

intervention by Abbot Odo of Cluny, the abbey had been involved in a series of institutional reforms in the kingdom of France and in nearby Lotharingia, while a delegation of monks had also attended the early 970s council of Winchester. And indirectly, Fleury's liturgical and other customs were also thought to have influenced those of major monastic centres such as Gorze, Sankt Maximin in Trier, and Reichenau, all three of which had in turn influenced further monastic institutions across the former Carolingian Empire<sup>26</sup>. The customary's dating in the late tenth or early eleventh century also brought its contents tantalizingly close to the tenure of Abbot Abbo of Fleury (r. 988–1004), who was a fervent admirer of his colleague Odilo of Cluny (r. 994–1049) and a noted proponent of monastic and clerical reform<sup>27</sup>. All these elements suggested that the customary would help scholars not only to better understand how the Fleury monks had experienced life in the cloister under Abbo's rule, but also to see what routines and practices had been disseminated to other places, and to what extent these were influenced by those of Cluny. In addition, there was the potential that the customary would help to enhance scholars' understanding of both written culture and monastic governance during Abbo's tenure, given that this was a phase of energetic literary activity as well as high ideological and political influence for Fleury<sup>28</sup>. The expectation was that all these things would shed light on the customary's significance as a statement by the Fleury community.

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26) On all this cf. in first place Lin DONNAT, *Recherches sur l'influence de Fleury au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Études ligériennes* (as in n. 23) p. 165–174.

27) Marco MOSTERT, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury. A Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-century Monastic Reform Movement* (*Middleleeuwse studies en bronnen* 2, 1987) p. 27 (where it is asserted that the monks' daily routines were organized in accordance with the Rule of St Benedict and the *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores*) and p. 92 (where the customary's creation is situated during Abbo's rule); also Elizabeth DACHOWSKI, *First among Abbots. The Career of Abbo of Fleury* (2008) p. 44 n. 75.

28) In addition to the studies cited in the above note, cf. Alexandre VIDIER, *L'historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les miracles de Saint Benoît*. Ouvrage posthume revu et annoté par les soins des moines de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît de Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire) (1965); Marco MOSTERT, *Die Urkundenfälschungen Abbos von Fleury*, in: *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München*, 16.–19. September 1986, 5 vols. (MGH Schriften 33,1–5, 1988), here 4 p. 287–318; Abbon, *un abbé de l'an mil*. *Études réunies par Annie DUFOUR / Gillette LABORY* (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 6, 2008), and Levi ROACH, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium* (2021) p. 153–192.