we should the least: we contemplate worldly cares and **idle pursuits**, and we seek after glory and **worldly vanity.**’ Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 182.

The only other appearance of a similar phrase on idle actions is in *De dedicatione ecclesiae* (Bethurum XVIII), where Wulfstan uses *Idelre spæce 7 hwilum mid idelre dæde*,⁹⁰ but there is no other occurrence of *woroldwlence* outside of this.

Both texts then move on to condemn the charging of money in exchange for performing episcopal duties:

Incipit de synodo: *Biscopum gebyrēð þæt hy ne beon to feohgeorne æt hadunge ne æt halgunge ne æt synbote, ne on ænge wisan on unriht ne strynan.*⁹¹

Admonition: *7 we unriht gestreon eac lufiað to swyþe, syllað wið weorðe oðre hwile þæt we orcepe scoldan mid rihte.*⁹²

This, alongside all the above cited examples shows Wulfstan was compiling *Admonition* with direct reference back to the language, topics, and structure of all three previous texts. Wulfstan was constructing a curated selection of themes extracted from the previous texts.

The rest of scribe 3's contributions are all chapters from *Institutes: Be Sacerdan, Be Abbodum, Be Munecum, and Be Gerefan*. The independent nature of the booklets allows for these texts, which also appear in booklet 1, to be repeated here and underlines the flexibility of *Institutes* chapters. Their function here is not to represent a societal hierarchy, but as

⁹⁰ Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 247, ll. 52-52.

⁹¹ MS I, f. 99v, ll. 13-16. 'It is fitting for bishops not to be too eager for money at ordination nor at consecration nor at penance nor in any way no acquire in an unlawful way.' Translation is my own.

⁹² MS I, f. 101v, ll. 10-13. 'And we also love unlawful gain too greatly: we sell sometimes for a price that which we properly should give for free.' Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 182.

guides for the bishops on how those under their authority should act, and the ways in which they are failing to live up to those ideals. The chapters are sweeping rhetorical passages which have broad enough scope for *Be abbodum* and *Be munecum* to also apply to female monastics, and *Be gerefan* to all secular men who held power within a bishop's diocese. *Be gerefan*'s inclusion alongside chapters on roles subordinate to a bishop overtly places the reeves within the jurisdiction of a bishop and represents Wulfstan's interest in dealing with the corruption he saw at work in the secular realm.

The ordering and content of the four texts has been adapted for specific context of booklet 2 as their arrangement here does not match any of the other examples of the chapters in booklet 1, Corpus 201, Junius 121, or Cambridge, University Library, MS. Additional, 3206 (See Table 5.4, below)⁹³. Booklet 1 and Corpus 201 are both missing the chapter *Be gerefan* and have *Be gehadedum mannum* placed between *Be sacerdan/Be sacerдум* and *Be abbodum*. Junius 121 has relocated the chapter *Be sacerдум* to later in the hierarchical arrangement and has placed it at the start of a group on priests.

⁹³ One text, *Be sacerdan*, is also found in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii., ff. 93^{r-v}, where it has been split into two texts with the rubrics, *To mæsseprostum* and *To mæssepreostum*. The first of these corresponds closely with the earlier sections of the text in MS I, but the second half diverges somewhat in content. These two texts are surrounded by other homiletic tracts written by Wulfstan which have been edited by Napier and Bethurum. While the manuscript context in which these texts linked with *Be sacerdan* is very interesting, engaging with it here to any depth would be too much of a diversion. Elements will be discussed below but for more information see Cooper, Tracey-Anne, *Monk-Bishops and the English Benedictine Reform Movement* (Toronto, 2015). Cooper gives a full description of the manuscript's contents on pp. 272-301, with the two texts in question appearing on p. 294.

5.5 - Comparison of positions of <i>Institutes of Polity</i> Chapters from Nero's Booklet 2 in other Manuscripts				
Corpus 201	Nero - Booklet 1	Nero - Booklet 2	Junius 121	Cambridge, UL, Add. 3206
(...manuscript continues) <i>Be eorlum</i>	(...manuscript continues) <i>Be eorlum</i>	(...manuscript continues) An Admonition to Bishops	(...manuscript continues) <i>Be eorlum</i>	<i>Be sacerdan</i> (fragmentary)
<i>Be sacerdum</i>	<i>Be sacerdan</i>	<i>Be sacerdan</i>	<i>Be gerefan</i>	<i>Ad sacerdotes - La leof, understanda ð eow sylfe</i> (fragmentary)
<i>Be gehadedum mannum</i>	<i>Be gehadedum mannum</i>	<i>Be abbodum</i>	<i>Be abbodum</i>	<i>Ad sacerdotes - T æ ca ð cristenum mannum</i>
<i>Be abbodum</i>	<i>Be abbodum</i>	<i>Be munecum</i>	<i>Be munecum</i>	<i>Sinodalia decreta - Canons of Edgar</i>
<i>Be munecum</i>	<i>Be munecan</i>	<i>Be gerefan</i>	<i>Be mynecenan</i>	
<i>Be minecenan</i> (manuscript continues...)	<i>Be minecenan</i> (manuscript continues...)		<i>Be preostan and be nunnan</i>	
			<i>Be wudewan</i>	
			<i>Be Godes þeowum</i>	
			<i>Be sacerdum</i>	
			<i>Ad sacerdotes - La leof, understanda ð eow sylfe</i>	
			<i>Ad sacerdotes - T æ ca ð cristenum mannum</i>	
			<i>Sinodalia decreta - Canons of Edgar</i>	
			<i>Be l æ wedum mannum</i> (manuscript continues...)	

A comparison of *Be sacerdan*'s use in booklet 2 with the other extant copies reveals that this text was designed to be flexible to suit different contexts. It is one of the longer tracts linked with *Polity*, running to over forty sentences in Jost's edition,¹ although its length varies significantly between manuscripts. In Junius 121 and Add. 3206,² the text is followed by several other tracts focused on sacerdotal themes, which echoes the episcopal grouping earlier in booklet 2. *Be sacerdan* is treated as a composite text in Tiberius A. iii, where it is broken into two separate rubricated texts, with a homiletic ending added on the second of the two. Parts of the longest version of *Be sacerdan* in Junius 121 are also used in a Corpus 201 text, also rubricated as *Be sacerdan*, roughly forty pages later.³ After the first ten lines, the Corpus 201 version introduces unique material which criticises those seeking to elevate their rank in society against God's wishes, likely another composite tract relating to priests used by Wulfstan. Another section of the Junius 121 version appears in *Biscopas scylan bocum*. The component parts of *Be sacerdan* being used in so many contexts is a potent demonstration of the adaptability of the *Institutes* chapters, shows how Wulfstan perceived his texts as mutable collections of fragments to be reorganised and reappropriated, and highlights the importance of considering each copy's manuscript context.

The version of *Be sacerdan* in booklet 2 has been written with explicit consideration of the contents of other texts in the compilation and demonstrates how Wulfstan created his texts through use of composite blocks which could be moved around. Booklet 2's *Be sacerdan* not only has strong thematic similarities with the second episcopal tract, *Biscopas scylan*

¹ Jost, *Polity*, pp. 85-108.

² While the texts in Add. 3206 are only fragmentary we are fortunate that the folios which survive are contiguous and show that the texts were arranged in the same order as the grouping of sacerdotal tracts in Junius 121.

³ Corpus 201, pp. 130-1, ll. 3-12 matches with Junius 121, f. 22^v, ll. 1-14 with only a few words of difference. The content is almost the same barring a reordered opening sentence and a few other variant words. Other than that, the texts match.

bocum, but the Junius 121 version of *Be sacerdan* shares several lines with the episcopal tract.⁴ *Be sacerdan* opens with an opening premise that priests are expected to lead and protect their spiritual flock. This echoes the opening lines of *Biscopas scylan bocum*, where the priest is framed as a shepherd. Over the next few lines, *Be sacerdan* impels priests to not be timid in the face of the mighty and speak out about what is right. After this, *Biscopas scylan bocum* calls for bishops to protect their flock with the same passage (barring a few small differences) in Junius 121's *Be sacerdan* (see Table 5.5).⁵ After the extract the Junius version of *Be sacerdan* matches up once again with the version in booklet 2.

⁴ I do not believe this helps prove which version of the text is earlier, but rather demonstrates the composite nature of the texts. Wulfstan had multiple sections of texts relating to priestly duties that he would reconfigure to suit the purpose of each compilation.

⁵ The Corpus 201 and Junius 121 versions of this text also contain this passage.

Table 5.6 - Textual similarities between <i>Biscopas scylan bocum</i> and the missing text from <i>Be sacerdan</i> in Nero, Booklet 2.⁶	
<i>Biscopas scylan bocum</i> ⁷	<i>Be Sacerdan (Junius 121)</i> ⁸
Forðam wace bið se hyrda funden to heorde, þe nele þa heorde þe he healdan sceal, mid clypunge bewearian, butan he elles mæge, gif þær hwilc þeodscaða scaðian onginneð.	Wace byð se hyrde æt falde nyt, þe nele þa heorde, þe he healdan sceal, mid hream ⁹ bewearian, butan he elles mæge, gif þær hwylc þeodscaða scaðian onginneð.
Nis nan swa yfel scaða, swa is deofol sylf. He bið áá ymbe þæt an hu he on manna sawlum mæst gescaðian mæge.	Nys nan swa yfel scaða, swa is deofol sylf; he bið áá embe þæt an, hu he on manna sawlum mæst gesceaþian mæge.
Ponne motan þa hydras beon swyðe wacore 7 geornlice clypiænde þe wið þone þeodscaðan folce scylan scildan.	Ponne motan þa hydras beon swyðe wacore 7 georne clypiende, þe wið þone þeodsceaþan [folce] ¹⁰ gescyldan sculan.
Ðæt syndan biscopas 7 mæssepreostas, þe godcunde heorde gewarian 7 bewearian scylan mid wislican laran, þæt se wodfreca werewolf to swyðe ne slite ne to fela nea bite [sic] ¹¹ of godcundre heorde.	Þæt syndon bisceopas 7 mæssepreostas, þe godcunde heorde gewarian 7 bewearian sculan mid wislice lare.

The reuse of this section is not an indicator of the chronology of the copies of the text, but instead demonstrates how Wulfstan saw his texts as a series of moveable components. The removal of the section from *Be sacerdan* suggests Wulfstan wished to maintain a thematic unity between the texts of booklet 2 while avoiding wholesale repetition. This points to a permeable membrane between the rhetoric on duty in episcopal and sacerdotal

⁶ Points where the text deviates significantly have been highlighted in bold.

⁷ This section of text is found on f. 97^v, l. 17 – f. 98^r, l. 9.

⁸ This section of text is found on f. 21^r, ll. 1-13.

⁹ While the choice of word is different, both *clypunge* and *hream* are nouns which can be translated as ‘a cry’.

¹⁰ *Folce* is not present in the text but Jost has inserted it in his edition as he believed it was an unintentional omission.

¹¹ Jost’s edition transcribes these words as *ne abite* but the *a* from *abite* has been written as part of *ne* and *bite* is on a new line, which suggests the scribe had read the words as transcribed above.

texts as Wulfstan was happy to use the same composite pieces in both. The choice to include the passage in the *Biscopas scylan bocum* rather than *Be sacerdan* could also hint towards the episcopal audience for the compilation.

A final point of comparison between *Be sacerdan* and *Biscopas scylan bocum* is their use of Latin which points to different audiences for the two texts. Both texts contain only a small amount of Latin, limited entirely to biblical quotations, but present them in inconsistent ways which point to the former being written with the expectation that its audience was not the educated episcopacy but potentially Latin-illiterate priests. *Biscopas scylan bocum*, quotes from Luke 10:16, Matthew 16:19, John 20:23, Numbers 24:9, Psalms 108:18.¹² All but the last of these quotations are cut off after the first few words with *&rt* and are not followed by Old English translations. In *Be sacerdan* there is a single quotation, written in full which could either be from Hosea 4:8 or Ezekiel 44:29,¹³ which is followed by an Old English translation. Both features of the quotation in *Be sacerdan* point to a reader or audience who might not know the full quotation and might not even understand it in Latin. We see a similar feature in the copy of *Be ðeodwitan* in booklet 3, which was potentially written for a secular audience, where the quotations are written in full and translated. There was consideration of the audience across the three Old English booklets, and the awareness of which language to use bolsters the argument that the four later texts in booklet 2 were intended for different audiences.

¹² Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 109, n. 34.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 114, n. 63.

The next two tracts, *Be abbodum* and *Be munecum*, will be dealt with jointly as the evidence indicates they were intended to function as a pair, with the former acting as a short preface to the latter. Within the context of booklet 2, the role of the two texts is to detail the duties and failings of both men and women in monastic orders. Like the texts on bishops and priests, this hints at Wulfstan having several tracts expounding his views on monastic life which he used in varying combinations to suit his needs. Parts of the monastic texts in booklet 2 have wider universal application so that they could be used to apply to all female monastics, such as the mention of abbesses in *Be abbodum*, which would allow Wulfstan to use fewer texts in booklet 2's concise compilation on a bishop's subordinates. In turn, this offers a comparison with the use of female monastic chapters in booklet 1, which are short works of only a few sentences which function as marking their place within the social hierarchy.

Be abbodum enumerates features which it regards as specific to the roles of abbots and abbesses. It is a very short text which does not, like the other three (or indeed many other tracts linked to *Polity*) detail the ways in which abbots and abbesses are failing in their duties. Their deficiencies are encompassed within the following text, *Be munecum*, which covers almost two-thirds of its length listing the failures of those in monastic orders. The mention of abbesses in *Be abbodum* uses the intensifier of *huru* to emphasise that isolation within monasteries applied to abbesses even more than abbots:

Be abbodum: *Riht is þæt abbodas 7 huru abbatissam fæste on mynstrum singallice wunian...*¹⁴

¹⁴ MS I, f. 103^v, ll. 12-14. 'It is right that abbots and, in particular, abbesses remain perpetually secure in their monasteries'. Trans., Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 118.

The link between *Be abbodum* and the *Be munecum* is supported by the final line of *Be abbodum*:

Be abbodum: *swa gebyreð abbodan 7 munuchades mannum*.¹⁵

The verb 'gebyreð' or the phrase 'Riht is' are found at the beginning of many *Institutes* chapters, thereby acting as a link into the chapter on monks. Similarly, the choice of language in *Be munecum* uses vocabulary which could be applied to male or female monastics. The text refers to the *laðlic lif* the sinning monks have created:

Be munecum: *eac hit is þe wyrse, þe ealdras hit ne betað, ne sylfe swa wel farað sumes, swa hy scoldan*.¹⁶

Munuchades and *mannum* can both apply universally to men and women, with the latter of the two functioning like the modern English word 'mankind'. Wulfstan intentionally used generalised vocabulary to allow for *Be munecum* to have universal application and provide the bulk of the instruction while the other monastic texts functioned as ancillary chapters contributing brief specifics. This makes sense with the knowledge that the Benedictine Rule applied to women and men and was copied using female pronouns.¹⁷ It also explains why the other chapters are so short and why only *Be abbodum* is used in booklet 2. The others were reserved for the hierarchical arrangement, where they were required as markers of where abbesses and female monastic stood in Wulfstan's vision of society.

¹⁵ MS I, f. 103^v, ll. 21-22. 'As is fitting for abbots and people of the monastic state'. Translation is my own.

¹⁶ MS I, f. 104^v, ll. 18-20. 'and it is the worse in that their elders do not correct it, but they themselves do not behave as well as they should.' Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 119.

¹⁷ Jayatikala, Rohini, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: writing for women and men', *ASE*, 32 (2003), pp. 147-187.

The final text of the set is *Be gerefan*, which frames the reeves as a secular counterpart to priests and bishops, and as shepherds of the same flock over which the clergy preside. By including the reeves within this textual group, Wulfstan was listing all those who were under the authority of the bishop and outlining the group of figures who had a responsibility to ensure God's laws were upheld. Reeves had gained prominence in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries due to their increasing importance as royal officials and role as estate managers, including lands belonging to bishops. As Chelsea Shields-Más writes, 'These were the royal agents "on the ground" who would have had the most contact with people in the localities, active in the hundred and shire courts, collecting dues and tithes and in the eleventh century, ensuring that the people participated in the mandated fasting.'¹⁸ Wulfstan would have identified the reeve as important figures in his efforts to save England from its current woes, and believed it was vital to define their duties within his discourse on a holy society.

Wulfstan was also placing the chapter for reeves in booklet 2 because he saw them as equivalent to priests, 'responsible for "pastoral care" in a secular sense,¹⁹ and we see this reflected in the text. There are two instances in which Wulfstan states that reeves should be shepherds for the people:

*Be gerefan: ac hwilum man ceas wislice þa men on þeode, folce to hyrdum, þe noldan for woroldscame, ne ne dorstan for Godes ege, ænig þinc swician, ne strynan on unriht, ac stryndan mid rihte.*²⁰

¹⁸ Shields-Más, Chelsea, *The Reeve in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (York Univ. D.Phil Thesis, 2013), p. 257-258.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁰ MS I, f. 105^r, ll. 16-21. 'But formerly, these men were chosen wisely as shepherds for the people and they dared not behave dishonestly nor obtain anything unjustly because of worldly shame and the fear of God; instead, they acquired things properly.' Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 111. The other

To achieve a functioning holy society, Wulfstan was placing adherence to secular and spiritual law on an equal level. Wulfstan understood the importance of the reeves' place in his vision for Anglo-Saxon society and *Be gerefan* makes clear what happens when reeves are poorly chosen and left unchecked in their duties. Wulfstan therefore wished to convey to the episcopal audience of booklet 2 that they could not neglect the behaviour of the secular shepherds within their diocese.

Booklet 2 offers an essential example of factors which went into the creation of a compilation associated with Archbishop Wulfstan. The scribal contributions coupled with Wulfstan's interventions allow us to see how he operated as author and editor within a single group of texts. The level of collaboration with scribe 3 is crucial to understand Wulfstan's intimate involvement with the granular details of the compilation. The multi-stage accumulation of texts shows the development of a collection of texts which expound Wulfstan's expectations of a bishop's role in Anglo-Saxon society, and the duties of his direct subordinates, who needed to work in concert to achieve his envisioned holy society. The intertextual interplay of imagery and themes coupled with the re-use of sources reinforces that this was an independent thematic collection. It remains unclear if Wulfstan ever intended to insert more texts into the many blank folios, but the texts present are a methodically arranged collection which conveyed a powerful message of social cohesion and responsibility to its episcopal audience.

instance of reeves being referred to as shepherds are discussed and translated by Shields-Más in the section of her thesis mentioned in the previous footnote.

Booklet 3 – The nation and their ruler.

Booklet 3, the final Old English compilation in Nero, is an unfinished collection of texts on the importance of unity, good governance, and the English people in relation to their king. It is a collection for use by bishops and contains a pair of homilies for them to preach to a secular, thegnly, audience. The multiple blank folios at the end of booklet 3 emphasise its incomplete nature and mirrors the draft-like quality which pervades booklet 2. Booklet 3 occupies a middle ground in style between booklets 1 and 2. It is made of a single 14-folio quire like booklet 2, but it contains a pair of homilies and a law code, like booklet 1. Booklet 3 is an important example where the manuscript context is key: as with booklets 1 and 2, the texts contain themes which link them together, but equally crucial are the rubrics which exhibit explicit connections between texts. Central to this are the longest texts in the middle of the compilation: the pair of Wulfstan homilies, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and *Evil Rulers*, and the law code V Æthelred. Separated from Nero, an examination of the texts in booklet 3 reveals a significant amount of evidence which points to it being compiled as a response to specific events.

Table 5.7 Overview of Booklet 3 in Nero		
Quire	Folio(s)	Text
5	109r-109v	<i>Be Deodwitan</i>
	110r-115r	Wulfstan Homily Bethurum XX.3 - <i>Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos</i>
	115v-116r	Wulfstan Homily - Bethurum XXI - <i>Evil Rulers</i>
	116v-119v	V Æthelred
	120r	<i>Be Hefenlicum Cyninge</i>
	120r	<i>Be Eorðlicum Cyninge</i>
	120r-121v	Later additions, primarily an Easter Table starting at 1100.

Codicology

Booklet 3's lineation of twenty-five lines per page is an appreciable stylistic difference between itself and the other booklets but, like quires 2 (booklet 1) and 4 (booklet 2), its one quire was originally fourteen folios in length. At some point its final fourteenth folio was removed but it is difficult to tell when that occurred. The last later additional texts ends completely at the bottom f. 121v, so it could have been removed at any point from Wulfstan's time onwards. As with booklet 2, there were once multiple blanks, symptomatic of a booklet created as an independent unit. Later additions were added into the blank folios from the mid-eleventh century with the largest addition being an Easter table spanning 1100-1156.²¹

²¹ This Easter table was originally attempted in booklet 2 on f. 105v following the end of *Be gerefan*. However, the scribe made a mistake in the second column, attempted to erase his mistake, but then gave up. This suggests booklets 2 and 3 were being stored together c. 1100.

Palaeography

Booklet 3 is the work of scribe 4. His script, like the others in the manuscript, is competent and legible. Scribe 4 is conscious to use Caroline upright ascenders on his *d* when writing in Latin and the slanted Insular ascender when writing in the vernacular. The latter of these has a very flat short ascender which is reminiscent of the boxy Square Minuscule graph. The exception is when he writes *ð* which has an exaggeratedly long ascender which crosses over into the space above the letter to its left. His ascenders are consistently twice as long as his descenders, with the former splaying at the top on all letter forms which have them. The one exception to his short descenders is his *y* which trails downward and to the left through the space under several of the letters to its immediate left. There are some instances where scribe 4 uses a short descender on his *y* but they are rare. He uses both Insular and Caroline *a* forms but does not follow the expected separation and employs both forms when writing Latin.²² His *g* is consistently Insular and its descender loops round upon itself and forms a closed circle. The only instance of his Latin *g* was originally written using the Insular form but has been corrected to the Caroline graph. One of the scribe's most diagnostic features is an oversized *e* in his *æ* ligature,²³ and both the cross stroke of his *f* and top stroke of his Tironian *7* sit low on the baseline.

Despite booklet 3 being ruled for twenty-five lines, the scribe leaves blank lines at the end of each text rather than immediately beginning the next one, which could indicate that the scribe did not feel pressured to use up all the space in the booklet. The homilies *Sermo Lupi* and *Evil Rulers* finish on the twenty-third line, *Be Eorðlicum Cyninge* ends incomplete on the twenty-third line, *V Æthelred* finishes on the twenty-fourth line, and *Be Deodwitan*

²² f. 109v, ll. 17-19.

²³ Loyn, *Wulfstan*, p. 29.

runs over to the twenty-sixth line. The final example is evidently because scribe 4 wished to squeeze the final word, *ealle*, onto the end of the page,²⁴ and the space at the end of the incomplete texts is also easy to explain. The other three gaps are all small but indicate scribe 4 did not feel pressured to maximise the use of space in the booklet. As with the scribes in booklet 2, he likely knew that the texts he had been allocated to write would not fill the entire booklet and was able to leave these small bits of breathing room at the end of each text.

This liberal use of the space on the page and its unfinished final text give a sense that booklet 3 was a work in progress. This is supported by the activity of Wulfstan's hand, which appears multiple times in booklet 3 to add additional words and sometimes entire sentences. Like with booklet 2, his participation is often as author, actively changing his own texts as they are being written. Wulfstan also adds parts of the text in interlinear and marginal interventions which appear in later copies of the texts; this could be further evidence of Wulfstan using booklet 3 as draft versions of these texts. The features of Wulfstan's interventions, combined with scribe 4's more relaxed spacing of the texts builds upon the sense that booklet 3, like booklet 2, is a draft of an independent compilation of Old English texts.

²⁴ Wulfstan has also added several words onto this extra line to complete the final line of the text.

Contents

Booklet 3 is an interesting collection of six texts, which discuss the recent evils of Æthelred's reign and the role of the nation and people within those events. The compilation is built around the two paired homilies of *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and Evil Ruler and the law code V Æthelred. All three texts discuss the importance of following both God's laws and the laws of the land. Furthermore, their thematic similarity and recurrence together in the extant manuscripts suggest that Wulfstan saw the two homilies as a coherent pair and used them as such in his compilations. The positioning of texts in booklet 3 hint at the two audiences of the collection: the upper echelons of Anglo-Saxon society whose role it was to uphold the laws of the kingdom; and the bishops who must act as the teachers and messengers of those laws.

The booklet opens with a copy of *Be ðeodwitan*, a chapter from *Institutes*, the opening line of which calls for unity among *Cyningan 7 biscpan, eorlan 7 heretogan, gerefan 7 deman, larwitan 7 lahewitan*,²⁵ to defend God's laws. While these social figures are the broader audience of this text, the next link quickly narrows in on bishops and makes them the primary people with the responsibility of guiding the others in this group. *Be ðeodwitan* functions not only as a suitable introduction to the whole compilation but also the text which it precedes, *Sermo Lupi*. After the first two sentences of *Be ðeodwitan* its content are almost exactly the same as Wulfstan's homily *Lectio secundum Lucam* (The Consecration of a Bishop, Bethurum XVII).²⁶ The text is very homiletic in tone but the removal of the opening section of Bethurum XVII which explicitly mentions the consecration, transforms the text

²⁵ Nero, f. 109r, ll. 2-3, 'kings and bishops, nobles and generals, reeves and judges, the learned and legal counsellors', trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 107.

²⁶ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 243-245, ll. 36-79.

into a more general text on upholding God's law. Bethurum XVII was, according to Wilcox, composed for the consecration of Ælfwig as Bishop of London in York on 16th February 1014,²⁷ which suggests *Be ðeodwitan* was not written until after that date. It is significant to note that Bethurum XVII precedes the version of *Sermo Lupi* in both Corpus 201 and Hatton 113 and together the two texts serve as a 'transition from the theoretical statement of the responsibilities of the bishop to the practical fulfilment of those responsibilities.'²⁸ This suggests that Booklet 3's arrangement is a more secular-focused variant of those versions which retain the references to episcopal consecration.

Be ðeodwitan and *Sermo Lupi* can now be understood as the opening two texts of a curated collection and not buried within the middle of Nero. Therefore, an examination of their rubrics is important as they establish some of the themes used throughout the compilation. In the context of *Polity*, the title is translated quite literally along the lines of 'Concerning the councillors of the nation'.²⁹ However, Wulfstan uses *ðeodwita* to refer to Gildas in a passage of *Sermo Lupi* which is only in the Nero/Hatton version of the homily. Nicholas Howe questions the translation of 'historian' which is usually chosen in this context, and argues that it should be understood as referring to 'a figure who knows (*wita*) about a people (*ðeod*)...the *ðeodwita* owes allegiance to a communal group, the *ðeod*, and relates its past to give its members some sense of cohesion or to rouse them to action.'³⁰ Wulfstan repeatedly uses *ðeod* in *Sermo Lupi* to refer to both the English and the Danes

²⁷ Jost, Karl, *Wulfstanstudien* (Bern, 1950), pp. 71-72; Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds', p. 411; The date and location of the consecration is mentioned in the D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, f. 64^v.

²⁸ Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds', p. 411.

²⁹ Jost, *Polity*, p. 62. Jost translate it into German as 'Über die Ratsherren der Nation'. Andrew Rabin goes for a similar title with 'On the People's Counsellors', see Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 107.

³⁰ Howe, Nicholas, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1989), pp. 10-16, with this specific quotation coming from p. 10.

(*hæþen ðeod*),³¹ thereby continuing a thematic thread from the start of the booklet. The sense of nationhood and unity reinforced that they were one people, pushing back against another which was explicitly unchristian. Andrew Rabin supplements this with another level of interpretation wherein *wita* acts as a synonym for *gewitnes*. As *ðeodwitan*, the kings, bishops, nobles, and the rest are depicted by Wulfstan as both witnesses to the failings of the nation and 'transparent mediators of divine authority'.³²

Sermo Lupi, the homiletic centrepiece of booklet 3, has been the focus of extensive scholarship which discusses its themes and historical context.³³ One of the most hotly debated parts of *Sermo Lupi*'s history, and something which is pertinent to our understanding of booklet 3, is the dating of the different surviving versions. There are three versions of the homily, generally known as the short, medium, and longer versions, which survive across five manuscripts.³⁴ Bethurum, Whitelock and Godden have all argued that

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

³² Rabin, Andrew, 'The Wolf's Testimony to the English: Law and Witness in the "Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos"', *JEGP*, 105 (2006), pp. 406-408, and 411.

³³ The following texts discuss the themes and historical context of *Sermo Lupi*, but this list is only a small selection of works which cover these matters: Cross, J. E. & Brown, Alan, 'Literary impetus for Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*', *Leeds Studies in English* 20 (1989), pp. 271-291; Cubitt, Catherine, 'Apocalyptic and Eschatological thought in England around the year 1000', *TRHS*, 25 (2015), pp. 27-52. Cubitt, Catherine, 'On Living in the Time of Tribulation: Archbishop Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and its Eschatological Context', in Rory Naismith and David A. Woodman (eds.), *Writing, Kingship and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 202-233; Dien, Stephanie, 'Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos: The Order and Date of the Three Versions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 76 (1975), pp. 561-570; Godden, Malcolm, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray and Terry Hoad (eds.), *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English, Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130-162; Hollis, Stephanie, 'The thematic structure of the *Sermo Lupi*', *ASE*, 6 (1977), pp. 175-195; Keynes, Simon, 'An abbot, an archbishop, and the viking raids of 1006-7 and 1009-12', *ASE*, 36 (2007), pp. 151-220; Lemke, Andreas, 'Fear-Mongering, Political Shrewdness or Setting the Stage for a "Holy Society"? - Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*', *English Studies*, 95 (2014), pp. 758-776; Lionarons, Joyce Tally, *Homiletic Writings*; Orchard, Andy, 'Crying Wolf: oral style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *ASE*, 21 (1992), pp.239-264; Rabin, Andrew, 'The Wolf's Testimony' pp. 388-414; Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (London, 1952); Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds', pp. 395-418; Wilcox, Jonathan, 'Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond' in Townend, *Wulfstan*, pp. 375-396.

³⁴ The short version is in Corpus 419, pp. 95-112 and Bodley 343; the medium version is in Corpus 201, pp. 82-86; and the long version is in Nero, ff. 110r-115r and Hatton 113, ff. 90v-91v.

the earliest version is the shortest, with the homily getting longer over time.³⁵ However, the theory currently in favour suggests the contrary, that the earliest version is the longest, with subsequent revisions getting progressively shorter.³⁶ The rubric in Nero reads *Sermo lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fait anno millesimo .XIIII. ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Cristi*,³⁷ which would suggest the homily refers to 1014 as the year in which the Danish raids were at their worst. Based on the evidence of this rubric, the themes dealt with, and the chronology of events mentioned, Jonathan Wilcox has argued that *Sermo Lupi*'s first reading took place at Ælfric's consecration as bishop of London by Wulfstan at the first *witan* of 1014 in York.³⁸ However, Keynes argues that, while the long version in Nero is the closest to the sermon which Wulfstan preached in 1014, he does not believe it was the first version to be preached. He suggests that Wulfstan first penned the homily in 1009, a date preserved in the Corpus 201 rubric,³⁹ which was a much more tumultuous year for England and would be a better candidate for the year in which the English were persecuted the most.⁴⁰ The 1014 date in Nero which is written over an erasure, Keynes suggests, was an intentional 'correction' by Wulfstan to mark the date of the definitive version. Indeed, the frequent reoccurrence of Wulfstan's hand in booklet 3 would attest that he undoubtedly approved of this title and its dating.

³⁵ Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 22-24; Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi*, pp. 1-5; Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion', pp. 143-146.

³⁶ Dien, 'The Order and Date of the Three Versions', pp. 561-570; Wilcox, 'Political Performance', esp. p. 391.

³⁷ Nero, f. 110r, ll. 1-4, 'The sermon of the Wolf to the English, at the time when the Danes persecuted them most, which was in the year 1014 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

³⁸ Wilcox, 'Political Performance', p. 380. Wilcox also theorises that the *witan* had originally been called for this date to crown Swein in York, because of 'its status as the leading city of the Danelaw.' p. 381.

³⁹ Keynes, 'An abbot, an archbishop, and the viking raids', pp. 211-213.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

By using *Be ðeodwitan* as an introduction to *Sermo Lupi* Wulfstan refocuses the homily into a text on the councillors. *Sermo Lupi* apportions blame to English disunity, disloyalty, and an abandonment of God's laws. Then, in the final section of the sermon, Wulfstan summarises the causes behind England's troubles and states this deterioration of justice has come about

*Ðurh biscopa asolcennesse 7 þurh lyðre yrhðe Godes bydela þe soþes gewugedan ealles to gelome 7 clumedan mid cealfum þær hy scoldan clypian.*⁴¹

In this denouement, Wulfstan positions the leaders of the country as the responsible party for both causing and allowing the corruption of society. Those duties and pitfalls, set out in the abstract in *Be ðeodwitan*, are given weight in *Sermo Lupi*'s account, with the effects of their deficiencies made clear by the evidence of Wulfstan's testimony.

The thematic consistency and the effective use of rubrics is continued with the next text, Evil Rulers (Bethurum XXI).⁴² Its rubric, *Her is gyt rihtlic warnung 7 soðlic myngung ðeode to ðearfe gyme se þe wille*,⁴³ ties it to the preceding texts: There is repetition of *ðeode* to again evoke the sense of nation and *Gyt* is an acknowledgement of *Sermo Lupi* which precedes it.⁴⁴ The same textual arrangement is repeated in two of the three other surviving manuscript copies of Evil Rulers, with the same rubric used in Hatton 113.⁴⁵ The connections between

⁴¹ Nero, f. 114^v, ll. 16-20, 'through the laziness of bishops and through the base cowardice of God's heralds, who all too frequently refrained from telling the truth and mumbled with their jaws where they ought to have cried out.' Trans. Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, pp. 121-122.

⁴² Evil Rulers is a particularly misleading title for this homily and it does not discuss kingship at all, instead focusing on the breakdown of societal norms and calls for a return to God's law.

⁴³ 'Here is another just admonition and true exhortation necessary for the realm. Let him pay heed who will'. Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 178.

⁴⁴ Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 364.

⁴⁵ Hatton 113, ff. 90^v-91^v, and the second copy of Evil Rulers in Corpus 201, p. 86. The copy of Evil Rulers on p. 26 of Corpus 201 has the rubric *To eallum folce* and the p. 86 copy is titled *Sermo Lupi*. The titles of all the homilies in the manuscript have similar generalised rubrics, which suggests it was an

the two texts are made even stronger by the repetition of two lines from the Nero version of *Sermo Lupi*, which supports Lionaron's argument that Wulfstan used Evil Rulers as a bridge between the homiletic and legal material.⁴⁶ The same script is used to write the rubric for both texts, which suggests they were written with full awareness of one another; especially because Wulfstan's hand adds four unique words to Evil Rulers rubric, showing that their wording met his approval.

As mentioned above, the role of Evil Rulers is to act as a bridge between the homiletic material of *Sermo Lupi* and *Be ðeodwitan* (which is the last two thirds of Bethurum XVII), and the law code V Æthelred. This is also a role we see it performing in Corpus 201 where the second copy of the text on p. 86 leads into a hierarchical arrangement of *Institutes* chapters and VIII Æthelred.⁴⁷ As part of this transition, the text lists how society has been inverted to establish the social and legal problems which require remedy through the law code which follows. For example:

*Ac þy hit is þe wyrse wide on earde þe man oft herede þæt man scolde hyrwan 7 to forð
hyrwe þæt man scolde herian 7 laðette to swyþe þæt man scolde lufian.*⁴⁸

The dividing line between secular and divine law is removed as Wulfstan presents temporal punishment as a solution to breaking God's order:

intentional choice made for either Corpus 201 or its exemplar. One of the few exceptions is the Corpus 201 copy of *Sermo Lupi* which has the same rubric as Nero but with a different date of 1009.

⁴⁶ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 162.

⁴⁷ The first copy of the text is on p. 26 (see previous footnote note, n. 138)

⁴⁸ Nero, f. 115^v, ll. 19-22, 'And therefore it is the worse widely in the country that it has often been praised what should be despised and despised too much what should be praised and hated too much what should be loved.' Trans, Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', p. 329.

7 to hwon wylde 7 *woroldlice styrde* swa swa man scolde, þam þe *oftost for gode*
syngode, swyþe, 7 scendan þas *þeode*.⁴⁹

A few lines later, Wulfstan offers a joint punishment for the defilers of secular and divine order:

...þæt man þa onhisce swyþe for worolde, 7 hy unweorðie æghwar on land, þa þe *godcundre*
lare, 7 *woroldcunde rihtlage*, wyrðan 7 scyrdan on ænige wisan...⁵⁰

By the end of Evil Rulers, God's laws and secular laws have become one and the same with worldly punishments becoming the remedy for breaking God's laws.

There is an important correlation between the version of Evil Rulers copied into booklet 3 which aligns with Wulfstan's decision to include V Æthelred which points towards a possible *ante quem* dating for the compilation. Booklet 3's Evil Rulers lacks an ending which is found in the Corpus 201 copy of the text on pp. 86-87,⁵¹ which has been taken from ch. 36 of VIII Æthelred.⁵² Furthermore, the Corpus 201 copy is followed a few pages later by a copy of VIII Æthelred, while in booklet 3 it is followed immediately by V Æthelred. Both

⁴⁹ Nero, f. 115^v, ll. 8-11, 'and too little control and **secular discipline** have been exercised, as ought to have been done, over those who have **sinned** most often before **God** and harmed this **realm**.' Trans. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 178.

⁵⁰ Nero, f. 115^v, ll. 13-17, 'that they are reviled greatly in the world and paid no honour anywhere in the land, those who **God's teachings** and **worldly laws** reduce and diminish in any way'. Trans. Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', pp. 328-329.

⁵¹ *Wise wæron worldwitan / þe to godcundan rihtlagan / worldlaga settan / folce to steore / 7 criste 7 cyninge / gerehtan þa bote / þar man swa scolde / manega for neode / gewildan to rihte*. 'Those great sages were wise who for godly legislation established worldly laws to chastise the people and for Christ and the king took care of the remedy where there should be because of the need of many correct governance.' Edition, Trans, and source comparison., see, Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', pp. 332 and 340. Unfortunately, in Rabin's edition of the text, he incorrectly states that this additional text is present in booklet 3 copy. See Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 179, n. 11.

⁵² An analysis of Evil Rulers by Andy Orchard shows that, without this ending, the booklet 3 version does not contain any clear connections to VIII Æthelred. See, Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', pp. 319-321, 333-340

details suggest that Wulfstan may have created an updated version of the compilation in booklet 3 after the creation of VIII Æthelred, by replacing V Æthelred with the newer law code and adding the ending to Evil Rulers taken from ch. 36. These changes to Corpus 201's version could indicate that booklet 3 may have been written before the promulgation of VIII Æthelred, which took place later in 1014 after the king was invited back to England by the *witan*.⁵³

The combination in booklet 3 of Wulfstan's 1008 code, V Æthelred, and *Sermo Lupi* is further demonstration of the compilation's cohesive message as the two texts are very much the legislative and homiletic binaries of one another.⁵⁴ As with so many of the texts in booklet 3, the law code opens with familiar calls for unity, the promotion of justice, and suppression of injustice. Beyond this there are unambiguous thematic correlations between the legislation of V Æthelred and sections of *Sermo Lupi* which further unifies the compilation in booklet 3. Catherine Cubitt argues that both the 1008 Enham Code and *Sermo Lupi* share 'a moral agenda and emerged from the same set of spiritual and religious concerns',⁵⁵ and agrees with Keynes that the earliest version of *Sermo Lupi* was composed in 1009, as suggested by the rubric in Corpus 201. Cubitt lists many of the parallels between the two texts,⁵⁶ some of which are displayed below in Table 5.7. The frequency of the concordance between the two texts is striking and indicates that Wulfstan placed these

⁵³ Bethurum originally surmised Evil Rulers was a late Wulfstan homily as its polished style and content would make a post-1016 date most suitable, but Lionarons, in her recent reappraisal of Wulfstan's homiletic canon, links its composition close to the creation of *Sermo Lupi*, but before a meeting of Cnut's *witan* in 1016. See, Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 364 and Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 163.

⁵⁴ Cubitt, 'On living in the time of tribulation', pp. 227-232.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-229.

versions together in booklet 3 because he was fully aware of the similarities between them and knew this would strengthen his overall message calling for national unity.

Table 5.8 - Examples of thematic connections between Booklet 3's <i>Sermo Lupi</i> and V <i>Æthelred</i>			
Chapter	V <i>Æthelred</i>	Line	<i>Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos</i>
2	<i>þæt man Cristene men 7 unforworhte of earde ne syle, ne huru on hæðene þeode</i>	43-45	<i>7 earme men syndan sare beswicene 7 hreowlice besyrwode 7 ut of þysan earde wide gesealde, swyþe unforworhte, fremdum to gewealde</i>
	that Christian men who are innocent of crime shall not be sold out of the land, least of all to the heathen		and poor men are painfully deceived and cruelly enslaved and, completely innocent, commonly sold out of this country into the power of foreigners.
10.2	<i>7 ænig man heonan forð cyrican ne ðeowige, ne cyricmangunge mid unrihte ne macige, ne cyricþen ne utige buton biscopes geþeahhte</i>	32-34	<i>7 we habbað Godes hus inne 7 ute clæne berypte. 7 godes þeowas syndan mæþe 7 munde gewelhwær bedælde</i>
	And no one henceforth shall oppress the church, or make it an object of improper traffice, or turn out a minister of the church without the bishop's consent.		and we have completely despoiled the houses of God inside and out. And God's servants are everywhere deprived of respect and protection.
11	<i>7 gelæste man Godes gerihta georne æghwilce gear.</i>	25-27	<i>7 micel is nydþearf mana gehwilcum þæt he Godes lage gyne heonanforð georne 7 Godes gerihta mid rihte gelæste.</i>
	And ecclesiastical dues shall be promptly rendered every year.		And the necessity is great for every man henceforth to observe God's law diligently and pay God's dues properly.
12.3	<i>7 freolsa 7 fæstena rihtlice healde.</i>	140-141	<i>7 freolsbricas 7 fæstenbrycas wide geworhte oft 7 gelome.</i>
	And festivals and fasts shall be duly observed.		And failure to observe festivals and the breaking of fasts occur commonly over and again.
21-21.1	<i>7 sitte ælc XII monað werleas; ceose syððan þæt heo sylf wille.</i>	42-43	<i>7 wydewan syndan fornydde on unriht to ceorle</i>

	And each of them [widows] shall remain without a husband for a year, after which she may decided as she herself desires.		And widows are wrongfully forced to take a husband
	<i>7 egeslice manswara 7 deoflice dæde on morðweorcan 7 on manslihtan, on stalan 7 on strudungan, on gitsungan 7 on gifernessan, on ofermettan 7 on oferfyllan, on swiccræftan 7 on mistlican lagbrycan, on hadbrycan 7 on æwbrycan 7 on freolsbrycan, on fæstenbrycan 7 on mæniges cynnes misdædan.</i>		<i>þurh morðdæda 7 þurh mandæda, þurh gitsunga 7 þurh gifernessa, þurh stala 7 þurh strudunga, þurh mannsylena 7 þurh hæþene unsida, þurh swicdomas 7 þurh searacræftes, þurh lahbyrcas 7 þurh æwswiccas, þurh mægræsas 7 þurh manslyhtas, þurh hadbrycas 7 þurh æwbrycas, þurh siblegeru 7 þurh mistlice forligru.</i>
25	And horrible perjuries and devilish deeds, such as murders and homicides, thefts and robberies, covetousness and greed, gluttony and intemperance, frauds and various breaches of the law, violations of holy orders and of marriage, breaches of festivals and of fasts, and misdeeds of many kinds.	133-138	through deadly sins and through evil deeds, through avarice and through greed, through theft and through pillaging, through the selling of men and through heathen vices, through betrayals and through plots, through breaches of the law and through legal offences, through attacks on kinsmen and through manslaughters, through injury done to those in holy orders and through adulteries, through incest and through various fornications.

However, one of the most striking features of the code in booklet 3 is Æthelred's noticeable absence. In the copies of V Æthelred in booklet 1 of Nero on ff. 89r-92v, and Corpus 201, pp. 48-51, the opening sentence states the laws have been enacted by *þa Engla cyng, 7 ægþer ge gehadode ge læwede witan*,⁵⁷ and the next five chapters all open with *7 ures hlaforðes gerædnes 7 his witenas is*.⁵⁸ However, in the booklet 3 version, the first line of the five

⁵⁷ Nero, f. 89v, ll. 4-5, Trans. 'the king of England and his councillors, both ecclesiastic and lay', Trans. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 79.

⁵⁸ Nero, f. 89r, ll. 13-14 (Ch. 1.1), 20-21 (Ch. 2), f. 89v, ll. 2-3 (Ch. 3), 8-9 (Ch. 4), 15-16 (Ch. 5), 'and it is the decree of our lord and his councillors' Trans. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, pp. 79-81.

chapters reads *7 witenā gerædnes is*.⁵⁹ A later hand has inserted the *ures hlaforðes 7 his* in the interlinear space above the start of each chapter; it is important to note that Wormald believes this is a variation in the text rather than the result of scribal error.⁶⁰ The effect of this removal of the king shifts the responsibility for the upholding of the code away from the king and onto the *witan*. In a booklet focused on the problems of the nation, in which all its texts have set out the responsibility the *ðeod* and *witan* have in upholding God's law (and how much they have failed to do so), it is not surprising Wulfstan is emphasising that it is the people's council and not the king promulgating these laws. As Wilcox observes in the longer version of *Sermo Lupi* in booklet 3, Wulfstan places great stress on great crime being forsworn and begs the audience 'let us rightly arrange word and deed and eagerly cleanse our inner thoughts and keep oath and pledge carefully and have some loyalty among ourselves without deceit.'⁶¹

The final two texts in booklet 3 are two more chapters from *Institutes*: a very short passage on the heavenly king (*Be Hefenlicum Cyninge*) and the earthly king (*Be Eorðlicum Cyninge*), the second of which is incomplete and finishes after the first six lines (based on Jost's edition).⁶² The former of these consists of a few lines of praise to God and mainly serves to position him above the king as a temporal ruler. In booklet 3, *Be Hefenlicum Cyninge* lacks the invocation and concluding *Amen* so that it reads as a brief tract rather than a prayer. *Be Eorðlicum Cyninge* describes the duties of the king as a secular power and upholder of justice; briefly describes the consequences of a foolish kingdom; and finishes with an appeal for the king to be well-read and spiritually nourished to uphold God's law.

⁵⁹ Nero, f. 16^v, ll. 7, 13, 17, 22 and f. 17^r, l. 5.

⁶⁰ Wormald, Patrick, 'Æthelred', p. 50.

⁶¹ Wilcox, 'Political Performance', p. 386. This includes the translation.

⁶² For editions, see Jost, *Polity*, pp. 39 and 41-51 respectively, and Rabin, *Political Writings*, pp. 103-105.

Wulfstan copies almost half of the six lines of *Be eorðlicum cyninge* with his own hand, which reinforces how closely he was involved in the creation of booklet 3, and its overall message.⁶³ Wulfstan's decision to place *Be Eorðlicum Cyninge* here, after all the texts stating the responsibilities of the *witan* to the nation, perhaps reaffirmed the consensus required in a king's rule. After reviewing their own responsibilities, the problems facing the nation, and the laws which they should obey in the previous texts, the members of the *witan* would then turn to texts which set out what they should look for in a king.

Finally, threaded through this investigation of the make-up of booklet 3 are hints that it may have been compiled in early 1014. As we have seen, Jonathan Wilcox made a persuasive case for placing the preaching of Nero's version of the *Sermo Lupi* at a Council in York in February 1014. He suggested that this council met for the consecration of Bishop Ælfwig of London and discussed the kingdom's difficulties after the flight of King Æthelred and the death of the victorious invader, Swein Forkbeard. It was after this meeting, that Æthelred was invited back. The Chronicle describes how the English councillors pledged that no king would be dearer to them if he would govern them better than he did before, and in turn the king promised 'that he would be their faithful lord, would better each of those things that they disliked, and that each of the things should be forgiven which had been either done or said against him; provided they all unanimously and without treachery, turned to him.'⁶⁴ There are pregnant details in the collection of texts in booklet 3 which fit Wilcox's scenario well and, indeed, seem to confirm it. Wilcox had argued that Bethurum XVII, a sermon on the consecration of a bishop, was preached at the consecration of Ælfwig

⁶³ Shortly after he hands the pen back to scribe 4 a hand, possibly his, has returned to the text and crossed out a line and a half which says *7 þurh ælc þing rihtwisnesse lufie for Gode 7 for worolde*, the exact text which is missing from Corpus 201's copy of *Be cinincge*. See, Corpus 201, p. 87

⁶⁴ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. James Ingram and J. A. Giles (London, 1912).

in York.⁶⁵ *Be ðeodwitan*, with which the booklet opens, is almost identical to Bethurum XVII after the first two sentences.⁶⁶ This is followed by the *Sermo Lupi*, which in Nero is rubricated with the statement that it was preached in 1014, which Keynes believes accurately reflected the date this version was delivered.⁶⁷ The retrospective nature of the rubric indicates it is unlikely booklet 3 was the copy used at the event; this is supported by the adaptation of Bethurum XVII into *Be ðeodwitan*, which further divorces this compilation from that occasion.

Two further apparently minor but suggestive details also point to a date in early 1014. Booklet 3's version of Evil Rulers lacks an ending found in the pp. 86-87 copy of the text in Corpus 201 which is taken from ch. 36 of the law code VIII Æthelred.⁶⁸ VIII Æthelred was promulgated after King Æthelred's return later in 1014 and directly addresses the duties and responsibilities of the king.⁶⁹ As Wormald noted, the booklet 3 version of V Æthelred omits mention of the king from the first lines of the first five chapters,⁷⁰ reducing his presence at the start of the code to a single mention in the opening line. This significantly reduced presence in the code could suggest his absence at the time this version of the code was promulgated.

⁶⁵ Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 71-72; Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds', p. 411.

⁶⁶ *Be ðeodwitan* omits the opening paragraphs relating to the consecration event itself and correlates with Bethurum XVII from l. 36 onwards in Bethurum's edition. See, Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 243-244.

⁶⁷ Keynes, 'An abbot, an archbishop', pp. 212-214.

⁶⁸ Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', pp. 319-321, 333-340

⁶⁹ Christopher Brooke, Christopher Robert Cheney, Dorothy Whitelock, Frederick Maurice Powicke, Martin Brett (eds.), *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church: Vol 1. 871-1066* (Oxford, 1964); Wormald, 'Æthelred', p. 59.

⁷⁰ Wormald, 'Æthelred', p. 50.

Jonathan Wilcox discusses the possible purpose booklet 3 could have served when he analysed the scribal contributions made to the final unfinished text, *Be Eorðlicum Cyninge*. Wulfstan's interventions are certainly noteworthy because they represent multiple direct alterations of the text as it was being written, rather than after the fact. Wilcox questions why Wulfstan might have expended 'significant care writing out the opening of a text in close collaboration with a scribe, and perhaps altering it, all on a page that was not useful for subsequent copying in view of the abrupt end.'⁷¹ Wilcox, who recognised that booklet 3 was an independent codicological unit, concluded that its incomplete nature was because booklet 3 was for study rather than recital. However, this conclusion is somewhat unsatisfactory and does not fully answer the question Wilcox himself posed. If this booklet was for Wulfstan's personal study, then we might instead expect to see something akin to London, British Library, Additional 38651, in which Wulfstan composes homilies without collaboration with a scribe.⁷² Nor does it match the pattern of behaviour in booklet 4 of *Vespasian*, where Wulfstan provided the title and the final lines of the text for *De rapinis ecclesiasticarum rerum* on f. 173^v and the title for *De activa vita et contemplativa* on f. 177^v. In these instances, Wulfstan's hand is instructing the scribe on which text to copy and, in the case of the former text, returning to it later with additions. In contrast, booklet 3 shows that Wulfstan took over only two words in and then relinquished control back to the scribe 'mid-sentence and mid-thought'.⁷³ There's an immediacy at work here that is not present in the examples in *Vespasian*, as well as the examples of Wulfstan's hand intervening in the texts in the other booklets in *Nero* and does not fit with Wilcox's premise that Wulfstan was accumulating these texts for private study. However, when framed within the possible context of early 1014, Wulfstan's intervention and the text's abrupt ending make more sense:

⁷¹ Wilcox, 'The Wolf at work', pp. 146-147.

⁷² *Ibid.*; Rudolph, 'Wulfstan at Work', pp. 267-306

⁷³ Wilcox, 'The Wolf at work', p. 146.

Wulfstan's mid-sentence involvement in the writing of *Be Eorðlicum Cyninge* suggests he was an active participant in the penning the precise wording because this was a compilation responding to the events of the moment; it is equally possible that the abrupt ending of the final text implies an abandonment of this version of the compilation as events continued to evolve, possibly with Æthelred's return, and the compilation became less relevant to the needs of the moment.

After the death of Swein in February 1014, the kingdom was in interregnum, as its anointed king had fled. Cubitt has argued that Æthelred had become an unpopular ruler and that his reinstatement was not automatic.⁷⁴ In this situation, the responsibilities of the royal council were enhanced, and its role became decisive. The collection of texts in Nero seems to reflect this situation. They reflect Wulfstan's view that the sins of nation were responsible for this catastrophe and were in urgent need of reform, and in the sermons on the earthly and heavenly king, they set out the true order of earthly society, overthrown by recent events. The re-enactment of V Æthelred – a crisis code issued by Æthelred to correct the sins of the people – by the council would have reinforced Wulfstan's strictures in the *Sermo Lupi*.

⁷⁴ Cubitt, Catherine, 'Reassessing the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', in S. D. Church (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies XLII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2019* (Woodbridge, 2020), pp. 1-28.

Conclusion

The three vernacular booklets in Nero are all fascinating examples of codicologically independent compilations. There are inherent similarities between all three, undoubtedly the result of Wulfstan's involvement in their respective creations. Because the texts in each booklet are so thematically coherent and not grouped by genre, it is clear the booklets were not created as reference material. It is patent that Wulfstan used these booklets to assemble curated collections of his own which contained clear instructional messages through their respective thematically linked texts. With that unifying purpose established, an examination of their many differences has allowed us to discern the potential audiences for each booklet and, by extension, the message Wulfstan wished to convey: the first booklet's priestly audience was given an overview of its duties and legal rights; the second booklet's ecclesiastical readers were told how to lead by example, and act as God's messengers and teachers of a nation; the third booklet is perhaps the most exceptional because a lot of its internal evidence suggests it originated from a specific moment in time when Wulfstan was impressing upon a *witan* their responsibility in upholding secular and divine law and possibly even deciding who should be their king. It is difficult to say whether booklets 1 and 2 were created under similar circumstances. The absence of Cnut's laws from booklet 1 points to a pre-1018 origin as it lacks his Oxford code. The only surviving versions of VIII Æthelred are the full code in Corpus 201 and the fragment on church sanctuary in the text *Be cyricgrið* in booklet 1. It is difficult to know whether *Be cyricgrið* predated the law code, but it would be entirely in keeping with Wulfstan's methods that he might have reused a section from this text for use in VIII Æthelred rather than the other way around.

The purpose of chapters 4 and 5 has been to demonstrate and examine the independent nature of the constituent parts of Nero, with the hope that this might establish a new direction for our understanding of how Wulfstan used booklets and vernacular texts. There is still much more work to be done on these three booklets and their texts and perhaps even more so for the two Latin booklets.

Conclusion

Manuscripts containing booklets are convoluted creations of multiple overlapping parts; to understand the whole manuscript one must have an appreciation of all its smaller components and how they interact with one another. By understanding the booklets in Wulfstan's manuscripts we can start to see how the archbishop used and compiled texts. He viewed them thematically and as assembled to be used practically. None of these manuscripts were miscellanies in the way that that word has traditionally been understood; each one served an intentional purpose, whether as a single compilation or as multiple independent units. The purpose of Nero, which seemed to be the most miscellaneous in its arrangement and has caused scholars so much trouble in trying to make sense of it, only becomes apparent when it is deconstructed into its constituent parts. Hopefully future studies will hesitate to use the term miscellany without first examining whether smaller patterns exist within its codicology that could indicate there is more to a manuscript than simply a scattergun assemblage of texts.

As each manuscript used booklets in such contrasting ways it is difficult to summarise the findings of all three simultaneously. Therefore, this conclusion will examine the findings which can be drawn from each study in turn and then assess what these findings tell us about Wulfstan and his working methods more broadly. The booklets in Copenhagen consist of clusters of useful episcopal texts that serve a broad range of functions: an exposition on the Mass; texts on clerical regulation; sermons for a variety of circumstances including public penance and End Times; and letters to offer guidance on dealing with penitential pilgrims. Copenhagen was not designed to be an encyclopaedic

collection, but rather an overview of texts Wulfstan deemed pertinent to the duties of a reformist bishop which is clear from the broad range of themes dealt with across the seven compilations in its booklets. Copenhagen's possible purpose as a manuscript for Gerbrand becomes even more likely when understood as a curated conspectus of texts that presents an overview of Wulfstan's personal episcopal philosophy.

In *Vespasian*, some of the same methods are apparent but used to very different ends. The manuscript was not envisioned as final and cohesive, but rather as a continuing project – booklets were added over time to the core collection of Alcuin's letters as and when the opportunity arose. Unlike Copenhagen, *Vespasian* was Wulfstan's personal possession, and this is evident in aspects of the manuscript's creation and expansion. The letters he chose for booklet 1 reflected his experiences with Viking raids, weak kingship and episcopal duty. He continued to search through the historical examples captured in the letters when he expanded the manuscripts with booklets 2 and 3. Both compilations testify to Wulfstan's continued use of his sources and his developing dialogue with the original letter collection in booklet 1. If we understand Wulfstan as a bishop and individual through his texts and compilations, his desire to keep this poem on record in *Vespasian* reveals something more of the bishop as a person. When re-examined, the poem offers an insight into Wulfstan on an intimate level. Regardless of how the poem might have served him, it is clear that it was reproduced because he liked it and *Vespasian* was an appropriate place for it because of the significance of the manuscript in Wulfstan's life.

My analysis of *Nero* has revealed Wulfstan at work as a political bishop, assembling small collections of key texts. The vernacular booklets are examples of how Wulfstan treated

his own texts as concise political compilations to promote an ordered society in the troubled decades at the start of the eleventh century. Ordering the texts by theme rather than by genre is one of the clear signs that Wulfstan used these collections to promote targeted messages and not just to compile texts for the sake of recording them in bound volumes. Potentially even more revealing are the indications that the texts in booklet 3 may all be related to a particular moment in 1014 of the greatest political significance, when the English council gathered to consider how the royal throne should be filled.

The use of booklets also challenges preconceptions regarding the transmission of Wulfstan's texts. The importance of social order to Wulfstan is manifestly reflected in the versions of *Polity* where it is presented in a hierarchically ordered fashion, usually starting with the heavenly king, and proceeding down through the different orders of society. It is also clear from booklets 2 and 3 in *Nero* (as well as *Corpus 201*) that there were many other contexts in which Wulfstan used these materials. He collated texts concerning the episcopate or priesthood which defined their behaviour, duties, and legal rights, and he used them among other types of texts to make wider thematic points. The arrangement of different chapters in *Corpus 201* and *Junius 121* could be profitably investigated to understand Wulfstan's working methods in greater detail.

The presence of small thematic collections in these manuscripts which use sermons individually or in pairs alongside regulatory, political, and legal material, reflects Wulfstan's interest in expounding specific topics rather than preaching homilies for the liturgical calendar. There is no evidence that Wulfstan even intended his homilies to be gathered into a single volume, unlike his contemporary Ælfric. The strict separation of languages in the

three manuscripts, but particularly in Nero, raises important questions about the role of Wulfstan's Latin sermons, a subject which has only recently attracted scholarly attention.¹ Wulfstan's treatment of Old English and Latin to serve different functions, circulating in different collections, suggests that it is outdated to assume that his Latin sermons should be seen merely as notes in preparation for his Old English compositions.

Wulfstan was a practically-minded bishop, who saw his texts as inherently practical items not as literary pieces to be scrutinised. His relentless focus on using compilations to convey political and ideological messages perhaps explains why his works blur the boundaries between genres. A. J. Robertson's description of Wulfstan's codes as 'thoroughly ecclesiastical in tone and homiletic in style, full of tiresome repetition and injunctions, but giving small sign of any practical policy with regard to the difficulties of the time',² appears even more outdated and inaccurate if we consider that these booklets represent practical application of the law. By transmitting law codes alongside homilies and political tracts Wulfstan was providing the users of his compilations with the tools necessary to promote his vision of society, with secular laws being but one aspect of it.

Finally, this thesis has demonstrated the weak foundations of the idea that Wulfstan created and circulated versions of a Commonplace book consisting of a fairly stable selection of texts. The accepted scholarly understanding of the Commonplace Book is undermined by the separate origins of the individual booklets in Nero. Nero was the strongest contemporary example of the Commonplace Book but, as this thesis has demonstrated, its

¹ Similar calls have been made in recent years by Joyce Tally Lionarons and Thomas N. Hall. See Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 42; Hall, 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', pp. 108-110.

² Robertson, A. J., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 49.

coherence as a single compilation was an illusion held together by increasingly outdated notions of the medieval manuscript. Analysing these examples of the Commonplace Book as coherent manuscripts has proved problematic for scholars for many decades. However, when their evolution as collections of booklets is revealed they become much more dynamic and fit with Wulfstan's image as a practical working bishop. The traces of what Sauer identified as blocks likely had their origins as files of texts that Wulfstan used in his duties, which served a variety of liturgical, administrative, and political functions. New booklets could be made which contained variant combinations of texts depending on his requirements, which could explain the change in ordering between booklets contemporary with Wulfstan and the versions which were amalgamated in the eleventh-century copies. The changes between Wulfstan's booklets and the later copies could also be explained by the fact that their scribes saw them as flexible booklets, not as components of a Commonplace Book, and therefore felt at ease reorganising the contents as they saw fit when amalgamating them into the later manuscripts.

Important questions remain regarding Wulfstan's working method and the locations of the scribes he used to produce these manuscripts, as the constituent parts of each manuscript could have been produced at Worcester or York, or even other institutions. This undoubtedly affects existing questions in scholarship over where his manuscripts originated. Scribes in Wulfstan's own entourage who were travelling with him may have produced booklets for him on an *ad-hoc* basis. There are over twenty scribal hands across just these three manuscripts, which makes it likely that the booklets originated from multiple locations. How many of the scribes who were in his household travelled with him? The most interesting hands are those of Scribes C and G in *Vespasian* and *Copenhagen*, two scribes who perform very similar functions in both manuscripts. Their appearances in these and in

Tiberius A. xiii require further investigation. Scribe F in Copenhagen and scribe M in Vespasian were responsible for copying out Wulfstan's personal correspondence. Their connection to Wulfstan is also indicative of a group of scribes working closely with him. Further research on recurring hands in other contemporary Wulfstan manuscripts might also provide further insight into the role performed by such scribes.

This study also opens up fresh research questions with regard to Wulfstan's own scribal interventions in the manuscripts. Even initial investigation of the tasks Wulfstan's hand performs within each manuscript has improved our understanding of his working method, his relationship with his scribes and how he interacted with his own texts and the texts of others. There are many studies of Worcester's so-called "Tremulous Hand" and yet no monograph has attempted to assess the hand of one of the most important figures of the late Anglo-Saxon state.³ Neil Ker's work was vital in identifying Wulfstan's hand in ten manuscripts, but scholarship has failed to take his research any further, despite so much apparent potential. During my research I found many further examples in the three manuscripts studied in this thesis as well as in other manuscripts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42. Ker acknowledged that he had not found all examples of Wulfstan's handwriting, but there has not yet been any concerted research effort to find and catalogue all examples. There are patterns of behaviour which could be extrapolated from a broad quantitative assessment across all the manuscripts; there are individual texts which could be examined to see how Wulfstan's hand interacted with those of his scribes; and even more

³ Collier, Wendy E. J., "Englishness" and the Worcester Tremulous Hand', *Leeds Studies in English*, 26 (1995), pp. 35-47; Franzen, Christine, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991); Franzen, Christine, 'On the attribution of copied glosses in CCC MS 41 to the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester', *Notes & Queries*, 48 (2001), pp. 373-374; Franzen, Christine, 'The Tremulous Hand of Worcester and the Nero scribe of the "Ancrene Wisse"', *Medium Ævum*, 72 (2003), pp. 13-31; Ramsay, J, 'A possible 'Tremulous Hand' addition to the grave in MS Bodley 343', *Notes & Queries*, 49 (2002), pp. 178-180.

intimate details can be obtained relating to such things as the poem in *Vespasian*. There is a wealth of information to be gleaned from Wulfstan's hand and this thesis has only just scratched the surface.

That so many manuscripts can be directly associated with Wulfstan allows us an exceptionally valuable insight into the importance of booklets in the pastoral and intellectual life of a bishop. But Wulfstan's example is just one part in a much wider tradition that extends beyond the eleventh century and beyond the borders of Anglo-Saxon England. Booklets were an integral element in Wulfstan's life, helping him in the performance of daily tasks, to respond to current events, to produce ideological compilations as gifts and to assemble sources for future use. This was almost certainly the case for many other bishops across Europe and across the centuries, so that the methods used in this thesis could undoubtedly be used on other problematic manuscripts. As Parkes has shown, there is evidence of booklets being used in priestly and episcopal manuscripts on the continent in the tenth and eleventh centuries;⁴ Likewise Hamilton has identified possible instances where larger, less portable manuscripts acted as file copies from which texts were selected and copied into more portable *libelli* for travelling clerics.⁵ Further evidence is given by Tom Licence, demonstrating continuing dynamic uses in the later eleventh century, where bishops used administrative *libelli*, or 'casebooks', in legal cases.⁶ These were collections of texts that were direct responses to legal challenges, that had limited circulation beyond those involved in litigation and only survive through mentions in historical record. Licence

⁴ Parkes, Henry, *The Making of Liturgy*, p. 46.

⁵ Hamilton, Sarah, 'The *Rituale*: The evolution of a new liturgical book', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and The Book* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 80-81.

⁶ Licence, Tom, 'Herbert Losinga's Trip to Rome and the Bishopric of Bury St Edmunds', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 34 (2012), pp. 151-168, esp. p. 163.

suggests that these have parallels with pamphlets used to promote political ideologies or partisan positions.

The booklets used by Wulfstan are fascinating items that display a versatility and dynamism that stands at odds with the longstanding perception of monks assembling expansive volumes acting as academic repositories of texts stored on dusty shelves. They were intrinsic elements of a bishop's administrative arsenal which allowed Wulfstan and others to create flexible compilations that could be rearranged and dismantled while retaining thematic consistency. Assuredly, most of the booklets produced did not respond to national crises like Nero's booklet 3, but the impression we have of the Anglo-Saxon church might be wildly different if more of the quotidian examples of booklets which reflected the multifarious permutations of rites, chants, and other texts had survived. The full story of booklets and how they were used is almost entirely pushed to the margins of history. But because we are so fortunate to have these few Wulfstanian manuscripts, we have been able to obtain at least a glimpse of what might have been lost.

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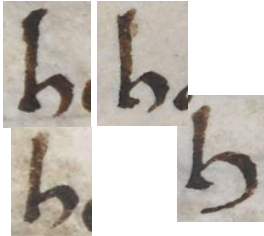
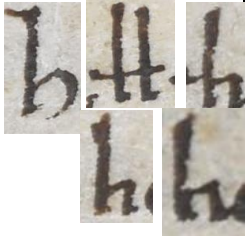
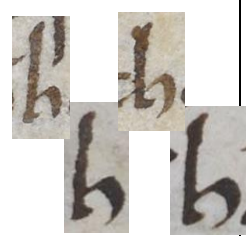
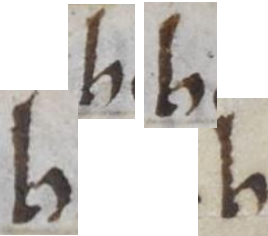

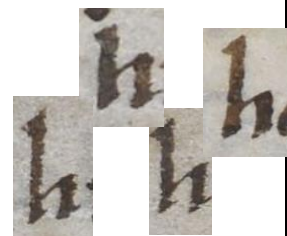
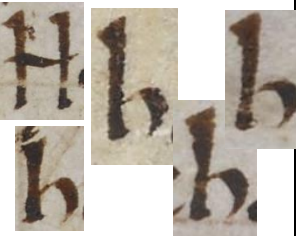
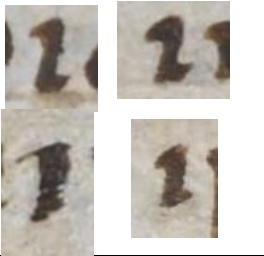
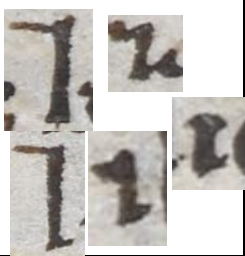

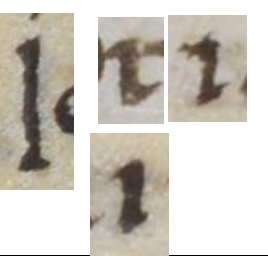
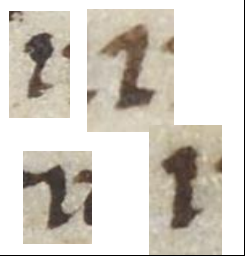



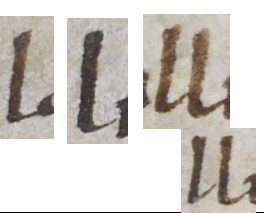
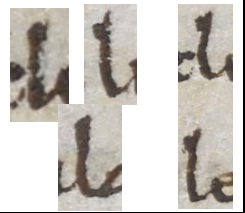
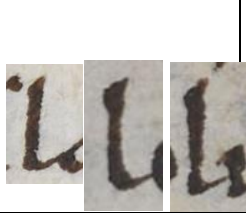

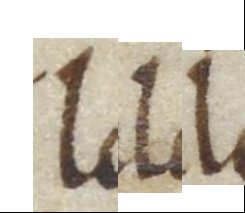
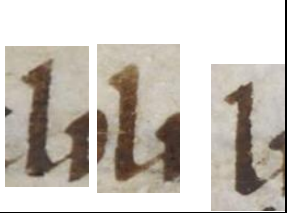

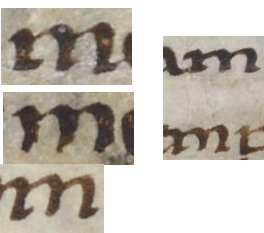
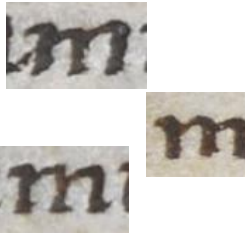
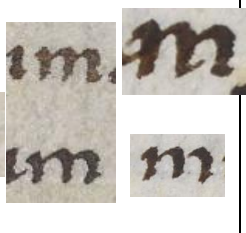
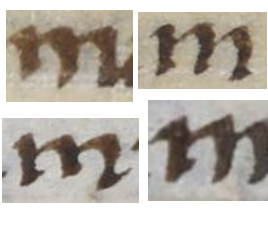
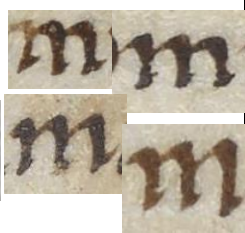
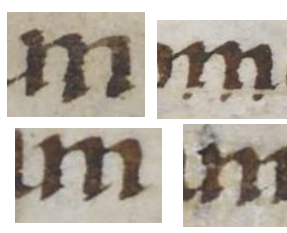
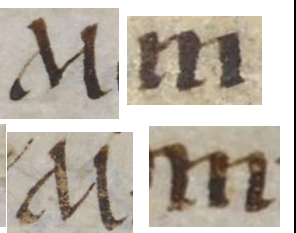
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Appendix I - Scribal graph matrix for identification of the scribes in booklet 4 of Vespasian, ff. 172-179.

Graph	Canons of the Council of Hertford (672) (F)	De rapinis aecclesiasticarum rerum (C)	Pope Leo III to Coenwulf, King of Mercia (F)	Oda's Constitutiones (H)	De activa vita et contemplativa (K)	Wulfstan's 'letter of protest' to the papacy (L)	Letter to Wulfstan while he was still bishop of London. (M)
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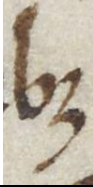
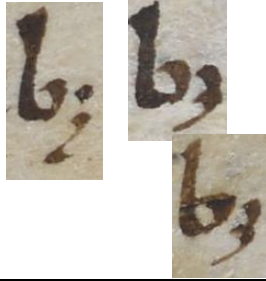
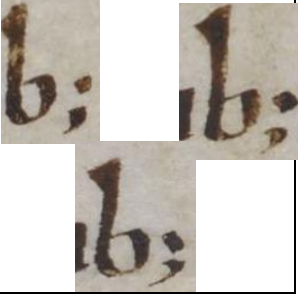
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Appendix II – Data set for analysis of contents of London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177

Qui re	Folio(s)	No. of Folios	Text	Booklet	Appearances in other MSS	Appearances in Commonplace Book MSS	Notes	Present in	Corpus 190	Corpus 265	Junius 121	Barlow 37	Copenhagen 1595	Rouen 1382	Corpus 201	Other	Quantity of Non-CPB MSS	CPB MSS	Neither	Genre
1	70r-70v	2	<i>Be Cynge</i>	1	(fragment) Corpus 201, p. 87	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 9r-10r, Nero, ff. 120r		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	70v-71r	2	<i>Be Cynedome</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 87	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 10r-10v		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	71r-71v	2	<i>Be Cynestole</i>	1	Corpus 201, pp. 87-88	Junius 121, ff. 10v-11r		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	71v-72r	2	<i>Be Eorlum</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 89	Junius 121, ff. 17r-17v		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	72r-73r	3	<i>Be Sacerdan</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 89; (Fragment of Expanded), Cam, UL Add. 3206	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 20v-23v		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	Political Tract
1	72r-73r	3	<i>Be Gehadedum Mannum</i>	1	Corpus 201, pp. 89-90; (Expanded) Corpus 201, pp. 40-42.	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 32r-34r,		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	73r	1	<i>Be Abbodum</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 90	Junius 121, ff. 18r-18v	wlaence replaced by pryde between Nero and Junius. 'ne ealles to gelome' in Junius, not in Corpus. But just	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract

							before that Corpus has a 'neprita' not present in either Nero or Junius.													
1	73r	1	<i>Be Munecan</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 90	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 18v-19r	See diff doc for evidence 201 and Nero aren't directly linked to one another.	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	73r-73v	2	<i>Be Munecanan</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 90	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 19r-19v		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	73v	1	<i>Be Preostan</i> <i>7 Be Nunnan</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 90	(Fragment) Junius 121, ff. 19v	Regarded as II Polity by Jost etc in Junius 121	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	73v-74r	2	<i>Be Lapedum Mannum</i>	1	Corpus 201, pp. 90-91	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 31v-32r		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	74r	1	<i>Be Pudepan</i>	1	Corpus 201, p. 91	Junius 121, f. 19v		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	74r-75v	4	<i>Be Cyricean</i>	1	Corpus 201, pp. 91-2	Junius 121, ff. 57v-59ar	Last three lines of Nero is missing from Corpus 201. Lines present in Junius 121.	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	75v-76v	3	<i>Be Eallum Cristenum Mannum</i>	1	Corpus 201, pp. 92-3	Junius 121, ff. 59ar-59br		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
1	76v-81v	15	Wulfstan Homily	1	Corpus 201, pp.				0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	Homiletic

2	82r-83v		Bethurum 10c <i>The Christian Life</i>	1	56-60; Corpus 419, pp.204-29; Hatton 113 ff. 38r-44r			Non-CPB MS												
2	84r-86v	6	Wulfstan Homily Bethurum 19 <i>God's threat to a sinning Israel</i>	1	Corpus 201, pp. 26-27	Junius 121, ff. 59r-61v		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Homiletic
2	86v-87v	3	I Æthelstan	1	Corpus 201, p. 53			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Law Code
2	87v	1	I Edmund	1	Corpus 201, pp. 96-7; Corpus 383, pp. 78-79			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	Law Code
2	88r-89r	3	III Edgar	1	Harley 55, ff. 3v-4v; Corpus 201, pp. 47-8			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	Law Code
2	89v-92v	7	V Æthelred	1	Corpus 201, pp. 48-52			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Law Code
2	92v-93v	7	Grið	1			only extant copy	Uniq ue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Political Tract
3	94r-95v			1																
3	95v-96v	3	VIII Æthelred	1	Corpus 201, pp. 93-6			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Law Code
3	96v	1	<i>Norðhymbra cyricgrið</i>	1			only extant copy	Uniq ue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Political Tract
4	97r-97v	2	<i>Item de episcopis</i>	2	(Fragmen t) Corpus 201, p. 88		Fragment in <i>De episcopis paulus dicit</i>	Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Political Tract

4	97v-98v	3	<i>Item - Biscopas scylan bocum</i>	2	Corpus 201, p. 88-89	Junius 121, ff. 12v-13v	Nero has several more lines at the end. Some added in another hand that match the end of Corpus 201, but then text not present in 201 continues onto 98v.	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
4	98v	1	Text on tonsure and ecclesiastical garb	2			only extant copy	Unique	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Instructional
4	99r-100r	3	<i>Incipit de sinodo</i>	2		Junius 121, ff. 15v-17r		CPB MS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Homiletic
4	100v-102r	4	An Admonition to Bishops	2			only extant copy	Unique	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Homiletic
4	102r-103v	4	<i>Be Sacerdan (Mid-length)</i>	2	(Shorter) Corpus 201, p. 89; (Fragment of Expanded), Cam, UL Add. 3206	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 20v-23v	Shorter version also earlier in Nero but has word choices that match more closely with Junius than with this other version in Nero	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	Political Tract

4	103v	1	<i>Be Abbodum</i>	2	Corpus 201, p. 90	Junius 121, ff. 18r-18v	In this version it is spelled 'pryta'. The only extra part of this version here and in Junius 121 is 'ne ealles to gelome'	Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
4	103v-104v	3	<i>Be Munecum</i> (Expanded)	2	(Shorter) Corpus 201, p. 90	(Expanded) Junius 121, ff. 18v-19r		Both	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	Political Tract
4	105r-105v	2	<i>Be Gerefan</i>	2		Junius 121, ff. 17v-18r		CPB MS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Political Tract
5	109r-109v	2	<i>Be Deodwitan</i>	3		Junius 121, ff. 11r-12v		CPB MS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Political Tract
5	110r-115r	11	Wulfstan Homily Bethurum XX.3 - <i>Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos</i>	3	(XX.2) Corpus 201, pp 82-86; Hatton 113, ff. 84v-90v; (XX.1) Corpus 419, pp. 95-112; (XX.1) Bodley 343, 143v-144v	.		Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	Homiletic
5	115v-116r	2	Wulfstan Homily - Bethurum 21 - <i>Evil Rulers</i>	3	Corpus 201, p. 26 + p. 86; Hatton 113, ff. 90v-91v			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	Homiletic
5	116v-119v	7	V Æthelred	3	Corpus 201, pp. 48-52			Non-CPB MS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Law Code

5	120r	1	<i>Be Hefenlicum Cyninge</i>	3		Junius 121 f. 9r	In the opening line, 'god' in Nero has been replaced with 'cyning' in Junius. A clear revision overlooked by Jost who still labels the Nero version as II Polity.	CPB MS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Political Tract
5	120r	1	<i>Be Eorðlicum Cyninge (Fragment)</i>	3		(Expanded) Junius 121 f. 9r-10r; (Shorter) Nero, ff. 70r-70v	The alterations made in this fragment of <i>Be Eorðlicum Cyninge</i> are not present in Junius 121's extended version. I have not seen this mentioned but have not yet checked Jost.	CPB MS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Political Tract
6	122v-125r	6	<i>De ueneratione</i>	4		Corpus 190 (1 lost) the other pp. 185-8; Barlow, ff. 31r-32v; Corpus 265, ff. 152-154;	Lost from Corpus 190	CPB MS	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	Homiletic

6	125r-125v	2	Wulfstan's Homily (Bethurum XVIa) - Ezechiel on Negligent Priests	4		Corpus 190	Lost from Corpus 190	CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Homiletic
6	126r-127r	3	<i>De pastore et predicatore</i>	4		Corpus 190	Lost from Corpus 190	CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Homiletic
6	127r	1	<i>De clericis sive ecclesiasticis gradis</i>	4		Corpus 190, pp. 97-98		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Instructional
6	127v-131v	52	<i>Collectio Canonum Wigorniensis (B)</i>	4		Corpus 190, Corpus 265; Barlow 37; Rouen 1382		CPB MS	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	Canonical
7	132r-143v			4																	
8	144r-148r			4																	
8	148r-154r			4																	
8	154r-154r	1	<i>De temperantia penitentium</i>	4		Corpus 265, pp. 58-59; Barlow 37, ff. 21v-22r; Corpus 190, pp.13-14		CPB MS	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	Penitential 1
8	155r-155v	2	<i>Incipit de diversitate culparum</i>	4		Corpus 190, pp. 238-240; Barlow 37, f. 15v		CPB MS	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	Penitential 1
8	155v	2	<i>Item de remediis peccatorum</i>	4		Corpus 190, p. 240		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitential 1
9	156r			4																	
9	156r-156v	2	<i>De incestuosis tribus et homicidis</i>	4		Corpus 190, p. 241; (Expanded) Barlow 37, ff. 40v-41r		CPB MS	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	Penitential 1
9	156v-157r	2	<i>De excommunicatis qui inuiti ad penitentiam provocantur</i>	4		Corpus 190, pp. 241-242		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitential 1
9	157r-157v	2	<i>De improvisio iudicio secularium</i>	4		Corpus 190, p. 242		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitential 1

9	157v-158r	2	<i>Incipit exemplum de excommunicatio pro capitali crimine</i>	4		Corpus 190, p. 243; (Expanded) Barlow 37, ff. 40v-41r		CPB MS	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	Penitentia 1
9	158r-159r	3	<i>De confessione et Quadragesimi maili observatione</i>	4		Corpus 190, pp. 243-245		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitentia 1
9	159r-159v	2	<i>Secuntur Psalmi. Post Confessione m</i>	4		Corpus 190, p. 245		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitentia 1
9	159v-162v	7	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - <i>Sermo de reconciliatio ne post penitentiam</i>	4	Cotton Vitellius A. vii, ff. 65v-68r	Corpus 190, pp. 252-259; Copenhagen, ff. 26r-30r; (Variant) Corpus 265, pp. 142-148	Combined in Corpus 190 with the text on ff. 170v-172r. Adapted into OE in Hatton 113, ff. 81r-83v	Both	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	Penitentia 1
9	162v-163v	3	<i>Quod nulli sit ultima penitentia de neganda</i>	4		Corpus 190, pp89-91; Corpus 265, pp. 59-60; Barlow 37, f. 22r		CPB MS	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	Penitentia 1
9	163v-164r	2	<i>Denis qui morientibus penitentiam denegant</i>	4		Corpus 190	Corpus 190 copy is listed in table of contents but has not survived	CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitentia 1
9	164r-165v	4	<i>De medicamento animarum</i>	4			Junius 121, ff. 13v-15r - contradicts this texts. J121 believes that bishops	Unique	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Instructional

							should be intimately involved in dispensing secular justice														
9	165v-167v	5	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>	4		Corpus 190	Corpus 190 copy is listed in table of contents but has not survived	CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Instructional
10	168r-169r	3	<i>Qualiter Quarta feria in capite ieiunii. Circa penitentes agatur</i>	5		Corpus 190, pp. 245-249		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitential
10	169r-170v	4	<i>Tunc sermo ad populum</i>	5	Cotton Vitellius A. vii, ff. 63v-65r	Corpus 190, pp. 245-249; (OE Translation) Corpus 190, pp. 351-353. (Abbo originals) Copenhagen.	Compilation of three Abbo sermons. Combined with previous text into a single unit in Corpus 190	Both	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	0		Penitential
10	170v-172r	4	<i>Qualiter penitentes in cena domini in ecclesiam introducuntur</i>	5		Corpus 190, pp. 252-259	Combined in Corpus 190 with abbreviated Abbo Sermon from ff. 159v-162v	CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitential
10	172r-172v	2	Hymn: <i>O redemptor sume carmen</i>	5		(First part) Corpus 190, p. 259		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Liturgical

10	172v-173r	2	<i>Qualiter apud orientales provincias germanie atque saxonie pro diversis criminibus penitentiae. Observatur modus.</i>	5		Corpus 190, pp. 12-13		CPB MS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Penitential 1
10	173r-174v	4	<i>De ieiunio quattuor temporum (Adaptation)</i>	5	Cambridge, St Johns B.20, ff. 91r-v, Chalon-sur-Marne BM 31, ff. 6v-8v.; Vespasian D. ii, ff. 19v-20v	(Adaptation)Corpus 190, pp. 225-227; (Original)Copenhagen, ff. 23v-25r		Both	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	3	2	0		Instructional

Appendix III - Catalogue of Wulfstan interventions in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i., ff. 70-177.¹

Booklet	Quire	Scribe	Folio	Text	Line	Margin	Inserted text	Possible nature of Intervention	Count	Additional Notes
1	1	1	71v	Institutes of Polity - I Polity - Chapter IV On The Throne	1	Top	<i>on cristenre þeode</i>	Insertion of words. Authorial	1	This phrasing is present in the main body of the text in Junius 121 f. 11r, but not in Corpus 201 p. 87. The insertion of the wording does not seem entirely like a case of eye skip. This is not a whole line being missed, nor is it a short word. It is a specific piece of phrasing that adds emphasis. Wulfstan being the author raises the question of whether this manuscript contained a working copy of his own text and this was him either putting in the very pointed phrasing and we are witnessing his authorial process, or he is going back and adding it in here after writing it elsewhere. Clearly other copies existed without it if it is missing from Corpus 201. Insertion possibly written at a different point in time from the ones in the

¹ Instances of Wulfstan's hand not mentioned in Ker's article are highlighted.

									homily. Different colouration of ink and the nib isn't making the same letter shapes.
1	1	1	79v	Wulfstan Homily - <i>The Christian Life - Bethurum Xc</i> (Napier X)	8	left	<i>Scylde man wið [ga]lnesses 7 wið æw[b]ryce georne;</i>	Insertion of words. Authorial	1 Homily also in Corpus 419, pp.204-29 (insertion present in main text on p.215), Corpus 201 pp. 56-60 (insertion present in main text on p.58), Hatton 113 ff. 38r-44r (insertion present in main text on f. 40v).

1	1	1	80v	5	left	<i>7 mid dædbote clænsie hine sylfne.</i>	Insertion of words. Authorial	1	Homily also in Corpus 419, pp.204-29 (insertion present in main text on p.218), Corpus 201 pp. 56-60 (insertion present in main text on p.58), Hatton 113 ff. 38r-44r (insertion present in main text on f. 41r).
1	1	1	80v	8	left	<i>Multum enim...et reliqua</i>	Insertion of words. Authorial	1	Homily also in Corpus 419, pp.204-29 (insertion not present, follows main body of text), Corpus 201 pp. 56-60 (insertion present in main text on p.59), Hatton 113 ff. 38r-44r (insertion not present). The other two, smaller insertions are present. Was this one not because it was significantly longer? was it added later? Did a scribe copying from this one possibly think it wasn't a direct insertion because the technical sign (circle with a dot in it) used over the erasure isn't present in the margin to indicate where it should be inserted?

2	4	2	98r	Item - <i>biscopas scylan bocum</i>	20-24	right	<i>Et ite(m) Q[uorum] remisert[is peccata remittunt[ur eis et cetera] Alibi etia(m) s[criptum est:] Quodcu(m)q(ue) [benedixeritis] et cet(era).</i>	Insertion of words. Authorial/Correction	1	This is definitely Wulfstan's hand but doesn't seem to have been attributed to him before. The 'r' is his but it is fairly neat handwriting compared to some of his other contributions to the margins. The & symbol is not his usual one. But there is a matching example attributed to him on f. 166r, which is actually very similar in aspect to this example. The feet on the A also match those on the M's he does elsewhere. Also, these biblical quotations are on f. 165v ll. 2-7. They also have the same interlinear intervention of <i>s de maligno</i> (rather than <i>malignis</i>) above <i>terribiliter</i> . Although this time it doesn't have the dots around the s either. <i>Et item quorum remisertis peccata remittuntur eis etcetera</i> is not on f. 165v. All the other are
2	4	2	98r	Item - <i>biscopas scylan bocum</i>	21	Interlinear	<i>s · de malignis</i>	Insertion of words -	1	This matches an intervention he makes in Hatton 42, f. 193v on l. 17, which uses a similar 's ·' to comment on the words in the text. This is next to this other unidentified marginal addition which is in the same aspect of script and using the same ink.

2	4	2	99v	Wulfstan text - <i>Incipit de sinodo</i>	21	interlinear	<i>na</i>	Insertion of word. Correction	1	This text is also found in Junius 121 on 15v-17r. Insertion is present in the main body of the text but has a line drawn between it and the preceding word to highlight word separation.
2	4	3	100v	<i>An Admonition to Bishops</i>	1-4	linear	<i>Biscopas scoldan symle. godes riht bodian. 7 unriht forbeodan. 7 witodlice sona swa biscopas rihtes adumbiað</i>	Writing text. Editorial.	1	Wulfstan appears to be starting off the text as an indicator to the scribe as to what should be written in the space. The ink and nib he is using is different from previous interventions in the manuscript, which suggests he was writing it at a different time, most likely during the construction of the manuscript.

2	4	3	102r		3-4	linear	<i>on dollican dædan. oþþon on gebæran.</i>	Writing text/Inserting text. Editorial.	1	The last six words of the text show a distinct change in style, which could indicate Wulfstan also wrote the end of the same text that he started. Most noticeable is the presence of Wulfstan's distinctive 'r' in <i>gebæran</i> . Ker does not mention this despite the heading of the next text on the next line also being written by Wulfstan. The ascender of the 'd' is also much longer than the previous scribe's, who favours a shorter flatter ascender unless he is writing an ð. The way the nib splits on ascenders is present in both scribe 3's hand as well as Wulfstan's. It again appears as if Wulfstan is taking over directly, using the same pen as the scribe.
2	4	3	102r	<i>Be sacerdan</i>	5	linear	<i>Be sacerdan</i>	Writing text. Editorial.	1	Wulfstan is again starting off the next text. Unlike with Admonition to Bishops this is a more defined heading writing in majuscule script. Could this have been inserted later after the text or did he put it in before the scribe took over to complete the text? I believe it to be the former as the ink matches his

										insertion at the end of the previous text.
2	4	3	<u>102r</u>	<i>Be sacerdan</i>	14	right	<i>sceal</i>	Correcting. Word Replacement.	1	I don't think this one has been noticed before. The <i>e</i> is diagnostic of Wulfstan but looks like it was written at a different time from his other interventions on the same folio. In Junius 121 the word is instead spelled 'sceolan', but in Tiberius A. iii it matches with the correction and is spelled 'sceal'.

2	4	3	<u>103r</u>	<i>Be sacerdan</i>	4	linear	<i>-swelgað</i>	Correcting. Word Replacement.	1	This has the feel of some of Wulfstan's other interventions earlier in the text. The replacement within the text rather than interlinear or marginal is also what we've seen elsewhere with a single word replacement. Word insertions are done differently. But Wulfstan definitely favours erasure. The use of such a scrappy-looking aspect to the hand again suggests a quick replacement for functional use. Matches his intervention in <i>Be Gerefan</i> , when he inserts <i>ryperas</i> into the text in a similar manner.
2	4	3	104v	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Chapter XII - On Monks</i>	17	interlinear	<i>Ðæt is</i>	Insertion of words. Editorial	1	It is debateable whether Wulfstan is correcting or altering his own text, but I favour the former. This doesn't change the sense of the sentence or add emphasis. The size of the words entered is small enough to have been missed. This version of the text is also in Junius 121 ff.18v-19r. These insertions (this and the next one) are both present in the main body of the text.

2	4	3	104v	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Chapter XII - On Monks</i>	19	left	<i>hit</i>	Insertion of words. Editorial	1	Again, he is inserting a single word that could have been missed by scribal error. However, I do not think this entry is clearly Wulfstan's hand. Ker records it but it does not have enough distinctive Wulfstania characteristics for me to be sure. Not certain what Ker saw in this other than it is on the same folio.
2	4	3	105r	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Chapter X - On Reeves</i>	5	right	<i>swa swa God w[olde]</i>	Writing Text. Authorial.	1	This is a separate clause that adds emphasis, 'as God willed'. This again seems like Wulfstan is adding a bit more flavour to the text rather than correcting a scribal error. This is also present in Junius 121, in the main body of the text on f. 17v
2	4	3	105r	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Chapter X - On Reeves</i>	7	linear	<i>ryperas</i>	Word replacement. Unclear.	1	This is inserted over an erasure. It's hard to tell if Wulfstan was correcting or rewriting. Junius has it in the main body of the text on f. 17v but Rabin's mention of a fragment of it in Corpus 201, somewhere between pp. 87-93 is tricky to find. Not sure where it is.

3	5	4	109v	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Chapter V - On the nation's councillors</i>	8	left	<i>[He] cwæð. Se ðe eow [hy]rēð/ me he gehyreð; [Se] þe forhogað eow/ [m]e he forhicgeð;</i>	Writing text. Authorial.	1	Also present Junius 121, f. 12r in the main body of the text. This chapter is not present in the extant copies of I Polity. This phrasing also exists in the text in Latin. Inserting this here provides a translation for the Latin. This is something he has done with other Latin in this passage and elsewhere. Perhaps it was missing from the exemplar and he realised it needed to be inserted. This does not seem like an error of the scribe unless it was all on one line and there was eye skip.
3	5	4	109v	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Chapter V - On the nation's councillors</i>	26	linear	<i>fela þera þinga. þe derað þisse þeode</i>	Writing text. Authorial.	1	Also present in Junius 121 f. 12v in the main body of the text. Last six words of the text. The sentence would still make sense without this last phrase. Again, it is adding specificity to the final sentence. It makes more explicit the things about which Wulfstan feels he cannot keep silent.
3	5	4	112r	<i>Wulfstan Homily - Sermo Lupi ad Anglos - Bethurum XX.3</i>	3	right	<i>to eacan [oðran ealles t]o manega[n þe man] unscyld[ige] forfor [ealles to wide;]</i>	Writing Text. Authorial.	1	Present in Hatton 113 f. 87r in the main body of the text. This is another clause that exists independently of the rest of the sentence and therefore could be an addition written in by

										Wulfstan here for the first time.
3	5	4	115v	Wulfstan Homily - <i>Evil Rulers</i> - Bethurum XXI	1-2	linear	<i>Her is ^gyt^ Richtlic...Gyme se þe wille</i>	Correcting. Editorial. Writing Text. Authorial.	1	Seems to be a bit of a mix here. The first four words are correction over an erasure, and the third word is also inserted above the other three. The last four are an independent clause that adds further emphasis 'care those who will'. Interestingly the last four words are absent from the heading on f. 90v in Hatton 113, but the first ones are present. It looks like the two parts have been added at different points, judging by the slight difference in the ink and thickness of the letter forms. Is it that the exemplar that led to Hatton 113 was written before the second addition? There is no heading in the first copy in Corpus 201 on p. 26. and only <i>Sermo Lupi</i> at the start of the second copy on p. 86. This lack of headings might be a feature of the manuscript.

3	5	4	116r	Wulfstan Homily - <i>Evil Rulers</i> - Bethurum XXI	2-3	Linear	<i>gewunede þ(æt) he wolde leogan</i>	Possibly authorial or correcting. Insertion over erasure.	1	This part of the text is included in other extant versions. This example is not listed by Ker but it clear isn't scribe 4. The ink looks very similar to the ink Wulfstan uses for the title of the text, which suggests he made this change at the same time.
3	5	4	116r	Wulfstan Homily - <i>Evil Rulers</i> - Bethurum XXI	4	interlinear	<i>for gode</i>	insertion and correction	1	words appear in both versions of the Corpus 201 version of the text. Not identified by Ker. In a different ink to the correction on the same page which suggests he returned to the text on at least two occasions.
3	5	4	119r	V <i>Æthelred</i>	11	interlinear	<i>gif man þæt geræde</i>	Writing text. Authorial.	1	The other version of V <i>Æthelred</i> does not contain this addition in ch. 27 of the code on f. 92r. It is also not in the Corpus 201 copy p. 50 lines 19-20. Wormald comments on this addition on pp.332-3 and refers back to another mention he makes on p. 199. He states that it shows that this version in quire 5 of Nero is later than the other one but does not comment further on what Wulfstan is doing with this addition, that this is likely an addition after the copy was written. The translation he offers is 'if it is decreed'

3	5	4	119v	<i>V Æthelred</i>		top	7 eal swa [...] swica beon wille. [l]a[di]g[e...]	Unclear. Commentary?	1	Made illegible by page trimming. No obvious technical sign indicating where it would be inserted. Is this a comment, maybe a quotation from a text relating to the law topic of the law code?
3	5	4	<u>119v</u>	<i>V Æthelred</i>	9	interlinear	wæran	Correcting. Editorial.	1	Not identified by Ker. Wulfstan in inserting the word into the line which appears to have been missed. This word is present in the copy of the laws earlier in the manuscript on f. 92v. Wormald says the version later in the manuscript is the later version.

3	5	4	120r	<i>Institutes of Polity - II Polity - Concerning the Earthly King</i>	8-15	linear	gebyreð swyðe...rihtre lage	Writing Text. Authorial.	1	Heading firs two words done by someone else. Next 50 done by Wulfstan. This appears to be an inversion of the role we've seen Wulfstan performing elsewhere. Here, however, he doesn't complete the text. What we're seeing here is a very explicit example of Wulfstan rewriting some of his text by changing some of the wording of the first few words. The text quickly goes back to the same as I Polity but he evidently wanted to step in to rewrite some of it. Was he also responsible for the deletion of some of the words on lines 16-17? is this also editing? These additional words are not present in II Polity in Junius 121 f. 9r. The line in Corpus 201, p. 87 has the first two words that Wulfstan writes on f. 120r but then deviates slightly again before going back to the usual text seen across all versions.
4	6	2	124v	<i>De ueneratione - Bonus itaque pastor</i>	2	interlinear	igitur	unclear. Authorial?	1	It isn't clear if these three insertions are Wulfstan modifying an existing text to

4	6	2	124v	<i>De ueneratione - Bonus itaque pastor</i>	19	interlinear	<i>itaque</i>	unclear. Authorial?	1	make it clearer or change the emphasis or if this is correcting parts that were missed by the scribe. However, all three of them aren't intrinsic parts of the sentence, but are conjunctions and the like. Therefore I believe Wulfstan is modifying the sentences, which makes this more authorial.
4	6	2	124v	<i>De ueneratione - Bonus itaque pastor</i>	23	interlinear	<i>pro illorum neglegentia</i>	unclear. Authorial?	1	

4	6	2	125v	Verba ezechielis prophete. de pastoribus non recte agentibus	16- 23	linear	<i>supra gregem christ;...sed etiam augeri.</i>	unclear. Authorial?	1	Printed as Bethurum XVIa, linked with Old English homily XVIIb/Napier 41. Ezechiel on Negligent priests. Lionarons (p. 16) says this is largely a series of biblical extracts that comprise the outline for XVIIb. Lionarons also mentions the sources used on p. 111 in the footnotes. Lionarons mentions that Wulfstan is inserting part of the text but only refers to Ker when using a footnote on further details. Suggests there is no further commentary on this. The other larger sections of his hand show evidence of this so can we assume this is following the same pattern? Is this the part which he was writing here for the first time? Wulfstan's scribal stint finishes off the quotation from the Boniface letter, and provides the full quotation from Gregory the Great's Homily XVIII. This suggests he was not adding on an extra quotation but immediately picking up from scribe 4.
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4	7	2	138r	<i>Si quis alicui...eclesia catholica</i>	22	right	<i>Can Hib</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	This is a missing title that should be inserted into the main body of text citing the source of the extract. Ker comments that he cannot find the text in Wasserschleben's edition of the <i>Hibernensis</i> . Perhaps he didn't use the copy that was owned by Wulfstan.
4	8	2	155r	Extract from penitential of Pseudo-Theodore	7	right	<i>Medicus enim [debet] sanare egrotum [secundum] austeritatem a[rtis] sue] et non palpare [molliter] secundum uolunta[tem] infirmi;</i>	Adding another sentence from the same text. Editorial	1	It seems Wulfstan decided he wanted another sentence from the text being added. Is the zig zag also Wulfstan's hand?
4	9	2	158r	<i>Incipit exemplum de excommunicatio pro capitale crimine</i>	7	interlinear	et maior excommunicationis damnati[o] est/ et eam diutius su[stinet]	Adding text. ? Authorial	1	These are independent clauses that Wulfstan could be adding on himself. That is less conclusive here than elsewhere though. It seems to be adding emphasis that the condemnation is of excommunication and it is sustained for a longer time. Another zig zag alongside the text
4	9	2	160r	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - <i>Sermo de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>	15	interlinear	<i>ten</i> inserted into <i>peni^ten^tia</i>	Correcting text. Editorial.	1	Correcting the word so it makes sense

4	9	2	160r	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - <i>Sermo de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>	22	interlinear	replacing <i>d</i> with <i>b</i> in <i>ab</i> (formerly <i>ad</i>)	Correcting text. Editorial.	1	Correcting the word so it makes sense
4	9	2	160r	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - <i>Sermo de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>	22	interlinear	<i>per suam passionem/ et liberauit e[um]</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	Wulfstan either knew the text well or was referring back to another copy.
4	9	2	162r	Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - <i>Sermo de reconciliatione post penitentiam</i>	8	interlinear and right	<i>uite eterne; Fratres iam modo est adam [receptus] in celesti para[dyso] propter multum l[aborem et]</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	this is written above a deletion of <i>laboriosam</i> . This whole sentence and the correction of the word makes this look like a correction of scribal error and eye skip. It fills in the rest of a sentence rather than adding additional emphasis or detail like we've seen with other additions.
4	9	2	163v	<i>Quod nulli sit ultima penitentia de neganda</i>	14	interlinear	<i>tu</i> inserted into <i>po^tu^issent</i>	Correcting text. Editorial.	1	misspelled word
4	9	2	163v	<i>Quod nulli sit ultima penitentia de neganda</i>	14	interlinear	<i>peruenire</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	replacing a word that was inserted early due to eye skip.

4	9	2	163v	<i>Quod nulli sit ultima penitentia de neganda</i>	15	interlinear	<i>Erubescimus modo paruo tempore penitentiam agere/</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	missed line due to eye skip. These corrections were made during the construction of the manuscript because the capital of <i>erubescimus</i> has been coloured in by the scribe who has coloured in all the capital initials.
4	9	2	164r	<i>De medicamento animarum</i>	7	interlinear	<i>de cura eclesiarum. et</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	inserting a few words that have been missed. These are an integral part of the sentence.
4	9	2	164r	<i>De medicamento animarum</i>	9	interlinear	<i>tibus in peniten[^]tibus[^]</i>	Correcting text. Editorial.	1	Correcting the word so it makes sense
4	9	2	164v	<i>De medicamento animarum</i>	22	interlinear	<i>inportune</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	These multiple instances of missing words suggests that Wulfstan was going through and casting an eye over the text. Does this demonstrate his close involvement with manuscript production that he would give the completed text a final sweep in comparison to the exemplar? Or is he inserting these because his Latin is strong and he knows what words are missing based on his knowledge or on context within the sentence?

4	9	2	166r	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>	6	right	<i>curam uiduarum et orphanorum ha[beant] hospites colliga[nt][...] pedes pauperam [...]</i>	unclear	1	could be eyeskip missing out a whole line or could be Wulfstan adding a sentence he feels is pertinent to the section. Because portions of the sentence are missing, it is difficult to ascertain the full purpose of the sentence but it appears to be listing other duties expected of the bishop with respect to caring for the needy.
4	9	2	166v	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>	9	interlinear	uel legant	? Inserting new words	1	Wulfstan could be inserting an additional word that he feels should be part of the sentence or this could be a scribal error. It's unclear. That there are two so close to each other in the same format of 'uel [word]' suggests this isn't two coincidental mistakes.
4	9	2	166v	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>	10	interlinear	uel uersificant	? Inserting new words	1	Wulfstan could be inserting an additional word that he feels should be part of the sentence or this could be a scribal error. It's unclear. That there are two so close to each other in the same format of 'uel [word]' suggests this isn't two coincidental mistakes. Elliot questions if this is glossing ymnizent. p. (hymnizare)

4	9	2	166v	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>	12	interlinear	adeo	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	a word was missed by the scribe.
4	9	2	167v	<i>De Cotidianis Operibus Episcoporum</i>	15	interlinear	<i>infantes: in monendo</i>	Inserting missing words. Editorial	1	specifies that the baptism is for infants and adds that he warns against neglecting this duty. It feels more like this is adding in word so that the sentence makes more sense.