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FOUNDATIONS OF THE ENGLISH
BENEDICTINE REFORM

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Preface

Writing this book has been a fascinating and challenging scholarly experience. Three years ago, I set about what I then thought would be a longish article on the Old English interlinear gloss in the Royal Psalter, its impressive quality and its origin in Bishop Æthelwold's circle, an origin which I had been suspecting for quite a number of years. As my work proceeded, I soon discovered that another important corpus of glosses – those to Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* – showed unmistakable verbal links with the Royal Psalter gloss and with Æthelwold's translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, thereby indicating a common origin for all three texts. At that point it became clear that I would have to write a short monograph in order to deal adequately with the three texts and their relationships. I then intended to discuss primarily philological aspects of the three texts and to demonstrate their common origin chiefly by means of philological methods. However, within a few months I had become convinced that such a restricted approach would not be sufficient to draw a comprehensive picture of the three texts and their relevance to Anglo-Saxon literary culture, and that for this I would need to assemble and assess what evidence might be gleaned from neighbouring disciplines. By the same token, I realized that this wider approach would present me with an opportunity to demonstrate the role and importance of philology in our attempts to recreate the Anglo-Saxon past. As a result of such discoveries and considerations, the present book gained its final form.

In the course of writing this book I incurred many debts, which I here gratefully acknowledge. For help and advice on various points I should like to thank Professor Peter Clemons(†), Dr Birgit Ebersperger, Helene Feulner, Dr Walter Hofstetter (even a cursory glance at ch. 4 will reveal

Preface

how much I am indebted to his magisterial study of the Winchester vocabulary), Ursula Kalbhen, Dr Michael Korhammer, Dr Lucia Kornexl, Dr Ursula Lenker (whose sound scepticism on occasions saved me from getting lost in Æthelwold's world), Dr Andy Orchard, Clare Orchard and Dr Roland Torkar. I should also like to thank the students of my Old English classes who taught me that I could get them interested in Old English sound shifts and noun declensions only by telling them who the people were who spoke that language. Since I did not enjoy the privilege of a sabbatical leave (a privilege which in the system of the wonderful German universities is not deemed appropriate for the majority of their academic staff), I had to rely on student help in order to complete the book within a reasonable span of time. For competent word-processing of my manuscript I should like to thank Carolin Schreiber and, especially, Svenja Weidinger. In the tradition of vigilant medieval scribes they were also my first critics.

My greatest debt, however, is to three scholars without whom this book would not have been written: I have had the expert guidance and the critical but unflagging support of Professor Helmut Gneuss over many years. In the case of the present book this support included access to the invaluable files for his revised handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, housed in the study next door. I am proud and grateful to be a product of his 'Munich school'. Dr Simon Keynes expertly guided my forays into Anglo-Saxon history; and it is with pleasure that I recall our many discussions about King Æthelstan and his charters. Professor Michael Lapidge, through his attempts to recreate the Anglo-Saxon world of learning and literature, prompted me to return to Anglo-Saxon studies after the lapse of many years. I had his encouragement at every stage of this book's production, and he generously laid his immense erudition at my disposal, patiently answering innumerable queries. I am also deeply indebted to him for help in matters of English style and for suggesting that the book should be included in Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England. I can only hope that the book in its printed form will be a fitting token of my gratitude to these three scholars, and that it would also have pleased the redoubtable bishop of Winchester.

M. G.
July 1997

Abbreviations

ASC	the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; see <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9, rev. D. Whitelock, 1952)
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASPR	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, 1931–42)
BCS	W. de G. Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1885–93) with index (1899)
BR	the Old English Benedictine Rule, quoted by page and line from the edition by Schröer
BT, BTS	J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1882–98); T. N. Toller, <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement</i> (Oxford, 1908–21)
Campbell	A. Campbell, <i>Old English Grammar</i> (Oxford, 1959)
cant.	Canticle, numbered according to J. Mearns, <i>The Canticles of the Church, Eastern and Western, in Early and Medieval Times</i> (Cambridge, 1914) (the numbers used there agree with those in Roeder's edition of the Royal Psalter)
Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio</i>	ed. Adriaen
CCM	Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum (Siegburg)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)
CHM	J. R. Clark Hall, <i>A Concise Anglo-Saxon</i>

List of abbreviations

- Dictionary*, 4th ed. with suppl. by H. D. Meritt (Cambridge, 1960)
- Cleo I the First Cleopatra Glossary (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii, fols. 5–75v), ptd WW I (line 21)–535
- Cleo III the Third Cleopatra Glossary (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii, fols. 92–117), ptd WW I, 485 (line 21)–535
- CPL *Clauis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, 3rd ed., CCSL (Steenbrugge, 1995)
- CS *Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church I: A. D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981) I, pt 1: 871–1066
- CSASE Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
- DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
- DOE *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. A. Cameron *et al.* (Toronto, 1986–)
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot and E. Amann, 15 vols. (Paris, 1903–50)
- EEM 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' (the Preface to the Old English Rule), ptd and transl. in CS I.1, pp. 142–54 (no. 33)
- EEMF Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
- EETS Early English Text Society (London)
- OS Original Series
- SS Supplementary Series
- EHD *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, English Historical Documents 1, 2nd ed. (London, 1979)
- G *The Old English Glosses of MS Brussels, Royal Library, 1650*, ed. Goossens

List of abbreviations

HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications (London)
HE	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
ICL	D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, <i>Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum</i> (Göttingen, 1977)
Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i>	ed. Lindsay
LkMA	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> (Munich, 1977–98)
LThK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , 2nd ed. by J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and Index (Freiburg, 1957–67)
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. H. Kurath, S. M. Kuhn <i>et al.</i> (Ann Arbor, MI, 1952–)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MHG	Middle High German
<i>Microfiche Concordance</i>	A. di Paolo Healey and R. L. Venezky, <i>A Microfiche Concordance to Old English</i> , Publ. of the Dictionary of Old English 1 (Toronto, 1980)
NT	the New Testament
ODCC	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. F. L. Cross, 3rd ed. by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997)
OE	Old English
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , ed. J. A. H. Murray <i>et al.</i> (Oxford, 1884–1928; 2nd ed. in 20 vols., prep. by J.A. Simpson and A. S. C. Weiner, Oxford, 1989)
OEG	<i>Old English Glosses</i> , ed. Napier
OF	Old French
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
OT	the Old Testament
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
RSB	<i>Regula Sancti Benedicti</i> , quoted by chapter and verse number from the edition by Hanslik
S	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> , Royal

List of abbreviations

	Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London, 1968)
SB	K. Brunner, <i>Altenglische Grammatik. Nach der Angelsächsischen Grammatik von E. Sievers</i> , 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1965)
TCBS	<i>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</i>
TUEPh	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie (Munich)
<i>Wulfstan: Life</i>	ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom
WW	T. Wright, <i>Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies</i> , 2 vols., 2nd ed., rev. R. P. Wülcker (London, 1884)

For a list of the sigla of psalters with Old English glosses, see below, pp. 18–21. Roman numerals for the psalms have been used in conformity with CSASE series style.

1

Introduction

- 1 Inclitus pastor populiq̄ue rector,
Cuius insignem colimus triumphum,
Nunc Adeluuoldus sine fine letus
Regnat in astris.
- 2 Qui pater noster fuit et magister
Exhibens sacre documenta uite,
Et Deo semper satagens placere
Corde benigno.

...

(1) Æthelwold, the excellent shepherd and ruler of the people, whose glorious triumph we celebrate, now rules joyous in heaven without end. (2) He was our father and teacher, showing us the pattern of the holy life, and always concerned to please God in his kindly heart.¹

On 10 September, one thousand years ago, this hymn was chanted, perhaps for the first time, at the celebration of Vespers in the Old Minster at Winchester. It had been composed, probably, by Wulfstan the precentor of the Old Minster and one of Bishop Æthelwold's most distinguished pupils, perhaps on the occasion of the first liturgical commemoration of Æthelwold's translation which had taken place on 10 September 996, twelve years after the bishop's death on 1 August 984, and while he will still have been vividly remembered by many of the minster's *familia*.²

¹ *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922) XXIII, 126 (no. 209) and XLIII, 68 (no. 107). The hymn is also printed and translated by Lapidge, *Wulfstan: Life*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. cxiii–cxiv (the above translation is as given there).

² On the cult of St Æthelwold, the liturgical pieces pertaining thereto which are still

Wulfstan's hymn is not a unique testimony to Bishop Æthelwold's role as a teacher. No school in Anglo-Saxon England has been praised more warmly by its pupils than the school established by Æthelwold at the Old Minster (his cathedral church) after 963.³ The distinction of Æthelwold's school emerges from the fact (proudly reported by Wulfstan) that many of his students 'fierent sacerdotes atque abbates et honorabiles episcopi, quidam etiam archiepiscopi, in gente Anglorum.'⁴ The exacting standard of tuition provided by the Old Minster school is further revealed in Wulfstan himself, as well as in Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, two of the foremost scholars and authors in late Anglo-Saxon England. In their writings, Wulfstan and Ælfric represent the two pillars on which Æthelwold's school rested: instruction in Latin and Old English. Instruction in Latin apparently comprised grammar, metrics and the careful study of a wide range of Latin authors, including even Horace, as well as late classical and patristic writers and Aldhelm. Instruction in English seems to have encompassed the translation of Latin texts and attempts to standardize the terminology within certain semantic fields in the vernacular, inasmuch as a number of translation equivalents were taught for certain Latin terms. (Many of these Latin terms stand for key concepts of Christianity, such as *ecclesia* or *superbia*.) Such Old English words were employed with great consistency and to the exclusion of any native synonyms in the works of Ælfric and in some other anonymous works which (on grounds other than vocabulary) can be linked with Winchester.⁵

Æthelwold's own writings which hitherto have been identified also

extant, and the role played by Wulfstan in the promotion of Æthelwold's cult, see Lapidge, *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. xxiii–xxvii, xcix–ci and cxii–cxliii. For a table of biographical events in Æthelwold's life as they are related in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, see below, Appendix I.

³ See below, pp. 262–3 for further testimonies from Æthelwold's pupils, revealing their love for their master and praising the high standard of his tuition.

⁴ *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 31 (p. 48): '[Many of his pupils] became priests, abbots, and notable bishops, some even archbishops, in England' (*ibid.*, p. 49; all translations from Wulfstan's *Vita* are taken from this edition).

⁵ Wulfstan's *Vita*, ch. 31 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom pp. 47–8), is our primary (unfortunately not very specific) witness for the curriculum in Æthelwold's school. On the subjects and authors presumably taught at Æthelwold's school (and the difficulties involved in establishing that school's curriculum), see Lapidge, *ibid.*, pp. xcii–xcix, and *idem*, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 201–6. On the so-called 'Winchester

attest to his preoccupation with both languages: works in Latin and English are attributable to his pen. Æthelwold's corpus of Latin works is not large: a couple of charters (including the renowned document commemorating the introduction of Benedictines to the New Minster, Winchester, in 964), a letter to a continental duke, perhaps a few prayers, and (most voluminous) the *Regularis concordia*, a monastic consuetudinary produced to regulate daily routine and liturgical observation in the English reformed monasteries.⁶ As a Latin author, Æthelwold reveals a pronounced penchant for the hermeneutic style.

Thus far, only one work in Old English has been ascribed to Æthelwold: a translation into Old English prose of the *Regula S. Benedicti*. The translation is attributed to Æthelwold in a late-tenth-century source; that it must have circulated widely, is clear from the number of surviving manuscripts (nine in total, several of these presenting later revisions).⁷ The translation is accompanied by a lengthy preface in Old English (preserved in one manuscript), which relates the history of the conversion of the English and the origin and progress of the English Benedictine reform. This text (commonly referred to as 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries') closely agrees in vocabulary and wording with the Old English Rule; from this, and from a number of points in its narrative, it is clear that Æthelwold is also the author of this piece of original Old English prose.⁸ The translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti* and its English preface reveal Æthelwold as a proficient Latinist as well as a powerful author of Old English prose.

The *Regula S. Benedicti* is not merely a monastic consuetudinary (such as the *Regularis concordia*), meticulously regulating the daily routine in a monastery: it is one of the great texts of western spirituality. Throughout its pages, instructions for organizing the daily life and spiritual guidance are inextricably intertwined; nearly every chapter makes its readers aware that, in following their monastic vocation, they have chosen a distinctive if austere way of life, and at every turn St Benedict stresses that he composed his *Regula* as an elementary daily and spiritual guide for his *dominici scola seruitii* (RSB, prol. 45), to help his followers to attain

vocabulary', see Hofstetter, *Winchester und Sprachgebrauch*, and *idem*, 'Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary'; and see below, pp. 93–113.

⁶ On these works, see below, pp. 125–7.

⁷ For a list of these manuscripts, see below, p. 227.

⁸ On the Rule and its preface, see below, pp. 121–4 and 230–3.

perfection in their pursuit of a life devoted to God. Apart from Æthelwold's translation, no prose version of the *Regula S. Benedicti* in any European vernacular has survived from the early Middle Ages. The Old English Rule is therefore a testimony to Æthelwold's deep spirituality, as it is to the confidence he placed in the resourcefulness of the English language and its potential for being forged into an instrument for conveying complex ideas.

In the light of modern research it is possible that more surviving writings can be attributed to Æthelwold. In the following chapters, we shall examine two massive Old English gloss corpora (of paramount importance for late Old English glossography), and explore how these corpora can be related to Æthelwold and his circle. The glosses in question are the continuous interlinear version of the psalter, preserved in London, BL, Royal 2. B. V, and the interlinear and marginal glosses to Aldhelm's principal work, the prose *De uirginitate*, preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1650. The Old English gloss in the Royal Psalter is a fresh interlinear translation of the entire psalter, the first to be undertaken in English since the Vespasian psalter gloss (in London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. i) in the early ninth century. The subsequent influence of the Royal Psalter gloss was very considerable: it was to become the exemplar for one of the two Old English families of psalter glosses, the so-called D-type glosses. The Royal Psalter gloss is of striking quality, revealing the glossator's proficiency in Latin as well as his remarkable competence and resourcefulness in choosing and coining his Old English *interpretamenta*.

By the same token, many of the Aldhelm glosses in Brussels 1650 are distinguished by their aptness and their *recherché* or learned character. However, although vast, the Brussels gloss corpus does not amount to a continuous interlinear version, and as it is transmitted, it is clearly composite, having attracted accretions in the course of its transmission (to what extent is no longer definable) before being copied into Brussels 1650 in the first half of the eleventh century. In spite of this complex state of transmission, lexical evidence suggests that the core of these Aldhelm glosses originated in the same circle as the Royal Psalter gloss, and, on grounds of lexical evidence again, the psalter and the Aldhelm glosses appear to be linked to the Old English Rule, composed by Æthelwold.

Acceptance of a common origin of the three works would dramatically

broaden our textual base for evaluating the reputation which Æthelwold's scholarship and teaching enjoyed in the later tenth and in the eleventh century. Various evidence such as the mid-tenth-century date of Royal 2. B. V (which is itself a copy of the original psalter gloss) points to an origin of all three works not much later than (say) 950; in other words, it points to the period of prolonged study which Æthelwold spent (together with Dunstan) at Glastonbury *c.* 939–*c.* 954, and on which we are informed, again, by Æthelwold's biographer Wulfstan.⁹ In the Royal Psalter, the Aldhelm glosses and the Rule we would therefore have tangible and precious evidence that the seeds of the intellectual renaissance in late Anglo-Saxon England, which is marked by the Benedictine reform, were being sown many years before the actual ecclesiastical reforms got under way, and many years before close contacts with continental reformed monasteries such as Fleury or Corbie were established. Furthermore, the Royal Psalter, the Aldhelm glosses and the Rule attest that the literary culture nurtured by the Benedictine reform, even in its nascent stage, based itself decisively on the pivotal role of the vernacular and on a fervent enthusiasm for the hermeneutic style in Latin.

In the first five of the following chapters we shall focus our attention on the place taken by the Royal Psalter and the Brussels glosses to the prose *De uirginitate* in the textual history of Old English psalter glosses and Aldhelm glosses respectively; we shall further try to form some notion of how the glossator, or glossators, did their work, what their aims were and how they strove to achieve these aims; and we shall scrutinize the lexical evidence which can be found to point to a common origin of the Old English Rule and the glosses. We shall then turn our attention to the question of what evidence, other than philological, can be adduced to substantiate the claim that the three texts originated in the same circle, evidence, that is, of a historical, art historical, palaeographical and liturgical nature. In the concluding chapter we shall aim to trace possible reflexes of the social and intellectual world in which the three texts had their origin by analysing some of the loanwords or loan formations employed in these texts.

⁹ See *Vita*, ch. 9 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 14–16).