

150a. Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket,
Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595 (4°)
“The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection”
containing Amalarius, “*Eclogae de ordine Romano*,”
Abbo of St. Germain, Sermons, Ælfric, Pastoral Letters, etc.
[Ker 99; Gneuss 814]

HISTORY: Dated to ca. 1002–23, associated with Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1002–1016) and archbishop of York (1002–1023). The sections were most likely written at Worcester (see below) at the instigation of Wulfstan and in addition to containing several works confidently ascribed to him (items 19, 27, 31/32) and others probably or possibly by him (items 4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24), inserted in his own hand are OE and Latin texts (f. 66v/15–30), as well as his corrections, added headings, and glosses throughout the codex (see Ker 1971: 319–21, Cross and Tunberg 1993: 47–48). Two letters by Ælfric addressed to Wulfstan (items 29, 30) are also found here (cf. Godden in Townend 2004). Almost all the other works can be associated in one way or another with Wulfstan (see Cross and Tunberg 1993: 13).

[Note: A number of other late 10c / early 11c manuscripts associated with Worcester and/or Wulfstan seem to have been bishop's books containing similar collections of texts with much overlapping: along with earlier materials are carolingian and English juridical and penitential texts, homilies, letters, etc.: Brussels, BR 8558–63 (2498), ff. 80–131, 132–153 [20], CCCC 190, pp 1–294 [38], CCCC 265, pp. 1–268 [45], BL Nero A. 1, ff. 70–177 [202], BL Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, ff. 114–170 [239], Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Barlow 37, Bodley 718, Junius 121, ff. 9–110v [391], Paris BN lat. 3182, Rouen, BM 1382 (U. 109); CCCC 265 and Barlow 37 have a basic common core, and our manuscript, which seems to have been a personal copy of Wulfstan's, shares a number of texts with them; see Sauer 2000: 340–3, 358, 371. On Wulfstan's agency in the basic compilation see Bethurum 1942: 927–9, Fowler 1963, Hill in Townend 2004: 320–4. On Wulfstan's scribal associates, see Stokes 2014: 97–102.]

The agglomeration of texts seems to have been written as separate quires by various scribes associated with Worcester (see Stokes 2014: 99–102) and loosely associated or assembled and bound later in the 11c or early 12c, the book to this day retaining this ancient binding.

The subsequent medieval history of the manuscript is uncertain: Gerritsen (1998: 510) suggests that it might “have been made specifically to go to Denmark” for presentation at the consecration in 1022 of the bishop of Roskilde, which was the royal seat of Denmark in Wulfstan’s and Cnut’s day; there is an “east Frankish” (“Germanic”) neumed responsory added on f. 82r indicating that it was probably on the continent at an early date (Roskilde was in the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen), and since the page with the responsory was heavily trimmed along the vertical edge, it was probably added before the present early binding was provided; Hartzell (2006: no. 76) dates the neumes as “s. xi ex - s. xii in.” Tunberg (in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 60) less plausibly notes that a monk with the German-looking name of Winrich was resident at Worcester during the priorate of St. Wulfstan, before 1062, and suggests he might have been responsible for the German neumes and also notes that Evesham, in the diocese of Worcester, established a daughter house at Odense in the 1190s. However this may be, the actual first notice of its being in Denmark is in the 1784–86 handwritten catalogue of the royal collection (MS “Catalogus manusciporum Bibliothecæ Regiæ in quarto,” vol. 1: 182: “*1595 *Apologius de Ordine Romano* continens descriptionem *ecclesiæ Romanæ*, cum omnibus suis *ceremoniis*, ritibus circa *sacra*, *indulgentiis*, *Pontifice Romano*, et *Sacerdotibus*, variis tamen *sermonibus* diversi generis intermistis etc. Cod. Membr. in fine, ut videtur mutilus, litt. init. varie pictis’).

Repaired in 1981 by the Copenhagen bookbinder Birgitte Dall, who tightened the binding and added the paper bifolia flyleaves front and back (according to a note on the fourth flyleaf), unfortunately discarding the old threads and leaving no detailed notes. The microfilm from which the images were made precedes this restoration and shows the binding looser than it is now, and of course without the flyleaves.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: The manuscript comprises seven distinct sections or booklets, each limited by the makeup of the quires, as well as the repetition of items 3 a, b in section 2 as items 34, 36, 37 in section 7, which perhaps indicates that the codex was not produced as a single collection (see Tunberg in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 27–28; see objections to this view by Gerritsen 1995: 505–09): section 1 = quires I and II, section 2 = quire III, section 3 = quires IV and V, section 4 = quire VI, section 5 =

quire VII, section 6 = quire VIII, section 7 = quires IX and X. Leaves (outer margin trimmed, e.g. ff. 67r and 82r) measure ca. 238 × 142/145 mm.; written area ca. 190 × 89 mm., section 7 is 170 × 98 mm. The trimming was done very early because the text-block is nearly flush with the 11c/12c binding and the added 11c/12c neumed text on f. 82 is trimmed. Foliated in the mid-20c in pencil (often very faint) or, slightly earlier, in ink: pencil foliation on ff. 1–50, 56–57, 60, 64–65, 67–73, 75–77, 79; ink on ff. 51–52, 54, 59, 61–62, 66, 745, 78, 80–82; ff. 53, 55 and added modern paper flyleaves are unnumbered.

The sections differ slightly in detail, but are generally of the same preparation and layout. Membrane is smooth and supple, low H/F contrast, membrane of quire X (ff. 75–82) thicker and stiffer than the rest. Ff. 59 and 66, outsides of quire VIII, are darkened and show wear. Leaves arranged HFHF except for the incommensurable extra singletons f. 16 and f. 41. Pricking along outer margin and occasionally visible for the vertical bounding line (as e.g. on f. 50). Ruled in dry-point for 25/26 lines on hair sides one sheet at a time, double bounding lines at all margins, single or double top bounding line. A catchword from quires IV to V on f. 34r, top ('si post') and the two leaves added to quire V (ff. 41–42) are unpricked and unruled and of suppler membrane.

Large elaborated initials of ff. 1–17 (section 1) are in green and red ink. Incipits are in black, often with red infill. Ff. 18–25 (section 2) has violet initials, no colored incipits. Ff. 26–42 (section 3) contains incipits and initials in red throughout. No color is used on ff. 43–65 (sections 4, 5, 6), except for f. 65v, which has incipits and capitals filled with red, as is also the case with ff. 67r–68r. For the rest of the manuscript incipits and capitals are in brown, with the exception of initial 'O' on f. 74r, which is filled with red. F. 15r has an initial 'O' with a face in its bowl; drawings of hands (as notae) on ff. 31r, 34v–35r, 36v, 45r. Natural holes in ff. 70, 71, 76. Water stains on ff. 74v–75r.

Text ink color varies from scribe to scribe. Eight main scribes have been identified by Tunberg (Cross and Tunberg 1993: 24–27), their work largely coinciding with the quire boundaries: Scribe A did all the texts, titles, initials, etc. in Section 1 (quires I, II); Section 2 (quire III) is mostly by scribe B, with scribe C doing stints at ff. 18r/23–26, 19v/17–20, 20v/22–26, 22v/19–25r/10 and scribe D doing stints at ff. 19r/22–26, 21r/15–21v/26; Section 3 (quires IV and V) is by two scribes, E doing ff. 26r/1–40v/26, F doing ff. 41–42; Section 4 (quire VI, ff. 43–50) is by scribe C; Section 5 (quire VII, ff. 51–58) is by scribe G; Section 6 (quire VIII) is by three scribes, C doing ff. 59r/1–62r/15, 64r/10–16, G doing ff. 62r/17–64r/10, 64r/16–65r/15, H doing ff. 65v/2–66v/14, and Wulfstan completing f. 66v

(cf. Scragg 2012: no. 307); Section VII (quires IX-X) is by scribe A. Besides the original scribes, numerous corrections are entered by various hands. Notable among them are Wulfstan's own, who adds corrections in all sections, as well as several titles or corrections to titles (see Tunberg's list, *op. cit.* 47-48, also Ker 1971; the most conspicuous are noted in "Contents" below); he has also written the added OE and Latin texts on f. 66v.

[Note: Tunberg (*op. cit.* 29-30) is able to localize the scribes to a certain extent: scribes C, D, and H contributed to Part A of London, BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiii [226], a Worcester cartulary; scribes C and D collaborated with scribe B in section 2, and scribe C collaborated with scribe G in section 6, suggesting that B and G were also Worcester scribes; scribe A can't be identified in other manuscripts, but wrote the opening initial 'I' in section 2 (to B's text) and uses a Worcester abbreviation (-- for "est"), suggesting he also is of Worcester; the scribes of section 3, E and F, can't be localized, but their texts are associated with Wulfstan, and he annotates the work of E: they could be of Worcester or York. On the details for each scribe see Tunberg *op. cit.* 30-44.]

The binding, dated to before 1066 × ca. 1240 (Tunberg in Cross and Tunberg 1993:52-3), is of whittawed skin turned in over oak boards measuring 242 × 145 × 7 mm., flush with text block; text block sewn to two spine bands and end bands, laced on outer faces and pulled through into vertical channels on the back board; the excess leather thongs laid into vertical channels in the front board and pulled through (see photos of the binding in the facsimile and detailed sketches, Cross and Tunberg 1993: 53-8 and supplementary remarks by Gerritsen 1998: 304-05). The spine is worn but intact. On the inside front cover 'Gl kgl. S 1595' and the stamp of the Royal Library. Kept in a modern box covered in blue fabric, with stamped leather spine.

COLLATION: ii + 82 + ii leaves, foliated '1-52 [53] 54 [55] 56-82. I⁸ (ff. 1-8), II⁸⁺¹ 2, 7 half-sheets, 8 extra singleton (ff. 9-17), III-IV⁸ (ff. 18-33), V⁸⁺² wants 8 after f. 42, ff. 41-42 added (ff. 34-42), VI-X⁸ (ff. 43-82). [Note: Quire V 1/8, f. 34 and stub of its conjoint leaf, wrapped around f. 42. Tunberg (in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 25) records ff. 41-42 as a bifolium; Ker (1971: 319n5) records them as a separate quire of two singletons; they were once conjoint but are no longer so; Gerritsen (1998: 501-02) gives a detailed analysis of this quire.]

CONTENTS (see also Cross in Cross and Tunberg 1993:14-23, as well as their full facsimile):

Section I (quires I & II):

1. ff. 1r-17r/17 Amalarius of Metz (d. ca. 850), "Eclogae de ordine Romano et de quattuor orationibus in missa" (added title, 13c: 'Apollodus de ordine

romane') INCIPIUNT APOLOGĒ DE ORDINE ROMA|NO ET DE .IIII.
ORATIONIB(US) EP(ISCO)PORU(M) SIUE POPULI | D(E)I MISSA.:

- a. INCIPIU(N)T CAPITULA SEQUENTIS | OPUSCALI. | 'i. Illud u(er)o
intimandu(m) est q(uo)d ea quę celebram(us) | in officio misse . . .
(f. 1v/14)'xv ~ Et fractio | oblataru(m) illa(m) fractione(m) significat.
qua(m) d(omi)n(u)s | duob(us) fecit discipul(is) in ema(h)us';
- b. ff. 1v/17–17r/17 text: DE ROMANO ORDINE ET DE STATIONE IN
ECCL(ESI)A | 'Masculi stant ad australe(m) parte(m)'; ends: 'i(n)
te(m)plo laudantes & benedicentes d(eu)m | q(u)i uiuit in s(e)c(u)la
s(e)c(u)lor(um). AMEN' (as Hanssens 1950: 3.229–64, PL 105. 1315–
1330; see Cross in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 14; Jones 2004: 326–29).
[Note: At f. 13v/10–11 there is partially runic, partially cryptic writing rendering 'in
altare et inuoluit'; see Page 1993: 15–8.]
2. f. 17r/18–17v/8 parts of Hymn, "De laude Dei et conceptione Marie" (the
portion on f. 17r is copied in long lines, continuing on the verso in
strophes): 'Canam(us) om(ne)s laudes d(e)i filio celorum) . . . susce-
pit ut nos | ad uita(m) ducer&' (ed. Moores 1991) [rest of 17v blank].

Section 2 (quire III):

3. Excerpts from authorities as found in the record of the Council of Aachen,
816 (cf. Cross and Tunberg 1993: 15–16):

[Note: Clemoes (in Supplement to Fehr repr. 1966: cxxvii) argues that Ælfric
composed this suite, an opinion supported by Cross and Tunberg 1993: 16; it appears
as here also in Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM 63, ff. 20r-24v and Cambridge, Corpus
Christi College 265 [45], and partially in CCCC 190 [38]; parts are repeated, with
headings in Wulfstan's hand, on ff. 80r, 82v (items 34, 36, 37 below).]

- a. ff. 18r/1–20r/18 from Isidore, "De ecclesiasticis officiis," Bk. 2.5:1–18:
'Initium quidem sacerdotii áaron fuit. quamqua(m) melchi|sedech
prior obtulerit'; ends: 'p(er)uigile(m) in cunctis | exhibere cura(m)
p(ro)uidencia & distributione discr&a' (as Lawson 1989: 56/6–63/189,
PL 83.780–86; Lawson 60/110–62/170 is omitted; as ch. 9, Coun-
cil of Aachen (attributed to Amalarius), PL 105.827C–831B, omitting
829/44–831/5);

[Note: The text is repeated at ff. 80r-82v (item 34), where the title 'De sacerdotibus'
is written at f. 80r in Wulfstan's hand, with the same omissions as here.]

- b. ff. 20r/20–21r/24 "De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis" (cf. Isidore, *Etym.*
7.12,20–33): 'Hostiarii sunt idem & ianitores'; ends: 'Qua sententia. os-
tendit &ia(m) pr(es)b(ite)ros sub e(pisco)porum | nomine taxari' (as
Council of Aachen, chs. 2–8, PL 105.822–26; partially ed. Fehr 1914:
256–57);

[Note: Partially repeated in items 36, 37 below, in Wulfstan's hand.]

- c. ff. 21r/24–23r/26 **ITEM BEATI HIERONIMI | EXCERPTUM DE EPISCOPIIS.** | ‘Beati pauli ap(osto)li uerba p(ro)feramus quomodo’; ends: ‘Hos in sacer(.dotib(us) | eligendis. canones obseruare oport&’. (cf. Council of Aachen chs. 10 and 11, PL 105. 831–36; ultimately drawn from Jerome, *Comm. in ep. ad Titam liber unus*, PL 26.562, and Ep. 69 *ad Oceanum*, PL 22.653).
4. 23v/1–25r/10 **Sermon (by Wulfstan?): DE IEIVNIO QVATTVOR TEMPORUM.** | ‘Quattuor esse tempora. tótius anni manifestu(m) est fr(atre)s mei’; ends: ‘přestante | d(omi)no n(ost)ru(m) ie(s)u chr(ist)o qui in trinitate perfecta uiuit & regnat deus per omnia sæcula seculorum. | AMEN’ (ed. Cross 1992: 73–74, taking this manuscript as base text; see also Cross 1991: 217–18; Hall 2004: 96–97) [rest of f. 25r blank].
- f. 25v blank.

Section 3 (quires IV & V):

Sermons by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (fl. 885–900):

5. ff. 26r-30r/15 **SERMO DE CAENA DOMINI | CAP(ITULUM) XXXVI.** (‘CAP. XXXVI.’ crossed out and ‘(UE)L DE REC(ON)CILIATIONE POST PENITEN/TIAM’ added by Wulfstan in dark brown ink at end of first line) | ‘FR(ATRE)S karissimi. Hodie in ista die gaudent & | sunt l&i omnes fideles chr(ist)i’; ends: ‘Ipso adiuuante qui | uiuit & regnat in s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lorum. AMEN’ (coll. as “C” by Önnersfors 1985: 123–32, no. 13; as PL 132. 764–66).
6. ff. 30r/16–31v/19 **SERMO IN CAENA D(OMI)NI CAP(ITULUM) .X.** | ‘Haec igit(ur) fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi dies a fidelibus chr(ist)i longe lateq(ue) | p(er) orbem diffusis’; ends: ‘& de hoste resurgendo a mortuis nos eripuit | ie(su)s chr(istu)s d(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r’ (coll. Önnersfors 1985: 100–03, no. 7; as PL 132.763–64).
7. ff. 31v/19–33r/19 **SERMO AD P(OPU)L(U)M.** | ‘Et qui in hac die debita cu(m) ueneratione ad excipiendu(m) | ut p(re)missu(m) e(st)’; ends: ‘& spiritus | timoris d(omi)ni. ipso adiuuante’ (coll. Önnersfors 1985: 104–07, no. 8).
8. ff. 33r/19–34r/11 **SERMO IN CAENA | D(OMI)NI AD PENITENTES RECONCILIATOS AEC(C)L(ESI)Æ. CAP(ITULUM) .X.** | ‘Hodie fr(atre)s e(st) caena d(omi)ni in qua d(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r cum disc(i)p(u)lis | suis manducauit’; ends: ‘qui uos hodie recipit in soci&ate plebis sue’ (coll. Önnersfors 1985: 109–09, no. 9; as PL 132.770).
9. ff. 34r/12–35r/14 **SERMO IN PORTA AECCLISIAE AD PENI|TENTES INEPTOS RECONCILIATIONI. C(A)P(ITULUM) XI.** | ‘Vobis

quoque fr(atre)s quos nunc mat(er) eccl(esi)a n(on) recipit'; ends: 'qui in trinitate & unitate | p(er)fecta. uiuit & regnat d(eu)s p(er) om(n)ia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um) am(en)' (coll. Önnefors 1985:110–12, no. 10; as PL 132.769–70).

10. ff. 35r/15–37r/23 **SERMO AD MILITES C(A)P(ITULUM) VIII.** | 'Fr(atre)s om(n)i die uid&is. cum uaudit istud regnu(m) in p(er)-diti|onem'; ends: 'cui e(st) | cu(m) d(e)o patre. & sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o. regnu(m) & imp(er)iu(m). in s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)loru(m) | AMEN' (coll. Önnefors 1985: 94–99, no. 6).
11. ff. 37r/13–39r/13 **SERMO AD RAPACES. C(A)P(ITULUM) .XII.** | 'Om(ne)s uos fr(atre)s in co(m)mune ammone[a]m(us) ex auctoritate | d(e)i om(n)ipotentis'; ends: 'quo possitis gra(tia)m d(e)i obtinere | p(er) om(n)ia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lorum. am(en)' (coll. Önnefors 1985: 113–17, no. 11).
12. ff. 39r/13–40v/26 **SERMO CONUENI|ENS OM(N)I TEMPORE. C(A)P(ITULUM) .XIII.** | 'De humilitate & de oboedientia. opor& uos fr(atre)s | co(m)monêri'; ends: 'q(u)o mereamini e(ss)e n(ost)ra corona. ante d(omi)n(u)m q(u)i uiuit & regnat' (coll. Önnefors 1985: 118–22, no. 12).

[**Note:** Cross (in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 18) notes that the concluding phrase is missing from this item and that perhaps a singleton is missing from this quire after f. 40. Tunberg (*op. cit.*, 25–26) argues that ff. 41 and 42, containing item 13, the letter collection, were once a bifolium physically separate from ff. 34–40 of quire V; layout, ink, and scribe are different from those of the rest of the quire. That quire V has been altered in some way is shown by the tabs 41–42 projecting between the now disjunct ff. 34 and f. 35, and a unique catchword ('si post') appearing on f. 34r, which is now a singleton .]

13. Wulfstan letter collection (all ed. from this manuscript Aronstam 1975: 79–82, items a. b. c. g. h. coll. Bethurum 1957: 374–77; as Bateson 1895: 728–30, who edited a similar collection found in CCCC 265 [45], pp. 110–13, for details of which see also Lucas 2016: 120–1):

- a. f. 41r/1–11 From Wulfstan (when bishop of London, 996–1002, also b. and c.): '[L]upus lundonensis ep(iscopu)s cunctis fr(atr)ib(us) atq(ue) conseruis in chr(ist)o | salute(m). Notu(m) uob(is) e(ss)e cupim(us) q(u)ia homo iste diabolica . . . sua largiflua clem(en)tia indulg|gere [sic] dignetur. Valetè';
- b. f. 41r/12–18 From Wulfstan: '[I]N no(min)e d(omi)ni lup(us) lundonensis ep(iscopu)s cunctis catholicis fratrib(us)q(ue) . . . salute(m). Notu(m) frat(er)ni | societati u(est)re . . . pre|stante om(n)ipotentis d(e) i multimoda mis(eri)c(or)d(i)a Bene ualetè';

- c. f. 41r/19–24 From Wulfstan: '[L]up(us) ep(iscopu)s cunctis diuinę seruitutis cultorib(us) p(er)petua(m) in d(omi)no | salute(m) Notu(m) e(ss)e cupim(us) . . . d(e)i mis(eri)c(or)d(i)am facilius p(er)tingere possit Val(ete)';
- d. f. 41r/25–41v/7 From 'Iohannes episcopus' (Pope John XVIII, 1004–09): '[I]oh(anne)s ep(iscopu)s seruus seruor(um) d(e)i. Domino archiep(iscop)o k(arissi)mam salute(m). | & ap(osto)lica(m) benedictione(m). Hui(us) ig(itur) ostensore(m) kartulę . . . Si aut(em) aliq(ui)d re|medii in illo uob(is) plac& facere licentia(m) dam(us)';
- e. f. 41v/8–17 From 'Iohannes episcopus': '[I]oh(ann)is ep(iscopu)s seruus seruor(m) d(e)i uenerabili .N. ep(iscop)o salute(m). & ap(osto)li|ca(m) benedictione(m). Dignu(m) duxim(us) dilectioni . . . Si aliqu(ui)d remedii in eo uob(is) facere \ licentia(m) dam(us)'
- f. f. 41v/18–27 From Pope Gregory V (996–999) to Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury (995–1005): '[G]regorius ep(iscopu)s seruus seruor(um) d(e)i. ælfrico anglosaxonu(m) | ep(iscop)o & cu(m) p(re)sbitero n(ost)ro carissima(m) salute(m) & ap(osti)lica bene|dictione(m). Notu(m) fieri uolum(us) de istius kartulę . . . p(ro) q(ua) ambulare non possit';
- g. ff. 41v/28–42r/11 From 'Iohannes episcopus' to Archbishop Wulfstan of York: '[I]oh(anne)s ep(iscopu)s seruus seruor(um) d(e)i Wulfstano uenerabili archiep(iscop)o. || . . . (f. 42r/1) Iste uir p(ro) fr(atr)icid(i)o [corr. from '-cido'] . . . Si aliq(ui)d | remedii in illo uob(is) facere plac& licentia(m) dam(us)';
- h. f. 42r/12–18 From an unnamed English archbishop, probably Wulfstan [sender is identified as "W" in CCCC 265]: '[D]omno papę .N. cunctisq(ue) generalit(er) (gl.: 'co(m)munit(er)') s(an)c(t)ę matrisęc(c)-l(esi)ę filioliis .N. Anglor(um) | archiep(iscopu)s. Notu(m) fieri uob(is) cupim(us) deportitore scedulę . . . copia reficere uolentes in chr(ist)o' [rest of f. 42r blank].
- f. 42v blank.

Section 4 (quire VI):

Sermons (see Cross in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 19–20):

14. ff. 43r/14–45v/13 (composed or revised by Wulfstan?) DE DECIMIS. DANDIS. | 'Propitio chr(ist)o fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi iam p(ro)pe sunt dies iniquib(us) messes. | collegere debeamus'; ends: 'regnante in | trinitate p(er)fecta p(er) om(n)ia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)loru(m). AMEN' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 115–20; see Cross 1991: 219).
15. ff. 45v/14–47v/8 (composed by Wulfstan? based on Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 33) CONTRA INIQUOS IUDICES ET FALSOS. TESTES. |

'Auscultate iudices terrę sermones meos. inclinate aures. | qui iudicatis terra(m)'; ends: 'qui cu(m) patre | & sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o uiuit & regnat p(er) om(n)ia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um) AM(EN)' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 120–23).

16. ff. 47v/9–48v/19 (Wulfstan?) SERMO AD CONIUGATOS. ET FILIOS. | 'Oport& uos scire fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi mei. quia d(omi)n(u)s d(eu)s om(n)ip(oten)s | qui fecit cęlu(m) & terra(m)'; ends: 'Melior e(st) unus timens d(eu)m | quam mille filii impiii' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 123–25; see Cross in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 13) [note in Wulfstan's hand on f. 48r/19 (marg.)].
17. ff. 48v/19–49v/6 (Wulfstan?) DE DOMINIS ET SERVIS. | 'Scire & intellegere debemus fr(atre)s mei. quia siue | seruus siue liber omnes in chr(ist)o unu(m) sumus'; ends: 'S& unus quisq(ue) sic secundu(m) iustitia(m) | agat. ut a&erna. p(re)mia conseq(ui) mereat(ur) a d(omi)no. AM(EN)' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 126–27).
18. 49v/7–50v/5 (Wulfstan?) SERMO AD VIDVAS. | 'Sermone(m) s(an)c(t)i ap(osto)li dilectissime nob(is) dicturi sumus | ut uos que desolate estis'; ends: '& eu(m) d(omi)no exultare in gaudio | SEMPITERNO' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 127–127–28) [rest of f. 50v blank].

Section 5 (quire VII):

Sermons (see Cross in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 20–21):

19. ff. 51r/1–52r/12 Wulfstan (Bethurum Ia): DE ANTECHR(IST)O ET EIUS SIGNIS | 'Omnis qui secundu(m) chr(ist)iane p(ro)fessionis rectitu(dine(m) aut non uiuit aut aliter docet antichr(istu)s | est'; ends: 'qualiter contra antichr(istu)m | & eius sectatores resistere per fidem chr(ist)i ualeant' (coll. Bethurum 1957: 113–15; see Cross 1991).
20. ff. 52r/13–54r/25 DE ULTIMO DIE EXITUS ANIME. DE CORPORE. | 'Scire & intellegere debemus fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi q(uonia)m | ad p(ro)missam. uita(m) aeternam'; ends: '& uite caelestis recuperar& | ingressum qui uiuit & regnat p(er) omnia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um) am(en)' (unidentified).
21. ff. 54r/26–56r/11 (Wulfstan?) DE CONUERSIONE ET PENITENTIA ET CO(M)MUNIONE. || 'Intendat caritas u(est)ra dilectissimi fr(atre)s quod | in lectione euangelia audistis'; ends: '& bona deuotione penitentibus. | omnibus fidelibus tribuatur' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 129–31).
22. ff. 56r/12–57r/21 (Wulfstan?) DE 'R'ESURRECTIONE. MORTUORUM. | 'Uerba d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ie(s)u chr(ist)i fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi que in lectione s(an)c(t)i euangelii. de resurrectione mor(tuoru(m)';

ends: 'Ibunt hí | in suppliciu(m) a&ernu(m). iusti aut(em) in uita(m) &erna(m)' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 131–33).

23. ff. 57r/22–58r/21 Ps.-Augustine, Sermo supp. 251: DE DIE IUDICII SERMO S(AN)C(T)I AGUSTINI. | 'O fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi qua(m) tremendus est dies illa in qua | d(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r ie(su)s chr(istu)s ac redemptor omniu(m) p(ro)posuit | uenire cum fla(m)ma ignis'; ends: 'qui in trinitate p(er)fecta uiuit & regnat | per omnia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)loru(m) AMEN' (as PL 39.2210). [rest of f. 58r blank]

f. 58v blank.

Section 6 (quire VIII):

24. ff. 59r/1–60v/6 (Wulfstan?) DE ADIUTORIO D(E)I ET LIBRO ARBITRIO. | 'Audiuimus in euangelio. fr(atre)s k(arissi)mi d(omi)n(u)m nos uocan|te(m) ut Ad eu(m) p(er) liberu(m) arbitriu(m) ueniamus'; ends: 'Q(ue)m sic orantes | dicimus. ut fiat illius uoluntas in nobis. AM(EN)' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 133–36).
25. ff. 60v/7–62r/15 (probably compiled by Wulfstan) SERMO S(AN)C(T)I AGUSTINI DE BAPTISMO. NON ITERANDO. | 'Duę na(m)-q(ue) sunt natiuitates. una de mortálitáte. Alia | eternitate'; ends: 'si illud baptismu(m) sit in | nomine trinitatis subtrina mersione. AM(EN)' (ed. and tr. Hall 2004: 136–39; cf. Augustine, *In Ioh. Evang. Tract.*, 124.11.6–11, PL 35.1478–81, *De Bap. contra Donatistas lib. vii*, 6.1–2, PL 43.197–99).
26. ff. 62r/17–65r/15 Sermon (line for title left blank): 'FR(ATRE)S k(arissi)-mi te(m)pus est transeundi. de malo ad bonu(m). | de tenebris ad lucem'; ends: 'Iusti aute(m) p(ro) bonis | operibus supra dictis & is similibus. ibunt | in uita(m) ęterna(m)' (cf. Ps.-Bede, *Hom. Subdit.* 103, PL 94.504–05) [rest of f. 65r blank].
27. ff. 65v/1–66v/14 Wulfstan, collection of excerpts from Isaiah and Jeremiah (Bethurum XI): DE UISIONE. | 'Uisio isaię p(ro)pheteę. quam uidit sup(er) iuda(m) & hierusalem'; ends: 'Hec dicit d(omi)n(u)s d(eu)s exercituu(m) conuertimini ad me. | & saluieritis. amen' (coll. Bethurum 1957: 211–14, lines 1–87).
28. f. 66v/16–31 (informal lines, in OE and Latin) additions in Wulfstan's hand in several stints (ed. Holthausen 1890: 228, more correctly Ker 1971: 320 [cf. also Ker, *Cat.*, 140], and with linguistic analysis Dance 2004: 31–36; cf. Jost 1950: 268–70, Orchard 2004: 67–70):
- a. 'Se þe þyses lytlan nele andgyt niman . . .'
- b. (line 22) 'Se þe bið of earde 7 feor of his cyððe . . .'
- c. (line 24) 'Hu mæge we to hefenan sihtne weg aredian . . .'

- d. (line 26) '(Soð) is þ(æt) ic secge . . .'
 e. (line 28) 'Qui (est) ex deo. uerba dei audit'; ends: 'Beati qui audiunt uerbu(m) dei / & custododiunt illud'.

Section 7 (quires IX–X):

29. ff. 67r/1–74r/17 Ælfric's first letter to Wulfstan (title added in Wulfstan's hand): **SERMO EP(ISCOP)I AD CLER[ICOS]** 'Ego uob(is) clericis m(ih)i subditis dico'; ends: 'sed uale dicimus uobis in nomi|ne omnipotentis dei. AMEN' (as Fehr 1914: 35–57, no. 2).
 30. ff. 74r/18–77v/25 Ælfric's second letter to Wulfstan: **ITEM SERMO AD SACERDOTES**. | | 'O sacerdotes d(omi)ni dico uob(is) modo q(uo)d ante n(on) dixi'; ends: 'quia iustitiam nec faciunt nec diligunt' (as Fehr 1914: 58–67, no. 3).

[Note: These two letters are found only here and in CCCC 190, pp. 151–159 and CCCC 265, 174–180. Clemoes (in 1966 supp. to Fehr 1914: cxxxv–cxxxix) argued that the three copies derived from a common archetype, this being the closest, maybe "the manuscript which Ælfric himself sent to Wulfstan, as subsequently modified in Wulfstan's possession, or, perhaps, a copy of that manuscript." On Ælfric's influence on Wulfstan's thought and writing, both here and elsewhere, see Godden in Townend 2004.]

31. ff. 78r/1–79r/16 Wulfstan (Bethurum VIIIa), **INCIPIT DE BAPTISM(O)**. | 'PRIMO necesse est ut pagan(us) caticumin(us) sit. accedensque | ad baptismu(m) ut abrenuntiat maligno sp(irit)ui'; ends: 'Hęc eni(m) sunt uestim(en)ta quib(us) ornari opor|t& filiu(m) regis. ut possit stare in aula çe|lesti' (coll. Bethurum 169–71; cf. Cross 1989).
 32. f. 79/18–23 (added by another hand in blank space) On chrism: 'Crisme unguentum. moyses primum in exodo iubente . . . pro quod membru(m) (est) chr(ist)i ęterni regis & sacerdotis' (cf. Isidore, *De eccl. off.* 2.26, PL 83.823).
 33. ff. 79v/1–80r/13 (title added in Wulfstan's hand) **DE OFFICIO MIS-SAE**. | 'Officium quide(m) missę magna ex parte adsolum p(er)|tin& sacerdote(m)'; ends: 'q(uo)d secretam & recondita(m) habeat | dispensationem' (unidentified, on sources see Cross in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 23).
 34. ff. 80r/14–82v/8 **DE SACERDOTIBUS**. | 'INitium quidem sacerdotii áaron fuit qua(m)quam | melchisedech prior obtulerit sacrificiu(m)'; ends: 'p(ro)ui|dentia & distributione discreta' [note in Wulfstan's hand on f. 81r; this item repeats 3a, q.v.).
 35. f. 82r (written vertically in right margin, in lighter brown ink) Final responsory of "Terribilis est locus iste" (for the dedication of a church, =

Hesbert 1963–79: no. 7763) with the Gloria, neumed (11c/12c neumes are “Germanic” and “written in Denmark” according to Harzell (2006: no. 76), who surmises that at least two lines have been trimmed from edge): ‘Cumq(ue) euigilass& iacob quasi de graui somno ait Gloria patri & filio & spiritui sancto’ (cf. Tunberg in Cross and Tunberg 1993: 59).

36. f. 82v/9–13 (title in Wulfstan’s hand) DE HOSTIARIIS. ‘Hostiarii sunt ide(m) & ia`n`itores . . . infideles respuunt’ [repeats in part item 3b, f. 20r/16–19].
37. 82v/14–26 (title in Wulfstan’s hand) DE LECTORIBUS. | ‘Lectores a lectendo dicuntur . . . qua(m) auditores faciat’ [repeats in part item 3b, f. 20r/24–20v/8].

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