

his community's observance, and in the process established connections with multiple agents in the French-speaking part of Lotharingia, including Bishop Adalbero of Metz (who had initiated the reform of Gorze) and the abbots of Gorze and nearby Saint-Arnoul<sup>42</sup>. As part of these contacts, oral or written accounts of monastic observance would have easily been transferred to the Trier region. As for the context in which Version E was created, this is most commonly linked to the early actions of Sankt-Maximin's cellarer Sandrat and provost Ramwold in the 960s–970s<sup>43</sup>. Between 963 and 984/985 the former was involved in a range of institutions in Germany (especially St Gall, Ellwangen, Weißenburg, and Gladbach), where he either assisted with the reform of the monks' observance or was directly implicated in the governance of these institutions<sup>44</sup>. Meanwhile, Ramwold became abbot of Sankt Emmeram in Regensburg in 975, after which time he made substantial additions to the abbey's library<sup>45</sup>. The earliest extant copy of Version E, from c. 980, was one of these additions<sup>46</sup>. One of Ramwold's subjects at Sankt Emmeram, a monk named Poppo, later became abbot of Fulda (r. 1013–1018), where he may well have taken a copy too<sup>47</sup>.

Version E was not intended as a normative instrument of monastic governance, but rather as a written record of an ongoing reflection on best monastic practice in reformist circles of late tenth-century Germany. Perhaps the best indicator for this (besides the absence of

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42) RESMINI, *Benediktinerabtei* (as in n. 39) p. 232f., 1038f.

43) *Ibid.* p. 640f.

44) Kassius HALLINGER, *Willigis von Mainz und die Klöster*, in: *Willigis und sein Dom. Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier des Mainzer Domes 975–1975*, hg. von Anton Ph. Brück (Quellen und Abh. zur mittelhochdeutschen KG 24, 1975) p. 93–134, here at p. 106–109, 112–116, and RESMINI, *Benediktinerabtei* (as in n. 39) p. 1189f. Resmini postulates that Version E was Sandrat's own work (p. 1190).

45) Franz RONIG, *Abt Ramwold von Sankt Emmeram in Regensburg: Was brachte Ramwold aus der Trierer Abtei Sankt Maximin nach Regensburg mit?*, *Kurtrierisches Jb.* 42 (2002) p. 29–45, esp. p. 41–45, and RESMINI, *Benediktinerabtei* (as in n. 39) p. 1151f.; also the literature cited in BUCHINGER, *Die monastischen Consuetudines* (as in n. 39) p. 59f. n. 8.

46) CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 171–182 and BUCHINGER, *Die monastischen Consuetudines* (as in n. 39) p. 57–59 (where the author asserts that the customary gives us insight in the organization of regular life at Sankt Emmeram, which in reality is far from certain). On the close ties between the scriptoria of Sankt Maximin and Sankt Emmeram, cf. RESMINI, *Benediktinerabtei* (as in n. 39) p. 1152.

47) Pius ENGELBERT, *Klosterleben in Fulda um das Jahr 1000*, in: *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, hg. von Gangolf Schrimpf (Fuldaer Studien 7, 1996) p. 225–245, at p. 231.