

The *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores* and the Problem of its Authoritative Voice

In her above-mentioned study from 2016, Cochelin pointed out that because in a number of cases modern scholars have made great strides in uncovering information about who wrote the customaries, who commissioned them, and/or in what institutional setting they were created, it is often difficult for us to appreciate their lack of authorial voice (and therefore also their lack of a claim to authority) at the time of their publication. To make her point, she presented, among other examples, Theoderic's customary of Fleury, whose authorship, she claims, was established only thanks to the careful reconstruction of nineteenth- and twentieth-century specialists¹⁷. Admittedly, she is right in saying that the few lines in the prologue that identified a monk named Theodericus as the customary's creator are absent from the only extant manuscript of the text¹⁸. But at the same time, we must be careful not to infer from this that medieval readers were unaware of Theoderic's authorship of the customary. The testimony of the late fifteenth-century Abbot Johannes Trithemius of Hirsau (1462–1516) is precious in this regard. In his *Annales Hirsaugienses*, he discussed the customary as part of the literary legacy of a monk from Fleury named Theoderic. Furthermore, he partially quoted the customary's now lost prologue in which Theoderic explicitly identified himself as the author, and added that the work comprised "two books on the customs and statutes of the monastery of Fleury (that he dedicated) to ... Bishop Bernward"¹⁹. Evidently this tells us that the Hirsau abbot had access to a written tradition that over nearly five centuries had passed down both Theoderic's identity as a Fleury monk and his role in creating the customary. Furthermore, Trithemius's testimony also

17) COCHELIN, *Downplayed or Silenced* (as in n. 1) p. 160. The state of the art on Theoderic's biography and written legacy is discussed in Hartmut HOFFMANN, *Theoderich von Fleury/Amorbach/Trier*, DA 71 (2015) p. 475–526, and Steven VANDERPUTTEN / Jeroen DE GUSSEM, *Monachus ac Sacerdos Peregrinus*. A Stylo-metric and Contextual Re-Investigation of the Work of Theoderic of Fleury/Trier/Amorbach (fl. 970s–1020s), *Revue Mabillon* N. F. 33 (2022) p. 19–54.

18) On this manuscript, see n. 21 below.

19) Johannes Trithemius, *Tomus I. Annalium Hirsaugiensium*, ad a. 989 (St. Gallen, 1690) p. 134: *qui scripsit inter caetera ingenij sui opuscula duos libellos de consuetudinibus & statutis Monasterij Floriacensis ad praenominatum Bernwardum Episcopum*. Refer also to the discussion in Albert PONCELET, *La vie et les œuvres de Thierry de Fleury*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 27 (1908) p. 5–27, at p. 5–7.