the preterite plural ending -an of verbs and the dative ending -um of adjectives and nouns.

Lēofan men, gecnawāt þæt sæð is: ðæos worold is on ofste, and hit nealdeþ þæm ende, and þy hit is on worolde æa swá leng swa wyrs; and swa hit sceal nýde for folces synnan ær Antercristes tōcyme yfelian swýpe, and hūru hit wyrd þæmnes egesic and grimic wīde on worolde.

Understandað ec georne þæt déofol þæs þeode nū fela ðeara dwelode tō swýpe, and þæt lytle getrēowā waeran mid mannum, þæh ūy weol spēcan, and unrihta tō fela rīcsonde on londan; and næs fela mann þæs sndaede ymbe þa bōte swā georne swā man scolde, sc daghwanlic i man ūht ðef aðrum and unriht rāerd and unlagu mange æalles tō wīde gyld calle þæs þeode. And we ec for þam habbað fela byrsta and bysmara gebiden, and gīf we ængi bōte gebiðan scylan, þonne mūte wē þæs tō Gode earłan bet þonne wē æl þysan dydan. For þam mid miclan earningan wē geærnedan þa yrmda þu ús onsiðað, and mid swyþe miclan earningan wē þa bōte mōtan æt Gode gerēcān, gif hit sceal heornanford gōdīende weordan. Lā hwait, wē witan ful georne þæt tō miclan brēcc sceal micel bōte nýde, and tō miclan bryne waer unylēt, gif man þæs fyr sceal tō ðēle æcwencan. And micel is niðhear manna gehwilcim þæt he Godes lage gyme heornanford georne and Godes gerihta mid rihte gælēste. On hāepenum þeodum ne dearn man forhealdan þystel ne micel þæs þe gelagod is tō gedwolga weordunge; and we forhealdan ðægfhæð Godes gerihta æalles tō gelōme. And ne dear man

1 Lēofan men 'Dear people'. A standard form of address at the beginning of OE sermons.

2–3 hit is ... wyrs 'it is ever in the world the longer [the world lasts]'.

3 synnan (= synnum) This is the late OE spelling -an for -um, -on. Cf. below wæran for wæren and spēcan for spēon (ll. 7 and 8).

Antecristes tōcyme According to Church Fathers, not long before the end of the world Antichrist, posing as the Messiah in His second coming, will reign cruelly before God 'shortens his days' and holds the Last Judgement.

6 nū fela ðeara 'for many years now'.

7 dwelode tō swýpe Wulfstan frequently uses ūs with ironical understatement. That the devil should deceive people at all is the point of objection, not that the devil should refrain from deceiving them 'too much'. Cf. unrihtu fela tō fela in 1.8 and the use of ūs in The Wanderer, ll. 66–9.

8 fela rīcsonde In Wulfstan fela as the subject of a verb is always treated as a singular.

16–17 sceal heornanford gōdīende weordan 'is to be henceforth improving' i.e. 'is to start improving'.

17–18 sceal micel bōte nýde [there] must [be] great amendes.

19 tō ðēle 'at all'.

23 Godes gerihta 'God's dues'. Presumably church dues, which the Anglo-Saxons would have had difficulty paying when strapped by the need for Danegeld payments and by the expenses of the ongoing war.

* 'The Sermon of Wulfstan to the English When the Danes Persecuted them Most Severely, which was in the Year 1014 from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ' (Lupus 'wolf' is Wulfstan's Latin name).
tealte getrywda æghwær mid mannum. Ne bearh nā foro bold gesib
sægan be mā ne fremdan, ne fæder his barene, ne hwilum bearh
his ægnem fæder, ne bróðor ðōrum; ne úre ænig his lif fæde
swá ðæ sceolde, ne geháðde regollce, ne lêwwede hlaflice. Ac
worhtan lust ús tō læge ealles tō gelome, nef lāfe ne holde
nē lāfe ne læge Godes ne manna swā wē sceoldan; ne ænig wið ðæterne
gereale ðōhte swā rihte swā hē sceolde, ac mēst ælc swicceda and
literale words and dāde, and hūr unrihtlice mæst ælc ðæterne
æftan hwæte ðæt sceadancian oscyntan, dō māre, gī hē meage. For
þám hēr syn on londan ungetrywā mīcle for Godge and for woldæ
and ðēc hēr syn on eardan on mistlice wisan hālfordswece manegæ.
And ealra mēst hālfordswe sē bī on worolde þæt man his
hālfordes sālē beswece; and ful micel hālfordswe ceac bī on
worolde þæt man his hālfard ṭe forgâdde, ðōðan of londæ
lifende drīfel; and æŋber is geworden on þysan eardæ. Ealuward
man forgâdde and syddan æcwealde and after þām forbærnde [and
Æhelred man dræfte ðōt of his eardæ]. And godsbibas and godbearn
† tō fela man forspilde wide gynd þā þēode, and ealles tō manegæ
hālige stōwa wide forgâdde þurh þāt man sune mēn ær þām
gelōgode, swā man nē sceolde, gīf man ðē Godes gī ðē fētan wīlæ;
and Cristenes folcēs tō fela man gescelde ðōt of þysan eardæ
nē ealle hwīle; and eall þæt is Gode lāh, gelēfe sē þē dile. And
scandilic is tō specerne þæt geworden is tō wide, and gescilic is tō
witanne þæt of dōḏ tō manegæ, þē drēgōda þē yrme, þē scēotabor
tōgedað and åene cwæne gemēns cēape bicgað gemēnæ, and wið
þā æne fylge ðē drēgōda, ðē after ðōnū, ælc æfter ðōrūm, hundum
gelicca, þē for fylge ne scrifla, and syddan wið weordæ syllað of

25 gewanian on hēþenm þēodum inne ne ūte ænig þēra ðinga þē
gwedgolgodan bōt hīd and tō lācun bættēt hīd; and wē hābb læ Godes
hūs inne and ūte cēlēne bērytē. And Godes þēowas syndan mæ Tac and munde gewelwe ðēdelæ; and gedwolgodag ðēnan ne dea man
misbēdan on ðēgan wisan mā hēþenm ðēodum, swā swā man
Godes þēowum nū dēd tō wīde, þār Cristene scoldan Godes lage
healdan and Godes þēowas grīdan.

30 Ac sōs is þæt ic secege, þearf is þære bōte, for þām Godes gerihæ
wānedan tō læge innan þysse þēode on æghwylcan ænde, and
folcлага wyrseed ealles tō swīpe, and hālignessa syndan tō grīłęsa
wīde, and Godes hūs syndan tō cēlēne bērytē cēlda gerihæ and innan
brērytē ælca gerisena, and wydrydan syndan fornýdde on unriht tō
cœorle, and tō manegæ forryrmde and gehēnde swīpe, and earme
men syndan sāre beswicene and hēwolice besyrwede and ðūt of þysan
earde wide gescelde swīpe unforwyrhte fremdrym tō gewælde, and
credolcid gépēowede þurh wālhiðrēwe unlaga for lē część þēfe wīde
gynd þās þēode, and frēorih formumene and þþiriht genyrwde and
almæstrīt gewanode; and hrædest is tō cewenna, Godes lára and lāræ forsawene; and þēs wē hābbæ ealle Puth Godes yrre bysorm
gelome, gecnǣwe sē þē cunne; and se byrst yrōd gemāne, þē man
swā nē wēne, cælle þysse þēode, būtan Godge beorge.

40 For þām hit is on ðēs eallum swutol and gesēne þæt wē ær þysan
oftor brēcan þonne wē bētān, and þēs is þysse þēode fēla onsege. Ne
dohete hit nū lange inne ne ūte, ac was here and hunger, byrne
and blōdgye on gewelhywlycan ende oft and gelome. And ðūs stālu
and cwael, strīc and steorða, orcwealm and uncoþu, hōl and
hete and rēpēra réallíc derec swīpe þearle, and ungylga swīpe
gredhtan, and ðūs unwederā foroeld wōnawestā; for þām on
þysan earde wæs, swā hit þīcanc meg, nū fela gēara unrihta fela and

32 Texts
333 Sermo Lupi ad Angios
mid weordscipe þam þe ús sceandað. We him gyldað sinngállice, and hý ús hýnað daghwæmlice. Hý herigáð and hý barmað, rýpað and reťað and to sceipe lædað; and lá, hwæt is áñig oðer on eallum þam


gelimpum bútan Godes yrre ofer þás þéode swutol and gesâne?

Nis eac nán wunor þeá hýmislimpe, for þam we witán ful georne
þet ná fela gæra menn ná ne röhtan foroft hwæt hý worhtan wordes
odðe dæde, ac weard þeas þéodscipe, swá hit þícan meg, swýþe
forsyngod þurh mængfealde synna and þurf fela mislæda: þurh
mordðæda and þurf mändæda, þurh gitsunga and þurh giferneasa,
þurh stala and þurh strudunga, þurh manynylena and þurh hæþene
unisda, þurh swicdomas and þurh searcraeftas, þurh laþþreca
and þurh ñwicmas, þurh mægrásas and þurh munslytas, þurh hiþþreca
and þurh ñwþreycas, þurh sibleguð and þurh mistlice forligur.

And eac sydan wide, swá we ær cwæðan, þurh ñfiriccas and þurh
wedbycas and þurh mistrice læssunga forloren and forloge ma
þonne scold, and fréolsbircas and fiætenbircas wide geworhte oft
and gelolme. And eac hær syn on earde apostatán ábroþene
and cyrrichan hœtede and léðhótan grimmere ealles to mange, and
orferhogan wide gýcundræ hítlaga and Cristenana læawa, and hócorwyrde
dysige aeghwér on þéode ofost on þa þing þe Godes bodan beðadá,
and swýþost on þa þing þe æfre to Godes lage gebyrðað mid riþte.
And þý is ná geworden wide and side toul ýfelan gewumana þet
menn swýþor scamáð ná for gódþædan þonne for mislæðan, for þám
þeto oft man mid þócere gárdþæða hýrywð and godþyfreyht hœþþre ealles
to þýþwe, and swýþost man tæleð and mid oll gleþþrete ealles to
gelolme þa þe riþ luþþaand Godes ege habbað be áñigum dæle.
And þurh þet þe man swó deð þet man eal hýrywð þet man scolde
heregian and to fórd læðet þet man scolde luþþa, þurh þet man
geþþringde ealles to mange on yfelan geþþance and on undæðe, swá
þet hý ne scamáð ná, þeð hý syngan swýþe and wið Godes sylfne

80 his ángene cœap 'God's' own purchase, i.e. the rape victim, who, like all
Christians, had been redeemed spiritually by God's sacrifice on the cross, but is now sold
to pagans. See note to l. 37–8 above.
90 to wicinge weorþe 'becomes a [pagan] Viking'.
95 þegengyldé 'thine's price' i.e. the weord of a man of the upper class. The Danes,
who had by treaty gained the right to claim a thane's weord for any Danish freeman,
were claiming this payment even for English slaves who had fled their Anglo-Saxon
masters and become Vikings.
97–8 ná lange inne ne üte 'now for a long time anywhere'.
105 gewurðe 'happened' The subj. is used because it is not a specific historical instance
that is being described, but something that could occur at any time.
106 him 'for himself' The dir. obj. of wyrcþ is þeá þegenn.
109 from síc . . . þéode 'throughout this nation from sea to sea'.
115 áñige i.e. ángic scæme.
warnian üş be swilecan; and sōperation ąt ic scege, wyrsan dâda we witan mid Englum ponne we mid Bryttan ălwâr gehyrân. And ąf ṳs is ąfear micel ąt 忤 we ęs bepencan and wiô God sylline ūngin georne. And utan dön swâ ąfear is, gebûgan tō rîhte and be suman dâle unriht forlêtân, and bètan swîye georne ąt 忤 âr brâcân; and utan God lufran and Godes lagum fylgean, and gelæstan swîye georne ąt 忤 we behêtan ąt we fulluht underfêngan, oððon ąt 忤 at fulluht ûre forespecan wæran; and utan word and weorc rihhtlice fādian, and ṳre ingêþçu clănsien georne, and âh and wed warlîce healdan, and sume getryŏ瑄a habban ąs betwēñan butan uncrafteran; and utan gelême understandan jone miçlan dön 忤 we ealle tō sculan, and beorgan ęs georne wiô ąne weallendan brynge helle wîtes, and gëeanrîni ąs ąt mērpa and ąt myrðô ęs God hēô gëgearvôd ąm mîc his willan on worolde gewyrçaô. God ćû helpe. Amen.

bèc reference is to penitentials, i.e. manuals for confessors.

nellató beorgan . . . willan 'will not seek a cure for their injury until they no longer can, although they strongly wish [to do so]'.

màmà and . . . ealra 'a countless number of all [kinds of] crimes and misdeeds'.

It is to this angerin that ąt refers: 'we are not ashamed of that'.

manège is the subject of magan bepencan; micel is direct object; ąt is partitive gen. with micel; micel . . . ąs ąf ąn man ne nehte = 'much that one man could not'.

hû earmîcze hit gefaran is 'how wretchedly everything has gone'. This clause is parallel with micel, object of bepencan.

swîme . . . hine sylîne 'indeed, let each examine himself earnestly'.

swâ ąs nêôd is 'as is our need'.

Gildas a sixth-century Briton living during the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion of his country, wrote a Latin jeremiad (De excidio Britanniae) in which he tells his fellow Britons that the invasion they are enduring is God's punishment for their sins.

ąf ear is 'just as'.

sōperation geswugedan 'failed to speak the truth'.

swâ ąs ąfear is 'as is our need'.