

correct, this would have invalidated the notion that it had been written strictly to help establish Sankt Michael<sup>38</sup>.

Commentators who preferred to look beyond Davril's fragile hypothesis also wondered about the customary's relationship to other accounts of monastic practice that were circulating in Germany when Theoderic wrote his text. The earliest of these, which is known as the *Consuetudines Germaniae* Version E, had been compiled at some point around 970 by an author at Sankt Maximin in Trier or another institution in western Germany<sup>39</sup>. Scholars suspect that the text, which shows notable West Frankish and Lotharingian influences, derived from an original set of (either written or oral) customs from Fleury that had been reviewed and reworked at a major monastic house in Lotharingia, probably the abbey of Gorze near Metz, and then passed on to the author and his milieu<sup>40</sup>. This is certainly a plausible scenario, as the Fleury monks had been invited in 934 by Bishop Gozelin of Toul to communicate their customs to the Lotharingian abbey of Saint-Evre near Toul: from there they may have been exported once again to the newly reformed abbey of Gorze<sup>41</sup>. In the same year, 934, Abbot Ogo of Sankt Maximin (r. 934–945) in Trier set out to reform

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38) HALLINGER, CCM 7,3 (as in n. 5) p. 7 n. 1, notes an incongruity between the suspected addressee, Bernward, and his invocation in the prologue as *vestra paternitas*, but resolves this by arguing that there had likely been two versions of the customary. So he hypothesizes that the one seen by Trithemius had been addressed to Bernward, whereas the one in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript represented another that Theoderic had intended for Richard, to whom the above-mentioned invocation did apply.

39) *Consuetudines Germaniae E*, ed. Maria WEGENER / Candida ELVERT, in: CCM 7,3 (as in n. 5) p. 187–256. On the contents and dating of the customary cf. CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 171–182, 426–429; Stephen A. SHOENIG, *Ramwold's Reform: The Customary of St. Emmeram and the Gorze Movement*, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Fordham Univ. (1998); Bertram RESMINI, *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Maximin vor Trier (Germania Sacra. Dritte Folge 11. Das Erzbistum Trier 13, 2016) p. 640f.*, and Harald BUCHINGER, *Die monastischen Consuetudines von St. Emmeram (Ende 10. Jahrhundert) als Quelle der Liturgiegeschichte*, in: *Gottesdienst in Regensburger Institutionen. Zur Vielfalt liturgischer Traditionen in der Vormoderne*, hg. von dems. / Sabine Reichert (Forum MA – Studien 18, 2021) p. 57–130.

40) CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 343f. and BUCHINGER, *Die monastischen Consuetudines* (as in n. 39) p. 59 n. 6. On the matches and further similarities between Version E and Theoderic's customary, cf. CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 337.

41) DONNAT, *Recherches* (as in n. 26) p. 169–171; also Neithard BULST, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)* (Pariser Historische Studien 11, 1973) p. 90f.