

and debate it reflects. The oldest manuscript witness is a twelfth-century copy from the abbey of Sankt Matthias in Trier, which suggests that the text originated in circles not far removed from the ones that spawned the two previous customaries<sup>52</sup>.

The existence and contents of these documents tell us three things. One is that during the decades on either side of the year 1000, multiple agents in Germany were celebrating Fleury as a beacon of monastic achievement<sup>53</sup>. At least in part this was because the abbey's customs represented a form of Benedictine observance that still retained many features of the early ninth-century interpretation by Benedict of Aniane, which appealed much more to these commentators and their superiors in the Empire than the Cluniacs' tendency to experiment with liturgical and other practices<sup>54</sup>. A second thing we can infer from the three customaries is that German authors did not strictly celebrate this inspiration in a historical perspective, but thought of its inspirational worth in the present tense – we already saw that the author of Version FF<sup>1</sup> explicitly mentions Abbo's influence, which is not all that surprising given the known instances of direct encounters between German agents and Fleury monasticism in the 990s<sup>55</sup>. And a third and final point to consider is that by the turn of the first millennium, German agents were long past the stage in which they passively ab-

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52) *Consuetudines Germaniae* HF, ed. Maria WEGENER / Candida ELVERT, in: CCM 7,3 (as in n. 5) p. 323–364 and commented on in CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 188–191, 433–435; HOFFMANN, *Mönchskönig* (as in n. 3) p. 180–185, and ENGELBERT, *Klosterleben* (as in n. 47) p. 234–236.

53) CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 360–370; also Josef SEMMLER, *Das Erbe der karolingischen Klosterreform im 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Raymund Kottje / Helmut Maurer (VuF 38, 1989) p. 29–77, at p. 63.

54) DONNAT, *Recherches* (as in n. 26) p. 169f.

55) We know of Germans who stopped at Fleury as pilgrims on their way to St Martin in Tours: such was the case with Bishop Adalbert of Prague and possibly Bernward of Hildesheim; DAVRIL, *Un moine* (as in n. 23) p. 110 n. 32 and p. 173 n. 56 (regarding Bernward cf. also Michel PARISSÉ, *Bernward in Frankreich* [1007], in: *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993*, hg. von Michael Brandt / Arne Eggebrecht, 2 vols. [1993], here 1 p. 133–143, at p. 140f.). Some scholars have argued that Berno, the future abbot of Reichenau and a notable commentator of monastic spirituality, spent time at Fleury in the 990s (e.g. Dieter BLUME, *Berno von Reichenau [1008–1048]: Abt, Gelehrter, Biograph. Ein Lebensbild mit Werkverzeichnis sowie Edition und Übersetzung von Berns Vita S. Uodalrici* [VuF Sonderbd. 52, 2008] p. 63–68), but others see no evidence for this (e.g. Berno Augiensis, *Tractatus liturgici*, ed. Henry PARKES [CC Cont. Med. 297, 2019] p. XVIII–XXII).