BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF LETTERS

DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY STUDIES

ABSTRACT OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

READING WULFSTAN'S WORKS IN THEIR MANUSCRIPT CONTEXT: A STUDY OF CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 201

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2026

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ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: Wulfstan, Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 201, Institutes of Polity, textual criticism, edition, manuscript studies.

The subject of this dissertation, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 (henceforth CCCC 201) is often cited, especially in relation to archbishop Wulfstan and his *Commonplace Book*, but has seldom been treated as a coherent unit. Even though it was compiled after the archbishop's death in 1023, CCCC 201 is exceptional in the high density of Wulfstan material it preserves; indeed, works authored or influenced by the archbishop make up almost two thirds of the original eleventh-century manuscript. Regrettably, many of these pieces have been edited and discussed independently of their manuscript context.[1] Such an approach pays little attention to manuscript transitions, rubrics, the deliberate alternation of genres (homiletic, doctrinal, legislative, literary), and the way in which these elements intentionally produce a carefully structured codex, with contents ranging from introductory materials, to social and spiritual diagnosis and remedy. Yet, the codex as a whole offers a privileged perspective into the ways early eleventh-century reform in Anglo-Saxon England was articulated, taught, and (whenever possible) put into practice.

CCCC 201 provides an accurate depiction of the issues plaguing England during the time of Æthelred (r. 978-1013; 1014-1016) and Cnut (r. 1016-1035), yet a consensus regarding the date and place of origin has not been reached. Moreover, only some of its contents has received scholarly attention, while other parts have been more or less neglected. This cherry picking has produced little in terms of understanding the texts in the proper context. Fred C. Robinson argues that, while some manuscripts were indeed "grab-bags, with texts on various subjects from various periods collected and copied into a single manuscript for no discernible reason", the exact opposite is equally frequent:

[1] More recent discussions of CCCC 201 can be found in Mark Atherton, "Cambridge Corpus Christi 201 as a Mirror for a Prince: Apollonius of Tyre, Archbishop Wulfstan and King Cnut", *English Studies* 97 (2016), p. 457-72; Daniel Anlezark, "Reading 'The Story of Joseph' in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201", *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday,* edited by Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), pp. 61-94.

many manuscripts follow a clearly discernible structure, built around a "unifying theme".[2] Graham D. Caie is right to affirm that a work deprived of context gives a sense of "clinical tidiness, that is not in the original".[3] Furthermore, it misleads the reader through modern editorial conventions, such as supplying titles, and emendations.

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive study of all items in CCCC 201, and to show how they fit into their immediate and wider manuscript context. I shall also attempt to show that CCCC 201 is not a catch-all miscellany, but rather a carefully compiled handbook of Christian governance, whose various editorial layers (from the early and mid-eleventh, but also sixteenth century) showcase chronologically distant but thematically similar attempts at reform. Thus, the present study aims to reconstruct how the manuscript was compiled, both by carefully inspecting the many genres of its texts, and by comparing these texts to variants found in other manuscripts. At a thematic level, it asks why those materials were brought together in the largest and most diverse surviving collection of Wulfstan's works. As I hope to demonstrate, the structure of the manuscript was carefully considered, in sequences that catechize, admonish and exhort, and legislate, which all give us a unique insight into the socio-political crisis of late Anglo-Saxon England.

The manuscript CCCC 201, compiled after Wulfstan's death in 2023, allow us to see a budding Wulfstan tradition, in which some texts are becoming canonical, and others are still present in a modular form, which allows them to be combined and reused as need arose. How does the modular nature of such texts, especially the chapters known collectively as *The Institutes of Polity,* respond to the rigours of modern textual editing? What do medieval editorial habits reveal about the nature and tradition of Wulfstanian and other texts?

Wulfstan (d. 1023), bishop of London (996-1002), archbishop of York (1002-1023) and bishop of Worcester (1002-1016), was one of the most influential figures of late Anglo-Saxon England. He served as advisor to, and drafted laws for kings Æthelred and Cnut, witnessed some of the largest Viking onslaughts to ever affect England, was the

[2] Fred C. Robinson, "Old English Literature in Its Most Immediate Context," *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, ed. John D. Niles (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1980), p. 26.
[3] Graham D. Caie, "Text and Context in Editing Old English: the case of Poetry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201", *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), p. 155.

nation's main spiritual leader between 1012 and 1018, and strove all his life to enact social and ecclesiastical reform. The tumultuous times in which he lived, coupled with Wulfstan's influential positions at the royal court, meant that he was actively involved in the process of governing. Briefly put, he was "one of the half dozen leading influences on the formation of Early English culture."[4]

Despite these heavy responsibilities, or perhaps thanks to them, Wulfstan left behind an unusually rich paper trail. After securing his first bishopric in 996, when he first appears in our records, and until his death in 1023, he authored a considerable number of homilies and sermons, as well as law codes, and even a cluster of smaller, thematically linked texts, which today are considered an extensive political-theological treatise – the *Institutes of Polity*. Indeed, Wulfstan is second only to his contemporary, Ælfric of Eynsham (d. c. 1010), in his literary output, and is one of the most prolific Anglo-Saxon authors. While Ælfric went to great pains to cultivate an authorial persona and tie his name to his works, Wulfstan was considerably less concerned about his status as an author. He seemed to encourage wide distribution of his works, in order to facilitate both secular and ecclesiastical reform, and this is why his considerable corpus survives in various shapes in multiple manuscripts.

While Wulfstan's works has long been recognized by scholars, the book form in which they survive has been understudied and sometimes misunderstood. Labels such as 'miscellany' or 'commonplace book' have been applied inconsistently to Wulfstan-related manuscripts, and have rarely been tested against the codicological and textual evidence that the manuscripts themselves offer. Moreover, while the archbishop and his legacy have received much attention in the last decades, editions of his works have been rather slow to appear. The fact that Arthur's Napier 1893 edition of the archbishop's homilies is still relevant speaks to the difficulty of editing Wulfstan. Dorothy Bethurum's foundational 1953 edition of a number of Wulfstan's homilies and sermons, and Karl Jost's equally momentous edition of the *Institutes of Polity* are not without their issues.

There is also a certain amount of confusion regarding the Wulfstan's so-called 'commonplace books'. The term itself was introduced at the end of the nineteenth century

[4] Patrick Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society," *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. D.A.E. Pelteret (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 191.

by Mary Bateson[5]. She observed that a number of manuscripts, including CCCC 190, 265, Junius 121 and Nero A. i contained theological material of similar nature, and suggested that they might have served as a bishop's commonplace books. While Bateson's study is now one hundred and thirty years old and decidedly outdated, its merit lies primarily in outlining the miscellaneous character of many Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical manuscripts.

Scholars of the mid-twentieth century, such as Dorothy Bethurum, expanded on Bateson's research, and argued that the collections are intimately tied to Wulfstan's attempts at reform, while Dorothy Whitelock suggested that many texts in these manuscripts directly influenced Wulfstan's own works[6]. This perspective saw the 'commonplace book' shift from an anthology of more or less curated texts for a bishop to a corpus carefully assembled by or under the supervision of archbishop Wulfstan, with the purpose of creating a powerful toolkit of source material.[7]

While scholars of the twentieth century made extensive use of Bateson's term, the concept is not without faults. Most notably, Patrick Wormald objects to the term, and argues that "whoever put these books together was not picking up edifying thoughts as they went along." Instead, it seems that the compilers of the manuscripts were attempting, with moderate degrees of success, to assemble a "collection of the law of the Latin Church, and of the principles that underlay it."[8] As can be seen, the amount of scholarly contradiction concerning Wulfstan runs deep.

My interest in Wulfstan was prompted by the text commonly known as the *Institutes of Polity*. The problematic nature of the text naturally expanded the scope of the research

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[5] Mary Bateson, "A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections Made about 1000 A.D.", *English Historical Review* 10 (1895), pp. 712–31.

[6] Dorothy Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book", *PMLA* 57 (1942), pp. 916-29; Dorothy Whitelock, "Archbishop Wulfstan: Homilist and Statesman," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1942), pp. 25–45.

[7] Studies on the commonplace book tradition include Hans Sauer, "The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book,'" in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (New York, 2000), pp. 339–93; Peter Clemoes, "The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration," *Anglia* 78 (1960), pp. 265–83; J.E. Cross, "A Newly-Identified Manuscript of Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book,' Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1382 (U.109), ff. 173r-198v," *JMLat* 2 (1992), pp. 63–83; Michael D. Elliot, "Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised: The Structure and Development of *Block 7*, on Pastoral Privilege and Responsibility", *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012), pp. 1-48; C.A. Jones, "Two Composite Texts from Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book': The *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* and the *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*," *ASE* 27 (1998), pp. 233–71.

[8] Patrick Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Canon Collection," *Old English Newsletter* 46.1 (2016), consulted online at: https://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/archive/46_1/wormald.php (last consulted on 18 February 2026).

to the manuscript context. In turn, the neighbouring works, each with their own context, have determined me to write a comprehensive study of CCCC 201. This dissertation argues that CCCC 201 is more than just a miscellaneous and composite codex – namely a carefully crafted anthology intended for nationwide secular and ecclesiastical reform, in which authorial, editorial and user scopes converge. Indeed, the manuscript's elaborate contents include homilies, sermons, law-codes, prescriptive social and moral grouplets of texts, a unique narrative piece in the form of the *Old English Apollonius of Tyre*, and even poetry.

The central claim, which will be reiterated throughout the chapters, is that the shape of Wulfstan's writings (i.e. the selection, sequence, size and grouping of texts, rubrication and other cues) depends on the codex that contains them. The propositions are therefore threefold:

a) Manuscript context is one of the main influences on the shape of Wulfstan's works. This can be seen especially in the thematic and rhetorical progression of CCCC 201 from doctrinal instruction and teaching, to admonition, and finally to secular enforcement. This progression is integral to how individual texts function and should be approached.

b) It is dangerous to apply modern editorial standards to thematically similar textual grouplets, such as the *Institutes of Polity*. This text's modular nature, repurposed to fit various contexts, is highly representative of the nature of Wulfstan's works. Karl Jost's editorial work illustrates the pitfalls of forcing medieval texts into modern frameworks. Recent scholarship has shown that the relation between the three surviving versions of the text (if indeed it is *one coherent text*) is considerably more complicated than mere chronological order. The shape of Wulfstan's works does not always fit a classical stemma and chronological development. Fresh examination of CCCC 201 aims to show how Wulfstan's authorial voice, scribal process and intervention, and political context all interact in order to produce texts that are removable from their manuscript context only at the risk of missing their original purpose.

c) Intentional editorial purpose, i.e. alteration of text due to its context, can be seen through rubrics and the repurposing of homiletic units as prologues to legal works, thus anticipating their use in preaching, legislating etc. Additions and excisions from versions

of works found in CCCC 201 and in other manuscripts should be treated as intentional and meaningful interactions driven mostly by manuscript context, rather than as the pursuit of a *final* version.

Thus, the present thesis does not treat CCCC 201 as a mere source of sundry texts, but as whole. The focus is on the 'whole book'[9]. Patrick Wormald once suggested that, in order to fully appreciate Wulfstan, one should read him "not in our editions but in his own: to view him through the manuscripts that seem to have been assembled under his immediate aegis."[10] The present edition aims to present the reader with one of Wulfstan's editions, or with what his successors considered representative of his work. The sheer number of Wulfstan's works present in CCCC 201 suggests that the manuscript was the product of someone with considerable appreciation of his work, or perhaps a copy of an original contemporary with Wulfstan, which has not survived. While CCCC 201 is not the type of personal *vade mecum* that Nero A. i is, and does not contain the archbishop's distinctive handwriting, it is definitely the more complete manuscript of the two, and arguably the most comprehensive Wulfstan-codex that we have.

The first chapter of the present dissertation aims to contextualize Wulfstan's situation in the dire times of late Anglo-Saxon England. The relentless Viking onslaughts of 991-1012, an unprepared and "ill-advised" king, rising taxation, corruption entrenched in all social ranks, especially the Church and the nobility, eventually culminated with Cnut's ascension to the English throne. The steps of Wulfstan's career, from bishop of London to archbishop of York and (simultaneously) bishop of Worcester, coincided with each major royal crisis, and forcefully positioned him as the kingdom's foremost ideological and spiritual leader. The chapter therefore explains why many of his writings present the reader with an almost obstinate refusal to distinguish between genres. Indeed, his works offer a blend of pastoral admonition, eschatological preaching, and legal eloquence that makes them difficult to label. By better situating Wulfstan and his agenda within the tumultuous times of early Anglo-Saxon England, and by offering an overview of his sources and characteristic style, this chapter lays the groundwork for the next.

[9] For similar approaches, see *The Whole Book. Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nicols, Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
[10] Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society," p. 192.

Chapter two is a detailed analysis of CCCC 201, pp. 1-178. The manuscript was copied by four distinct scribal hands. One can be confidently dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century, while the other three are decidedly later, most likely from the middle of the century. A complete description of these hands, and of their distinctive features is provided, and extensive samples of letter forms accompany the chapter. The manuscript had two binding phases: in the sixteenth century, archbishop Matthew Parker added to the original codex a sizable block, containing the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orléans, but he refrained from tampering with CCCC 201 any further. Parker's meddling with the manuscript has often been criticized, though this chapter argues that his choice to add the *Capitula* is thematically coherent with the rest of the manuscript, as Theodulf was indeed one of Wulfstan's sources, which Parker may or may not have realised. Apart from Parker's addition, the manuscript contains six thematic "blocks", that can best be described as a *reform codex*.

Block 1 acts as a bishop's instruction book on the general issues plaguing eleventh-century England. It is a self-standing, carefully curated homiletic unit, that begins with general instruction on the history of the world and human condition, moves on to catechetical instruction and the pressing issues of the time, and ends with accusations against institutional corruption, while also providing penitential responses on personal and national scale.

Block 2 shifts to the ordering of Christian life. Wulfstan's reworking of one of Ælfric's pastoral letters of encourages teaching in the vernacular, and clearly points out the fundamentals of clerical life – celibacy, propriety, vestments, liturgical books, etc. The letter is followed by three chapters from the *Institutes of Polity* on ordained men, on the laity, and on all Christian men. The chapters turn the exhortations of the previous letter into prescriptive norms, while also anticipating the law codes that follow (*Northumbrian Priests' Law*, II-III Edgar, V Æthelred). In other words, block 2 attempts to translate the homiletic instruction of block 1 into legislation. Indeed, topics mentioned in block 1, such as vows, tithes, dues, and clerical purity, reappear as legal provisions in block 2.

Block 3 advocates the urgency of reform, and offers a stern warning: deviation from doctrine is more than simple spiritual inadequacy, it is complicity with Antichrist. There is undeniable editorial intent in the blocks of the manuscripts: the imminent social and cosmic apocalypse described in Bethurum homily 5, Wulfstan's most developed

eschatological sermon, are reinforced by Bethurum 2 and 3: nature itself rebels against sinners through storms and failed harvests. The reason, the block argues, is that tithes, alms and law, both divine and secular, have been neglected. The rhetorical crescendo is obvious. The instructions offered in block 1 and legislated in block 2, by which people may live an ordered Christian life and resist Antichrist, have been shirked. Therefore, the end is imminent, unless considerable moral and spiritual reform is undertaken in all earnest.

Block 4 then narrows the eschatological perspective to eleventh-century England. The opening *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos,* arguably Wulfstan's best known text, catalogues the calamities endured by the English (Viking onslaught, oath-breaking, institutional corruption, moral failure) and urges repentance and national amendment. The centrepiece of the block is perhaps the sequence of chapters known today as the *Institutes of Polity,* which articulate the social responsibilities of a tripartite society (*oratores, bellatores, laboratores*). The chapters articulate Wulfstan's previous stern denunciations as prescriptive norms, while the successive law-codes (VIII Atr, I Em, *Canons of Edgar, Compilation on Status*) legislate the reform programme.

Block 5 is perhaps not as tight as the previous ones. However, it seems to offer priests and preachers a useful reference dossier. It includes homilies on baptism, in Latin and in the vernacular, a short summary of clerical ranks and duties, as well as *Cnut's Declaration of 1018* (the precursor to I-II Cnut, Wulfstan's most comprehensive and developed law-codes), and *Apollonius of Tyre*.

Block 6 consists of five poems: an Old English version of Bede's *De die iudicii*, *The Rewards of Piety* (formerly known as *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer*), *The Lord's Prayer II,* and *Gloria I.* A further argument for the intentional nature of the compilation is the fact that three out of the five poems are copied by scribe 1, while the main scribe of the manuscript, scribe 2, resumes work for the latter items. The poems encapsulate the greater theme of the manuscript, and offer a peaceful and pious conclusion to the book.

The seventh and final block was originally part of CCCC 191, and was added to CCCC 201 by archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575). It contains the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orléans, an anonymous Old English homily, *Ic bidde eow,* and a fragment of Usuard's

Martyrologium. Parker's choice to add these texts to CCCC 201 is relevant. Although he was not aware of Wulfstan and his works, he still recognised the thematic similarities between block 7 and the rest of CCCC 201. Indeed, his selection of material is highly consonant with the manuscript's contents, as Theodulf was actually one of Wulfstan's sources. It is likely that Parker wanted to add relevant continental sources to a Carolingian-inspired insular codex.

This chapter suggests that CCCC 201 was purposefully compiled as a handbook of episcopal governance and training during Cnut's reign, its structure moving from introductory doctrine to eschatology and reformist legislation. Because the manuscript is a composite miscellany, it has often been described as a hodge-podge of Wulfstan-related texts and homilies. In order to completely dispel this view, the length, place, style and purpose of each item in the manuscript is discussed, and the intention of the compiler is explained. There is no doubt that many if not most texts were carefully placed and often also edited in order to generate the overall rhetorical urgency of the manuscript.

Chapter three deals with Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, and especially with its central concept of a tripartite society, Wulfstan's sources for it, and its integration into the Anglo-Saxon legislative system. The tripartite division of society, i.e. *oratores, bellatores,* and *laboratores*, and its origin in the Anglo-Saxon space, is retraced from the Alfredian *Boethius* to the works of Wulfstan and Ælfric, where the concept resurfaces. Wulfstan's use of the concept in the *Institutes of Polity* ties the modular group of shorter texts into his reformist program, and lends them legislative weight. Through an overview of how the concept of the three orders of society ties the *Institutes of Polity* together, and how it is further exemplified in Wulfstan's law-codes (V, VI Atr), chapter three lays the groundwork for the detailed discussion of the *Institutes of Polity* that follows.

Chapter four addresses the textual difficulties of the *Institutes of Polity*. The text in its current form is the result of Karl Jost's editorial work, whose 1959 edition created a text that has remained largely unchallenged. According to Jost, there are two accepted variants of the text. One is found in CCCC 201, pp. 40-43, 57-61, 77-93, and is purported by Jost to be the earliest *(I Polity).* The second version can be found in material from Junius 121, ff. 15r-v, 17r-19v, 20v-23v, 32v-34r, 57v-59r. This is Jost's *II Polity*. A third version of the text exists in Nero A. i, ff. 70v-83v and 97r-109v. This is seen as a transitional text, as it also includes Wulfstan's handwriting in the form of notes, glosses

and corrections. Additional fragments can be found in CUL 3206 and Tiberius A.iii, ff. 93r-v. In other words, the version found in CCCC 201 is the earliest, the one in Nero A. i is an intermediary draft, and the Junius 121 manuscript contains what Jost considers the final version of the text. Chapter four challenges this widely accepted stemma of *I Polity – II Polity.* It aims to prove that the shape of the *Institutes of Polity* as we know it is a modern construct, and that manuscript context rather than chronology should be at the forefront of any discussion of the medieval text. The text present in Jost's edition is most likely not what Wulfstan intended. It is debatable whether Wulfstan ever envisioned it as a coherent text at all, or rather as a text in need of finishing. I argue that *Institutes of Polity* is in fact a modular set of adaptable chapters, and that their form (chapter selection, order, length) was dictated primarily by the manuscript context. Of the many chapters that can be included in the *Institutes of Polity, Be gehadedum mannum* (*On ordained men*) is perhaps the best illustration of the pitfalls of a 'definitive' edition. The chapter is found twice in CCCC 201, and this study explains that the compilers of the manuscript intentionally used a shorter version in the uninterrupted sequence of *Polity* chapters, and copied a considerably longer version elsewhere. This suggests that a linear I-II succession, where the longer text is seen as a development, is not applicable to Wulfstan's writings, and that it is preferable to read them in their manuscript context, alongside with the texts that they, in turn, anticipate or conclude.

After chapter four tackled the editorial issues surrounding the *Institutes of Polity,* chapter five broadens the scope and addresses one of Wulfstan's less studied homilies present in the manuscript: *Evil Rulers* (Bethurum 21). It focuses on the four extant versions of the homily, in Hatton 113, Nero A. i, and twice in CCCC 201, and argues that, because Wulfstan's works are intrinsically modular and depend on context, privileging one manuscript, and then adopting readings from the other results in the same type of "scribal meddling" that bothers scholars in the quest for an archetypal text. The tradition of Wulfstan's works is reviewed, and previous editions of his works (Napier, Bethurum, Jost) are discussed. The chapter shows that Wulfstan's works suffered expansion or shortening as a result of repurposing in different manuscript contexts, rather than a chronological process of revision. Close comparison of the texts proves that Wulfstan (or his circle) abridged homilies when they prefaced legal material, and expanded them when they functioned as stand-alone units. Such evidence undermines "best-text" editorial practice, and motivates an edition that preserves variants as historical data. Instead, the

chapter proposes parallel-text, semi-diplomatic editions that follow manuscript punctuation and make textual variation visible and easy to follow, while avoiding the anachronistic verse-layout that has, in some instances, been applied to Wulfstan's works.

This thesis therefore demonstrates that the texts of Wulfstan's reform depended on their manuscript context. It also discusses at length the process of compiling an exhaustive codex as an answer to a serious crisis, and offers the first complete transcript of CCCC 201. Throughout this work, Wulfstan emerges as an astute and sophisticated moralist, clergyman and statesman, who shaped books as tools not just for instruction, but also for government.

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