

two nearly identical editions of the text from 1984 and 2004<sup>23</sup>. Davril established that the new text was a match with the one that Trithemius had described, despite the absence of the prologue the latter had paraphrased and partly cited. But more importantly, he was able to confirm the abbot's attribution of the work to Theoderic, as studies carried out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by Ernst Dümmler and Albert Poncelet had verified and expanded on the Hirsau abbot's reconstruction of Theoderic's biography and literary output<sup>24</sup>. Finally, Davril rejected Trithemius's claim that the Bernward mentioned in the lost prologue as the work's addressee was Bishop Bernard of Würzburg (r. 990–995). Instead, he provided arguments in support of an alternative hypothesis that the eighteenth-century Maurist scholar Antoine Rivet de la Grange had originally formulated, which was that Theoderic had dedicated the customary to Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (r. 993–1022)<sup>25</sup>.

All this was cause for excitement among specialists of early and high medieval monasticism. Given that the corpus of customaries from before c. 1070 is very small, the recovery of a text whose contents were new to scholars had the potential to greatly enrich discussions of monastic liturgy and practice around the year 1000. However, it was the timing of the work combined with its suspected provenance that made the find especially notable, given that Fleury had played a major role in the renewal of monastic life since the 930s. Following an

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23) Anselme DAVRIL, Un coutumier de Fleury du début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Rev. Ben.* 76 (1966) p. 351–354; IDEM, Un moine de Fleury aux environs de l'an mil: Thierry, dit d'Amorbach, in: *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales. Mémoires et exposés présentés à la Semaine d'études médiévales de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire du 3 au 10 juillet 1969, sous la direction de René Louis (Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire 4, 1975) p. 97–104; CCM 7,1 (as in n. 5) p. 333–338, and L'abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil 2: Le coutumier de Fleury. Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores par Thierry d'Amorbach. Texte édité, traduit et annoté par Anselme DAVRIL / Lin DONNAT avec la collaboration de Gillette LABORY (Sources d'histoire médiévale 32, 2004) p. 145–154. The two editions of Theoderic's *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores* are that by Anselme DAVRIL / Lin DONNAT in *CCM 7,3 (as in n. 5) p. 7–60* and the nearly identical one in *L'abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil 2* by DAVRIL / DONNAT p. 167–251.*

24) Ernst DÜMMLER, *Über Leben und Schriften des Mönches Theoderich (von Amorbach)*, *Abh.* Berlin (1894) p. 1–38; Albert PONCELET, *La Vie de S. Firmanus, abbé au diocèse de Fermo par Thierry d'Amorbach*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 18 (1899) p. 22–33, and IDEM, *La vie* (as in n. 19).

25) Antoine RIVET DE LA GRANGE, *Histoire littéraire de la France* 7 (1867) p. 298f.