

fragment, three have almost strictly liturgical contents and pretend to describe life at the Burgundian abbey of Cluny: these are the *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores* (between 990 and 1015), a modified version of it from Saint-Bénigne in Dijon (c. 1031), and Farfa's *Liber tramitis* (second quarter of the eleventh century)². The other four customaries all originated in the German-speaking world, feature more hybrid contents, and pertain to a region that stretched from the Loire valley in West Francia over the former middle kingdom of Lotharingia, to Regensburg in East Francia. Three redactions of the so-called *Consuetudines Germaniae* (E from c. 980, FF¹ from 1000–1018, and HF from the first half of the eleventh century) each present a blend of West Frankish, Lotharingian, and East Frankish customs, while Theoderic of Fleury/Trier/Amorbach's *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores* (most likely c. 1010–1022) claims to give a comprehensive account of ones that were practiced at the abbey of Fleury³. Together these Cluniac and non-Cluniac customaries represent a stage in the development of the genre that is quite distinct, chronologically as well as in terms of the ideological and institutional contexts in which the texts originated, from an earlier one in the mid-eighth to early ninth century and a later one from the 1070s onwards⁴. However, the exact

2) These are presented (with references to the editions) in COCHELIN, Downplayed or Silenced (as in n. 1) p. 162. None of the three customaries were Cluny products, but instead were created by outsiders for an audience of outsiders; on this cf. especially Isabelle COCHELIN, Customaries as Inspirational Sources, in: *Consuetudines et Regulae. Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Carolyn Marino Malone / Clark Maines (Disciplina Monastica 10, 2014) p. 27–72.

3) Cf. again the list in COCHELIN, Downplayed or Silenced (as in n. 1) p. 162. Not considered in that study and in the present one is a fragment or partial draft of a customary that is preserved in a late tenth-century manuscript from the abbey of Werden and that is commented on and edited in Hartmut HOFFMANN, Mönchskönig und *rex idiota*. Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II. (MGH Studien und Texte 8, 1993) p. 177–179. The contents of that text bear no relation to that of the four German customaries cited here.

4) On the customaries from the late eighth and early ninth centuries, cf. e.g. Josef SEMMLER, "Volatilia". Zu den benediktinischen Consuetudines des 9. Jahrhunderts, StMGBO 69 (1958) p. 163–176, and IDEM, Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo, in: *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, ed. by Willem Lourdaux / Daniel Verhelst (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1, Studia 11, 1983) p. 1–49. On those from the late eleventh century onwards, Florent CYGLER, Règles, coutumiers et statuts (V^e–XIII^e siècles). Brèves considérations historico-typologiques, in: *La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines réguliers au Moyen Âge et Temps modernes*. Actes du Premier Colloque International du L.A.R.H.C.O.R. Wrocław-Książ,