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THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION
OF THE DONATIO ANSEMUNDI*

The so-called *Donatio Ansemundi*¹, a document purporting to be a private donation from mid-sixth century Vienne, has received little recent attention from scholars, and no fresh edition since 1865. This neglect is due to the deplorable state of the text: the thirteenth-century cartulary apparently perished during the French Revolution, and the various surviving seventeenth- and eighteenth-century antiquarian transcriptions tally only insofar as they exhibit certain parallel corruptions and general incomprehensibility.

Nevertheless, the document is usually accepted as authentic². If it is indeed a genuine Gallic

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1 So called by Ian WOOD, *The audience of architecture in post-Roman Gaul*, in: *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. R. K. Morris and L. A. S. Butler, London 1986 (Council for British Archaeology Research Report 60), p. 77. I retain this name, convenient and descriptive, since the text lacks any consistent heading. For the available printed editions, see n. 22, below. All the transcriptions from medieval sources are reproduced in the Appendix, below.

2 Without reservation: Dom Henri LECLERCQ, *Vienne en Dauphiné*, in: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 15, Paris 1953, col. 3066; Patrick WORMALD, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence*, Jarrow 1984, p. 16 with n. 41; Françoise DESCOMBES, *Vienne*, ed. Paul-Albert Février, in: *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule* 3, *Provinces ecclésiastiques de Vienne et d'Arles*, ed. J. Biarne, et al., Paris 1986, p. 21. With reservations: Eugen EWIG (»nicht ganz unverdächtig«), *Die Kathedralpatrozinien im römischen und im fränkischen Gallien* [1960], reprinted in: *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien* 2, ed. H. Atsma, Munich 1976 (Beihefte der Francia 3), p. 288, n. 247, and p. 280, n. 189 (»nicht unverdächtig«); Ian WOOD (»probably authentic«), *Audience of architecture* (as n. 1) p. 77–8. Ewig accepts the document unconditionally elsewhere: *Der Petrus- und Apostelkult im spätrömischen und fränkischen Gallien* [1960], reprinted in: *Id.*, *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien* 2:335 with n. 161–2. – The *Donatio* has always been accepted as genuine by a long line of Viennois local antiquarians and historians, many of whose names now adorn the streets of the town. Their work, although unreliable, sometimes preserves important information about the text. Their names will appear frequently in the course of this article; particularly important are Nicolas Chorier, the seventeenth-century *avocat*, Claude Charvet, the eighteenth-century archdeacon, and Cyr Ulysse Joseph Chevalier, the nineteenth-century *abbé* and onetime ambassador to Britain, who produced some five hundred studies on cartularies and towns of the Dauphiné. The last solid extensive discussion of the content of the *Donatio* occurred in Thomas MERMET, *ainé*, *Histoire de la ville de Vienne de l'an 438 à l'an 1039*, 3 vols., Vienne 1828–54, 2:127–33. On Mermet's sources for the document, see n. 22, below. On the other hand, two frequently cited works contain no material of interest: Pierre WUILLEUMIER, J. DÉNIAU, J. FORMIGÉ and E.-L. ALBRAND, *Le cloître de St-André-le-Bas à Vienne*, Vienne 1947; and Emilie ALBRAND, *L'église et le cloître de St-André-le-Bas à Vienne*, Diss., Lyons 1951 (which reproduces a text of the *Donatio*: see n. 21, below). I have not been able to see Paul BRESSE, *Histoire de l'abbaye de St-André-le-Bas ...*, in: *Vienna, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire viennoise* 1 (1924) p. 103–29; Pierre CAVARD, *Vienne la sainte*, Vienne 1939; CAVARD,

donation of the sixth century³, then it is unique and deserves a new critical edition and fresh historical appraisal. A genuine *Donatio Ansemundi* would be far more than a simple documentary artefact. It depicts Ansemundus, a man with a Germanic name, founding a monastery of St-André, and therefore dedicating his wealth and his family to the Gallo-Roman *civitas* and *ecclesia* of Vienne. Since this same Ansemundus appears to have exchanged affectionate letters with the reforming political bishop Avitus of Vienne⁴, the *Donatio* would constitute a precious window onto the cultural and ethnic assimilation that, following the fall of the Roman Empire, gradually drew together the Germanically-named military elite, and the educated, Catholic senatorial aristocracy, in new regional systems of power and ideology⁵.

Furthermore, the document would be valuable in illuminating the ecclesiastical world of sixth-century Vienne, a milieu which has also left us a wealth of material evidence. The fifth- and sixth-century monastic church of St-Pierre, mentioned in the *Donatio*, survives today in fine preservation. Moreover, it contains one of the most extensive collections of late antique and early medieval inscriptions in France. Archaeological excavation has further yielded remains and inscriptions from the monastery of St-André-le-Bas and the cathedral church of St-Maurice⁶. A charter connecting the endowments and populations of these monasteries in 543, donated by a correspondent of the city's most famous bishop, would be a precious tool for reconstructing the political relationships and mentalities of a Burgundian and Merovingian episcopal city.

L'abbaye de St-Pierre (as yet unpublished in 1950), the last three cited as germane by H. G. J. BECK, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France During the Sixth Century*, Rome 1950 (*Analecta Gregoriana* 51) p. 385–6. Various manuscript studies existed in the late nineteenth-century municipal library of Vienne; see ref. in n. 28, below.

3 Almost all commentators accept that the *Donatio*'s »ninth year of king Lothar« must be the ninth year of the Merovingian king Chlothar I, producing dates of 520 (nine years from his accession), or 543 (nine years after the Frankish conquest of Burgundy and takeover of Vienne). The latter is the probable date, since Vienne in 520 was firmly under the control of the Burgundian king Sigismund, so far as we know. Subsequent Chlothars seem to be ruled out by the reference, in a Carolingian charter, to a lost confirmation of the *Donatio*, issued by King Gunthramn, who ruled before Chlothar II (on the Carolingian charter, see p. 165 with n. 7, below). Louis Duchesne, however, proposed Chlothar III, and thus the date of 666; *Id.*, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols., Paris 1894–1915, 1:159–9 with n. 2, and 1:81 with n. 1. Duchesne's argument is unconvincing, chiefly relying on Gregory of Tours's story of the partition of Burgundy, which implies that Chlothar I was excluded. Marius of Avenches, however, explicitly states that Chlothar I divided Burgundy with his brothers (*Chronicon* s. a. 534, ed. T. MOMMSEN, Berlin 1984, MGH, AA 11:235). Since Marius is superior to Gregory on Burgundy anyway, and since Gregory never actually says that Chlothar was excluded, we may safely dismiss Duchesne's theory. The *Donatio*, unusual and suspicious as it may be, certainly looks nothing like a late seventh-century Frankish donation. The most recent suggestion, by Pierre CAVARD, ap. ALBRAND, *L'église et le cloître de St-André-le-Bas* (as n. 2) p. 84, is 570, which would require emending the date-clause to »in the ninth year of king Gunthramn«! But the problems of Ado of Vienne's reference (*Chronicon*, Paris 1852, MIGNE, PL 123:111) to the foundation being under bishop Philippus (559–573) were long ago defused by J.-M. PARDESSUS, *Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges* 1, Paris 1843, p. 104, n. 6 (continuing to p. 105): since the monastery was only to be founded after Ansemundus's death, the date of the *Donatio* could be years earlier than that of the actual foundation. 543 continues to be the most plausible date meant by the document itself.

4 Avitus, epp. 55, 80, 81, ed. Rudolf PEIPER, Berlin 1883, MGH, AA 6.2.

5 See WOOD, *Audience of architecture* (as n. 1) p. 77–8; Patrick AMORY, *Names, ethnic identity and community in fifth- and sixth-century Burgundy*, in: *Viator* 25 (forthcoming 1994).

6 The alleged epitaph of Ansemundus in the medieval church of St-André-le-Bas, however, dates from the sixteenth century. The rest of the material is most conveniently accessible in Élisabeth CHÂTEL, *Recueil général des monuments sculptés en France pendant le haut Moyen Âge (IV^e–X^e siècles)* 2, Paris 1981 (*Mémoires de la Section d'Archéologie du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 2.2), p. 29–108. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Ian Wood.

The *Donatio*, however, is unfortunately suspect in more than the corruption of its text. The first corroboration of its existence does not come until three hundred years after its alleged date, in the forgery-rich ninth century, at a time, moreover, when the church of Vienne had ample motive to forge a sixth-century donation. This corroborating evidence is a charter issued by Louis the Pious in 831 to Bernard, bishop of Vienne, confirming episcopal power over the monastery of St-André⁷. Louis's confirmation specifically cites the *Donatio* as evidence that the founder, Ansemundus, had intended the monastery to be answerable to the bishop, although »*ipsum monasterium propter cupiditatem malorum hominum ab eadem ecclesia subtractum*«⁸. Needless to say, the *Donatio*, as we now possess it, places the new monastery firmly under the control of the bishop of Vienne. Thus, if Bernard of Vienne possessed no such charter, he had good reason to forge or alter a document to present to the emperor, resulting in the current *Donatio*.

Nevertheless, the evidence favouring forgery, although neat, need not be decisive. Sixth-century monasteries in southeastern Gaul generally lay under the thumb of the bishop from the start⁹. Caesarius's foundations in Arles are early examples¹⁰, and Avitus of Vienne affirmed the same principle at the Council of Epaon in 517¹¹. Furthermore, such monasteries could slip away from episcopal control in the intervening period before the Carolingian church reforms, whether through aristocratic patronage¹², appeals for immunity to the king or to Rome¹³, or the troubles of the mid-eighth century. Vienne was sacked by the Saracens in the 720s or 730s¹⁴; the damage was such that no bishop was consecrated for a period¹⁵. The monasteries doubtless suffered as well¹⁶. By 831, the bishop of Vienne might well have needed to ask for imperial confirmation of privileges which he knew were his – whether through local tradition, or possession of an ancient and corrupt charter.

7 Printed, e. g., by Étienne BALUZE, *Capitularia regum francorum*, 2 vols., Paris 1677, 2:1432. It was the apparent survival of the text of the sixth-century donation, and the ninth-century confirmation, as a pair, that so stimulated the interest of early modern diplomatists; cf. Jean MABILLON, *De re diplomatica*, Paris 1681, p. 463. The 831 confirmation in the current standard works on Louis's diplomas: Theodor SICKEL, *Acta regum et imperatorum Karolinorum*, 2 vols., Vienna 1867, no. L. 281, 2:170, 339; and J. F. BÖHMER and Engelbert MÜHLBACHER, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*, Innsbruck 1908, p. 352.

8 BALUZE, *Capitularia regum francorum* (as n. 7) 2:1432. »Cupiditas« means, concretely, »greed«: what was at stake was not episcopal authority, but the destination of the revenues of the monastic lands. The remainder of the text makes it clear that these will now go directly to the bishop.

9 Friedrich PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich*, 1965; 2d. edition, Munich 1988, p. 91–3.

10 *Ibid.* p. 91.

11 Epaon 8, 10, 19, ed. Rudolf PEIPER, MGH, AA 6.2:168–70.

12 Friedrich PRINZ, *Aristocracy and Christianity in Merovingian Gaul*, in: *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Literatur: Beiträge Luitpold Wallach gewidmet*, ed. Karl Bosl, Stuttgart 1975, p. 155–6, 158–63.

13 PRINZ, *Mönchtum* (as n. 9) p. 133–4, 146 (the king); 252 (Rome; admittedly, Fulda was a special case).

14 Ado, *Chronicon*, cols. 121–2. Ado places the Saracen depredations between the accession of Theuderic IV (721), and Charles Martel's expedition against the Saracens (737; *Continuatio Fredegarii* 20, ed. B. KRUSCH, Hanover 1888, MGH, *Script. rer. Merov.* 2:177–8). Duchesne dated the sack of Vienne first to ca. 725, and then to 735, without giving reasons: *Id.*, *Fastes épiscopaux* (as n. 3) 1:150, 161.

15 Ado, *Chronicon*, col. 122: »Vastata et dissipata Viennensi et Lugdunensi provincia, aliquot annis sine episcopis utraque ecclesia fuit ...«. Our surviving lists give few dates for the early eighth-century bishops of Vienne, so the extent of the disruption is hard to assess. It was clearly due also to the incursions of the northern Franks, for example in the break between 762 and 767, when Bishop Wilchar was forced to leave the region due to problems with Pippin; DUCHESNE, *Fastes épiscopaux* (as n. 3) 1:150. On the character of the local disturbances, see Patrick GEARY, *Aristocracy in Provence*, Philadelphia 1985, p. 126; GEARY, *Before France and Germany*, Oxford 1988, p. 207.

16 The Saracens burned the basilica of SS. Ferreolus and Julian (Ado, *Chronicon*, col. 122). and apparently the monastery of St-Pierre as well (LECLERCQ, *Vienne en Dauphiné* [as n. 2] col. 3065). Both lay outside the early medieval town walls, as did St-André-le-Haut.

The problem, of course, may not be so simple as a choice between authenticity or forgery. Many shadings lie in between; they all affect the historical value of the *Donatio* as evidence for sixth-century Vienne. The chaos of the 700s doubtless destroyed or damaged documents, many of them papyrus and therefore particularly fragile. Did Bernard reconstruct the gist of a vanished donation that he knew had once existed, producing our current *Donatio*? Or did he alter or emend an ancient, damaged charter?

Whatever its genuine content, unless the text as we currently have it suffered further damage between the ninth century, and the lost thirteenth-century copy, it is unlikely to be a complete fake. Even ninth-century forgers took care to come up with comprehensible texts, whereas the *Donatio* is so vague or garbled that the identity of the very monastery is unclear. There were two monasteries dedicated to St Andrew in sixth-century as in medieval Vienne, St-André-le-Bas and St-André-le-Haut. The document refers to both of them, and it perhaps implies that Ansemundus had previously founded the other. The Latin could not be more confusing. Even the principle of episcopal authority, although articulated, does not emerge in the clearest terms. Only a very poor forger could have produced the *Donatio* out of thin air. Some part of it, at least, must be authentic.

Before the *Donatio* can be subjected to diplomatic tests of authenticity, however, it is essential to establish a working text from the early modern copies. These copies vary dramatically in quality and content, and the circumstances surrounding their production and occasional publication warrant examination.

Conspectus of early modern transcriptions

The situation, although complex, does not at first look insurmountably difficult. The *Donatio* existed as folio 7 of the medieval cartulary of the cathedral chapter of St-Maurice in Vienne, and there appear to be four surviving copies made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by scholars who saw that cartulary before its disappearance in 1789. The first copy was made by or for Étienne Baluze before 1677. Baluze's manuscript is now at the Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁷; he published it, in slightly altered form, in his *Capitularia Regum Francorum*¹⁸. The next in date was made by Dom Claude Estiennot at St-Germain-des-Prés in 1677/8; the manuscript is also at the Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁹. Around the same time, and in the same place, but before the year 1681, Jean Mabillon also transcribed the *Donatio* for the *De re diplomatica*²⁰. Finally, near the year 1763, Claude Charvet, archdeacon of St-André-le-Haut in Vienne, copied it for his history of that abbey, which languished unpublished for over a century, and finally saw the light of day in 1868²¹. All the printed editions of the *Donatio* rely on these transcriptions²².

17 Paris, BN Collection Baluze 75, fol. 320r-v.

18 BALUZE, *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (as n. 7) 2:1433. This version was reproduced exactly in J. D. MANSI, *Concilia* 18, Venice 1773, col. 949.

19 Paris, BN lat. 12768, p. 186 (= St-Germain MS 565). Although listed in the BN catalogue as *Fragmenta historiae aquitanicae*, the title in this volume reads *Fragmenta historiae sacrae*. Estiennot divided his 45-volume survey into 16 on Aquitaine and 29 on various monastic records: lat. 12768 evidently falls into the latter group. The date on the title page is 1677; on the dedication page, 1678. Estiennot's transcription was translated by Mermet via a copy in Grenoble in 1833, and combined with Pardessus's edition by Hauréau for his edition in 1865; on these publications, see n. 22, below.

20 MABILLON, *De re diplomatica* (as n. 7) p. 463. Mabillon's transcription, with Baluze, formed the basis of Pardessus's edition in 1843; see n. 22, below.

21 Claude CHARVET, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye royale de St-André-le-Haut de Vienne*, ed. M. P. Allut, Lyons 1868, p. 200-1. This version was reproduced inaccurately by ALBRAND, *L'église et le cloître de St-André-le-Bas* (as n. 2) p. 83-4.

22 The two editions most frequently cited are composites: from 1843, PARDESSUS, *Diplomata* (as n. 3) 1, no. 140, using Baluze and Mabillon (with reference to the doubtful edition of Jean Le Lièvre: see n. 23-5, below); and from 1865, B. HAURÉAU, ed., *Gallia Christiana* 16, *Instrumentum* no. 1, Paris

If these were all the available copies, and if we could be certain that all four of these scholars actually worked from the original cartulary, then the task at hand would simply be to collate their versions and account for their differences as best we could. Unfortunately, none of these points is certain. Furthermore, there is a fifth and perhaps a sixth copy available, but the source of one is mysterious, and the location of the other currently unknown.

Before 1623, and thus probably earlier than anyone else, Jean Le Lièvre, a local divine, copied down a version which lacks the lacunae displayed by almost all other copies and which, unlike all the others, actually makes sense throughout²³. Unfortunately, his source is obscure, and his method suspect²⁴. This article will not attempt to collate Le Lièvre's version of the *Donatio*, although one should note that if he did emend a corrupt or fragmentary text, he did so with admirable plausibility²⁵.

Similarly impossible to evaluate is a reference by a nineteenth-century local scholar to a good copy by the late-eighteenth century diplomatist Pierre de Rivaz, in the municipal library

1865, using Estiennot and Pardessus's edition. Baluze (also reproduced by Mansi: n. 18, above) and Charvet (also reproduced by Albrand: n. 21, above) are the only printed editions to witness the text directly.

Mermet's translation of the *Donatio*, in his *Histoire de la ville de Vienne* (as n. 2) 2:129–30, combines the text of Le Lièvre with an MS of the library of Grenoble »qui nous a paru ancien.« Mermet misprints the shelfmark of this MS as »7388–124:« it ought to be MS 7838–124. This »old« MS turns out to be nothing more than an eighteenth-century copy of Dom Estiennot's transcription of the *Donatio*, listed as no. 2018 in the *Catologue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements 7: Grenoble*, ed. P. FOURRIER, E. MAIGNIEN and A. PRUDHOMME, Paris 1889, p. 630, now Grenoble MS U. 924. I am indebted to M. Michel Merland, Conservateur en Chef des Bibliothèques Municipales de la Ville de Grenoble, for his invaluable help in identifying Mermet's manuscript.

23 Jean LE LIÈVRE, *Histoire de l'antiquité et sainteté de la cité de Vienne en la Gaule celtique*, Vienne 1623, p. 9–10.

24 He claimed to have extracted his version, not from the cartulary of St-Maurice, but from »la legende de S. Didier Archevesque«, itself in the »archives de la grande Eglise«; *ibid.* p. 9. In these archives he had certainly also found the cartulary of St-Maurice (p. 249: »des archives de l'Eglise de Vienne«, discussing documents which were in the cartulary). Since Le Lièvre predated Mabillon and the science of diplomatic, he might well have unscrupulously combined information from the cartulary and from some *Vita* without noting down his actions; he might also have silently emended the text (albeit with extremely plausible completions). Although no surviving *Vita S. Desiderii* contains the text of the charter as Le Lièvre gives it (the *Vitae* are listed at BHL 2148–52b), one late *Vita* does include a summary of the charter copied from the ninth-century chronicle of Ado: BHL 2152 = AASS Maii 5, Antwerp 1685, p. 252–3; from Ado, *Chronicon s. a. 575*, col. 111. On the posterior date of this *Vita*, see Bruno KRUSCH in MGH, *Script. rer. Merov.* 3, Hanover, 1896, p. 629, and [Bollandists], *Passio sancti Desiderii episcopi Viennensis*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 9 (1890) 251, against the Bollandist Godfrey HENSCHENIUS, AASS Maii 5:251, who argued that it was Ado who was copying from the *Vita*. In any case, the bad orthography of the principals' names in the *Vita*, compared to Ado's spellings, which match those of the *Donatio* well, suggest that the transmission ran »*Donatio* → Ado → *Vita*«. It remains open why two sources associate the mid-sixth-century foundation of the monastery of St-André with Bishop Desiderius, who lived in the early seventh century and who, even in the narrative of the late *Vita*, had no apparent connection with the monastery.

25 His transcription is reproduced in the Appendix. Le Lièvre was a very old man when he wrote his history of Vienne, one of the first to be written. As canon and sacristan at the cathedral, he must certainly have had easy access to the archives. His character, unfortunately, is less easy to assess: other historians accused him of inserting apocryphal facts and of excessive credulity; at one point in his long career, he was hauled into Rome on charges of heresy (and absolved); Adolphe ROCHAS, *Biographie du Dauphiné*, 2 vols., Paris 1856, 2:48–9.

of Vienne²⁶. Unfortunately, when this same scholar published Rivaz's manuscript, he retained only his comments on the texts, and not his transcriptions²⁷. The current whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown to me²⁸.

Even leaving aside these versions, the authority of the four more certain transcriptions of the *Donatio* is not free from doubt. All our antiquarians claim that they copied the document out of a »cartulary«. But what cartulary did they see? Baluze, Mabillon and Charvet call it the »cartulary of the church of Vienne«²⁹, which would be a fair description of the cathedral cartulary of St-Maurice, in which we know that it existed³⁰.

Dom Estiennot, on the other hand, confusingly calls his source »the cartulary of St-André«; and associates it with »sancti Andreae Viennae monialium«³¹. Of the two monasteries of St-André in Vienne, by the seventeenth century St-André-le-Bas was composed of monks. It did possess a cartulary (now lost), but, at least when it was painstakingly copied in its entirety in 1844, this cartulary did not contain any version of the *Donatio Ansemundi*³². Estiennot's source will thus require some discussion.

Similarly, the source of the other three copyists need not necessarily have been the original cartulary of St-Maurice. »Chartularius ecclesiae Viennensis« is not an entirely clear description, as Ulysse Chevalier pointed out³³. Where was the cartulary of St-Maurice when all these antiquarians were copying it? It ought to have been in the cathedral archive, as it was in 1623 when Le Lièvre consulted it³⁴, and as it still was in 1770 when the local *Chambre des Comptes* had it brought to Grenoble so that it could be examined and described by experts³⁵. Baluze or

26 C. U. J. CHEVALIER, review of CHARVET, *Mémoires pour servir ...* (as n. 21, above) and other works, in: *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 4 (1869) p. 314, n. 5: commenting on Charvet's edition of the *Donatio*, he recommends the »excellent texte« of Rivaz in the MS of *Diplomatique de Bourgogne*.

27 Pierre DE RIVAZ, *Diplomatique de Bourgogne*, ed. C. U. J. Chevalier, Paris 1875 (Collection de cartulaires dauphinois 6.2), p. 1 (Rivaz's discussion of the *Donatio*).

28 It was no longer in the Vienne library at the end of the nineteenth century: see E.-S. BOUGENOT, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Vienne*, in: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements* 21, Paris 1893, p. 525–70.

29 Baluze: BN Collection Baluze 75, fol. 307r: »Ex chartularis ecclesiae Viennensis«; *Capitularia regum francorum* (as n. 7) 2:1433: »Ex chartulario Viennensi«. Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (as n. 7) p. 21A, 463: »Ex chartario Viennensi«. Charvet, *Mémoires* (as n. 21) p. 201: »Cart. Eccles. Vienn. Fol. VIII«.

30 The confirmations come from RIVAZ, *Diplomatique de Bourgogne* (as n. 27), who saw the cartulary before its disappearance in 1789, and from the minutes of the official examination of the cartulary made by the *Chambre des Comptes de Dauphiné*, made in 1770: see n. 35, below.

31 In the margin of Estiennot's transcription, BN lat. 12768, p. 186: »Ex cartularo sancti Andreae«; in the table of contents, fol. Mv, under no. 87: »Excepi eam ex MS cod[ice] qui fuit olim abbatia s[an]c[t]i Andreae Viennensis ...«; at the head of his transcription, p. 186: »Notitia de fundatione sancti Andreae Viennae monialium«.

32 Vienne, Bibliothèque municipale MS 123, published by C. U. J. CHEVALIER as: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-André-le-Bas de Vienne, ordre de Saint-Benoît, suivi d'un appendice de chartes inédites sur le diocèse de Vienne (IX^e–XII^e siècles)*, Lyons 1869 (Collection de cartulaires dauphinois 1); brief description of the 1844 copy at p. iv–vi (»superb«); see also BOUGENOT, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Vienne* (as n. 28) p. 551.

33 C. U. J. CHEVALIER, *Description analytique du cartulaire du chapitre de Saint-Maurice de Vienne suivie d'un appendice de chartes*, Valence 1891 (Collection de cartulaires dauphinois 2.2), p. 1–5, particularly p. 3, n. 2 and p. 5, n. 2: the »chartularius ecclesiae Viennensis« could be mixed up with the »chartularius archiepiscopatus Viennensis«, and either could be used for copies which excerpted from either one; the so-called »petit cartulaire« could also cause confusion.

34 LE LIÈVRE, *Histoire* (as n. 23) p. 249.

35 CHEVALIER, *Description analytique* (as n. 33) p. 6, 9–10: we owe much of our information about the cartulary to the record of this examination, published by Chevalier from the manuscript minutes of the session. The cartulary's subsequent fate was not recorded. Chevalier conjectured that it was returned to the canons of St-Maurice, and that its consequent placement in the cathedral archives then led to its

his assistants definitely used the original cartulary before 1677³⁶, and Charvet's location in Vienne must have made it easy for him to consult it there in the following century³⁷.

Therefore, one might expect the St-Maurice cartulary to have remained in Vienne for the entire intervening period from 1623 to 1770. But four other scholars who used it in the 1670s, including Mabillon, say that they got it from the library of Antoine Vion, Seigneur d'Hérouval³⁸. Was the cartulary of St-Maurice in the hands of this seigneur during the 1670s? Chevalier thought not, although he does not elaborate. He identified Vion d'Hérouval's copy with a collection of extracts made by Harlay earlier in the century and now at the Bibliothèque Nationale³⁹. He should have known better, for the summary on the very first page of the Harlay collection announces that it only contains documents »depuis Charlemagne«⁴⁰, which would exclude the Donatio anyway. In fact, this collection contains no copy of the Donatio at all⁴¹.

In view of Chevalier's error, it seems safe to take Mabillon at his word when he says that he saw the original cartulary. It would then have left Vienne for a period and travelled into the library of the Seigneur d'Hérouval – or at least into the Parisian Chambre des Comptes, of which he was *auditeur*⁴². The evidence of the other antiquarians supports this hypothesis. Such migration of ancient documents, whether through theft, purchase or loan, was hardly

destruction in the Revolution. An unverified source declares that a revolutionary mob burned it, mistaking it for a collection of feudal deeds: *ibid.* p. 6 and n. 1.

36 *Ibid.* p. 8: many other extracts are scattered through the volumes of Baluze's BN Collection.

37 *Ibid.* p. 9; Allut, Charvet's editor, asserts that the latter did indeed work from the original cartulary: it is nonetheless worth noting that either Charvet or Allut in that case lists its folio number (8 for 7) wrongly; see CHARVET, *Mémoires* (as n. 21) p. 201.

38 MABILLON, *De re diplomatica* (as n. 7) p. 463: »Ex chartario Viennensi a D[omino] d'Herouval communicato.« Jacques PETIT, *Theodori sanctissimi ac doctissimi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis poenitentiale*, Paris 1677, used documents in the cartulary of St-Maurice at p. 380–2, 446–7, 536–8, calling his source »chartularius ecclesiae Viennensis«. This cartulary, like almost all of Petit's sources, almost certainly came from the library of Vion d'Hérouval, to whom the book was dedicated; see his comment in the »Index veterum ecclesiasticae disciplinae monumentorum«, p. [xl–xli] (unnumbered): »selecta ex innumeris Schedis Viri Clarissimi Antonii Vyon Domini d'Herouval«, referring to the section including the documents from the cartulary of St-Maurice. Charles LE COINTE, *Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum* 8, Paris 1683, reproduces two charters in the cartulary of St-Maurice, describing their source as »In Chartulario Viennensi, quod Vir Clarissimus Antonius de Vyon d'Herouval nobis utendam commodavit«, p. 177. The fourth scholar is Luc d'Achery, the first edition of whose *Spicilegium* I have been unable to see: the reorganized second edition omits comments on the provenance of his sources; but see CHEVALIER, *Description* (as n. 33) p. 8 and n. 8, and the correspondence between d'Achery and Vion d'Hérouval cited at n. 42, below.

39 BN lat. 11743 = Harlay 397.

40 Fol. 111v; quoted by CHEVALIER, *Description* (as n. 33) p. 7.

41 Fol. 111v–154r are the extracts from the cartulary of St-Maurice, all indeed post-Charlemagne.

42 Léopold DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale [de la Bibliothèque Nationale = vols. 2–3], 3 vols.*, Paris 1868–81, 1:324, n. 6; further, 1:347: »La complaisance de Vyon d'Herouval lui permit de faire une ample moisson à la Chambre des comptes: il y copia ou analysa des milliers de pièces, dont, par la suite, il se procura les originaux eux-mêmes.« Vion d'Hérouval, whose name turns up frequently in Maurist and Colbertian circles, certainly possessed MSS of his own (1:380), many others of which he communicated to d'Achery and Mabillon, and some of which he left to St-Germain at his death (2:45). That he did lend original cartularies, and not merely copies, is confirmed by a surviving letter to d'Achery, BN français 17689, fol. 16, printed in [Albert PONCELET], *Quelques pages supprimées dans le tome cinquième du Spicilege de Dom Luc d'Achery*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 18 (1899) p. 48–9.

unusual in seventeenth-century France, of course⁴³. The mystery is how the cartulary ended up back in Vienne during the next century⁴⁴.

If I am correct, a similar »loan« took place with Estiennot's alleged source, the »cartulary of St-André«. In 1677, Estiennot claimed to have seen it through a Viennois *avocat* and historian, Nicolas Chorier⁴⁵. Now, just as with the cartulary of St-Maurice, there is no initial reason to think that this cartulary had ever been anywhere but in the hands of its church. It was still in the possession of the monks of St-André-le-Bas in the 1780s, when they surrendered it to a Parisian lawyer who was to use it in a case of theirs before Parlement⁴⁶. This juridical value suggests that the monks would not lightly have lent it out or sold it.

Nonetheless, not only does Estiennot's description leave us in little doubt that he thought that he was looking at the original cartulary (»qui fuit olim abbatia sancti Andreae Viennensis«), but another scholar at the same time, Samuel Guichenon, clearly declared the same, also naming Chorier as his source⁴⁷. The case seems so clear that the standard bibliography of French cartularies asserts, »When Guichenon saw the original cartulary, it had been given to him by Chorier«⁴⁸. Chorier, like his fortunate successor in revolutionary Paris (who ended up by owning the cartulary after the dissolution of the monastery), was an *avocat*. Perhaps the monks had confided him the book for use in court cases. This certainly seems like a plausible explanation.

Further information on Chorier suggests that it would have been extremely easy for him to obtain the cartulary of St-André, and to pass it on to Parisian antiquaries. A celebrated historian, in 1666 he was appointed »procureur du roi pour la commission pour la recherche des usurpateurs des titres de noblesse« of the Dauphiné. This position allowed him to examine – and to seize – a large number of charters and cartularies, many of which he used in his historical research⁴⁹. As his memoirs relate, in 1672, Chorier went to Paris, where he met a large number of scholarly celebrities, including Colbert, Vion d'Hérouval, Du Cange (introduced by Vion), Luc d'Achery, and Jean Mabillon. He spent time at St-Germain-des-Prés⁵⁰, and although he does not mention Estiennot, he could certainly have seen him during his stay at St-Germain. The great seventeenth-century circulation of ancient books was focused on precisely this circle⁵¹.

Chorier was not a scrupulous man. After the courts discovered that he was the author of an anonymously published, and hugely popular, obscene Latin poem called the *Aloysia*, he retired to Grenoble, where he died penniless and disgraced in 1692⁵². Poverty had driven him

43 Rosamond MCKITTERICK, The study of Frankish history in France and Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in: *Francia* 8 (1980) p. 570–2.

44 Perhaps Vion's library was eventually dispersed, since his son appears to have been the last of his line: *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* 19, Paris 1876, s. n. Vion, col. 872.

45 BN lat. 12768, p. 186, margin: »Ex cartularo s[an]c[t]i Andreae nitor schedas VC Ni[colas] Chorier.« Also Estiennot's table of contents, at fol. Mv, under no. 87: »Excepi eam ex MS cod[ice] qui fuit olim abbatia s[an]c[t]i Andreae Viennensis qui asservatus in bibl. Ni[colas] Chorier.«

46 CHEVALIER, *Cartulaire de Saint-André-le-Bas* (as n. 32) p. iv–v.

47 Samuel GUICHENON, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie* 4, 2d. ed., Turin 1780, p. 7: »Extraite du Cartulaire dudit Monastère, communiqué par Monsieur Chorier, Avocat au Parlement de Dauphiné«; p. 25, »Charte du monastère de S. André le Bas de Vienne. Tirée du Cartulaire de ladite Église, communiquée par Monsieur Chorier, Avocat au Parlement du Daphiné«.

48 Henri STEIN, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France*, Paris 1907 (*Manuels de bibliographie historique* 4), p. 558.

49 ROCHAS, *Biographie du Dauphiné* (as n. 25) 1:243.

50 Nicolas CHORIER, *Adversariorum de vita et rebus suis libri iii*, ed. M. Gariel, in: *Bull. de la Soc. de statistique des sciences nat. ... du dép. de l'Isère*, 1st ser., 4 (1848) p. 227–30.

51 MCKITTERICK, The study of Frankish history (as n. 43) p. 564–7, 571.

52 ROCHAS, *Biographie du Dauphiné* (as n. 25) 1:237–44.

to indelicate expedients. He sold at least three of the »grand nombre de cartulaires« which he had obtained for his historical research, and others turned up in his effects⁵³.

It therefore seems entirely likely that the cartulary of St-André-le-Bas, like that of St-Maurice, had travelled away from Vienne during the heyday of antiquarian interest in late seventeenth-century France. Both eventually returned to Vienne. The problem remains that the St-André cartulary, at least as published by Chevalier from the 1844 copy, clearly does not contain the *Donatio Ansemundi*. As we shall see, there may be a solution to this problem.

To sum up the situation so far, then: we possess four witnesses to the medieval *Donatio*⁵⁴. The versions of Baluze and Mabillon, from the 1670s, and of Charvet, from the 1760s, appear to have been copied from the original cartulary of St-Maurice. Dom Estiennot, in the 1670s, claims to have transcribed from the cartulary of St-André-le-Bas, which, however, by the nineteenth century, did not contain the *Donatio*.

These comments in no way establish a priority of texts, of course. The authority of Charvet, the archdeacon of a provincial monastery, cannot be upheld against that of Mabillon in the field of editing texts⁵⁵. Although Baluze's version is the earliest to attest the use of the lost cartulary, he did not transcribe the document personally, and made several material changes in the text for publication⁵⁶. The version of Estiennot differs significantly from all the others, which may lend credence to his assertion that he used a different source. In order to establish the relative importance of each copy, we need to assess the working methods and reliability of each scholar.

Establishing a working text of the *Donatio Ansemundi*

Before continuing on to the necessarily conjectural process of reconstructing a working text, it is worth asking why the copies differ so radically. The *Donatio* is, after all, a short and fairly simple text, containing few proper names or unusual vocabulary. The little we know about the St-Maurice cartulary does not suggest that its copies were penned in a particularly illegible or difficult hand. In transcriptions of its other charters, the copyists have noted few lacunae or corruptions of text. What made the *Donatio* so difficult?

The problems of the text of the *Donatio*, I suggest, are directly related to questions of its age and authenticity. The types of variation from copy to copy do not appear to be a result of palaeographical obscurity or physical damage so much as of a corrupt text in the medieval cartulary itself. The cartulary of St-Maurice, after all, dated from the high Middle Ages⁵⁷, and its copy of a supposedly sixth-century document must then have been two, three or more generations removed from the original. True, if we still possessed the lost cartulary, we would be in a better position to reconstruct the text which confronted the early modern antiquarians. But I doubt that we could resolve the grammatical and syntactical problems of the text.

For the *Donatio Ansemundi*, although it claims to have served as founding charter of a local monastery, and although it was certainly used in the early ninth century as a buttress of episcopal authority over that monastery, is maddeningly vague. At least two sentences can be read in a number of ways to suggest that Ansemundus founded one, two or three monasteries,

53 *Ibid.*, p. 244. Some of these MSS seem to have found their way into the royal library, where they are now BN lat. 11376, 13879, 14173, and français 13987; lat. 13879 is the cartulary of St Hugues, bishop of Grenoble: DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* (as n. 42) 2:354.

54 For all the discussion that follows, refer to the complete transcriptions of the different versions in the Appendix, below.

55 Particularly when Charvet is obviously guilty of expanding »Deus« as »Dominus«, of the omission of an entire phrase, and of reorganizing the opening sentences in order to make sense of the grammar. See below, p. 175–6.

56 See below, p. 177.

57 The section containing the *Donatio* has been variously dated from ca. 1060 to the thirteenth century.

that he was re-founding a nunnery, or that he had added a church onto another monastery. The presence in Vienne of two monasteries dedicated to St Andrew has always confused the issue, but it is true that both seem to be mentioned in the charter.

The variations from edition to edition, then, may not be so much the result of incompetent or wilful transcribing, as of attempted emendation by various editors in order to make sense of the text. This is particularly clear in the case of Charvet, for instance, who wanted to see in the text the founding charter of St-André-le-Haut, the abbey whose history he was writing, rather than that of St-André-le-Bas, by a small margin the favourite of the majority of historians and of standard works today⁵⁸. In reality, the text is so open that it could well refer to either monastery⁵⁹. Plausible emendations could go either way, and unless we can accept the lacuna-free text of Le Lièvre, we will have to be content with an ambiguous document.

In any case, we should only be interested in the level of comprehensibility of the text insofar as it affects judgment of its authenticity. The question of which monastery the charter was founding is necessarily of more interest to local Viennois scholars, and to historians of the later Middle Ages, than to those of the sixth century, for whom the very presence of a surviving donation is the crucial issue. That is, for the question of transmission, establishing a unequivocal meaning in the text must take second rank to establishing whether our ambiguous text is really, in origin, a genuine document of the sixth century, written by a local notable with a Germanic name, probably the friend and correspondent of Avitus of Vienne.

With this aim firmly in mind, let us return to the problem of the varying editions. The first step is to identify probable textual emendations, so that we can try to reduce the text to the set of words on folio 7 of the cartulary of St-Maurice. For the moment, then, I leave out Estiennot's copy, which may have been drawn from a different source. The very likelihood of its independence, of course, will be easier to assess once we have established as closely as possible the probable contents of the St-Maurice version, using the three transcribers who definitely saw it: Baluze, Mabillon and Charvet.

Transcriptions from the St-Maurice Cartulary

To begin with the worst transcription, Charvet clearly fiddled with the text. He had an obvious motive: the document is his earliest *preuve* for the existence of his monastery, St-André-le-Haut, and if the text were not clear, it could be argued to be the founding charter of the other monastery, St-André-le-Bas. His omission of the two lacunae, one or both of which is clearly noted by both Baluze and Mabillon, was one way of removing ambiguity. In place of these lacunae, he shifted »qualiter« in order to make the mysterious »fratres« into the members of the »senatus Viennensis«, and changed »quos« to »quomodo« in the description of the founding of the earlier monastery. He also changed case endings: »senatu«, in the ablative in every other copy, becomes »senatus« (genitive), while »fratres« becomes »fratribus«, producing the opening, »It is known to the brothers of the noble senate of Vienne that ...« It is a lovely, clear sentence which unfortunately takes no notice of either the actual problematic forms or the probable lacuna near the word »senatu«. Changing »& foras« to »ne foras« leaves less question about the location of the already-existing monastery of St-André: inside the city walls, not outside⁶⁰.

Once we pinpoint Charvet's other changes, fairly minor, such as putting »cortilo« into the

58 CHARVET, *Mémoires* (as n. 21) p. 37–40: even if St-André-le-Haut already existed in 543, the donation simply increased the lands pertaining to it. For modern views, consult the references in n. 2 (Albrand agrees with Charvet).

59 Already by the time of Louis the Pious's confirmation in 831, everyone seems to have believed that the Donatio was the founding charter of St-André-le-Bas; this therefore seems the likely choice.

60 Thus making it St-André-le-Bas (see n. 16, above). Note in particular Charvet's tendentious translation, *Id.*, *Mémoires* (as n. 21) p. 37–8 (unfortunately followed by ALBRAND, *L'église et le cloître de St-*

accusative to match »integrum«, making »consignat« »consignamus« (probably by confusion with the appearance of the latter word on the next line), expanding »Deus« as »Dominus«, and omitting the phrase »alias totas potestati tuae concedimus« (almost certainly through *sant du même au même*), we are left with a text nearly identical to Mabillon.

The removal of Charvet as a major textual variant is quite useful, since the editions of Mabillon and Baluze, the other two versions in this class, differ less than any other two transcriptions. They are by no means identical: Baluze inserts many ampersands lacking in Mabillon, and disagrees on some case-endings. But none of these discrepancies materially changes the meaning of the text⁶¹.

There is one crucial difference between Baluze and Mabillon, but it only exists in Baluze's manuscript copy, which lacks the important »ut« in the opening sentence »ut monasterium quod Deo vovimus«. He added it, however, in the published version – as an insertion in the margin, no less. Was this version produced after a trip back to consult the original document? Possibly so, since all the changes introduced to Baluze's published version bring it closer to Mabillon's copy. Baluze was the first person whom we know to have produced or published a copy of the Donatio from the cartulary of St-Maurice, and no evidence suggests that he saw the lucid and complete version of Le Lièvre. Mabillon could have been influenced by Baluze⁶², but not the other way around.

It thus seems almost certain that Baluze went back to see the original before publication. The manuscript was produced for him (among thousands of others) by assistants; the volume in which it appears includes hundreds of other documents not used by Baluze in his »Capitularia«. What could make more sense than that, after deciding to use the Donatio in his book, and observing its incomprehensible state as copied for him, that he should go and check it again against the original, or employ someone to do it for him? The charter turned out, of course, to be incomprehensible nonetheless, but the second transcription certainly improved the text in parts, and judging from its closer approach to Mabillon's copy, probably improved its faithfulness to the document⁶³.

In the published version of Baluze's transcription, even Baluze's marking of the lacunae matches Mabillon's. Since one can (just) make sense of the opening sentence as he has it, he decided not to signal the gap there just before »senatus«, and only to mark the second, larger lacuna. Mabillon did the same. Baluze's manuscript copy, however, notes the lacuna near »senatus«, which we can thus deduce did exist in the cartulary original. It was simply not necessary to put it in the »Capitularia« version, just as Mabillon found it unnecessary to put it in the »De re diplomatica«.

A detail on Baluze's manuscript copy suggests how Mabillon and Baluze may have come to diverge in marking the lacunae: the two lacunae were of different types. Next to the second lacuna, a marginal note in Baluze's manuscript explicitly states that there is a gap in the text at that point: »Hic locus vacuus relictus est in MS.« The first lacuna, in contrast, although left as

André-le-Bas [as n. 2] p. 10–22), rendering the unspecified »monasterium ... in honore sancti Andreae apostoli« *tout-à-fait* as »the monastery of St-André-le-Bas«.

61 Baluze »portam civitatis«, Mabillon »portas civitatis«; B »cujus institutione nutrita«, M »cujus in institutione nutrita«. Also note B »ossa sanctarum«, M »ossa sanctorum«; B »quicquid«, M »quidquid«; B »non longo a loco«, M »non longe a loco«; B »et ex ordine vivant«, M »et ex hoc ordine vivant«. (On this last point, B uniquely agrees with Estiennot and not M. It must be due to the same oversight on the part of each, since Charvet matches M and had no special reason to insert a »hoc«.)

62 Mabillon did know Baluze's edition: *De re diplomatica* (as n. 7) p. 464A. On the question of influence, see below.

63 The original manuscript copy makes »conjux dilecta mea« simply »conjux mea«, and »potestati tuae concedimus« »potestate tuae concedimus«: these unique readings are surely due to the errors of the overworked assistant copyist, and were rightly corrected on the second reading for the published version.

a space in Baluze's copy, lacks any such annotation. Therefore, it may rather have been an illegible word or a blemish on the original page. As such, it is easy to see how Mabillon might have deemed it irrelevant to the sense of the text, and Baluze also, in his final, printed redaction.

This discussion comes close to establishing a basic text of the St-Maurice version of the Donatio. It only remains to determine the extent to which Mabillon was influenced by Baluze. He was certainly familiar with Baluze's edition. It is possible that Baluze's readings, and his (published) omission of the first lacuna, influenced Mabillon's rendition of the text. But the number of trivial differences⁶⁴ between the two make it clear that Mabillon did indeed consult the original, as he states. Since his point was to show how bishops and kings knew and used earlier documents⁶⁵, it was in his own best interest to attempt to establish as clear a text as possible. Given Mabillon's reputation, of course, we would expect nothing less than an honest transcription. That seems to be what we possess.

Give or take a few ampersands, then, a collation of Mabillon and Baluze, taking into account the omitted lacuna in the first sentence, will produce a working conjectural text of the St-Maurice cartulary version of the Donatio Ansemundi. This is Version A (see Appendix). In general, I have relied on Mabillon's authority when the texts differ. Baluze's change of mind about the »ut« in the first sentence simply means an added »ut« rather than a recognition that the original »et monasterium« was a misreading, producing »ut et monasterium«; Mabillon's »ut monasterium« here is preferable. Baluze's punctuation at »loco qui dicitur Martis, totum quod ... possedimus« is, however, clearly superior to Mabillon's bizarre »loco qui dicitur Martis-totum, quod ... possedimus«. Baluze can be assumed not to have introduced »omnes« at »omnes res nostras« for no particular reason; Mabillon must just have missed it. Furthermore, I have retained Baluze's first lacuna – the apparent illegible word or stain – from his manuscript version. Otherwise, few decisions needed to be made. Their rendering of proper nouns is identical, as is the protocol and eschatocol. It seems indeed that these two scholars reined in their imaginations, held back from emendation, and produced faithful transcriptions of a difficult document.

The Transcription from the St-André Cartulary

Dom Estiennot's transcription is necessarily different from those of Baluze and Mabillon. His manuscript copy of 1677/8, claiming to be from another source, never had to endure the exigencies of publication, and never had to prove a point in an argument. It shows really notable differences from Version A. Could these differences actually be attributable to an independent source?

Let us first catalogue the major variants in the text of Estiennot, as opposed to that of Version A⁶⁶:

1. »Eremila« for »Remila«
2. »uxor« for »coniux«
3. »frater meus [?word] nobilis senatu [...] Viennensis« for »fratres [...] senatu nobilis Viennensis«
4. »et monasterium« for »ut monasterium quod«

64 See n. 61, above.

65 MABILLON, *De re diplomatica* (as n. 7) p. 21A.

66 Less significant differences (in terms of textual transmission, not in terms of their relative importance for the meaning of the text): »construere« for »construeres«, »cortile« for »cortilo«, »faeminis« for »feminis«, and »scripsi et roboravi« for »scripsi, roboravi«. »Ausleubana« in the protocol may be Estiennot's error, since he transcribes »Ansleubana« in the eschatocol. Similarly »emptas« for »exceptas«.

5. »et ut intra« for »et tu infra«
6. »ex ordine vivant quo sanctus« for »ex hoc ordine vivant quos sanctus«
7. »sancta monasteria« for »sancto monasterio«
8. »ipsam altario matris« for »ipsum [...] altario matris«
9. »mater mea Viennensis ecclesia« for »mater nostra Viennensis ecclesia«
10. »ut votum nostrum iudex impleas« for »ut votum nostrum inde impleas«
11. »Hlothario« for »Lotario«

Two features of this list stand out. First, major variations of the text occur near the two lacunae displayed by Version A. Second, unlike any of the three texts compared for Version A, Estiennot's copy differs in the spelling of proper nouns and in the protocol and eschatocol. In general, the differences here, unlike those between the copies of Baluze and Mabillon, are different enough to alter the meaning of the text.

Some of these discrepancies, although weighty, are early errors. »Intra de facultate nostra« must be an error for »infra de facultate nostra«, since Estiennot repeats the phrase »infra vel foras« further on, and the text clearly meant to hammer this point home (whatever the point may be). »Ut votum nostrum *iudex* impleas« does not make any sense either, since the text has been addressing Remila, and the shift to addressing a judge, attractive though it may seem for a sixth-century document, cannot be accepted. »Ut votum nostrum *inde* impleas«, the reading of all other texts, must be what stood in the page. The two words, »iudex« and »inde«, are easy to confuse in any hand; the confusion may already have stood in Estiennot's original.

But these particular differences, however material for the meaning of the text, tell us little about the possible independence of Estiennot's source. Here we must rely on the changes in spelling of proper nouns, the replacement of »nostra« by »mea«, and shifting of »nobilis« in the first sentence. These cannot have been misreadings. They must have either stood on the page or been emendations of Estiennot. The latter possibility is unlikely. Although »Hlothario« for »Lotario« was possibly an attempt to restore the genuinely sixth-century »Chlothar« for the ninth-century »Lothar«, the other changes serve no purpose in clarifying the text. »Eremila«, if Estiennot were familiar with Ado, for example, produces a reading divergent from an old source. The shifting of »nobilis« does nothing to make the first sentence more intelligible.

The state of Estiennot's manuscript, moreover, does not suggest that Estiennot changed things around to produce a new, clean text. »Frater meus« is followed by a couple of hesitant dots, and then an unintelligible word which is underlined, Estiennot's standard notation for a deletion⁶⁷. Then, »nobilis senatu«, followed by a further two dots, and »Viennensis«. He seems to have been working it out as best he could as he went along. There is no evidence of any alteration of the order of the words as he saw them. The same applies to most of the other variations. Such a judgement coincides with contemporary descriptions of Estiennot's meticulousness and honesty⁶⁸.

67 BN lat. 12768. Compare the underlined exiguous »-ni-« in »Leoninianus«, further on, and »perfecta perfecta«, the first »perfecta« a rather messy rendition, the second somewhat neater. The unintelligible word at the first lacuna does suggest some relationship with the similarly corrupt text of Mabillon and Estiennot; the omission of any notice of a gap at the second lacuna suggests, on the other hand, a definite divergence. The issue of the corrupt word may eventually prove to be the crux that could establish the existence of a common parent text of both Baluze-Mabillon's version and of Estiennot's version.

68 Estiennot »avoit un talent singulier pour lire les plus anciennes et les plus difficiles écritures«. Un religieux bénédictin de la congrégation de St Vannes [Jean François], Bibliothèque générale des écrivains de l'ordre de Saint Benoît, 4 vols., N.p. [Bouillon] 1777-8, 1:302. See further Dictionnaire de biographie française 13, Paris 1975, cols. 110-11.

I suggest, then, that the divergencies of Estiennot's text from the text in the cartulary of St-Maurice show that he did indeed use an independent source⁶⁹. What was it?

Estiennot himself thought that he knew his source: the twelfth-century cartulary of St-André⁷⁰, which had once been at the monastery, and was now in the hands of his colleague in Vienne, Nicolas Chorier. As observed above, this scenario presents two problems. First, the cartulary itself seems unlikely to have left the hands of the monks at this period. Second, the cartulary, at least as transcribed in 1844, did not contain a copy of the *Donatio Ansemundi*. Neither of these problems is in itself insurmountable. Like the St-Maurice cartulary, the St-André cartulary could well have travelled around the antiquarian circles of France. After Chorier, Guichenon, Estiennot and perhaps others⁷¹ had seen the cartulary, it returned to the monastery. On the other hand, Estiennot himself made copious trips to see sources for his forty-five volumes of texts and notes, visiting the Lyonnais, the Auvergne, and various places in Dauphiné and Provence⁷². One way or the other, ample opportunity existed for Estiennot and Chorier to meet, and for Estiennot to see the original cartulary of St-André.

As for the absence of the *Donatio* from our copy of the cartulary, it must be pointed out that the cartulary, as transcribed in 1844, may not have been complete. The collation made at that time showed 84 folios⁷³. As Chevalier points out, in a collection of signatures of 8, this implies that four folios were missing⁷⁴, or had never existed in the first place. It is quite possible that mutilation, rather than an irregular quire, was the culprit, since the first document transcribed was fairly severely damaged: most of the first eight lines were unreadable⁷⁵. The dating of the documents, moreover, beginning with the late ninth century and continuing chronologically, would allow for the *Donatio* to have taken an early place in the collection. As it was believed to have been the founding charter of the abbey, it might have taken first place. It would thus have perished with the missing four folios at some point between the 1670s, when Estiennot saw it, and 1844, when a student at the *École des Chartes* transcribed it. The scenario is not unimpeachable, of course, but it is possible.

Another piece of information also suggests that the cartulary of St-André did originally include more documents than it contained in 1844. The library catalogue of the MSS of the city of Vienne, describing the 1844 copy of the St-André cartulary, notes that the cartulary had been »incomplet du commencement«⁷⁶. Chevalier omitted to mention this fact in his edition of the 1844 copy, and also omitted all the notes by Thomas Mermet which accompanied the copy⁷⁷. In fact, Chevalier's copy is destitute of any commentary but his own⁷⁸. But the note – probably part of Mermet's commentary – that the cartulary was incomplete at the beginning makes sense in light of the damaged state of the first few documents.

69 I am grateful to Dr Rosamond McKitterick and Professor Michael Lapidge for their advice on this matter. Professor Lapidge, on the basis of the texts alone, suggests »probably two separate but related exemplars« (personal communication). With the addition of the evidence of Estiennot's manuscript and the antiquarians' own descriptions of their different sources, I think that two exemplars are certain.

70 It was compiled ca. 1135, under the abbot Aimon: CHEVALIER, *Cartulaire de Saint-André-le-Bas* (as n. 32) p. vi–vii.

71 At some point, both Gaignières and Baluze had MS extracts made (now at the BN): STEIN, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires* (as n. 48) p. 558.

72 *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (as n. 68) 13:110–11; *Un religieux bénédictin*, *Bibliothèque générale* (as n. 68) p. 302–3. The 45 volumes are now BN lat. 12741–12776, along with others in the archives of several departments. Estiennot never published anything.

73 CHEVALIER, *Cartulaire de Saint-André-le-Bas* (as n. 32) p. v.

74 *Ibid.* p. vii–viii.

75 *Ibid.* p. 1–2. But one would expect the greatest damage to be on the first page of a cartulary anyway.

76 BOUGENOT, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Vienne* (as n. 28) MS 123, p. 551.

77 Mentioned *ibid.*

78 CHEVALIER, *Cartulaire de Saint-André-le-Bas* (as n. 32) p. iv–xxii.

The special peculiarities of Estiennot's copy, his reference to the cartulary of St-André, and the probable loss of leaves from the opening of that cartulary, all suggest that the St-André cartulary did contain the *Donatio Ansemundi* at its beginning, as one might expect of a foundation charter. This copy of the *Donatio* would then have been Estiennot's source, independent of the version used by Mabillon and Baluze.

Some might object that if two cartularies containing the *Donatio* were really available in St-Germain-des-Prés between 1677 and 1681, it seems unlikely that neither of the Maurist copyists made use of both of them. Nevertheless, surprising as it may seem, it appears clear that Estiennot and Mabillon each relied on the single, and different, cartulary source that each records. Indeed, the rest of their collections demonstrate that Estiennot never made extracts from the cartulary of St-Maurice, and that Mabillon never used the cartulary of St-André⁷⁹. Nor is it incredible that they never seem to have realized that the other had copied the same charter from a different source. For one thing, each of them examined hundreds of cartularies, and tens of thousands of documents; Estiennot's copy of the *Donatio* occupies a single sheet of one of forty-five fat volumes of transcribed charters. For another, the *Donatio*'s early date doubtless appeared less significant to Mabillon and Estiennot than it does today. After all, they believed that they had authentic diplomas of Clovis in their hands. The truth lies in the statements of the two antiquarians themselves. Estiennot used one cartulary, which he obtained through Nicolas Chorier, and Mabillon the other, which he consulted through the auspices of Antoine Vion d'Hérouval. The two scholars worked in the same circle at the same time, and each was ignorant of the other's copy.

We are thus in the exciting possession of two high medieval witnesses to the *Donatio*. I call Estiennot's copy Version B, as a second medieval witness to the text (see Appendix). It now remains to examine these two medieval copies, one from the cartulary of St-Maurice, the other from the cartulary of St-André, to determine what may have been the Ur-text behind the two, and to determine whether this text indeed goes back to a donation made in Vienne in the year 543⁸⁰.

79 STEIN, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires* (as n. 48) p. 557–8. Stein is ignorant of Mabillon's use of the cartulary of St-Maurice, but wrongly asserts (p. 558) that Mabillon used the cartulary of St-André for his *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, 6 vols., vol. 6 ed. Edmund MARTÈNE, Paris 1703–39. In fact, all Mabillon's citations of charters from the St-André cartulary refer to printed transcriptions in Baluze's *Capitularia* and d'Achery's *Spicilegium* 13; e. g., *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti* 4:246, 4:337. Baluze's collection does make use of both cartularies, but different assistants copied from each one, to judge from the different hands: extracts from St-Maurice at BN Collection Baluze 75, fol. 307r–400v; extracts from St-André at BN Collection Baluze 75, fol. 402r–423v, 426r. In a third hand, an incomplete description of the cartulary of St-Maurice (royal diplomas only, it seems), beginning at BN Collection Baluze 14, fol. 47. Whether the cartularies were already at St-Germain, or even in Paris, when Baluze's assistants saw them, remains an open question. Chorier, of course, used both cartularies (STEIN, p. 557–8), along with other (now lost) Viennois cartularies (*ibid.*, p. 614), but none of his books mentions the *Donatio*: Nicolas CHORIER, *Recherches sur les antiquités de la ville de Vienne*, 1659, 2nd edition ed. by [M. COCHARD], Lyons 1828; CHORIER, *Histoire générale de Dauphiné*, 2 vols., 1660–72, 2nd edition, ed. Chenevier and Chavet, Valence 1869–81; CHORIER, *L'Etat politique de la province de Dauphiné*, 4 vols., Grenoble 1671. (Chorier himself did make some copies from the cartulary of St-Maurice, in vol. 12 of his manuscript *Miscellanea*. In 1891, this MS belonged to an Am. de Bouffier, who was unhelpful to Chevalier, apparently refusing him access; Chevalier, *Description analytique*, p. 8. Its current whereabouts are unknown to me.)

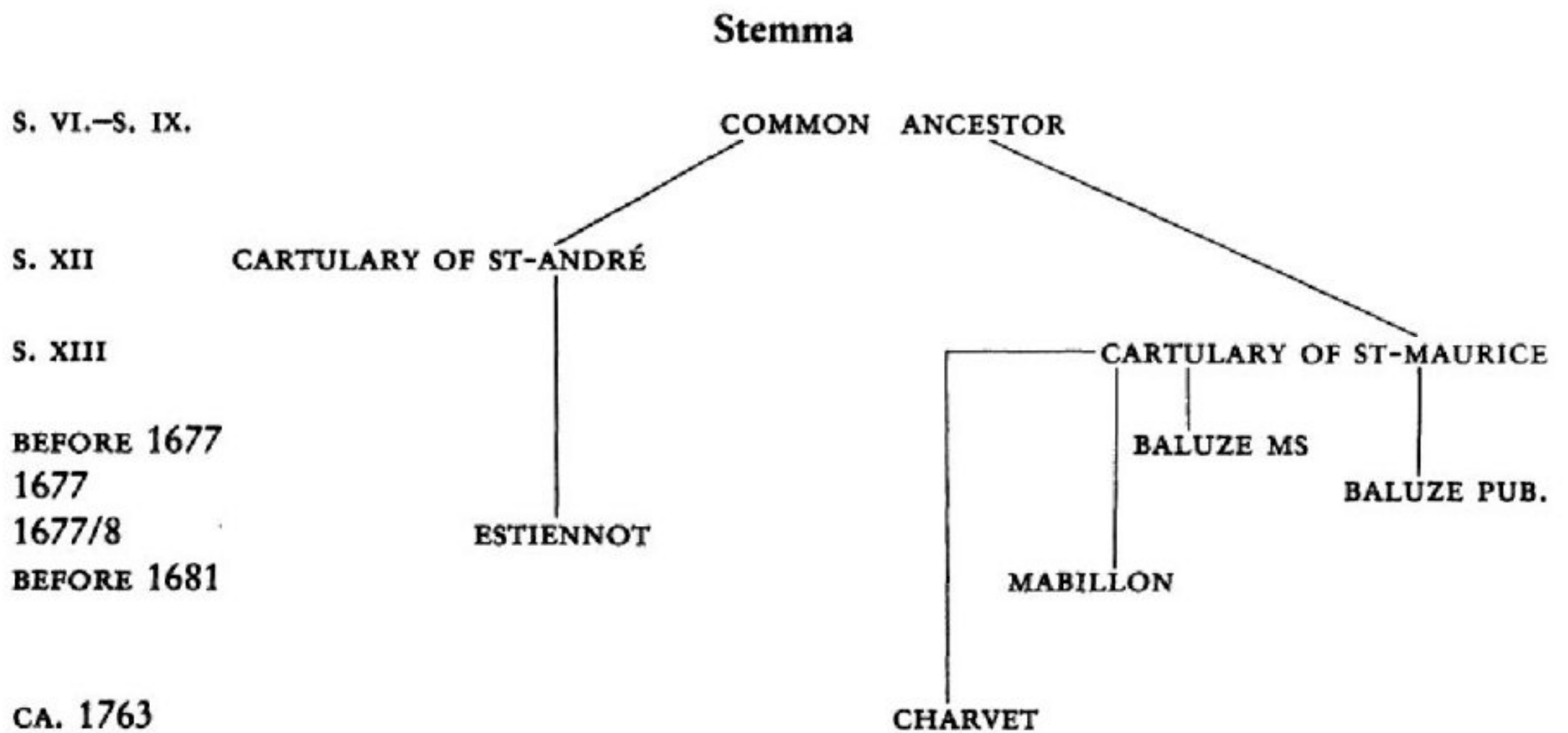
80 This will be the subject of a subsequent article.

APPENDIX

Transcriptions of early modern copies of the Donatio Ansemundi

This appendix includes:

1. The manuscript copy made for Étienne BALUZE, now in the BN, with notes indicating the changes made when this copy was published in 1677.
2. The published copy of Jean MABILLON, made near the same time, and printed in the *De re diplomatica*.
3. The copy of Claude CHARVET from the 1760s, published a century later in his posthumous history of the abbey of St-André-le-Haut.
4. VERSION A, a reconstruction of the text of the Donatio as it stood in the cartulary of St-Maurice, based on the copies of Baluze and Mabillon. (Charvet is ignored as untrustworthy; see above, p. 172-3.)
5. The manuscript copy made by Dom Claude ESTIENNOT in 1677/8, now in the BN, reproduced with his marginal comments. I call this copy VERSION B, and take it to be the sole witness to the text of the St-André cartulary. (See p. 174-176.)
6. The transcription of Jean LE LIÈVRE, published in 1623, apparently from a lost *Vita Desiderii*, but whose origins are so uncertain as to remove its text from serious consideration (see notes 23-5, above). I reproduce it from interest, however, since it has the advantage of being the only complete and comprehensible text.



Conspectus of MSS and editions

Witnesses to the text:

Jean Le Lièvre, *Histoire de l'antiquité et sainteté de la cité de Vienne en la Gaule Celtique*, Vienne 1623, p. 9-10.

Étienne Baluze, BN Collection Baluze 75, fol. 320r-v. (before 1677)

Étienne Baluze, *Capitularia regum francorum*, 2 vols., Paris 1677, 2:1433.

Dom Claude Estiennot, *Fragmenta Historicae Sacrae* 6, BN lat. 12768, p. 186. (1677/8)

Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, Paris 1681, p. 463.

Claude Charvet, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye royale de St-André-le-Haut de Vienne*, ed. M. P. Allut, Lyons 1868, p. 200–1 (transcribed 1763).

Commonly cited composite editions:

J. M. Pardessus, ed., *Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, 2 vols., Paris 1843, 1:104–5, no. 140, using Baluze and Mabillon (with reference to Le Lièvre).

B. Hauréau, ed., *Gallia Christiana* 16, *Instrumentum* no. 1, Paris 1865, using Estiennot and Pardessus.

Reprints and copies of direct transcriptions:

Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale MS U. 924 (1700s), a copy of Estiennot's transcription.

J. D. Mansi, *Concilia* 18, Venice 1773, col. 949, a reproduction of Baluze's transcription.

Thomas Mermet, aîné, *Histoire de la ville de Vienne de l'an 438 à l'an 1039*, 3 vols., Vienne 1828–54, 2:129–30, translation using the Grenoble MS and Le Lièvre. (1833)

Emilie Albrand, *L'église et le cloître de St-André-le-Bas à Vienne*, Diss., Lyons 1951, p. 83–4, a reproduction of Charvet's transcription.

Chronology of events

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 543 | Ansemundus's donation of property to create a monastery dedicated to St André in Vienne |
| 831 | Louis the Pious's confirmation to the bishop of Vienne that, by the terms of Ansemundus's donation, the monastery of St-André-le-Bas should lie under episcopal control |
| 870s | Ado of Vienne's notice of the foundation by Ansemundus, in his <i>Chronicon</i> |
| s. xii | Compilation of the cartulary of St-André-le-Bas |
| s. xiii | Compilation of the cathedral cartulary of St-Maurice |
| 1623 | First publication of a text of the Donatio, in Jean Le Lièvre's history of Vienne, from a lost <i>Vita Desiderii</i> |
| 1660s | Nicolas Chorier, an avocat at Vienne, somehow acquires the cartulary of St-André; Antoine Vion, an aristocratic collector, acquires the cartulary of St-Maurice |
| 1670s | Baluze and Mabillon make their copies out of the cartulary of St-Maurice; Estiennot from St-André |
| 1700s | The cartularies return to Vienne |
| 1760s | Charvet makes his copy from the cartulary of St-Maurice |
| 1770 | Cartulary of St-Maurice taken for examination by the <i>Chambre des Comptes de Dauphiné</i> |
| 1780s | Cartulary of St-André-le-Bas given to a Paris avocat for use in court |
| 1789 | Destruction of the cartulary of St-Maurice in the French Revolution |
| 1844 | Transcription of the entire surviving contents of the cartulary of St-André-le-Bas (Donatio not included) |
| 1854 | Destruction of the cartulary of St-André-le-Bas in a fire at the <i>Bibliothèque de la Ville de Vienne</i> . |

1. BALUZE (before 1677)

BN Collection Baluze 75, fol. 320r-v.

Footnotes indicate the changes in the printed edition: Étienne Baluze, *Capitularia regum francorum* 2, Paris 1677, col. 1433.

Source: »Ex chartularis Viennensi ecclesiae Viennensis« (Coll. Bal. 75, fol. 307r).

DONATIO REMILAE^a

Vid. supra Domnae filiae Remilae & vocabulo Eugeniae, Ansemundus & conjux mea^d
pag. 1^b Ansleubana non habetur incognitum, qualiter fratres _____^e senatu nobilis Vien-
nensis res nostras Deo tibi que tradidimus &^f monasterium quod Deo vovimus ad
sepulturam nostram inde construeres in honore sancti Andreae apostoli quod nos
jam feceramus in honore sancti Petri in bello campo foras portam civitatis & tu
infra de facultate nostra & foras ossa sanctorum Dei requiescerent. Damus autem
ad hoc opus integrum cortilo hereditatis nostrae non longo a loco qui dicitur
Martis totum quod infra vel foras civitatem hereditario jure possedimus, &
quicquid ibi nobis obvenit legibus ut sanctis feminis monasterium ibi constitutas,
& ex ordine vivant quos sanctus Leonianus sancto monasterio urbis nostrae
Hic locus instituit ubi soror nostra Eubona Abbatissa praeest. Cujus institutione nutrita &
vacuus ipsum _____ altario matris Viennensis ecclesia^g sicut nos vovisse non dubitas,
relictus instrumentis factis absque mora consignat, ut mater nostra Viennensis ecclesia inde
est in MS.^c nostra heres fiat. Consignamus tibi ad hoc opus omnes res nostras illas exceptas
quas matri ecclesiae & sancto Petro per testamentum legavimus & illas quas
heredibus dimittimus, alias totas potestati tuae concedimus &^h votum nostrum
inde impleas & Deo perfecta placere valeas. Ego Servilius, jubente domno meo
Ansemundo & domna mea Ansleubana scripsi, roboravi, anno viiii.ⁱ regnante
Domno Lotario.

Praeceptum istius donationis requiritur [*crossed out and replaced in a different hand by*
require] in cartis istius quaternionis.^j

a Charta Ansemundi & Ansleubanae, cujus mentio habetur in superiori praecepto

b *Omitted*. [Directed the reader to MS copy of Louis the Pious's confirmation.]

c *Omitted*.

d conjux dilecta mea

e *No space indicated*.

f *Preceded by an asterisk directing reader to marginal ut*.

g Ecclesiae.

h *Omitted*.

i ix.

j [Entire last sentence lacking in published edition. It refers to the confirmation of Louis the Pious, transcribed several pages earlier, at fol. 307r.]

2. MABILLON (1681)

Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, Paris 1681, p. 463.

Source: In margin: »Ex chartario Viennensis a D[omino] d'Herouval communicato. Anno 520.«

Domnae filiae Remilae, vocabulo Eugeniae, Ansemundus & conjux dilecta mea Ansleubana. Non habetur incognitum, qualiter fratres senatu nobilis Viennensis res nostras Deo tibi que tradidimus ut monasterium quod Deo vovimus, ad sepulturam nostram inde construeres, in honore sancti Andreae apostoli, quod nos jam feceramus in honore sancti Petri in Bello-campo foras portas civitatis, & tu infra de facultate nostra & foras ossa sanctorum Dei requiescerent. Damus autem ad hoc opus integrum cortilo hereditatis nostrae non longe a loco, qui dicitur Martis-totum, quod infra vel foras civitatem hereditario jure possedimus; & quidquid ibi nobis obvenit legibus, ut sanctis feminis monasterium ibi constituas, & ex hoc ordine vivant, quos sanctus Leonianus sancto monasterio urbis nostrae instituit, ubi soror nostra Eubona abbatissa praeest: cujus in institutione nutrita & ipsum ... altario matris Viennensis Ecclesiae, sicut nos vovisse non dubitas, instrumentis factis, absque mora consignat, ut mater nostra, Viennensis ecclesia inde nostra haeres fiat. Consignamus tibi ad hoc opus res nostras illas, exceptas quas matri ecclesiae & sancto Petro per testamentum legavimus, & illas quas heredibus dimittimus: alias totas potestati tuae concedimus, ut votum nostrum inde impleas, & Deo perfecta placere valeas.

Ego Servilius, jubente Domno meo Ansemundo & Domna mea Ansleubana, scripsi, roboravi anno VIII regnante Domno Lotario.

3. CHARVET (ca. 1763)

Claude Charvet, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye royale de St-André-le-Haut de Vienne*, ed. M. P. Allut, Lyons 1868, pp. 200–1.

Source: »Cart. Eccles. Vienn. Fol. VIII.«^a

Domnae filiae Remilae, et vocabulo Eugeniae, Ansemundus, & conjux dilecta mea Ansleubana. Non habetur incognitum fratribus senatus nobilis Viennensis qualiter res nostras Deo tibi que tradidimus ut monasterium quod Domino vovimus, ad sepulturam nostram inde construeres, in honore sancti Andreae apostoli quod nos jam feceramus in honore sancti Petri, in Bello campo foras portam civitatis, & tu infra de facultate nostra ne foras ossa sanctorum Dei requiescerent. Damus autem ad hoc opus integrum curtilum hereditatis nostrae non longe a loco qui dicitur Martis totum quod infra vel foras civitatem hereditario jure possedimus & quidquid ibi nobis obvenit legibus ut sanctis feminis monasterium ibi constituas & ex hoc ordine vivant quomodo sanctus Leonianus sancto monasterio urbis nostrae instituit, ubi soror nostra Eubona abbatissa praeest, cujus institutione nutrita & ipsum altari matris Viennensis Ecclesiae sicut nos vovisse non dubitas & instrumentis factis absque mora consignamus ut mater nostra Viennensis ecclesia inde nostra heres fiat. Consignamus tibi ad hoc opus res nostras illas exceptas quas matri ecclesiae & sancto Petro per testamentum legavimus & illas quas heredibus dimittimus, ut votum nostrum inde impleas & Domino perfecta placere valeas.

Ego Servilius jubente Domno meo Ansemundo & Domna mea Ansleubana scripsi, roboravi anno VIII regnante Domno Lotario.

^a An error for »VII.« See n. 37, above.

4. VERSION A: THE ST-MAURICE CARTULARY

This composite may best reflect the contents of the St-Maurice cartulary, folio 7. It combines Baluze's printed version, which seems to be an improved look at the original, with that of Mabillon, which is preferred in the (rare) matters of conflict. The first textual lacuna is noted from Baluze's manuscript version.

Capitalization, ampersands for »et« and orthographic peculiarities such as »j« for consonantal »i« have been brought into line with modern usage.

Domnae filiae Remilae, vocabulo Eugeniae, Ansemundus, et conjux dilecta mea Ansleubana. Non habetur incognitum, qualiter fratres [...] ^a senatus nobilis Viennensis res nostras Deo tibi que tradidimus ut monasterium quod Deo vovimus, ad sepulturam nostram inde construeres, in honore sancti Andreae apostoli, quod nos iam feceramus in honore sancti Petri in bello campo foras portas civitatis, et tu infra de facultate nostra et foras ossa sanctorum Dei requiescerent. Damus autem ad hoc opus integrum cortilo hereditatis nostrae non longe a loco qui dicitur Martis, totum quod infra vel foras civitatem hereditario iure possedimus, et quidquid ibi nobis obvenit legibus, ut sanctis feminis monasterium ibi constituas, et ex hoc ordine vivant, quos sanctus Leonianus sancto monasterio urbis nostrae instituit, ubi soror nostra Eubona abbatissa praeest; cuius in institutione nutrita et ipsum [...] ^b altario matris Viennensis ecclesiae, sicut nos vovisse non dubitas, instrumentis factis absque mora consignat, ut mater nostra Viennensis ecclesia inde nostra haeres fiat. Consignamus tibi ad hoc opus omnes res nostras illas, exceptas quas matri ecclesiae et sancto Petro per testamentum legavimus et illas quas heredibus dimittimus, alias totas potestati tuae concedimus, ut votum nostrum inde impleas, et Deo perfecta placere valeas. Ego Servilius, iubente domno meo Ansemundo et domna mea Ansleubana, scripsi, roboravi anno viiii. regnante domno Lotario.

a Perhaps an unintelligible word or a stain.

b Gap left in the source-text.

5. ESTIENNOT (1677/8) = VERSION B: THE ST-ANDRÉ-CARTULARY

BN lat. 12768, p. 186.

Punctuation is mine.

Source: »Excepi eam ex MS cod[ice] qui fuit olim abbatia sci Andreae Viennensis qui asservatus in bibl. Ni[colas] Chorier.«

Notitia de fundatione s[an]c[t]i Andreae Viennae monialium.

Ex cartularo sci Andreae nitor schedas VC Ni Chorier	Domnae filiae Eremilae vocabulo Eugeniae Ansemundus et uxor dilecta mea Ausleubana non habetur incognitum qualiter frater meus ... [<i>illegible word</i>] ^a nobilis senatu ... Viennensis res nostras Deo
Conduntur duo coenobia Sci Andreae Vienn. Sci Petri in bello campo	tibi que tradidimus et monasterium Deo vovimus ad sepulturam nostram inde construere in honore s[an]c[t]i Andreae apostoli quod nos jam feceramus in honore s[an]c[t]i Petri in bello campo foras portam civitatis et ut intra de facultate nostra vel foras ossa sanctorum Dei requiescerent. Damus autem ad hoc opus integrum cortile haereditatis nostrae non longo loco ^b qui dicitur Martis totum quod infra vel foras

a Perhaps paras, lightly underlined, i. e., deleted.

b Hauréau changes to non longo a loco presumably from Pardessus, based on Baluze and Mabillon.

Scs Leonianus
forte Columbanus

civitatem haereditario iure possedimus et quidquid nobis obveniret legibus ut sanctis faeminis ibi monasterium constituas et ex ordine vivant quo s[an]c[t]us Leonianus^c s[an]c[t]a monasteria urbis nostrae instituit, ubi soror nostra Eubona abbatissa praeest cuius institutione nutrita et ipsam altario matris Viennensis ecclesia sicut nos vovisse non dubitas instrumentis factis absque mora consignat ut mater mea Viennensis ecclesia inde nostra haeres fiat consignamus tibi ad hoc opus omnes res nostras illas emptas quas matri ecclesiae et s[an]c[t]o Petro per testamentum legavimus et illas quas haeredibus dimittimus, alias totas potestati tuae concedimus ut votum nostrum iudex impleas et Deo perfecta^d placere valeas. Ego Servilius iubente domino meo Ansemundo et domina mea Ansleubana scripsi et roboravi anno ix regnante domno Hlothario.

c Originally Leoninianus with ni crossed out and n underlined.

d Preceded by another poorly written perfecta which is underlined, i. e., deleted.

6. LE LIÈVRE (1623)

Jean Le Lièvre, *Histoire de l'antiquité et sainteté de la cité de Vienne en la Gaule celtique*, Vienne 1623, p. 9.

Source: »La legende de S. Didier Archevesque ... des archives de la grande Eglise«.

Dominae filiae Remillae vocabulo Eugeniae Ancemondus & coniux dilecta mea Ansleubana. Non habetur incognitum qualiter sciente Senatus nobilis Viennensis, res nostras Deo tibi que tradidimus, ut monasterium quod Deo vovimus ad sepulturam nostram inde construeres in honore S. Andreae Apostoli: Quod nos iam feceramus in honore S. Petri in bello campo foris portam civitatis, ut & infra de facultate nostra, & foras, ossa sanctorum Dei requiescerent. Damus autem ad hoc integrum opus cortilum hereditatis nostrae, non longe a loco qui dicitur martis: Totum quod infra vel foras civitatem haereditario iure possedimus: & quicquid ibi constituas, & ex ordine vivant quem Sanctus Leonianus sancto monasterio urbis nostra instituit, ubi soror nostra Eubona Abbatissa praeest. Cuius institutione nutrita, & ipsum monasterium altario matris Viennensi Ecclesiae, sicut nos vovisse non dubitas instrumentis factis, absque mora consignes, ut mater nostra Viennensis Ecclesia inde nostra haeres fiat. Consignamus tibi ad hoc opus omnes res nostras, exceptis quas matri Ecclesiae et S. Petro per testamentum legavimus, & illis quas haeredibus dimittimus: alias totas potestati tuae concedimus, ut votum nostrum inde expleas, & Deo perfecta placere valeas. Ego Servilius iubente Domino meo Ancemondo & Domina mea Ansleubana scripsi. roboravi. anno viiiij. regnante Domino Lotario.