

Dom Mabillon
Vir maxime doctus et minime superbus

by **William Smith***

Bristol Record Office

In memoriam Dom Daniel Rees, lui-même mauriste d'esprit

This December marks the tercentenary of the death of Dom Jean Mabillon,¹ monk, *savant* and one of the great names in the history of European scholarship, which, for all its very considerable diversity, owes so much to the Benedictine intellectual tradition.² Separated from us by three long and eventful centuries, Mabillon continues to be remembered principally for his significant and lasting contribution to the sciences of palæography and diplomatic, disciplines without which a critical understanding of the documentary sources so crucial to historical enquiry would not be possible. In pioneering these sciences Mabillon, indeed, was generations ahead of his time, and it is not too far-fetched to suggest that mentally, in not a few respects, he would have been no less at home in the nineteenth century than the seventeenth. With his emphasis on the fundamental importance of establishing the authenticity of primary sources, Mabillon anticipates the methods of the German historian Ranke (1795-1886) and his successors, whose professed aim was to arrive at an understanding of the past on its own terms through factual evidence provided by original documentation, to see how it really was, *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, in the words of his well-known dictum.³

* I am most grateful to the Abbot and community of Downside Abbey for their generous hospitality and use of library, which made it possible for me to write this paper; to Dom Philip Jebb, OSB, for his kind and very helpful comments; and to my wife Helen for her usual perceptive observations. Any mistakes are mine alone.

¹ There is a significant early literature devoted to Mabillon and the Maurists surveyed by Dom David Knowles (himself described by C.N.L. Brooke as 'one of the greatest of Benedictine historians, a worthy successor of the Maurists, whom he so much admired', *DNB* 31322) in his admirable study of Mabillon ('Jean Mabillon', *Historian and Character, and other essays*, Cambridge, 1964, 213-39), beginning with the faithful Ruinart's indispensable *Abrégé de la vie de Dom Jean Mabillon*, 1709, published less than two years after its subject's death. The aim here, and all that can be achieved within the compass of this short paper, is to offer a personal overview of Mabillon and the great Maurist enterprise, making selective use of the wealth of material available. Later studies include Dom Cuthbert Butler, 'Mabillon', *DR*, 12 (July 1893), 116-32; Dom Henri Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1 (1931), 427-724, and *Mabillon*, 1953-7; Léon Derie, *Un moine et un savant, Dom Jean Mabillon, religieux Bénédictin de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur (1632-1707)*, Moines et Monastères 10, Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, Vienne, 1932; Dom Alban Léotaud, 'Mabillon: his achievement and his personality', *DR*, 266 (January 1964), 47-59; Blandine Barret-Kriegel, *Jean Mabillon*, Les Historiens & La Monarchie, Les Chemins de l'Histoire, Presse Universitaire Française, Paris, 1988, and *Histoire de l'âge classique*, 1 (*Jean Mabillon*), Quadrigue, Presses Universitaires de France, 1996; Daniel-Odon Hurel, *Dom Jean Mabillon, moine et historien*, Collection Bouquins, Robert Laffont, 2007. A good, recent bibliography is by Odon Hurel, 'L'Historiographie de Mabillon aux XIX^e et XIX^e siècles: restauration monastique (années 1830), commémoration (1908) and démythification', in Odon Hurel, 40-51 (cf. also Ruinart, VIII note 4).

² The best and most accessible general introduction is still Jean Leclercq's famous *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, Le Cerf, Paris, 1957 (English edition, *The love of learning and the desire for God, a study of monastic culture*, 3rd revised edn., Fordham University Press, 1983). Dom Claude J. Nesmy's charming *Saint-Benoît et la vie monastique*, Maîtres Spirituels, Éditions du Seuil, 1959, contains a useful, if brief section on Mabillon and *études monastiques*.

³ Putting Ranke in a wider context is G. P. Gooch, *History and historians in the nineteenth century*, Longmans, New York, 1935. More recent are L. Kreiger, *Ranke: the meaning of history*, University of Chicago Press, 1977, and G. Iggers & J. M. Powell (eds.), *Leopold von Ranke and the shaping of the historical discipline*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1990.

Yet, like the English William of Malmesbury (c.1090-c.1143) over five centuries before him,⁴ Mabillon was in the first place a monk, whose spirituality and learned achievements were shaped by the traditions of his own order, in his case the reformed French Benedictines known as the Congregation of St Maur, or the Maurists as they are more commonly called.⁵ William's famous description of Bede (c.673-735),⁶ 'most learned and humble of men' (*vir maxime doctus et minime superbus*),⁷ indisputably the greatest of our pre-Conquest historians, whom he greatly admired, and whom he strove to imitate in his self-styled role of continuator, is likewise applicable to Mabillon,⁸ a no less distinguished representative of these traditions. The comparison, indeed, is fitting, for more than any other Mabillon stands closest to Bede in character and achievement, embodying the high ideals of monastic life in its search for God through prayer, contemplation and the pursuit of knowledge in accordance with the spirit of the *Holy Rule*.

Learning and humility. It is not by accident that William has brought together these laudable qualities in the person of Bede, whose modesty infuses his writings, tempering them with dignity and calm judgment. This is so because humility is central to the Benedictine tradition, central, indeed, to the Christian tradition as a whole, putting us last when we might wish to be first. The *Holy Rule*, we may remember, devotes an entire

⁴ R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, Boydell Press, Bury St Edmunds, 1987 [reviewed by William Smith, *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine*, 82 (1988), 199-200]; and, by same author, *DNB* 29461, with bibliography.

⁵ J. Baudot, 'Mauristes', *DTC*, x, pt. 1 (1928), 405-43, and Knowles. For the Maurists of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, see Pierre Gasnault, *L'erudition mauriste à Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 34, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1999; and *Les Mauristes à Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Actes du Colloque de Paris, 2 December 1999, ed. Jean-Claude Fredouille, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 36, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 2001. A growing number of good regional studies of other Maurist foundations includes *Les Mauristes dans le Haut-Maine aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Actes du colloque de Tuffé, 30 mars 2005, Société Historique de la Province du Maine, 1^{er} et 2^{ème} trimestre, 2006, tom. 108-5^{ème}: XIX, fascicules 77 & 78. Textes réunie par André Levy, 2006.

⁶ Recent life by J. Campell, *DNB* 1922, with bibliography. There is a considerable literature on Bede, which is inappropriate to cite at length here. His most famous work, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, translated by B. Colgrave, has been re-issued, Oxford, 1999. Latin text and other historical writings in C. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Bædæ opera historica*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1896. Good introductory studies include B. Colgrave, *The Venerable Bede and his times*, H. Saxby, 1958; Peter Hunter Blair, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation and its importance today*, H. Saxby, 1959, and (ed.), *Northumbria in the days of Bede*, Gollancz, 1976. St Bede (*festum* 29 May [BHL 1067-76b]) was pronounced a Doctor of the Church by Leo XIII in 1899.

⁷ *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series, 1887 and 1889: i, 1-2 (later edition, 2 vols., Oxford, 1998-9: i, ed. with translation by R. A. B. Mynors, and completed by R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom, and ii, general introduction and commentary by R. M. Thomson, with M. Winterbottom); Antonia Gransden, *Historical writing in England, c.550-1307*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974, 166 ff.; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 3 ff. *et passim*.

⁸ 'Le trait essentiel de son caractère, celui dont tous les autres dépendent et vers lequel ils convergent est la simplicité, cette qualité naturelle qui n'est pas la crédule naïveté, mais une rencontre heureuse et comme un compénétration de candeur, de franchise et d'humilité' (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 673). Cf. also Ruinart, 194-5, 'En effet y a-t-il rien de plus surprenant que de voir qu'un simple Religieux sans aucune distinction, ni par sa naissance ni par aucune place qu'il ait jamais remplie, se soit acquis une si grande réputation et se soit attiré tant d'estime par toute l'Europe? Mais c'est que Dieu a voulu que l'on n'honorât dans ce grand homme que la vertu et la science; ou plutôt l'union de ces deux qualités, que l'on a toujours regardée en lui comme son caractère particulier'. Mabillon himself was probably familiar with William of Malmesbury's famous description of Bede from the *Gesta Regum*, which he appears to have known, since he cites a passage from it in one of his works (*Itinerarium Burgundicum* (1682), Thuillier, ii, 32 (cf. *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Mynors, Thomson & Winterbottom (eds. [*supra vide* note 7]), i, 642-3, and ii, 323; see also *infra* note 43).

chapter to it,⁹ exhorting us, as it would have exhorted the great Northumbrian all those centuries ago, in the first of twelve precepts, or steps (*gradus*), to keep the fear of God before our eyes and never to forget it.¹⁰ Humility is our guide, lighting our way in the arduous ascent of the scale of perfection, towards the abnegation of self, helping us to make a good beginning in our endeavours, although we may never succeed in this life, to paraphrase Walter Hilton.¹¹ By laying its kindly hand on our shoulder humility stops us from becoming vain and self-important, a common vice among scholars. St Benedict, a master of human psychology, was well aware of its importance in the spiritual life. This is why he gives so much consideration to it, analysing its various degrees, which he compares with the rungs on Jacob's ladder, our means of attaining 'that exaltation in heaven'.¹²

The Maurists, until their suppression by the Revolutionary government in 1790, had become the most influential of the French religious orders by the end of the seventeenth century when the number of its houses exceeded over one hundred and eighty in six provinces.¹³ The Congregation derived its name from St Maurus, the disciple of St Benedict at Monte Cassino and legendary founder of the abbey of Glanfeuil, later Fleury-sur-Loire, between 543 and 584, the earliest Benedictine monastery in Gaul.¹⁴ Formally approved by Gregory XV in 1621 when it received its bull of authorisation, it came to represent, as a separate congregation in France, the great reforms initiated three years earlier by the Congregation of St Vanne in Lorraine.¹⁵ This originally comprised forty-nine Benedictine foundations in the provinces of Champagne and Franche Comté in addition to Lorraine, at that time not subject to the French crown, united by a centralised authority and system of discipline, which included regular and organised study as part of the new regime. As an independent and exclusively French federation, the Congregation of St Maur undoubtedly owed its establishment as much to the prejudices of Gallicanism as monastic reform, a consideration that gives insight into its *raison d'être* as well as its activities.¹⁶ In any event,

⁹ *RB*, 7. 1-69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.10.

¹¹ Hilton's instructions to an anchoress and the *Holy Rule* and are very similar on this point: 'And though it be so, that thu myght not come to the fulheed of it [knowledge of God] heere in this lif, that thu myghttest be here in the bigynnyng of hit; and truste sikirli for to have the fulheed of it bi the merci of God in the blisse of hevене' (*The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Thomas H. Bestul [from London, Lambeth Palace MS 472, s.xv¹, with Cambridge, Univ. Libr. MS Add. 6686 (comparison text for Book I) and Oxford, Bodl. MS Bodley 100 (comparison text for Book II)], Middle English Texts Series, Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University, 2000), Book I, ch. 16 (<http://tigger.uic.edu/~tbestul/scaleI.htm>). For the spiritual background to Hilton and the other English mystics, see David Knowles, *The English mystical tradition*, Burnes & Oates, 2nd edn., London, 1964; and Joseph E. Milosh, *The Scale of perfection and the English mystical tradition*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

¹² ... *si summae humilitatis volumus culmen attingere et ad exaltationem illam caelestem ad quam per praesentis vitae humilitatem ascenditur volumus velociter pervenire* (*RB*, 7.5).

¹³ Fundamental for the history of the order is Dom Edmond Martène [1654-1739], *Histoire de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, republished, with introduction and notes by Dom G. Charvin, vols. I (1612-30), II (1630-45), III (1645-55), IV (1656-67), V (1668-80), VI (1681-7), VII (1688-1700), VIII (1701-12), IX (1713-47), Archives de la France Monastique XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XLII, XLIII, XLVI, XLVII, Paris, 1928-43, with separate index, 1954. For Martène, see Joseph Daoust, *Dom Martène*, Figures Monastiques, collection dirigée par les Bénédictines de Saint-Wandrille, Éditions de Fontenelle, Abbaye Saint-Wandrille, 1947.

¹⁴ H. Leclercq, 'Glanfeuil', *DACL*, vi, pt. 1 (1924), 1283-1319. The *festum* of St Maurus (*BHL* 5772-81) is 15 January.

¹⁵ Baudot, 'Mauristes', *DTC*, x, pt. 1, 406.

¹⁶ Cf. McManners, 601 ('Their studies of Church history in the centuries before papal claims were formulated inclined them to Gallicanism, as also their pride at being a purely French congregation'), and also Jean-Dominique Mellot, 'Les Mauristes et l'édition érudite, un gallicanisme éditorial?', in Odon Hurel, [73]-88.

the new movement had expanded from its modest beginnings of five affiliated houses in 1621 to nearly forty times that number by the time of the Revolution when it ceased altogether.

The order became more widely associated with scholarship after 1648 with the production of authoritative editions of the Latin and Greek Fathers, in addition to other important historical and antiquarian works, following a programme of research and publication proposed by Dom Luc d'Archéry and initiated by the general chapter that year.¹⁷ Besides d'Archéry and, from 1664, Mabillon, their members included such illustrious names as Montfaucon, Massuet, de la Rue and Aubert. These appear regularly as editors on the title-pages of the handsomely bound and engraved folio volumes of *patristica*, issuing under their direction from the licensed Parisian presses during this golden age of monastic erudition.¹⁸ Of remarkably high quality, these were to remain standard texts up until the beginning of the last century and are still in many respects indispensable today. Subsequent reprints were produced invariably in Italy, Belgium or the Netherlands, perhaps with a view to reducing costs and meeting increased European demand, but this must remain a separate, if interesting line of enquiry.

A notable representative of this innovative scholarship is Montfaucon's edition of the *opera omnia* of St John Chrysostom. Taking twenty years, from 1718 to 1738, to complete,¹⁹ this monumental achievement ran into thirteen folio volumes, which included a Latin translation of the Greek text. With his profound knowledge of classical antiquity as well as the early Christian period, the aristocratic Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), rightly

¹⁷ 'L'idée première est donc celle d'une formation qui, sans être universitaire, n'en est pas moins exigeante ... Mais précisément, dès ce programme énoncé en 1648, la formation préconisée débouche: «Pour le lustre et l'honneur de l'ordre et de la congrégation, il serait à propos de faire travailler à l'histoire ... en particulier à celle de la congrégation»' (Mellot, *art. cit.* [*supra vide* note 16], 75). Cf. also Baudot, 'Mauristes', *DTC*, x, pt. 1, 423, 'Les mauristes, au point de départ de leurs travaux, ne semblent pas avoir eu un plan aussi vaste que celui qui fut réalisé par eux dans la suite. Le objet primitif fut de faire connaître les grandeurs passées de l'ordre bénédictin'. McManners, 594, gives the year of the programme as 1684, but this is a mistake for 1648 (cf. Mellot, *ibid.*). The background to the patrology of the Maurists is ably discussed by Jean-Louis Quantin, *Le Catholicisme classique et les Pères de l'Église, un retour aux sources, 1669-1713*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 33, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1999.

¹⁸ Indispensable for Mabillon and his circle is the engaging study by Emmanuel de Broglie, *Mabillon et la société de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés à la fin du dix-septième siècle, 1664-1707*, 2 vols., Paris, 1888. Short, but useful, is Charles McCarthy, *The lives of the principal Benedictine writers of the Congregation of St Maur*, Burns, Oates & Co., London, 1868. For d'Archéry, see Jeannine Fohlen, 'Dom Luc d'Archéry (1609-85) et les débuts de l'érudition mauriste', *Revue Mabillon*, 55 (1965), 149-75, 56 (1966), 1-30 and 73-98, 57 (1967), 17-41 and 56-156; and for Montfaucon, de Broglie, *Bernard de Montfaucon et les Bernadines*, 2 vols., Paris, 1891, H. Leclercq, 'Montfaucon (Dom Bernard de)', *DACL*, xi (1933), 2608-72, Knowles, 52-3, and Daniel-Odon Hurel et Raymond Rogé, textes réunis par, *Dom Bernard de Montfaucon*, Actes du Colloque de Carcassonne, October 1996, I-II, avec préface par Dom Yves Chaussy, Abbaye Sainte-Marie de Paris, Bibliothèque Bénédictine 4, C. D. D. P. de l'Aude-Éditions de Fontenelle.

¹⁹ *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolæ opera omnia quæ exstant vel omnia quæ eius nomine circumferuntur*, L. Guerin, C. Robustel, J. & J. Barbou, G. Desprez, & J. J. Desessartz, Paris (Laurence Brottier, 'L'apport de Bernard de Montfaucon à l'édition de Jean Chrysostome', in Odon Hurel, [269]-283). 'Montfaucon introduced new standards in the matter of Greek ecclesiastical writers and of Greek studies more generally' (A. Momigliano, 'Mabillon's Italian disciples', *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, Oxford, 1977, 286, cited by Brottier, *ibid.*, [269]). Montfaucon's 3 vol. *opera omnia* of St Athanasius and two vol. edition of the *Hexapla* of Origen were published respectively in 1698 and 1713.

described by Dom David Knowles as the last of the great Maurists, was a brilliant Hellenist, whose considerable linguistic attainments included also Hebrew, Syriac and Coptic, in addition to three modern languages. Developing other interests through his own specialised field of scholarship, he was later to continue Mabillon's work on palæography and diplomatic to include the study of Greek manuscripts, with the publication of his pioneering *Palæographia Græca* in 1708.²⁰ A former *tireur* and soldier, the redoubtable Montfaucon extended his military discipline into monastic life, immersing himself in erudite pursuits with his faithful circle of collaborators for a punishing thirteen hours a day, dividing the remainder between the offices and rest.

Despite its learned reputation, however, the Maurists were never without their critics, invariably the Jesuits, and frequently incurred the suspicion of the Holy See throughout much of their existence on account of the Jansenist leanings of many of their members.²¹ While Mabillon himself was Jansenist by intellectual persuasion and austerity of life rather than doctrinal conviction, the more conservative Montfaucon, differing nonetheless amicably with his *confrère* on current religious affairs, was exceptional in his antipathy towards the movement, which he viewed with distrust. The often indiscreetly held views of its partisans, together with the relaxation of the order's former strict discipline in the interests of study, not always of an appropriate kind, were undoubtedly factors that contributed to the eventual demise of the Maurists. Increasing secularism and the intellectual fashions of the Enlightenment towards the end of the *ancien régime* also played their part.²² The order's historical identity was finally lost in 1818 when it was reorganised

²⁰ For Montfaucon's publications, see Leclercq, 'Montfaucon (Dom Bernard de)', *DACL*, xi, 2667-72; *Nécrologe*, 199-201; and also Brottier, *art. cit.* (*supra vide* note 19). Of Montfaucon's pedigree, his family 'avait pour tige les anciens seigneurs de Montfaucon-le Vieux en Gascogne, premiers barons du comté de Cominges' (*ibid.*, 199). 'Le seigneur languedocien Bernard de Montfaucon' (Françoise Bléchet, 'Mabillon et les Mauriste emprunteurs de la Bibliothèque du roi: le premier registre de prêt de 1684', 61, in Odon Hurel, [55]-72).

²¹ This is not the place to discuss more than very briefly this complex and long-lasting heresy, which pre-occupied French religious and intellectual life for the greater part of a century, and which was condemned by successive popes before it was finally outlawed by Clement XI in *Unigenitus* issued in 1713. Repudiating the efficacy of human will and asserting predestination and the sole virtue of divine grace against the doctrine of salvation by works, this Augustine-influenced doctrine had obvious affinities with Calvinism, which, inconsistently, the French Catholic Jansenists would have been among the first to disown. A good introduction is J. Carreyre, 'Jansenisme', *DACL*, viii, pt. 1 (1924), 318-529; see also L. G. Cognet, 'Jansenism', *NCE*, vii, 820-6. Although the heresy had largely disappeared from mainstream religious thought by the time of the Revolution, vestiges of it persisted well into the 19th century and beyond. Stendhal associates it with his abbé Pirard, director of the Besançon diocesan seminary, who cannot have been untypical of many French provincial clergy of this later period (*Le Rouge et le Noir*, preface by Michel Crouzet, Classiques de Poche, 1997, chs. 26-7). For Maurist Jansenism, see Baudot, 'Mauristes', *DTC*, x, pt. 1, 411-17.

²² Knowles, 54; McManners, 605-6. While the tradition of Maurist scholarship continued to have notable representatives right up to the Revolution, such as Dom Lobineau (1666-1727), the historian and hagiographer of Brittany, it is interesting to recall also some of the lesser lights, whose writings were of a rather different nature (McManners, 605-6). Famous among these is the abbé Prévost (1697-1763), *moine fuyard* and *littérateur* remembered for his celebrated novel *Manon Lescaut*, published in 1731, which counted Marie Antoinette among its wide and enthusiastic readership. The last period of the Maurists, from 1742 to the end of the century, has been described, unfairly in some respects, as 'the age of the *epigoni*, the lesser men' (Knowles, 43). For the development of the great Maurist regional histories, see Marie-Louise Auger, 'Mauristes et l'histoire des provinces de France', in Odon Hurel, [103]-111. This was also the era of the ambitious *Gallia Christiana*, a revised edition of which was begun by Dom Denis de Sainte-Marthe in 1715 and continued by the Maurists as far as vol. XIII in 1785 (Paris, Johannes-Baptista Coignard), a work that would have been finished but for the Revolution. Completed by Barthélemy Hauréau between 1856 and 1861, this now comprises 16 parts arranged alphabetically, from the diocese of Albi in I to the archdiocese of Vienne in XVI.

by Pius VII to become part of the Congregation of France, together with other unaffiliated Benedictine foundations. From 1837 Solesmes (a previous Maurist foundation suppressed in 1791) became the principal house of this new federation under the inspirational direction of Dom Prosper Guéranger as its first abbot.²³

Intellectually gifted from an early age, the son of an old-established country family of modest but respectable means,²⁴ Mabillon was born in the little upland village of Saint-Pierremont (now in the modern *département* of Ardennes) in the Champagne region in 1632, a year before the death of Dame Gertrude More.²⁵ He would therefore have been eleven years old when an even younger Louis XIV became king in 1643,²⁶ inaugurating the most brilliant period of the French monarchy. Pre-eminently the age of royal absolutism, *Le Grand Siècle* is renowned for its artistic, literary and architectural achievements centred increasingly on the court of an extravagant and dazzling Versailles. It was also an age of significant advancement in philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences, and of learned and gifted scholars and churchmen, such as Fénelon²⁷ and the great Bossuet (Madame de Sévigné's Monsieur de Meaux²⁸), whose abilities were generously encouraged, and whose ambitions furthered by royal patronage. It was in this world of privilege that Mabillon lived and moved, benefiting from the advantages it offered for learning, travel and the acquisition of books. As members of a select and erudite society he and his *confrères* could enjoy frequent access to the exclusive royal library with its rare manuscripts and priceless antiquarian treasures, as well as the no less rich collections of his wealthy patrons, an opportunity that might otherwise have been denied to a humble monk whatever his credentials. An arrangement of regular loans of manuscripts to the Maurists and other notable scholars, such as Du Cange, whom we shall meet again in due course, was to prove mutually beneficial.²⁹ Their erudition and formidable linguistic expertise,

²³ 'Le restaurateur en France de l'ordre des bénédictins' (F. Cabrol, 'Guéranger (Dom Prosper Louis Pascal)', *DACL*, vi, pt. 2 (1925), 1875); see also [P. Delatte, OSB], *Dom Guéranger, abbé de Solesmes*, 2 vols., Solesmes, 1909; G. Cozien, OSB, *L'œuvre de Dom Guéranger*, Solesmes, 1933 (includes illustrations of the abbey). For pre-Maurist Solesmes, see A. des Mazis, OSB, *L'entrée de Solesmes dans la Congregation de Saint-Maur*, Solesmes, 1950.

²⁴ 'La famille de Mabillon était de condition trop modeste pour qu'on pût espérer remonter à des aïeux et reconstituer leur histoire' (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 436, with genealogy of the Mabillon family *en face*). Mabillon's father Étienne died at the age of 106. For the village of Saint-Pierremont, see *ibid.*, 429. Cf. also *Mabillon*, i, [23] ff. Ruinart, 3, describes Mabillon's parents as 'nés d'honnêtes familles, n'ont rien eu selon le monde, qui les y ait beaucoup distingués; leur plus grande gloire est d'y avoir donné un fils illustre, et d'avoir eu un soin particulier de l'élever chrétiennement'.

²⁵ Dame Gertrude (brief recent life by Julia Bolton Holloway, *DNB* 19178, with bibliography) was a mere twenty-seven years of age at the time of her death from smallpox at Cambrai in 1633.

²⁶ Louis, born in 1638, would have been five at the time. His mother, Anne of Austria, with her chief minister, Cardinal Mazarin, served as regent (Oliver Bernier, *Louis XIV, a royal life*, Doubleday, 1987).

²⁷ François de Salignac de la Mothe, better known as François Fénelon (1651-1715), was appointed bishop of Cambrai in 1695, later falling under the influence of the Quietism of Madame Guyon. His defence of this movement resulted in his censure by Innocent XII and exile by the king (A. Largent, 'Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe', *DTC*, v, pt. 2 (1913), 2137-69).

²⁸ Madame de Sévigné [Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné], *Correspondence*, ed. by Roger Duchêne, 3 vols., Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, Paris, 1972, *passim*. Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), renowned theologian, pulpit orator, court preacher, and proponent of royal absolutism and Gallicanism, became bishop of Meaux in 1681. He is best remembered for his eloquent funeral orations, in particular that delivered on the occasion of the obsequies of Queen Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I, 1669 (L. N. Tinsley, 'Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne', *NCE*, ii, 717-18).

²⁹ 'Un bon nombre d'emprunteurs font partie du personnel de la Bibliothèque du roi' (Françoise Bléchet, 'Mabillon et les Mauristes emprunteurs de la Bibliothèque du roi: le premier registre de prêt de 1684', 64, in Odon Hurel, [55]-72). The earliest loans of manuscripts to Mabillon from the Bibliothèque are recorded in July and September 1684, and 2 and 11 January 1685 (*ibid.*, [55]). For an account of the Bibliothèque

particularly in Greek and *orientalia*, including the more specialised Coptic, Persian, Turkish and Armenian, was of inestimable value to the *gardiens* of the royal library, contributing both to a better understanding of their wide-ranging collections and to the preparation of catalogues.³⁰

The young Mabillon was educated by his uncle, also named Jean Mabillon, a local parish priest, who later, in 1644, generously provided for his higher studies at the Collège des Bons-Enfants de l'Université at Reims.³¹ This was followed by three years at the diocesan seminary, training for the priesthood, for which he had little inclination on account of his increasing distaste for the secular clergy engendered by his uncle's concubinage, a state of affairs by no means exceptional during this period.³² He therefore left the seminary in 1653 to try his preferred vocation as a monk at the famous Maurist abbey of Saint-Rémi where he was admitted as postulant during August that year.³³ His diligent devotion to the strict monastic regime and his intellectual abilities soon became apparent, though the rigours of his new calling, including the long offices and study, steadily affected his health, ever delicate since childhood. In order to recuperate he was allowed by his superiors to move first, in 1656, to the abbey of Nogent east of Paris (Nogent-sous-Coucy, between Soissons and Laon),³⁴ affectionately recalled in later life, where he interested himself in archæological and antiquarian pursuits as well as involving himself in the daily routine of the monastery.³⁵ Two years later, this was followed by a period at the abbey of Corbie near Amiens,³⁶ renowned for its great library, enriched centuries earlier from the ancient

and its locations during this period, see *ibid.*, 58-9. Mabillon's patrons, successively Colbert and Le Tellier (*infra vide* notes 92 and 94), each had great personal libraries with collections of manuscripts, including Greek and oriental texts, which passed respectively to the Bibliothèque du roi in 1732 and 1700 (Delisle, i, 439-86, 302-5). Colbert's library of printed books and manuscripts was huge by all accounts, its contents being estimated at 300, 000 volumes (*ibid.*, 485), though Montfaucon and others put the number much higher at 350, 000 (*ibid.*, 484). The remainder of Le Tellier's library was bequeathed to the abbey of Sainte-Genéviève in Paris after his death in 1710 (D. R. Campell, 'Le Tellier, Charles-Maurice', *NCE*, viii, 680).

³⁰ Bléchet, *ibid.*, 72, and Marie Françoise Damongeot, 'D'un catalogue à l'autre. Les Mauristes, de la Bibliothèque du roi à la Bibliothèque nationale', in Odon Hurel, [205]-213. The task of cataloguing the Latin manuscripts of the royal library fell to Mabillon and his *confrères*, while Du Cange and Cotelier took charge of the Greek (Delisle, i, 292). Others in Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Armenian, Arabic, Turkish and Persian were shared among those 'les mieux préparés à la [tâche] remplir' (*ibid.*). While the idea of publishing a *catalogue général* of manuscripts was conceived during the reign of Louis XIV, it was only given serious consideration towards the mid-18th century when the great *Catalogus codicum MSS. Bibliothecæ Regiæ Parisiensis*, Paris, 1739-44, finally appeared (*ibid.*, 413-14).

³¹ Ruinart, 31; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 441.

³² Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 440. This way of life seems to have been less common among French clergy of the 18th century than the 17th (McManners, 364-5).

³³ Ruinart, 9-10; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 447; *Mabillon*, i, [42] ff.

³⁴ Ruinart, 12-14. '... [Mabillon] commença [ici] à goûter les douceurs d'une solitude entièrement éloignée du commerce du monde' (*ibid.*, 13; cf. Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 448). The abbey, which became Maurist in 1647 (Ruinart, 12 note 8), was founded in 1076, its most famous abbot being the historian Guibert (1053-c.1122), celebrated for his autobiography, *De vita sua* (*PL*, clvi, 856 ff. [translated by C.G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, Macmillan, New York, 1910, iv, 133-141]). BN lat. 2500 and 2502 are two collections of miscellaneous theological works attributed to Guibert (Delisle, ii, 388).

³⁵ The abbey church was excavated by Mabillon in the hope of discovering Guibert's tomb (Ruinart, 14; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 448).

³⁶ Ruinart, 14-15. Mabillon composed hymns in honour of St Adalhard, *BHL* 58-62 (during whose abbacy Paschasius Radbertus (c.790-865, *BHL* 7045), famous theologian of the Eucharist, became a monk of Corbie, c.812), and St Bathilde, *BHL* 905-11 (published Paris, 1677 [Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 448; *Mabillon*, i, [58] ff.]). The royal abbey of Corbie, founded by Clotaire III (657-61) and his mother St Bathilde, widow of Clovis II (A. Wilmart, 'Corbie', *DACL*, iii, pt. 2 (1914), 2913-58), became Maurist in

Burgundian monastery of Luxeuil,³⁷ though depleted considerably by Mabillon's time. No less famous in a previous age was its scriptorium where the distinctive and widely adopted hand known as Caroline minuscule originated.³⁸ Unlike Benedictines of monasteries of the pre-Tridentine era traditionally subject to a rule of stability, individual Maurists could be directed to move from house to house in the manner of the peripatetic orders. This requirement was implicit in the organisational structure of the Congregation with a single, major foundation at its head, which obviated the autonomy of individual houses characteristic of medieval times. A monk's allegiance, therefore, extended beyond his particular foundation to the federation as a whole, allowing movement and collaboration between affiliated houses of the order.

Restored to health, Mabillon transferred in June 1663 to the abbey of Saint-Denis north of Paris,³⁹ the burial-place of the Frankish kings from the later Merovingian period,⁴⁰ where he served as treasurer (*depositarius*) for a year. Finally, in 1664, his learned reputation going before him, he was requested by Dom d'Archéry, librarian of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés on the *rive gauche*,⁴¹ the principal house of the Maurists, to become his new

1618 (*ibid.*, 2920). See also P. Heliot, *L'Abbaye de Corbie, ses églises et ses bâtiments*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 29 (1959).

³⁷ Wilmart, 'Corbie', *DACL*, iii, pt. 2, 2914. Corbie was settled by monks from Luxeuil c.661. For Luxeuil, which was founded by the Irish missionary St Columbanus c.590 (*BHL* 1898-1905, *vita* by Jonas of Susa, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, iv (1902), 1-156, and vii, pt. 2 (1920), 822-7 [*infra vide* note 104]) and destroyed by the Saracens in 732, but subsequently re-established during the time of Charlemagne as a Benedictine house, see H. Leclercq, 'Luxeuil', *DACL*, ix, pt. 2 (1930), 2728-33. Luxeuil is now in the modern *département* of Haute-Saône, Franche-Comté (diocese of Besançon).

³⁸ Wilmart, 'Corbie', *DACL*, iii, pt. 2, 2914-18; L. W. Jones, 'The scriptorium at Corbie', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 191-204 and 375-94; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 6 (Oxford, 1953), xxii-xxvi; Michelle P. Brown, *A guide to western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600*, British Library, repr. London, 2002, 66-7 ['No other medieval 'reform' script, or rather canonization of an evolved script, was as far reaching and systematic as that of Caroline minuscule ... It is found at Corbie from the time of abbot Maurdrannus (Maurdrannus minuscule)', *ibid.*, 66].

³⁹ Ruinart, 19-21; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 449, and 'Denis (Abbaye de Saint-)', *DACL*, iv, pt. 1 (1921), 588-642; J. Formigé, *L'Abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, Recherches nouvelles, Paris, 1960; S. M. Crosby and P. Z. Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its beginnings to the death of Suger, 475-1151*, Yale University Press, 1987; Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis, Church and State in twelfth-century France*, The Medieval World, Longman, London & New York, 1998. There are numerous studies devoted to the Abbey's famous stained glass and treasures, including W. M. Conway, 'The abbey of Saint-Denis and its ancient treasures', *Archæologia*, lxvi (1915), 103-58; Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac, *Trésor de Saint-Denis*, 3 vols., Paris, 1973-7; and Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis (Corpus vitrearum medii ævi)*, Série Études, i, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1976. Also valuable is the catalogue of the Louvre exhibition, *La Trésor de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1991. A more comprehensive bibliography may be found on the website http://www.atlas-patrimoine93.fr/pg-html/bases_doc/inventaire/fiche.php?idfic=066s020. For St Denis (Dionysius), bishop of Paris and martyr (*festum* 9 October), see *BHL* 2171-2203d (dedication of church, *ibid.*, 2203d).

⁴⁰ Leclercq, 'Saint-Denis (Abbaye de)', *DACL*, iv, pt. 1, 639-42; J. Jaquemot and L. N. Barbier, *L'Église de Saint-Denis, sa crypte, ses tombeaux, ses chapelles, son trésor*, Putois-Crette, Paris, 1867. In 1815 the remains of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were re-interred in the Bourbon vault in the ancient crypt, the oldest part of the former abbey, now the Basilique Saint-Denis, with idealised commemorative statues in the church.

⁴¹ Ruinart, 22-4. Bouillart's impressive *Histoire* contains engravings of the abbey and its treasures, with supplements, including necrologies up to the author's own time (pages i-cvj), and a bibliography of Maurist publications, including Mabillon's (pages clxxvj-clxxxvij). Its author was a monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés from 1669 to 1726. Downside Abbey's copy of this fine work formerly belonged to Edmund Bishop, whose signature appears on the front flyleaf with date 17 August 1870. This is one of a number of Maurist works at Downside once owned by Bishop. See also H. Leclercq, 'Germain-des-Prés (Saint-)', *DACL*, vi, pt. 2 (1925), 1102-50; François Ribadeau Dumas, *Histoire de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Abbaye Royale*, Pierre Amiot, Paris, 1958; *Mémorial du XIV^e centenaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Recueil

assistant in accordance with the regulations of the order. Eventually he was to take the place of Dom Claude Chantelou, who died a few months after his arrival in July that year.⁴² Mabillon, who in turn was later to co-opt Dom Michel Germain and afterwards Dom Thierry Ruinart, his biographer, as his own *adjoints*, was to remain here for the rest of his life, a final move that was to prove crucial to his career as a scholar. Years of recuperation in tranquil and learned surroundings, which had enabled him to reflect and read widely in the classics, the Fathers and the monastic writers, including the great historians and chroniclers,⁴³ had more than adequately prepared him for this transition into full-time intellectual life. This was the great seminal period in Mabillon's life, laying the foundations of the great *épanouissement* that was soon to follow.

As a new arrival Mabillon was soon to appreciate the all but autonomous existence of d'Archéry's exclusive circle at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, whose activities continued uninterrupted by the succession of frequently absent commendatory abbots, who controlled the house and enjoyed its revenues, a practice that was maintained up until the Revolution. The abbot at the time of Mabillon's entry was Henri de Bourbon, a natural son of Henri IV, who had been appointed at the certainly uncanonical age of twenty-two by Louis XIII, as patron, in 1623.⁴⁴ Henri's successor in 1669 was John II Casimir (Jan II Kazimierz), king and grand duke of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who had resided in France after abdicating in September 1668, the twentieth year of his troubled reign, leaving behind him his strife-torn country for good.⁴⁵ His elaborate mausoleum containing his heart, erected after his death in 1672, dominated the chapel dedicated to him in the north transept (*croisillon*) of the abbey church.⁴⁶

de Travaux sur la Monastère et la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, 1959; and Maarten Ulte, *The abbey of St Germain-des-Prés in the seventeenth century*, Newhaven & London, Yale University Press, 1981. The monastery and its basilica were founded by Childebert I (511-58), king of the Franks, to house the stole of St Vincent of Saragossa (*festum* 22 January [BHL 8627-55d]), a jewelled cross and other precious relics acquired during a military expedition to Spain against the Visigoths in 542 (DCB, ii, 657). The basilica, which was originally dedicated to Holy Cross and St Vincent, was consecrated on 23 December 558, the day of Childebert's death (Lefèvre-Pontalis, 302).

⁴² Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 449.

⁴³ Among English writers, Mabillon was not only acquainted with Bede and William of Malmesbury (cf. *supra* note 8), he had also read the 13th-century Matthew Paris of St Albans (for whom, see Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life & Thought, new series, vol. 6, Cambridge, 1958), of whom he writes, 'Nous lisons ... une chose fort remarquable dans la preface qui est à la teste de l'histoire de Mathieu Paris, sçavoir que c'estoit la coûtume en Angleterre, que dans chaque abbaye royale de nôtre ordre on donnât commission a un religieux habile et exact de remarquer tout ce qui se passoit de considerable dans le royaume; et qu'après la mort de chaque roy on apportoit tous ces differens memoires au chapitre general de l'ordre, pour les réduire en un corps d'histoire, qui estoit gardé dans les archives pour l'instruction de la posterité' (*Traité des études monastiques*, Paris, Charles Robustel, 1691, 4^o [*infra vide* note 111], pt. ii, ch. 8, 227). Having evidently been in debate with 'un habile protestant anglois' regarding the value of monastic history, he is quick to emphasise its significance, for 'sans le secours des moines on ne connoistroit rien dans l'histoire d'Angleterre' (*ibid.*). Norman historians known to Mabillon include the English-born Orderic Vitalis, 1075-c.1142, monk of Saint-Evroul (*ibid.*).

⁴⁴ Boullart, 221.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 263-6. See also, *Nécrologe*, 295-9.

⁴⁶ Boullart, plate 12 (between pages 266-7). For the chapel, see *ibid.*, plate 16, *plan ancien et moderne de l'église* (between pages 284-5). Casimir's heart was interred at Saint-Germain-des-Prés after his death at Nevers on 16 November 1672. The mausoleum was the work of the sculptor du Marcy (Lefèvre-Pontalis, 314).

The erudite, but steadily ailing d'Archéry occupies a prominent place in the history of the Maurists in his own right rather than merely as mentor of his more famous assistant.⁴⁷ Together with Dom Grégoire Tarrisé,⁴⁸ the Congregation's first superior general elected in 1630 through the influential patronage of Richelieu, he shared the responsibility for directing and encouraging the order along the lines which, for a century and a half, ensured its intellectual hegemony. Adopting d'Archéry's proposals for innovative scholarship in 1648, the new regime came to embody the Renaissance traditions of humanism and critical enquiry that had characterised and enriched monastic learning since the early seventeenth century, developing, rather than breaking with the more restricted curriculum of its medieval past. With foresight Dom Tarrisé had brought Saint-Germain-des-Prés into the Congregation in 1631, and, with its already famous library augmented seven years later by around four hundred rare and precious classical, patristic and liturgical manuscripts removed from Corbie,⁴⁹ soon established its pre-eminence as a centre of monastic scholarship. By good fortune most of these manuscripts survived the plundering of the library in 1791, followed by the great fire three years later when its building and furnishings were destroyed, and are now divided between the Bibliothèque nationale, the municipal library at Amiens, and the National Library at St Petersburg.⁵⁰

Every week, usually on Sundays following vespers, a regular group of *eruditi* would congregate with d'Archéry in the abbey infirmary, or in the ornate and formal monastery gardens during the warm weather, over good wine no doubt, to exchange ideas, and discuss their studies and interests.⁵¹ One imagines with pleasure these convivial and intellectually stimulating *conversaciones* in which Mabillon, then aged thirty-two, would have played a central and memorable part. The guests included names as internationally renowned as the philologist and Byzantinist du Cange (1610-88),⁵² and the ecclesiastical

⁴⁷ D'Archéry is described by Leclercq as 'pépetuel valétudinaire' ('Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 449).

⁴⁸ Died 24 September 1648 (Bouillart, 242). See also Knowles, 38-9. For a list of the superior generals from Tarrisé (1630-48) to Chevreux (1783-92 [*infra vide* note 134]), see *Nécrologe*, 339-44.

⁴⁹ These comprised a substantial part of the ancient abbey library, which was thus dispersed to avoid confiscation by Louis XIII, following the re-taking of the town of Corbie by his army on 14 November 1636 after its occupation by the Spanish three months earlier. Louis had accused the monks of failing to safeguard French interests during the invasion, and was plainly using this as a pretext for enriching the royal library (Wilmart, 'Corbie', *DACL*, iii, pt. 2, 2920-1). BN has 700 manuscripts of the 11th and 12th centuries originating from Corbie (Delisle, i, 427-40).

⁵⁰ Wilmart, 'Corbie', *DACL*, iii, pt. 2, 2921. For a list of liturgical manuscripts now in these libraries, *ibid.*, 2913-58; see also Delisle, ii, 104-41, 427-40, and Olga Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia, *Histoire de l'atelier graphique de Corbie de 651 à 830 reflétée dans les Corbienses Leninopolitani*, Leningrad, 1934. The extensive Amiens *fonds* may be explored conveniently through the websites <http://www.cn-telma.fr/liturgie/notice32/andhttp://www.univnancy2.fr/MOYENAGE/UREEF/MUSICOLOGIE/FAM.htm>. The St Petersburg collection was established by Peter Dubrowski, secretary to the Russian ambassador of Paris at the time, who took full advantage of the situation, helping himself to the spoils to enhance his own country's cultural riches (Wilmart, 'Corbie', *DACL*, iii, pt. 2, 2921; Delisle, ii, 48, 52, and iii, 376).

⁵¹ D'Archéry is said to have spent forty-six years of his life in the infirmary (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 449), which would have been adapted to accommodate both this weekly influx and his research work.

⁵² Charles du Fresne, seigneur du Cange (M. Esposito, 'Du Cange (Charles du Fresne, sieur)', *DACL*, ix, pt. 2 (1921), cols., 1654-1660; J. Baxter, 'Du Cange, Charles du Fresne', *NCE*, iv, 1086-7), whose renowned *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis* (3 vols., Paris, Louis Billaine, 1678, fol. [<http://gallica.bnf.fr/Catalogue/noticesInd/FRBNF37229609.htm>]) was expanded and issued later by the Maurists (6 vols, Paris, 1733-6). Standard edition by L. Favre, 10 vols., Niort, 1883-7, with 'Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Charles du Fresne du Cange' appended to vol. ix, with list of published and unpublished works. The *Glossarium* was followed by his *Historia Byzantina*, Paris, 1680. Du Cange was one of Gibbon's principal sources for his later history, whom he calls 'our sure and indefatigable guide in

historians Tillemont (1637-98) and Baluze (1630-1718),⁵³ together with a galaxy of bishops and cardinals,⁵⁴ statesmen, wealthy collectors and connoisseurs of books, manuscripts and antiquities, together with dilettante noblemen from the royal court, everybody, in fact, who was anybody in the Parisian *monde intellectuel* of the time.

A regular English visitor to these *soirées* would certainly have been Edward Bernard, a friend of Mabillon, who had been Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford since 1673 when he succeeded Christopher Wren to the post.⁵⁵ Bernard had taken up residence in Paris following his appointment in 1676 as tutor in Latin to the two illegitimate ducal sons of Charles II by his scheming mistress Barbara Palmer, duchess of Cleveland.⁵⁶ Less an *homme du monde* than a scholar, however, the diffident and retiring Bernard, 'entirely unaccustomed to the arts of courtiers and sycophants',⁵⁷ resigned this lucrative and socially advantageous post after a year, but maintained his Paris connections when he returned to Oxford where Mabillon continued to correspond with him until his death in 1697.⁵⁸

Here, as at Saint-Rémi, Mabillon's ability soon proved itself, and it was not long before the declining d'Archéry sought his assistance in the preparation of his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, the first of nine folio volumes which appeared in 1668.⁵⁹ Mabillon's

the middle ages and Byzantine history' (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, Methuen & Co., vi (1898), 9 note 18).

⁵³ F. X. Murphy, 'de Tillemont, Louis Sébastien Le Nain', *NCE*, xiv, 154-5; G. Mollat, 'Baluze (Étienne)', *DHGE*, vi (1932), 439-52, and W. E. Langley, 'Baluze, Étienne', *NCE*, ii, 43-4 (cf. also Ruinart, 38). Baluze (1630-1718) later collaborated with Martène in revising d'Archéry's *Spicilegium*, which ran to a second edition in 1723 (*infra vide* note 61), five years after his death. His large collection of printed books, together with the manuscripts collected during his time as librarian to Mabillon's patron Colbert, 1667-1700 (*infra vide* note 92), was acquired by the king for the royal library after his decease.

⁵⁴ Including Bossuet and de Bouillon, the latter of subsequent ill fame, *infra vide* note 84 (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 497). Mabillon's successive patrons, Colbert and Le Tellier, however, seem never to have attended these gatherings, though both took a close interest in *le savant religieux* (*ibid.*).

⁵⁵ *DNB* 2240. Bernard was also a competent orientalist, having mastered Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Coptic (*ibid.*).

⁵⁶ The manipulating Palmer, *née* Villiers, was in Paris from March 1676 to 1682, continuing her political and amorous intrigues. She took her daughters with her, who were educated by the English nuns of the Order of the Conception, to whom she generously donated £1000 for new buildings (*DNB* 28285).

⁵⁷ Thomas Smith, *Vita clarissimi et doctissimi viri Edwardi Bernardi*, [London], 1704, 26-7 (cited by *DNB* 2240).

⁵⁸ One such letter of his is Oxford, Bodleian MS Smith 5, pages 199-202, dated August 1677, thanking Bernard for support, giving news of friends, and requesting help with the text of St Augustine, whose *opera omnia* the Maurists were currently editing (*The Benedictines and the book, catalogue of an exhibition* [held in the Divinity School, Oxford] *to commemorate the fifteenth centenary of the birth of St Benedict, AD 480-1980*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1980, exhibit no. 28). This letter was not apparently known to Leclercq (*Mabillon*, ii, Appendice II, [871] ff., *correspondance de Mabillon*, collected together by the editors after author's death in 1945), who includes two others to Bernard, dated 11 March 1677 [Royal Library, Copenhagen] and 22 February 1684 (*ibid.*, 888 no. 199). Mabillon's correspondence is BN lat. 19649-59 (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 714; see also *ibid.*, 669-73, for his *correspondants*). Putting Mabillon's correspondence in a wider context is Daniel-Odon Hurel, 'L'étude des correspondances et l'histoire du monachisme', in Odon Hurel, [301]-341 ('Pour la période moderne, l'histoire monastique s'enrichit d'une source, la correspondance. Cette source exige l'éboration de méthodes d'exploitation pluridisciplinaires adaptées à l'étude de la correspondance d'un individu et à celle d'un ensemble de personnes appartenant à une même institution monastique', *ibid.*, 340). A bibliography of Mabillon's other writings is given by Leclercq, *ibid.*, 703-13, and by Daniel-Odon Hurel, 'L'Historiographie de Mabillon aux XIX^e et XIX^e siècles: restauration monastique (années 1830), commémoration (1908) and démytification', in Odon Hurel [15]-51, especially, 30-5 (*œuvres de Mabillon*, not exhaustive, confined to principal works only).

⁵⁹ Paris, 1668-1701, Louis Billaine, fol. (Ruinart, 25-6; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 452-64). Reprinted, 9 vols., Venice, 1733-40, fol. (*ibid.*, 455).

contribution included the appendices and a series of prefaces with dissertations on a variety of historical subjects, such as the early Merovingian kings, the origins of religious houses, and relics of Christ and the saints.⁶⁰ While the parallel and more familiar work of the Bollandists, also called *Acta Sanctorum*, may have suggested this project, it was never intended as a rival. Confined as it was to monastic saints discussed chronologically rather than in calendar order, it distinguished itself from the corresponding work of the Jesuits, which continues to this day. D'Archéry and Mabillon share the distinction with the Bollandists of being the founders of critical hagiography, although their methods, new at the time, were not always appreciated by the more conservative element within their orders, accustomed as it was to more traditional, homiletic presentations of the lives of the saints. It is part of the fickleness of history that allowed the Bollandists to survive the Revolution but not the Maurists.

Another learned project simultaneously engaging d'Archéry was his *Spicilegium*, or catalogue of ancient writings surviving in Gallican libraries, an equally vast and far-ranging work, which, commencing with the appearance of the first of its thirteen quarto volumes in 1655, took twenty-two years to complete.⁶¹ D'Archéry's diligent scholarship, indeed, reached back over many years, one of his notable early publications being the *opera omnia* of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 to 1089, which appeared in 1648.⁶² At the same time as contributing to the *Acta*, Mabillon was also employed on another important project, editing the works of *Doctor mellifluus* St Bernard of Clairvaux, which were published in two folio volumes in 1667 to wide acclaim.⁶³ This freed him from the shadow of his mentor by establishing his own credentials as a patrologist in his own right in addition to his other achievements. These were followed four years on, in 1671, by the collected works of Peter of Celle,⁶⁴ abbot of Montier la Celle, and later of Saint-Rémi, patron and close friend of John of Salisbury during his exile, who became bishop of Chartres in 1176.⁶⁵ The published edition, however, was not that originally intended by Mabillon, who had provided the preface, but who had been obliged by his superiors, not without protest in the interests of historical integrity, to remove potentially controversial sections containing Peter's condemnation of contemporary abuses within the monastic order.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *Praefationes et dissertationes in Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti nunc primum conjunctim editae ejusdem dissertationes V*, apud Joannem Baptistam Paronum, [Trent], 1724 (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 455).

⁶¹ *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae Bibliothecis delituerant: olim editum opera ac studio D. Lucæ d'Archery, Presbyteri ac Monachi Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Congregationis S. Mauri, Nova editio priori accuratior, & infinitis prope mendis ad fidem MSS. Codicum, quorum varias lectiones V.C. Stephanus Baluze, ac R.P.D. Edmundus Martene collegerunt, expurgata, per Ludovicum-Franciscum-Joseph de la Barre, Tornacensem [Tournai] (Ruinart, 26; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 449). Second, revised edn., 3 vols., Paris, Montalant [1723].*

⁶² Paris, Louis Billaine, 4^o, second edn., 1671; text followed by Migne, *PL*, cl. Later edition of the *Decreta*, with translation, by David Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, Medieval Texts, Nelson, 1951.

⁶³ Paris, Fredericus Leonard, and also in 9 vols., 8^o (Ruinart, 23; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 451). The revised edition of 1690 is described by Knowles as 'a masterpiece of permanent value' ('Jean Mabillon', *Historian and Character* [supra vide note 1], 217).

⁶⁴ Ruinart, 26-7. These were edited in collaboration with Dom Ambrose Janvier (Paris, 1671, Louis Billaine [Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 465-7]). For Peter of Celle, see *NCE*, xi, 214. Correspondence edited by Julian Haseldine, *The letters of Peter of Celle*, Oxford, 2001.

⁶⁵ *DNB* 14849, with bibliography.

⁶⁶ Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 465-7.

Besides these projects this period also witnessed the development of new pursuits in the form of *voyages littéraires*. Beginning with Flanders in 1672,⁶⁷ this was the first of Mabillon's sponsored visits abroad in search of historical and liturgical source material, later collected together as *Vetera Analecta* published in four volumes from 1675 to 1685.⁶⁸ The year which saw the appearance of the first part of the *Analecta* was also a crucial turning-point in the direction his principal lines of research were henceforth to take.

The preface to the second volume of the April *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, published in 1675, contained a critique added by its Jesuit editor, Daniel Papebroch of Antwerp, for supposedly distinguishing authentic historical sources from counterfeit ones.⁶⁹ Papebroch based his arguments solely on the evidence of a single spurious diploma of Dagobert I, king of the Franks (628-37), confirming a grant of estates by his daughter Irmina to the monastery at Trèves previously founded by her.⁷⁰ Concluding, correctly in the event, that this was an eleventh-century forgery, dating from the reigns of the emperors Henry III (1039-56) or Henry IV (1056-1106),⁷¹ he then unwisely proceeded to use this as a criterion for arbitrarily redating the early Merovingian charters of the abbey of Saint-Denis, founded nearly a century earlier than Saint-Germain-des-Prés, claiming that these likewise were fabrications and of a correspondingly much later date than originally claimed.

In his refutation of Papebroch's thesis Mabillon ably defended the disputed charters by subjecting them to the rigorous principles of textual analysis detailed in his celebrated *De re diplomatica*, published in 1681 with dedication to his patron Colbert.⁷² A supplement

⁶⁷ Ibid., 467-75; *Mabillon*, i, [91]-113. 'Voyages et déplacements, pour des buts littéraires, tiennent dans la vie de Mabillon une place considérable et lui donnent une variété et un attrait particuliers' (*Mabillon*, ii, [607]). Other regions visited included Normandy, Lorraine and Alsace (ibid., [607] ff.).

⁶⁸ Paris, Louis Billaine, 4^o (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 475-81). Cf. Ruinart, 39-40, and *Mabillon*, i, [234] ff.

⁶⁹ His *Prophylæum antiquarium circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis*. Leclercq rightly describes this critique as 'boiteuse' ('Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 501).

⁷⁰ The critique was still included in volume 2 of the reprint of the April *Acta Sanctorum*, Venice, 1737-8. St Irmina (*festum* 24 December (*BHL* 4471-2), patron of Trèves [*DCB*, iii, 289]) was, according to tradition, a daughter of Dagobert II, king of Austrasia (674-9), to whom Papebroch ascribes the diploma. The diploma, dated 646, was likewise pronounced spurious by Pertz (*MGH*, xvi, *Diplomata*, 1872, re-issued Hanover, 1998, 169 no. 52), who also considered other charters associated both with Irmina and with her sister Adela, abbess of Pfalz (ibid., 177 no. 30 *et passim*), as dubious, and Irmina herself as fictitious (ibid., 175 no. 57, 176 nos. 58-9 *et passim*). For Dagobert I and II, see *DCB*, i, 778-9.

⁷¹ Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 502.

⁷² *De re diplomatica, libri VI, in quibus quidquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam & stilum; quidquid ad sigilla, monogrammata, subscriptiones, ac notas chronologicas; quidquid inde ad antiquariam, historicam, forensemque disciplinam pertinet, explicatur & illustratur. Accedunt Commentarius de antiquis regum Francorum palatiis; Veterum scripturarum varia specimina, tabulis LX comprehensa; nova ducentorum, & amplius, monumentorum collectio*, Paris, Louis Billaine, fol. (Ruinart, 40-1; *Mabillon*, i, [154] ff.). A second edition (Paris, Charles Robustel, fol.), edited by Ruinart, appeared in 1709 less than two years after Mabillon's death. Mabillon relates that he wrote this treatise specifically 'pour réfuter la doctrine de Papebroch et venger le chartrier de Saint-Denis' (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 505; for the *chartrier* and a classification of some of the abbey muniments, see ibid., 623-33). This seminal work inspired later publications based on it, including [Charles-François Toussaint and René-Prosper Tassin] *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique où l'on examine les fondemens de cet art: on établit des règles sur le discernement des titres, et l'on expose historiquement les caractères des bulles pontificales et des diplomes donnés en chaque siècle ... par deux religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 6 vols., Paris, Guillaume Desprez, 1750-65, 4^o; and J. J. Pasquier, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique, par deux religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, Paris, Guillaume Desprez, 1755. Valuable for the background to the dispute between Mabillon and Papebroch, and Maurist and Jesuit historiography in general, is Christian Albertan, 'Bénédictins et Jésuites devant la question

was issued some years later, in 1704, in response to criticism of the original work by the Bollandists.⁷³ In this, his *magnum opus*, Mabillon proceeded to examine and elucidate the different scribal styles, including protocols and other formulæ, with observations on sealing, signatures, grammar and orthography characteristic of manuscripts of different periods and administrative backgrounds. By showing how charters and other ancient documents could be distinguished and dated, he therefore established the criteria for determining their genuineness. In order to illustrate his arguments there was a series of finely engraved facsimiles, including those of royal and papal *sigilla*, detailed enough to allow comparison with the printed transcripts provided. This magisterial work, the first systematic treatise of its kind, henceforth established the related sciences of palæography and diplomatic, making it possible to apply canons of authenticity to early documents, which would enable them not only to be dated with accuracy, but also to be accepted as original or rejected as forgeries on the basis of informed, critical judgment. The greatness of Mabillon's contribution in this field lies in the fact that it remains of fundamental importance today, even though the science of textual criticism has moved forward considerably since his time. Indeed, it has rightly been said by Henri Leclercq, the best of his modern biographers, that 'le diplomatique n'existait pas avant Mabillon, qui fit plus que de révolutionner une science: il la créa'.⁷⁴ Generations of palæographers up to the present century, including such great names as Giry, Delisle, Traube and Lowe, are indebted to Mabillon, whose work has inspired, and will continue to inspire creative thinking in the complex field of documentary analysis.

This unexpectedly weighty riposte proved too much for Papebroch, who, in the memorable words of David Knowles, 'felt the blow, and retired to his corner for more than a year',⁷⁵ notwithstanding that his arguments had been treated with the greatest courtesy by Mabillon, whose aim was never to belittle his opponent, whom he treated with respect, regarding him as his comrade in scholarship and intellectual equal. Finally recovering himself and graciously conceding defeat in the face of this unanswerable erudition, Papebroch broke his silence and responded plaintively to Mabillon in July 1683, seeing himself 'refuted beyond hope of reply',⁷⁶ but delighting 'in the truth revealed to me'. 'Let me be your friend, I pray you', he concludes, 'I am not a learned man, but desire to be taught'.⁷⁷ On his return from Germany three months later, Mabillon wrote to Papebroch, praising his modesty and erudition,⁷⁸ a kindly and generous reply that does credit to his character by seeking to heal the wounded self-confidence of a fellow scholar, whose feelings he had deeply hurt, and earning his lasting friendship and respect.

Yet for all this intellectual and moral high ground, Mabillon was by no means infallible, even in areas where he had firmly established his reputation. Even he, *le grand maître*, was sometimes known to have made serious errors of judgment, or omissions when dating or

historiographique dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle', in Odon Hurel, [89]-101, in particular, 92-6 ('La querelle autour du *Re Diplomatica* et les débuts de l'ère du soupçon'). For Colbert, *infra vide* note 92.

⁷³ *Librorum de re diplomatica supplementum*, Paris, Charles Robustel, 1704 (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 653-8).

⁷⁴ Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 498.

⁷⁵ 'Jean Mabillon', *Historian and Character*, 223 (*supra vide* note 1). Leclercq describes Mabillon's reply as 'un coup d'éclat' ('Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 623).

⁷⁶ '... je me suis vu réfuté d'une manière à ne pas répondre' (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 509; *Mabillon*, i, 169).

⁷⁷ '... 'pénétré de joie d'y voir la vérité dans son plus beau jour ... Aimez-moi, je vous prie; je ne suis pas un savant, mais je désire m'instruire' (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 509; *Mabillon*, i, 169).

⁷⁸ Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 509.

transcribing documents. Indeed, the guiding principles he propounded so meticulously in *De re diplomatica* could sometimes be overlooked, purposely it seems, when there were issues concerning the reputation of his own order. The same lapses of judgment were also extended on occasion to textual criticism, as in the controversy between the Benedictines and the Augustinian canons regular regarding authorship of the great spiritual classic known to us as *The Imitation of Christ*, customarily attributed to Thomas à Kempis (c.1380-1471).⁷⁹ In supporting a fellow Maurist, Dom François Delfau, who had argued a not particularly convincing case for *Doctor christianissimus* Jean Gerson (1363-1429), the French churchman and mystical writer, as author,⁸⁰ Mabillon showed himself to be almost perversely out of step with mainstream opinion both of his day and ours.⁸¹

These occasional slips of critical acumen also failed to prevent him from detecting forgery in one notorious instance, as in the *cause célèbre* of the spurious genealogy of the house of La Tour of Auvergne in 1696.⁸² With the support of his disciple Dom Thierry Ruinart and Étienne Baluze (encountered earlier as one of the regulars at d'Archéry's learned Sunday gatherings at Saint-Germain-des-Prés), he unhesitatingly averred the authenticity of counterfeit documents supposedly belonging to an ancient and obscure cartulary from the church of Saint-Julien of Brioude in Auvergne.⁸³ The background to the affair is very involved, but the documents in question, which included spurious copy titles, an obituary and a letter of Louis IX dated 1226, had been deliberately fabricated with the connivance of the infamous Cardinal de Bouillon in support of his dynastic pretensions. His aim was to prove, by fraud, if necessary, the descent of the male line of the house of La Tour from the ancient counts of Auvergne, the count-dukes of Aquitaine, cadets of the dukes of Guyenne,⁸⁴ thereby establishing his entitlement to rich benefices, pensions and various other perquisites belonging to the church of Brioude. This scandalous affair might have done lasting damage to Mabillon's reputation, had not more culpable heads rolled.⁸⁵ In the event both de Bouillon and Baluze, who had unwittingly included the cartulary among the sources for his questionable *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*,⁸⁶ were disgraced and exiled. Baluze remained stubbornly unconvinced of his errors up until his death in 1718, no doubt in a final attempt to clear his name. The less fortunate forger of the charters, the impecunious and desperate Jean-Pierre du Bar, who had been enticed into the dismal affair by promises of generous rewards by de Bouillon, was arrested and ended up in

⁷⁹ Ruinart, 86-7; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 496.

⁸⁰ Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 496. For Gerson, see P. Glorieux, 'Gerson, Jean', *NCE*, vi, 449-50. Cf. Ruinart, 59-60.

⁸¹ Ruinart, 86-7; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 496; *Mabillon*, i, [119] ff. Mabillon's views were expounded in *Animadversiones in Vindicias Kempenses a R. P. ... canonico regulari congregationis Gallicæ adversus D. Fr. Delfau monachum benedictinum congregationis S. Mauri*, Paris, Louis Billaine, 1677, 8^o (discussed by Dom J. B. de Monnoveau, *L'Argument de Mabillon contre Thomas à Kempis, auteur de l'Imitation*, Ligugé, Abbaye-Saint-Martin, 1930). The controversy began in 1671 (Ruinart, XL).

⁸² Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 596-607; *Mabillon*, ii, [680] ff.

⁸³ 'C'est un curieux exemple d'illusion collective persévérante' (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 607; *Mabillon*, ii, 696-7). The cartulary is now BN lat. 9086. For Ruinart, see Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 661-3).

⁸⁴ Emmanuel Théodose de la Tour d'Auvergne (1643-1715), who was created cardinal in 1669 at the age of twenty-six, becoming chief almoner to Louis XIV two years later (C. B. O'Keefe, 'de Bouillon, Emmanuel Théodose de la Tour d'Auvergne', *NCE*, ii, 730). His refusal to condemn Fénelon (*supra vide* note 27) while at Rome, contrary to the king's wishes, contributed to his downfall. His court intrigues, intended to further his family's fortunes, and more particularly his own, followed by the publication of Baluze's dubious *Histoire généalogique*, did not help his cause.

⁸⁵ Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 607. 'La sainte-Larme et le cartulaire de Brioude furent les deux pierres d'achoppement de la carrière scientifique de Mabillon' (*ibid.*, 643).

⁸⁶ 2 vols., Paris, Antoine Dezallier, 1708, fol.

the Bastille as the scapegoat, with a double sentence unfairly awarded after his appeal miscarried.⁸⁷ An incensed de Bouillon, unable to vent his wrath on an infuriatingly unrepentant and by now absent Baluze, whom he held responsible for his misfortunes, continued to hound Mabillon and Ruinart over the affair for years after, even in exile.

Then there was the strange ambiguity regarding relics. While two years later, in 1698, with the critical perception of a modern archæologist, Mabillon was able to cast doubt on the authenticity of the remains in the catacombs to the consternation of the Holy Office, his attitude towards relics belonging to his own order was different, no doubt out of motivations of respect and loyalty. His discussion of the Holy Tear of Vendôme is a case in point. This was traditionally given to the abbey (a Maurist house by Mabillon's time) in 1042 by its founder Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou and Vendôme, who is said to have acquired it from the emperor Michael Paphlagon of Constantinople in appreciation of his support against the Saracens.⁸⁸ A curious *pièce justificatif*, written by Mabillon in 1700 at the direction of his superiors to the bishop of Blois, defending this obviously spurious relic against one of its more persistent critics clamouring for its abolition, illustrates his bias.⁸⁹ Although Mabillon conceded that the royal and episcopal sculptures on the arcade surrounding the reliquary, together with the inscription on the reliquary itself, did not accord with the accepted account of the Tear's donation, the relic was nevertheless claimed to be a holy object worthy of veneration. Detailed engravings of the arcade and reliquary were included to support his argument for the antiquity of the sculptures, which he describes as 'badly made, but of the type produced at the time',⁹⁰ and which are said to be coeval with the abbey. While allowing that the tradition of the Tear's donation was therefore questionable, Mabillon merely concludes that its evident royal associations were reasons in themselves to justify its possession by the monks of Vendôme and the good faith in which they esteemed it, while at the same time carefully sidestepping the issue of its authenticity.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Du Bar was arrested at his Paris home on 15 August 1700 with incriminating evidence, including parchments, pens, inks and various other implements of forgery (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 604). As to his character, 'il se disait clerc tonsuré, savait écrire et parler latin, et assez d'histoire pour manipuler les titres originaux et dresser un généalogie' (ibid., 599).

⁸⁸ The abbey was founded by Geoffrey and his wife, the countess Agnes of Burgundy, shortly before 1040 when the church was consecrated (J. de la C. Bouton, 'Vendôme (Sainte-Trinité, Abbey of)', *NCE*, xiv, 596). Michael IV Paphlagon died in December 1041, having reigned seven years (since 1034) before abdicating the previous August (H. Leclercq, 'Larme (La Sainte)', *DACL*, viii, pt. 1 (1928), 1382). An important source for Michael's life is the *Chronographia* of the Byzantine courtier, theologian and royal historian Michael Psellus, most conveniently available in the translations of E. Renauld, *Chronographia*, 2 vols., Budé, Paris, 1926-8; W. Stark, *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, Rare Masterpieces of Philosophy and Science, Routledge & Kegan Paul and Yale University Press, 1953; and E. R. A. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers, the Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, 1966. Greek text by Constantine Sathas (ed.), *The History of Psellus*, Byzantine Texts, ed. J. B. Bury, Methuen & Co., London, 1899, 42-68.

⁸⁹ *Lettre d'un Bénédictin à Monseigneur l'évesque de Blois touchant le discernement des anciennes Reliques, au sujet d'une Dissertation de M. [Jean-Baptiste] Thiers, contre la Sainte Larme de Vendôme*, Paris, 1700 (reprinted in Thuillier, ii, 361 ff., with Latin version in *Præfationes et dissertationes in Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti nunc primum conjunctim editæ ejusdem dissertationes V*, Trent (1724), 63-86 [iii, *De veteribus reliquis discernendis*]: cf. Ruinart, 128, and Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1., 642-3). Mabillon's correspondent here was David-Nicolas Berthier, bishop of Blois.

⁹⁰ '... assez mal-faites, mais telles qu'on les pouvoit faire en ce tems-là' (*Lettre d'un Bénédictin à Monseigneur l'évesque de Blois*, 47). The sculptures, in fact, were very much later than Mabillon supposed (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 1392).

⁹¹ 'Cependant ces Figures nous apprennent d'où est venue la Sainte-Larme, & prouvent invinciblement que c'est un présent d'un Evêque, d'un Roy & du Fondateur de l'Abbaye; & justifient par conséquent la

Yet despite the lasting damage to his reputation that might have been caused by the affair of the Brioude cartulary, Mabillon's fame was now firmly established throughout Europe as a result of the *De re diplomatica*. News of this achievement soon reached his patron, Louis XIV's minister and custodian of the *Bibliothèque du roi*, the redoubtable Colbert, who awarded him a generous pension of 2,000 *livres* out of the royal treasury, a largesse that Mabillon, true to his monastic vows, was obliged to decline.⁹² Colbert's less overt patronage, however, was to prove valuable, for it enabled his *protégé* to make further expeditions in search of historical material relating both to his own order and, more extensively, to the Church in France. His death in 1683, when Mabillon was undertaking his five month journey, from July to November, through Germany and Switzerland with his assistant Dom Michel Germain,⁹³ an expedition sponsored by Colbert out of the royal treasury, might have caused problems in funding for future excursions had he not been succeeded as minister by Charles-Maurice Le Tellier, archbishop of Reims.⁹⁴ Like his predecessor, this generous, if imperious churchman was a patron of learning and an admirer of Mabillon.⁹⁵ There is a celebrated incident involving Le Tellier when he is said to have presented Mabillon to the king at Versailles as the most learned man in his realm, only to be reminded by Bossuet, who was also present, and who no doubt would have liked to have introduced *le savant religieux* himself at court, that he really should have added the most humble as well.⁹⁶

Under Le Tellier's direction Mabillon was later commissioned early in 1685 to make a tour, again with Dom Germain as his companion, of the (mainly monastic) libraries of Italy in order to collect books and manuscripts for the royal library, which was augmented considerably as a result of this journey. Acquiring *en route* over 4,000 rare and valuable works at huge cost exceeding 5,000 *livres*, Mabillon and Germain later left an account of the fifteen month journey in their *Iter Italicum*, published as the first part of *Museum Italicum* in 1687.⁹⁷ This was intended to complement a corresponding record of their earlier

possession & la bonne foy des Religieux de Vendôme' (*Lettre d'un Bénédictin à Monseigneur l'évesque de Blois*, 49; cf. Ruinart, 128).

⁹² Ruinart, 43-5 ('[Mabillon] avait en effet un amour très sincère pour la pauvreté, et il souhaitait toujours que tout ce qui était à son usage fût le moindre et le plus simple que l'on pourrait trouver; ne souffrant même qu'avec peine, qu'on lui procurât quelque petite commodité dans le nécessaire', *ibid.*, 45). For Colbert, see L. L. Bernard, 'Colbert, Jean-Baptiste', *NCE*, iii, 987; *Mabillon*, i, 180. Colbert, as *surintendant des bâtiments du roi* by virtue of his office as minister, was put in charge of the royal library in 1661 (Delisle, i, 264).

⁹³ Ruinart, 47-52; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 519-28.

⁹⁴ D. R. Campell, 'Le Tellier, Charles-Maurice', *NCE*, viii, 679-80. Le Tellier succeeded Colbert as custodian of the royal library after the latter's death in 1683. Cf. also Ruinart, 53 note 38.

⁹⁵ Readers of Madame de Sévigné may recall an amusing letter to her daughter about this haughty prelate with his six-horse carriage and *laquais*, 5 February 1674, long before he became Mabillon's patron (*Correspondence [supra vide note 28]*, vol. 1, 692).

⁹⁶ According to de Broglie, *Mabillon*, i, 126-7 (cited by Knowles, 'Jean Mabillon', *Historian and Character [supra vide note 1]*, 223 note; cf. also Leclercq, *Mabillon*, i, 297) the conversation went as follows: [Le Tellier], 'Sire, j'ai l'honneur de présenter à Votre Majesté le plus savant homme de votre royaume.' [Bossuet], 'M. l'archevêque de Reims devrait ajouter, et le plus humble'.

⁹⁷ Ruinart, 70; *Mabillon*, i, [453] ff. *Museum Italicum, seu collectio veterum scriptorum ex bibliothecis Italicis*, 2 vols., Paris, Montalant, 1687 and 1689, 4^o. For the extent of Mabillon's Italian journey, which lasted from April 1685 to July 1686, see Ruinart, 53 ff., and *Mabillon*, i, [294] ff., [325] ff. (first stay at Rome with Dom Germain from 16 June to 16 October 1685), [367] ff. (visits to Naples, Monte Cassino and Subiaco), and [396] ff. (second stay at Rome before returning to France in 1686, finally arriving at Saint-Germain-des-Prés on 28 July). For the quantity of items purchased, see *Mabillon*, i, 444, and Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 555; cf. also Delisle, i, 296.

voyage littéraire in Germany during 1683, the *Iter Germanicum*,⁹⁸ which appeared in the fourth part of *Vetera Analecta*, 1685, as a form of introduction.

A significant discovery during his visit to the ancient monastery of Luxeuil, while travelling through Burgundy from April to June 1682 previous to the German expedition the following year, was the seventh-century manuscript now known as the Lectionary of Luxeuil, a precious relic of the early Gallican rite.⁹⁹ ‘Jumping with joy’, as Mabillon was excitedly to describe his elation, he realised immediately that, though incomplete, this was one of the oldest surviving witnesses to the liturgy in southern Gaul as it had developed after the fall of the Roman empire during the fifth century.¹⁰⁰ This discovery was later made known to the learned world in his *De Liturgia Gallicana* published in 1685,¹⁰¹ which gives the text of this important manuscript, together with editions of other ancient representatives of the Gallican rite,¹⁰² including the *Missale Gothicum*, the *Missale Francorum* and the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*.¹⁰³ In addition, there is a long essay on the Gallican rite and a still important supplement on the pre-Carolingian mass and office. Significant early Italian discoveries, during a long journey that included Rome, Naples, Monte Cassino and Subiaco, were also published subsequently in *Museum Italicum*, with its edition of the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, now better known as the Bobbio Missal, an

⁹⁸ Ruinart, 52-3; Leclercq, ‘Mabillon’, *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 519-28; *Mabillon*, i, [200] ff. See also P. McDonald, ‘Mabillon’s *Iter Germanicum*’, *DR*, 302 (January 1973), 1-12.

⁹⁹ BN lat. 9427. For the history of the abbey, see H. Baumont, *Étude historique sur l’abbaye de Luxeuil, 590-1790*, Luxeuil, 1895, and H. Leclercq, *DACL*, ix, pt. 2 (1930), 2722-87, with bibliography. The Burgundian journey, *Itinerarium Burgundicum* (*Mabillon*, i, [181] ff.), is described by Mabillon in the third part of *Vetera Analecta*, 1682 (Thuillier, ii, 1-42). Mabillon had been commissioned by Colbert to examine ‘quelques anciens titres qui regardaient la maison royale’ during this expedition (Ruinart, 47).

¹⁰⁰ Having recognised ‘l’un des plus curieux monuments de la paléographie mérovingienne ... [j]’ en ressentis un sentiment de joie: *Mox præ gaudio exsiliantes illud gallicanae Ecclesiae proprium fuisse suspicati sumus* (Leclercq, ‘Mabillon’, *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 529; cf. Ruinart, 52-3).

¹⁰¹ *De Liturgia Gallicana libri tres*, Paris, 1685 [with dedication to Le Tellier], 106-73 (Ruinart, 52-3; Leclercq, ‘Mabillon’, *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 528-30; *Mabillon*, i, [288] ff.). Reprinted, 1729, and later by Migne, *PL*, lxxii, 101-448. Critical edn. by P. Salmon, OSB, *Le Lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, vii [text] and ix [study], Rome, 1944 and 1953.

¹⁰² For the liturgy and ritual of the Gallican Church, see J. M. Neale and G. H. Forbes, *The ancient liturgies of the Gallican Church*, Burntisland, 1855-7; F.E. Warren, *The liturgy and ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881 (2nd edn. by Jane Stevenson, with foreword by H. Chadwick, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1987); L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1893, ch. 7 (dated, but still useful [English translation by M. L. McClure, *Christian worship, its origin and evolution*, 2nd edn., London, 1904]); and W. S. Porter, *The Gallican rite*, *Studies in Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd, London, 1958, with bibliography [by F. L. Cross], 57-61; J. Quasten, ‘Gallican Rites’, *NCE*, vi, 258-62.

¹⁰³ *De Liturgia Gallicana* (1685), 188-300 [*Missale Gothicum*, repr. *PL*, lxxii, 225-318; critical edn. by H. M. Bannister, *Missale Gothicum, a Gallican sacramentary*, HBS, lii and liv, 1917 and 1919; facsimile in C. Mohlberg, *Missale Gothicum, Das gallikanische Sakramentar (Cod. Vat. Regin. 317) des VII-VIII Jahrhunderts*, Augsburg, 1929]; *ibid.*, 301-28 [*Missale Francorum*, repr. *PL*, lxii, 317-40; critical edn. by L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer and P. Siffrin, *Missale Francorum* (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta cura Pontificii Athenæi Sancti Anselmi de Urbe edita, Series Maior, fontes ii, Rome, 1957)]; *ibid.*, 329-78 [*Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, repr. *PL*, lxii, 339-82; critical edn. by L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer and P. Siffrin, *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta cura Pontificii Athenæi Sancti Anselmi de Urbe edita, Series Maior, fontes iii, Rome, 1958)].

eighth-century manuscript of Gallican provenance with Irish influences.¹⁰⁴ Accompanying this was the collection of fifteen ritual *Ordines*,¹⁰⁵ crucial for understanding the development of the Roman liturgy from the time of Gelasius I (492-6) to the late fifteenth century.

Never without his critics, however, Mabillon was again caught up in a previous controversy following his return from Italy in July 1686. Having its origins in 1683, this developed into the celebrated dispute with the Cistercian Armand-Jean Le Bouthillier de Rancé (1626-1700), the hard-line reforming abbot of La Trappe, on the propriety of study in the cloister.¹⁰⁶ De Rancé had published that year his treatise *De la sainteté et des devoirs de la vie monastique*,¹⁰⁷ arguing that learning was not essential to monastic life, which was founded rather on the virtues of faith, hope and charity, and which ‘enabled the brethren to live according to the law of God in harmony and holy understanding, bearing the yoke of our Lord together with a common heart and mind’.¹⁰⁸

De Rancé’s views were further developed in his French translation of the *Holy Rule* in 1689,¹⁰⁹ with a commentary outlining what he regarded as its true spirit, and attacking the Maurist ideal of learning. His all but total disregard for, and prohibition of any form of intellectual occupation in favour of absolute obedience (which, in imitation of Christ, ‘makes the monk’¹¹⁰), austerity, manual labour, and perpetual silence in his ideal monastery provoked Mabillon’s celebrated *Traité des études monastiques*, published in 1691,¹¹¹ which both eloquently vindicated monastic scholarship and outlined the course it should take. The

¹⁰⁴ BN lat. 13246, ed. with facsimile by E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal, a Gallican mass book*, HBS, liii [text] and Iviii [facsimile], 1917 and 1920, with notes and studies by André Wilmart, E. A. Lowe and H. A. Wilson, *ibid.*, lxi, 1924. See also Ruinart, 71 note 47, and Wilmart, ‘Bobbio (Missel de)’, *DACL*, ii, pt. 1 (1910), 939-62. The north-west Italian monastery of Bobbio, in the Apennines halfway between Genoa and Piacenza, was founded in 612 by St Columbanus (*supra vide* note 37), who died there in 615.

¹⁰⁵ Mabillon’s text is reprinted by Migne, *PL*, lxxviii, 851-1408. Critical edn. by M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents, Louvain: xi [Introduction], xxiii [*Ordines* I-XIII], xxiv [*Ordines* XIV-XXIV], xxxviii [*Ordines* XXXV-XLIX], and xix [*Ordo* L], 1931-61. Cf. also Ruinart, 71 note 47.

¹⁰⁶ Leclercq, ‘Mabillon’, *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 560-85; *Mabillon*, ii, [503] ff. and [531] ff. See also Henri Didot, *La querelle de Mabillon et de l’Abbé de Rancé*, Rousseau-Leroy, Amiens, 1892; A. J. Krailsheimer, *Armand Jean de Rancé, abbot of La Trappe, his influence in the cloister and the world*, Oxford, 1974; and Blandine Kriegel, *La querelle Mabillon-Rancé*, Quai Voltaire, Paris, 1992. A useful short history of the Trappists is by Charles Grolleau and Guy Chastel, *L’ordre de Cîteaux, La Trappe*, Collection ‘Les Grands Ordres Monastiques et Instituts Religieux’, dirigée par Édouard Schneider aux Éditions Bernard Grasset, xiv, Paris, 1932.

¹⁰⁷ 2 vols., Paris, 1683 (cf. Ruinart, 73-4); 2nd edn., 1701.

¹⁰⁸ ‘La charité est le lien et le fondement des communautés monastiques. De même qu’elle les forme, elle les conserve. Elle permet que les frères vivent selon la loi de Dieu en harmonie et dans une sainte intelligence, et portent tous ensemble, *humero uno*, le joug du Seigneur, d’un seul cœur, d’un seul esprit et d’une seule volonté’ (*De la sainteté et des devoirs de la vie monastique*, i, 322). Inspired by St John’s Gospel, ch. 17, this is one of the most beautiful parts of this work, which, in the great monastic tradition, teaches these virtues in imitation of Christ. With his reforming zeal and spirituality, de Rancé follows the path of St Bernard of Clairvaux, with whom he has been compared.

¹⁰⁹ *La règle de Saint-Benoist nouvellement traduite et expliquée selon son véritable esprit*, 2 vols., Paris; reprinted, 1703.

¹¹⁰ ‘C’est l’obéissance qui fait le moine’ (*De la sainteté et des devoirs de la vie monastique*, i, 132).

¹¹¹ *Traité des études monastiques divisé en trois parties, avec une liste des principales difficultez qui se rencontrent en chaque siècle dans la lecture des originaux, & un catalogue de livres choisis pour composer un Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, Paris, Charles Robustel, 4^o [<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k888807>]; reprinted, Paris, Robustel, and Brussels, Eugene Henry Fricx, 1692. First Latin translation, *Tractatus de studiis monasticis in tres partes distributus*, Venice, Andreas Poleti, 1705. English translation, with introduction, by J. P. McDonald, *Treatise on monastic studies*, Lanham, University Press of America, 2004.

study of the Bible, the Fathers, the Councils, canon law, ecclesiastical and secular history,¹¹² as well as philosophy,¹¹³ *belles-lettres*,¹¹⁴ and even manuscripts and numismatics,¹¹⁵ was justified, since all knowledge led to truth, charity and love of justice, fulfilling both the spirit and the heart, and contributing to the happiness of man.¹¹⁶ Study had always been, since the earliest times, an integral part of the monastic vocation, both in its eastern and western traditions, and Mabillon reminds de Rancé of its central place also in the life of the reformed orders, such as the Cistercians and the Carthusians.¹¹⁷ Among its readers the treatise was intended in particular for the novices and young monks of the Maurist congregation, who would profit from an organised course of study with recommended reading, both throughout their initial grounding in the principles of the Christian faith and the monastic life, and beyond.¹¹⁸ His opponent's rejoinder elicited his *Réflexions sur la réponse de M. l'Abbé de La Trappe* the following year,¹¹⁹ reinforcing his earlier arguments, a work highly rated by his superiors, who henceforth appointed Mabillon as the order's champion and spokesman in matters intellectual and spiritual.

The dispute might have continued indefinitely, with a forthcoming weighty counter-publication by de Rancé, his *Examen des Réflexions* (in the end withdrawn by its author), had not ecclesiastical authority in the person of Bossuet, with the support of Cardinal Étienne Le Camus,¹²⁰ bishop of Grenoble, intervened by proposing a compromise, which would enable differences to be resolved amicably. Le Camus was admirably placed as arbiter in this long-running controversy. As a gifted scholar and theologian of discreet Jansenist persuasion followed privately as a matter of spiritual discipline, he had retired to La Trappe in 1665 to try his vocation as a Cistercian with de Rancé previous to his

¹¹² *Traité des études monastiques* (1691), pt. ii, ch. 8, 225-42.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pt. ii, chs. 9-10, 243-67.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pt. ii, ch. 11, 268-79.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pt. ii, ch. 12, 279-90.

¹¹⁶ [384 'Car amasser beaucoup de connoissances, entasser sciences sur sciences, cela ne suffit pas pour dire que l'on étudie: il faut avoir une fin, il faut sçavoir pourquoy on le fait, ou plutost pourquoy on le doit faire. Il y a deux sortes de fins, les unes principales, les autres moins principales et accessoires. La fin principale que les solitaires doivent avoir en vûë dans leurs études, c'est la connoissance de la verité, et la charité ou l'amour de la justice, en un mot c'est le reglement de l'esprit [385 et du cœur. Ce sont là les deux fins principales que doivent avoir en vûë, non seulement les religieux, mais tous les chrétiens. Il faut donc que ce que l'on nomme étude ait pour but en premier lieu la connoissance de la verité, qui fait une partie du bonheur de l'homme. Comme l'esprit est une des principales parties de la creature raisonnable, on ne peut estre heureux en demeurant dans l'erreur. Aussi sentons-nous un ardent desir de sçavoir et de connoître: nous trouvons qu'il n'y a rien de plus beau que d'exceller dans quelque science; et qu'il n'y a rien au contraire de si miserable, ni de si honteux, que d'estre dans l'ignorance ou dans l'erreur, de se méprendre, ou de se laisser imposer. Je ne parle pas seulement des connoissances que l'on tire des sciences humaines, mais mesme de celles qui regardent les choses saintes, comme l'écriture et la theologie. Sçavoir les questions curieuses de l'écriture sainte, démesler les genealogies, accorder les points d'histoire et de chronologie qui paroissent embarassez, estre fort sçavant dans [386 les questions que l'on forme sur la lettre, n'est pas sçavoir l'écriture. Car quoiqu'il soit bon de s'instruire de toutes ces choses, dit un grand homme, il faut neanmoins se persuader, que l'écriture n'est pas faite pour donner de la pasture à nos esprits, mais pour servir de nourriture à nos cœurs. Ainsi il arrive fort souvent, que ceux qui paroissent habiles dans l'écriture, y sont en effet tres-ignorans; et que ceux qui y paroissent peu habiles, y sont en effet fort sçavans: d'autant qu'ils y ont trouvé le secret de devenir meilleurs' (*ibid.*, pt. iii, ch. 1, 384-6).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pt. i, ch. 9, 49-64.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pt. ii, chs. 18-21, 344-84. Mabillon's *conduit ou plan d'études* is only intended as a guide, however, for 'Je ne pretens pas pourtant m'eriger en directeur: on pourra changer ou corriger ce plan comme on le jugera à propos' (*ibid.*, pt. 18, ch. 18, 345).

¹¹⁹ Paris, Charles Robustel, 1692, 4^o (Ruinart, 79-80); reprinted, 2 vols., 1693.

¹²⁰ L. L. Bernard, 'Le Camus, Étienne', *NCE*, viii, 598. The liberal and moderate Le Camus (1632-1707), 'famous for pastoral zeal and tolerance to Huguenots' (McManners, 293), was appointed bishop of Grenoble in 1671. He was created doctor of divinity at the Sorbonne at the extraordinary age of eighteen.

appointment as bishop of Grenoble in 1671. Each side of the debate, he declared with even handedness, represented a laudable and equally valid aspect of the monastic tradition. This careful and non-judgmental pronouncement aimed to settle the matter once and for all by respecting both parties in the dispute, and persuading them to respect each other. Learning, it was concluded, was by no means incompatible with monastic life, rather it was a necessary part of it. Mabillon with his regular devotion and diligent scholarship, and de Rancé with his strict interpretation of the religious vocation, which was supported by his own wide reading and erudite writings during the controversy, were each praised as outstanding representatives of this great tradition.

Eventually the *abbé tempête* made his peace with Mabillon when the two met together at La Trappe late in May 1693, while the latter was returning to Paris after a convention of the chapter-general of his order at Marmoutier, near Tours. The reconciliation had been carefully planned by Bossuet and the dowager duchess of Guise, Élisabeth d'Orléans, an admirer of de Rancé, who in the event was ungallantly left on her own by a deliberately absent Bossuet to preside over the interview between the two quarelling religious herself. Overwhelmed by his opponent's charm and simplicity, de Rancé was completely won over by 'le doux Mabillon', and the two former *adversaires* embraced on their knees with expressions of mutual regard, thereby bringing this seemingly interminable controversy to an end, much to the relief of the good duchess.

From our standpoint there is a curiosity in the fact that de Rancé, tunnel-visioned, and carried along by the force of his own polemic and the complexities of his own personality, no doubt as the result of the religious experiences that had earlier changed his life, seems to have turned a blind eye to the intellectual traditions of his own order. Represented pre-eminently by the writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux, whose teachings on the love and grace of God continued to inspire his life as a devout Cistercian, these would surely have been familiar to de Rancé. Even stranger is that this controversy should have arisen in the first place between these two *savants religieuses*, each championing alternative, yet complementary aspects of monastic life, which under more amicable circumstances would have engendered mutual respect. The characters of each were certainly very different, with Mabillon *accommodant* confronting a fervent de Rancé compelled by his lofty spiritual ideals. This undoubtedly contributed in the end to this somewhat inconsistent and circular debate, where '[de] Rancé had the art of using erudition while concealing it, and Mabillon would have followed learning even if its spiritual advantages had been proved non-existent'.¹²¹

Contention of another sort arose five years later when Mabillon made enemies in Rome by his pseudonymous attack, published under the title *Eusebii Romani ad Theophilum Gallum Epistola de cultu sanctorum ignotorum*,¹²² on the misdirected veneration of the relics of dubious martyrs in the catacombs, which he regarded as spurious. The abuse of relics had long been pre-occupying Mabillon since his return to France from Italy in 1686 before he eventually produced an unpublished dissertation on the subject in 1691.¹²³ Finally breaking

¹²¹ McManners, 595. De Rancé would probably have been familiar with many, if not most of the writers listed to date by Carolus de Visch in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis elogiis plurimorum maxime illustrium adornata*, editio secunda, Coloniae Agrippinae [Cologne], [1656], which seems to have been the authorised Cistercian *catalogus scriptorum* of its day.

¹²² Paris, 1698, 4^o; reprinted by Thuillier, i, 213-81 (Ruinart, 95-7; cf. Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 611, and *Mabillon*, ii, 712 ff.).

¹²³ Ruinart, 97-8; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', *DACL*, x, pt. 1, 611. '... c'était Mabillon, initiateur en cette matière comme en plusieurs autres, qui donnait le premier exemple d'une discussion rigoureusement objective sur

into print in 1698, his work unexpectedly proved a runaway success by going into several editions, including two unauthorised French versions intended to cause controversy at home.¹²⁴ Among the concerns raised, it was observed that, as all the bones of the early martyrs in the tombs would have been transferred to local city shrines by the eighth century, there was no way of authenticating the numerous and frequently disordered relics from later periods indiscriminately deposited there. Irrefutable though this argument was, it failed in the end to impress an increasingly defensive ecclesiastical hierarchy, which had an obvious pecuniary interest in the trade of spurious *objets de foi*, and which understandably resented this interference. While enemies of the Maurists, including, as usual, the Jesuits, who by now had rightly guessed Mabillon's hand in the affair, saw this as an opportunity to have the troublesome book censured and put on the Index, it was finally accepted by the Holy Office on the intervention of Clement XI, conveniently a friend of Mabillon, though he would have been the very last to exploit this relationship. A re-issue was permitted in 1705, but this time under Mabillon's name, on condition that some of the more controversial passages were removed, or at least modified, which Mabillon judiciously succeeded in doing without compromising his argument.¹²⁵

The end of 1698 saw yet another controversy with the publication of the tenth and latest volume of the Maurist edition of St Augustine,¹²⁶ which was attacked anonymously (by the Jesuits in the event) as supposedly giving Jansenist interpretations to some of the readings adopted in the final text, and to the notes and marginalia. The acrimony of the dispute demanded a reasoned but cautious defence of the methods of critical scholarship employed by the editors, and the following year the task fell to Mabillon, who at the request of his superiors drafted a carefully worded preface to the eleventh and final tome, which served as a general introduction to the edition as a whole. As it appeared eventually in 1700, this preface is the work of several painstaking recensions, including amendments by Bossuet, which were incorporated in the final version, but which still failed to assuage the widespread criticism that Mabillon and his superiors feared. The controversial volume was duly presented to the king in September that year when it met with the royal approval. By this time, however, Mabillon had left Paris for Normandy, seeking temporary refuge from the storm, which he had anticipated, and which was still causing ripples on his return. In the end, however, the Maurists were vindicated when their work was formally acknowledged by the Holy See, which terminated the controversy on both sides in their favour. Full papal approval was given six years later, in 1706, when Clement XI issued a brief praising their work and presented Mabillon with a medal for his services to sacred scholarship. Another distinction had previously been

un sujet que l'on s'était habitué à ne plus traiter qu'avec des préoccupations apologetiques' (H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne jusqu'au VIII^e siècle*, 2 vols., Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1907: i, 9; cf. also *ibid.*, 11).

¹²⁴ Reprints of the Latin text with French translations continued to be issued well after the controversy. In Paris alone there were five successive editions, with others published at Tours, Grenoble, Brussels and Utrecht (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 612).

¹²⁵ Second Latin edition, with French translation (*Dissertation sur le culte des saints inconnus ... traduite en François [sic] sur la nouvelle édition Latine de 1705, qui a pour titre Letter d'Eusebe a Theophile, par Monsieur L. R. [Le Roy]*), Paris, Claude Cellier, 1705 (Ruinart, 97-8). Clement XI, formerly Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, was pope from 1700 to 1721. In 1708 he made the feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December) one of obligation throughout the Universal Church.

¹²⁶ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum, tomus decimus, continens opuscula polemica contra Pelagianos ... opera et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri*, Paris, François Muguet, fol. (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 619-39; *Mabillon*, ii, [628] ff. and [659] ff.). The first volume was published in 1679 (Paris, François Muguet). The complete edition of 11 volumes was re-issued at Antwerp between 1700 and 1702.

conferred on Mabillon by the king, who, magnanimously overlooking the unfortunate affair of the La Tour genealogy, appointed him first honorary member of the re-endowed *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* on 16 July 1701 in recognition of his outstanding contributions to learning.¹²⁷

Mabillon, now aged seventy-one, had the satisfaction of seeing, in 1703, publication of the first part of his last and greatest historical work, the six volume *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, with the fourth appearing shortly before his death in 1707. Representing a decade of research, using an extraordinary range of original material, the *Annales* are a chronological account of the order's great history, from St Benedict to St Bernard, with lengthy introductions to each volume, covering almost seven centuries from 480 to 1157.¹²⁸ The fifth volume was produced in 1713, while publication of the sixth and last, which was edited by his devoted disciple Dom Edmond Martène (1654-1739), 'le bon Edmond' of Mabillon's correspondence, was delayed for over a quarter of a century until 1739. Martène also continued his master's liturgical researches, undertaking, in the company of the younger Dom Ursin Durand (1682-1771), an extensive journey throughout France, in the manner of the great earlier itineraries, visiting churches and monasteries, which resulted in the publication of the first part of their celebrated *Voyage Littéraire* in 1717.¹²⁹ This was followed by the second edition, after a period of over thirty years, of Martène's own *De antiquitatis ecclesiae ritibus* issued in four parts between 1736 and 1738.¹³⁰

Weary with overwork, travel, and controversy, which continued right up to the end of a life troubled by persistent ill health, Mabillon died at Saint-Germain-des-Prés on Tuesday, 27 December 1707, the feast of his patron, following a short illness exacerbated by the effects of pleurisy and heart trouble. After a solemn requiem mass he was buried in the Great Chapel of the Virgin at three in the afternoon the following day when a chill winter darkness was falling on a silent Paris bereft of its greatest luminary.¹³¹ The pope wept at

¹²⁷ Ruinart, 133-5; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 643-6. Founded originally as *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* in 1663, this learned society was re-endowed under the same name on 14 July 1701, later, in 1716, taking the title *Académie royale des inscriptions et médailles* (H. Leclercq, 'Institut de France', *DACL*, vii, pt. 1 (1926), 1089-1118 ['L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', 1099-1118]; *Mabillon*, ii, [780] ff.). Among other famous members contemporary with Mabillon was the writer Charles Perrault (1628-1703), who was admitted in 1671. Today the *Académie* is one of five *académies* comprising the Institut de France.

¹²⁸ *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti occidentalium monachorum patriarchæ*, I-VI, Paris, Charles Robustel, 1703, 1704, 1706, 1707, 1713, 1739. The volumes cover the following years: I (480-700), II (701-849), III (850-980), IV (981-1066), V (1067-1116), VI (1117-57). Cf. Ruinart, 142-8; Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 646-53; *Mabillon*, ii, [780] ff.

¹²⁹ [Dom Edmond Martène & Dom Ursin Durand], *Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur, où l'on trouvera: I Quantité des pièces d'inscriptions et d'épithaphes ... II Plusieurs usages des églises cathédrales et des monastères ... III Les fondations des monastères et une infinité de recherches curieuses et intéressantes*, 2 vols., Paris, Florentin Delaulne et al., 1717 and 1724, 4°. Another collaborative work was their important *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio ... édité ici pour la première fois d'après les recherches et par le soin de Dom Edmond Martène et de Dom Ursin Durand*, 6 vols., Paris, Montalant, 1729, 4°. The *Voyage Littéraire* may have inspired the pseudonymous *Voyages Liturgiques de France, ou Recherches faites en diverses villes du royaume par le Sieur de Moléon*, Paris, Delaulne, 1718, 8°. Its author, the Jansenist Lebrun-Desmarettes, also produced liturgical texts, including the breviaries of Orléans and Nevers.

¹³⁰ Antwerp, 4 vols., 4°, first published at Rouen, 1700-2.

¹³¹ Ruinart, 187-90. The Grande Chapelle de la Vierge, separate from the abbey church opposite the choir on its north side (Bouillart, plates 6 (*Vüe orientale de l'abbaye ... en 1368*, between pages 160-1) and 10° (*Vüe occidentale de l'abbaye ... devant 1640*, between pages 200-1), was built during the 13th century by

the news of his dear friend's death, and the king, informed of events by Le Tellier, mourned the loss of one of his most loyal subjects as well as one of the most learned men of his realm. His passing brought to an end the most illustrious chapter in the history of Maurist scholarship, which henceforth became synonymous with his name.

In the generations that followed neither monarch nor monk, patron nor *protégé*, *seigneur* nor serf could have dreamt of the violent and terrible end of the old order less than a century later when the great feudal abbey, with its centuries of accumulated treasures and associations, was forcibly closed and pillaged. The ancient tombs of the Merovingian kings, its founders and early benefactors, situated in the sanctuary,¹³² were desecrated and their remains scattered before the great library, comprising over 49, 000 printed books and over 7, 000 manuscripts, in addition to large collections of eastern and western antiquities, was plundered in 1791 and finally burnt down three years later.¹³³ As a final, cruel blow, the

Pierre de Montereau (Montreuil), architect of La Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, who was buried there with his wife (*Nécrologe*, 385). By 1723 it was accessed from the *petit cloître* extended at its west end (Bouillart, *plan general*, between pages 308-9). It did not survive the Revolution when it was desecrated and converted into a *salpêtrière* before being finally demolished by an explosion in 1799. The ruins were eventually cleared to make way for the new rue de l'Abbaye (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 699). The explosion also destroyed the cloisters and other parts of the abbey (*ibid.*).

¹³² Beginning with Childerbert I, king of the Franks (511–58), who founded of the abbey in 558, and Ultragothe his queen, whose tombs were later situated in the sanctuary, south-east of the high altar, these were originally in the choir (Bouillart, *plan ancien et moderne de l'église*, between pages 284-5). The early 15th-century reliquary of Saint-Germain, bishop of Paris, 555-76 (*festum* 28 May, *BHL* 3468-81; *vita* by Venantius Fortunatus, ed B. Krusch, *MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, vii (1920), 346-67, 372-418; cf. also *DCB*, ii, 657), to whom the church was dedicated, was nearby, supported on four columns behind the high altar (engraving in Bouillart, plate 17, between pages 166-7). The body of Saint-Germain had lain in the sanctuary of the old Merovingian basilica of Holy Cross and St Vincent since its translation from the crypt of what later became the chapel of Saint-Symphorien [St Symphorianus, martyr of Autun, c.180, *BHL* 7967-70. Saint-Germain was previously abbot of the monastery of Saint-Symphorien at Autun, whence the association] in the presence of Pippin III (Pippin the Short), king of the Franks (751-68), and his son Charles on 25 July 756 (*MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, vii, 368-71, 422-8; cf. also Lefèvre-Pontalis, 303-4, which has line drawing of inscription commemorating the *translatio*), and remained there when abbé Morard built his new church in 1014 (*infra vide* note 138). In 1690, probably at the same time as the tombs of the Merovingian kings were moved, his *restes* were returned to the chapel (Bouillart, 284-5, and plate 15 (engraving of tomb), between pages 272-3), which seems to have been formally consecrated in 1619 (Lefèvre-Pontalis, 355). Mabillon wrote a little-known essay on the tombs of the early Frankish kings up to early Carolingian times, and their locations, including Saint-Germain-des-Prés (*Discours sur les anciennes sepultures de nos rois*, 1702, in Thuillier, ii, 4-58). In this he describes also the *grand portail*, the great west door of the abbey, destroyed during the Revolution, with its royal statues ('On connoît par celles ... des habits des Rois & des Reines de ce tems-là ... Le Roi Childebert I est représenté à ce même portail avec un livre à la main gauche, pour marquer qu'il est fondateur de cette Eglise, & avec un sceptre qui se termine par une figure qu'il est difficile de bien distinguer ...' [*ibid.*, 54-5]). There is an engraving of the *grand portail* in Bouillart, plate 4, between pages 308-9, and description, with illustration, in Lefèvre-Pontalis, 351-5. Of related interest is Jean Benoît Désiré Cochet, *Le tombeau de Chilpéric, premier roi des Francs, restitué à l'aide de l'archéologie et découvertes recentes*, G. Monfort, Brionne, 1978 (Chilperic I, 566-84, described as 'the most conspicuous instance of the unrestrained character of the Merovingian kingship', *DCB*, i, 468).

¹³³ The library had its known origins in the 10th or 11th century (Delisle, ii, 40-58), probably from the time of abbé Morard, 990-1014 (*infra vide* note 138). The *logement*, which is said to have been built by abbé Gervais Galloys between 1552 and 1558 (*ibid.*, iii, 376), and which was destroyed by the great fire of 20 August 1794 (*ibid.*, ii, 49), was situated above the west aisle of the *grand cloître* (Bouillart, plate 2° (*Vüe septentrionale de l'abbaye*), *en face* page [1], reproduced in Ruinart, between pages XXXII and XXXIII). An inventory of abbey *meubles*, compiled at the requirement of the Assemblée nationale, 13 November 1789, records 49,387 printed volumes of various sizes, 7,072 manuscripts (Oriental, Greek, Latin and French), together with substantial collections of antiquities (Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Gallic, Chinese and Indian), natural history, and busts, bronzes and coins (*Nécrologe*, 384; cf. also Delisle, ii, 54-8, 326, 329). The abbey's extensive archives included no fewer than ten cartularies, recording title to its considerable

execution by guillotine of the last superior-general, Dom Ambroise-Augustin Chevreux, together with the prior, Dom Nicolas Favorette, and forty-five monks on 2 September 1792,¹³⁴ whose fate is movingly recalled today by the austere monument to the Benedictine Martyrs in the church, brought to a stark and brutal end the great Maurist enterprise. Representative of an age of feudalism and royal privilege, its fate was to perish as violently as the monarchy which had long supported it, and with which it had closely identified itself and aligned its interests. Its epitaph may be provided by a present-day French historian:

Née avec l'affirmation de la monarchie absolu, confortée dans sa vocation savante par un régime des privileges clairement favorable à son programme éditorial, il était difficile que la congrégation de Saint-Maur puisse survivre à l'Ancien Régime. Et cela bien qu'en 1790 les Mauristes et leurs quelques défenseurs aient invoqué non sans raison, par-de là leurs liens avec le régime finissant, les services rendus à la Nation et aux lettres.¹³⁵

[Born with the support of an absolutist monarchy, and confirmed in its learned vocation by a system of privilege openly in favour of its scholarly enterprise, it was difficult for the Congregation of St Maur to outlive the *ancien régime*. This was so, even though, in 1790, the Maurists and their defenders had argued a fair case for their services to the nation and literature, despite their association with the outgoing order]

Today, its memory lives on in the beautiful books it so lovingly produced, and in the lasting inspiration and resources for scholarship that have been its legacy for over two centuries. But for the cataclysm very many more great works would undoubtedly have been produced, to judge by the numerous volumes of collected notes and transcripts now in the Bibliothèque nationale and numerous *bibliothèques municipales*.¹³⁶ The spoils of an age of turbulence miraculously preserved for posterity, these include valuable material relating more widely to the early history of France besides the more specialised fields of monastic and ecclesiastical history.

estates, and charters of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings (*Nécrologe*, 383-4). Among the latter was the original foundation charter of Childerbert I, dated 558 (text in Pertz (ed.), *MGH*, xvi, *Diplomata*, 1872, re-issued Hanover, 1998), 7 no. 5). On 23 April 1795 the revolutionary Comité d'instruction publique ordered the removal of all remaining books and manuscripts from the abbey (those that had survived the fire of 1794) to the Bibliothèque nationale, an operation which took from 6 December 1795 to 14 March 1796 to complete (Delisle, ii, 5-6, 49). The sizeable collection of French manuscripts comprised 4695 volumes (now BN fonds français *troisième série* 15370-20064 [ibid., 329]).

¹³⁴ The names of the deceased are recorded in *Nécrologe*, 368-78, and are inscribed on the memorial to the Benedictine Martyrs in the church. The executions were carried out at the same time as the massacre of political prisoners transferred to the abbey the previous day where they were locked up overnight in the refectory and probably the chapel of Saint-Symphorien (ibid., 369-70). Dom Favorette had been prior since 1783 (ibid. [361]).

¹³⁵ Jean-Dominique Mellot, 'Les Mauristes et l'édition érudite, un gallicanisme éditorial?', 88, in Odon Hurel, [73]-88.

¹³⁶ Knowles, 58. The Maurist *restes* continue to provide valuable source material for patrological as well as historical research (Benoît Gain, 'Les documents Mauristes et leur utilisation dans le cadre des travaux patristiques modernes', in Odon Hurel, [255]-268).

All that survives of this great monastery today is the abbot's palace¹³⁷ and the splendid church, the oldest in Paris, albeit a poignant fragment of its former glory, which was miraculously saved from demolition after a determined campaign led by Victor Hugo during the nineteenth century. Its most prominent feature continues to be the great west tower, the *clocher*, a solid and unwavering symbol of permanence. Defying time, revolutions and Paris traffic, this is the work of the good abbé Morard (990-1014), who rebuilt the church after the Norman depredations of the tenth century, and who used his limited resources to cultivate learning in his new foundation with what books he could provide,¹³⁸ anticipating the achievements of a later golden age. The church now continues as the spiritual centre of a large, eponymous parish, a thriving and fashionable area of the *rive gauche* renowned today for its boutiques and antiquarian bookshops, previously the meeting-place for artists, poets, musicians, philosophers and aspiring *hommes politiques*, gathering in its famous *cafés* to discuss their work and the affairs of the day. Here would be seen the existentialist Sartre and his circle, unwittingly touched, one feels, by the *genius loci*, the gentle spirit of intellectual enquiry that has characterised this distinctive part of Paris for generations. In times past one might pause here on life's journey and listen to the cadences of stately plainsong echoing through the now vanished cloisters and gardens,¹³⁹ with the angelus sounding beyond the medieval walls, across the *faubourg* towards the ancient meadows (*prés*) that lent their name to the abbey,¹⁴⁰ sombrely measuring by the hour the passing of a doomed era.

Horloge! dieu sinistre, effrayant, impassible,
Dont le doigt nous menace.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Situated immediately to the north-east of the abbey church, now off the rue de l'Abbaye, the imposing late Renaissance *palais abbatial* was built in 1586 by Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon (1523-90), who held the abbey *in commendam*, together with numerous other wealthy foundations, including the abbeys of Saint-Denis and Jumièges. The residence was further elaborated in 1704 (engraving by Israël Silvestre [?c.1710], reproduced in Ruinart, between pages XXXII and XXXIII) by the abbot, Cardinal Guillaume Égon de Fürstenberg (*Nécrologe*, 300-14; M. V. Schuller, 'Fürstenberg, Franz and William', *NCE*, vi, 229), who died that year, and whose tomb was in the abbey church. He is commemorated today by the picturesque Place de Furstenberg in the present *quartier* Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Fürstenberg was commendatory abbot from 1690 to 1704. The lucrative *commende*, for which there were nearly eight-hundred abbeys available throughout France, is discussed by McManners, 647, 778.

¹³⁸ Bouillart, 70-1 ('C'étoit un homme fort bien intentionné ... qui fit des dépenses considérables pour le rétablissement de son monastere', *ibid.*, 70; cf. also *Nécrologe*, 370). Begun by Morard in 1014, the new church, continuing under its original dedication to Holy Cross and St Vincent (*supra vide* note 41), was finally finished in 1163 when it was re-dedicated by Pope Alexander III to St Germain of Paris (*supra vide* note 132 [for the background to this and other Parisian church dedications, see Stephen Wilson 'Cults of saints in the churches of central Paris', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22, no. 4 (October 1980), 548-575]). The *clocher* was restored during the 19th century when the present spire was added, replacing an earlier, taller structure. The nave arcading, which dates from c.1163, is modelled on contemporary work at Saint-Denis, Noyon and Senlis, and was used to support the lofts (as at Notre Dame), which were removed in 1646. Dating from Merovingian times, the marble shafts are among the oldest parts of the church and may have belonged to Childerbert's original basilica, which Morard demolished to make way for his new foundation (Lefèvre-Pontalis, 305).

¹³⁹ The present rue Bonaparte, which passes the church by its great west tower, crosses (from north to south) the sites of the *grand jardin*, *cour interieure*, *bureaux* with *dortoir* above, and *parvise* of the former monastery (compare the *Vüe septentrionale* and *plan general* (1723) of the foundation in Bouillart, plates 2^e, *en face* page [1], and 4, between pages 308-9). The *grand cloître*, with *petit cloître* adjacent on its east, lay on the north side of the church.

¹⁴⁰ An early plan of the *faubourg* with *environs* is in Bouillart, plate 1, *en face* title-page. The meadows, which have long since disappeared, and which had been encroached on considerably nearly as far as Montparnasse by the early 18th century, extended away towards the south and south-west (*ibid.*).

¹⁴¹ Baudelaire, *L'Horloge* (*Les Fleurs du Mal*, édition établi par Jacques Dupont, GF-Flammarion, Paris (1991), 122, lxxxv), vv. 1-2.

The visitor today may notice in the little Chapelle Saint-Benoît the simple marble memorial to Mabillon, *requiescens in pace Domini*, which belies the achievements of this great Benedictine scholar with its terse Latin inscription, an understatement, which, in his humility, he would not have wished otherwise.¹⁴²

Abbreviations

<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquæ et mediæ ætatis</i> , 2 vols., Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1898-9 and 1900-1, with supplement, 1911, and <i>novum supplementum</i> , 1986. (http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/recherchesaint.cfm)
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
Bouillart	Dom Jacques Bouillart, <i>Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Germain des Prez</i> , Paris, Grégoire Dupuis [1724], fol.
<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol, OSB, and H. Leclercq, OSB, 15 vols., Paris, 1907-53.
<i>DCB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i> , ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols., London, John Murray, 1877-87.
Delisle	Léopold Delisle, <i>Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale [nationale]</i> , i-iii, with separate <i>planches d'écritures ancienne</i> , Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1868, 1874 and 1881.
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart <i>et al.</i> , Paris, 1912 ff.
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , reprinted, 60 vols., Oxford University Press, 2004 (www.oxforddnb.com). [The recommended, but cumbersome Oxford University Press style of on-line citation (author/article/imprint/ http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/[articlenumber]) is simplified here for clarity to DNB [article number]. Thus, Bede, note 6, for example, is referenced briefly as DNB 1922].
<i>DR</i>	<i>Downside Review</i> , 1880 ff.
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant, E. Magenot, and É. Amann, 15 vols., Paris, 1903-50.
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1891 ff.

¹⁴² This was the tablet (line illustration in Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 695, and Ruinart, between 112 and 113) retrieved from Mabillon's original tomb in the Grande Chapelle de la Vierge after his remains, together with those of Montfaucon, were removed to the Musée de monuments français (des Petits-Augustins) in 1799. It was returned to Saint-Germain-des-Prés on 26 February 1819 when their relics, and those of Descartes, were translated back to the church and enshrined in the chapel of Saint-François de Sales (*ibid.*, 702; *procès-verbal* in *Nécrologe*, 73-8). Matching funerary plaques of basalt (for Mabillon's, see *Nécrologe*, 75-6, and Ruinart, between 112 and 113), with elaborate gilt inscriptions composed by the Académie (Leclercq, 'Mabillon', x, pt. 1, 703), mark the arcaded tombs of these three great Frenchmen, fittingly resting in peace together. Mabillon's modest little white marble tablet is placed immediately to the left of the plaques as one enters the chapel. Many Parisians today would be familiar with Mabillon's name, if only through the *métro* station and *rue* called after him.

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- MGH *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, Berlin, 1826 ff., Munich, 1949ff. (<http://www.dmgh.de/index.html>).
- NCE *New Catholic Encyclopædia*, 14 vols., with index (vol. 15), and supplement (vols. 16-17), McGraw Hill, New York, London *et alii loci*, 1967-74.
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- PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-55, with indexes, 4 vols., 1862-5 (<http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>).
- RB *The Rule of St Benedict, in Latin and English with notes* ed. Timothy Fry, OSB, *et. al.*, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981 [referred to as the *Holy Rule*].
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